

I. SATYAGRAHA LEAFLET NO. 11

May 1, 1919

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

Letters continue to pour in containing complaints about the so-called inactivity regarding Mr. Horniman's deportation. Most of these letters are anonymous. One of them states that it does not matter even if violence be the result of our holding large meetings, etc. It adds that we shall gain nothing without violence and that without it we shall not be able to bring Mr. Horniman back to India.

It is simple enough to give a reply to the foregoing along the lines of satyagraha: If violence be the condition of Mr. Horniman's return to India, then satyagrahis have to be content with separation. But there is absolutely no fear of any such result from non-violence. We can certainly bring about his return by satyagraha. Indeed we can hasten it by satyagraha alone—satyagraha consists at times in civil disobedience and other times in civil obedience. It consists at times in declaring hartal, or holding large public meetings or arranging processions and other times in refraining from any one or all of these things. Satyagrahis may not do a single thing that would bring about or encourage violence. At the present moment people are in a ferment, they are angry and it is likely that large meetings, processions, hartals may increase excitement and even end in violence. Both the people and the police are liable to err and both may have to suffer for the mistake of either. It is therefore clear that satyagrahis ought to prevent such untoward results by every means at their disposal. Therein lies their satyagraha. The nation can only rise higher by reason of the effort to be put forth, the discipline to be undergone and the soul-force to be exerted for the attainment of such an end. When the people have disciplined themselves to remain calm, to curb anger, to handle processions with self-restraint, to bring about hartals without threat or violence, when volunteers are so trained that the people listen to and act according to their instructions, we are in a position to hold meetings, declare hartals and arrange processions. It is enough to see that the just demands of a people so trained become irresistible. The present activity is directed towards the attainment of that end and I urge all to read this leaflet and those who are able to help, to go to the Satyagraha Sabha offices and have their names registered as helpers.

Now let us for a moment examine, not from the satyagraha but from the ordinary standpoint the proposition that we can by violence bring about Mr. Horniman's early return or accomplish our other objects. I believe that what is true and possible in other countries is not necessarily true and possible in Hindustan. India has from time immemorial received a different training. In India one cannot recall a time when the whole people were engaged in the use of brute force. It is my belief that India deliberately abandoned universal use of brute force. We have noted the results of violence in the Punjab. Ahmedabad is still suffering. We shall hereafter be able to measure the full dreadful effect of violence. One such effect is the suspension of civil disobedience. We ought, therefore, to consider as erroneous the belief that by violence we can hasten Mr. Horniman's return or gain other objects.

In one of the letters received by me it is argued that satyagrahis have no right to advise others to refrain from demonstrations, etc., even if they choose to do so. But we observe at the present moment in Hindustan a vast number of people desirous of taking part in all satyagraha activities other than civil disobedience. This state of things causes as much anxiety as pleasure. It throws a tremendous responsibility upon satyagrahis. One of them is this: If the people are interested in satyagraha and are desirous of experiencing its wonderful results, satyagrahis have to so act that the people may become trained to participate in the movement in strict accordance with its principles and its fundamental principle is adherence to truth and non-violence to person or property and when the people have accepted this principle the whole world will have a demonstration of the efficacy of satyagraha.

M. K. GANDHI

Printed by Rustom N. Vatchaghandy at the Sanj Vartaman Press, Nos. 22-24-26, Mint Road, Fort, Bombay.

From the printed original preserved in Gandhi Smarak Sangrahalaya, Delhi.
Courtesy: H. S. L. Polak

2. SATYAGRAHA LEAFLET NO. 12

May 2, 1919

WHEN IS SATYAGRAHA GOING TO BE RESUMED ?

“When is satyagraha going to be resumed?” is the question many have been asking me. There are two answers. One is that satyagraha has not at all ceased. As long as we practise truth, and ask others to do so, so long satyagraha can never be said to have ceased. And if all practise truth, and refrain from violence to person and property, we would immediately get what we want. But when all are not prepared to do so, when satyagrahis are only a handful, then we have to devise other methods deducible from satyagraha. One such method is *Civil Disobedience*. I have already explained the reason why this civil disobedience has been for the time being suspended. As long as we know that there is every likelihood, bordering on certainty, of rioting and violence following civil disobedience, so long disobedience of laws cannot be regarded as civil disobedience, but it is disobedience that is thoughtless, uncivil, and devoid of truth. Satyagrahis may never commit such disobedience. The resumption of civil disobedience can, however, be hastened by the satyagrahis completely fulfilling their duty. My confidence in satyagrahis has led me to assume that we shall be fitted for resuming civil disobedience in about two months, i.e., if the Rowlatt legislation is not withdrawn in the meantime, we may resume civil disobedience by the beginning of July next. In provisionally fixing this period, I am guided by the following considerations: One of them is that we shall have by that time spread our message throughout the country, viz., that during the pendency of civil disobedience, no one, under cover of satyagraha, or the pretence of helping it, should resort to rioting or violence. It may be hoped that the people being convinced that the true interest of the country will be served by acting in accordance with the message will preserve peace. And peace thus voluntarily sustained will materially contribute towards India’s progress. But it is possible that India may not understand satyagraha to this extent. In that case, there is one more hope of the non-recurrence of violence, though the condition upon which the hope is based is humiliating for us. It is open to the satyagrahis, however, to avail of this condition. Indeed, it becomes their duty to resume satyagraha under such conditions. The military

dispositions that are now going on will naturally ensure non-recurrence of violence that is so detrimental to the country. The recent outbreaks were all so sudden that the Government were not prepared to cope with them there and then. But the Government arrangements are quite likely to be completed in two months' time and breach of public peace will then be well-nigh impossible, and therefore also conscious or unconscious abuse of satyagraha. Under such a state of things, the satyagrahis may, without any fear of disturbance, commit civil disobedience and thereby demonstrate that not violence but satyagraha alone can help us to secure justice.

M. K. GANDHI

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3. SATYAGRAHA LEAFLET NO. 13

May 3, 1919

SATYAGRAHA MOVEMENT

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

A proper understanding of two things in satyagraha enables one to solve without effort many doubts. One of them is that a satyagrahi never does anything out of fear from without. He should fear only God. By bearing this thing in mind, we shall clearly see why we have suspended civil disobedience, why over Mr. Horniman's deportation we have not declared hartal, not held large meetings and not arranged processions. In so refraining we have not been actuated, if we are true satyagrahis, by fear, but purely by a sense of duty. The more a satyagrahi fulfils his duty as such, the nearer he brings victory. The other thing to be remembered and which is at the present moment perhaps of greater importance than the first is that a satyagrahi never desires to reach the goal by harbouring or increasing ill will or hatred against his opponent. He will look upon him even as a friend and yet ever resist the wrong done by him without bearing malice towards him. By such conduct worthy of a satyagrahi, causes conducing to enmity will decrease and both parties will acknowledge and avoid mistakes. We know the Rowlatt legislation to be altogether bad, but

that is no reason for harbouring ill will against the Government. The harbouring of it will in no way enable us the better to assess that evil legislation, or to advance the movement against it. On the contrary, such ill will can only damage the movement. For, obsessed by it, we refuse to understand or weigh the opponent's argument. We thus disable ourselves from producing the necessary impression upon the opponent and to that extent retard victory if we do not make it impossible. We are aware that the questions regarding Turkey, etc., have caused greater hurt to our Mahomedan brethren than has been caused to Hindus, Mahomedans and others by the Rowlatt legislation. But they cannot solve their difficulties by ill will. These difficulties can only be solved by proper deliberation, by properly framing and publishing their demands and by firm adherence thereto. So doing, they can enlist the help of the Hindus, Parsis, Christians, in fact, the whole world, and thus make their demands irresistible. If we harbour anger or ill will against the Government on account of the Rowlatt legislation, or Islamic or other questions, and therefore resort to violence, we shall be powerless even to consolidate Indian opinion, let alone the world's opinion. The gulf between the English and ourselves will widen and we shall be no nearer the goal. Victory attained by violence is tantamount to a defeat, for it is momentary. Then there is increase of ill will between both the parties and each prepares to give battle to the other. There is no such untoward end to satyagraha. A satyagrahi by reason of suffering for his principles draws towards himself universal sympathy and even melts the heart of the so-called enemy. Had we not erred in Ahmedabad and Viramgam, the history of the movement would have been written differently. There would have been no increase of ill will between the English and ourselves, no military dispositions such as we see about us and yet our determination to get rid of the Rowlatt legislation would have remained just as firm, the movement against it would have gone much further forward, probably by this time it might have been crowned with success, resulting at the same time in a bridging of the gulf between the English and ourselves. It is, however, never too late to mend. We can retrace our steps. The retracing consists in curbing anger and ill will against the English and therefore refraining from violence. As a matter of fact, the mistake in passing the Rowlatt legislation is not of the English nation, nor of the English in India. It is purely of those in authority. Nations are often ignorant of what is done in their names. The powers that be do not make deliberate

mistakes, they act as they think fit. That fact, however, does not cause the people any the less harm and therefore, whilst we harbour no ill will against those in authority, we spare no pains in taking effective steps for mending the mistake, but regarding it only as such and no more, we refrain from violence and secure its reversal by self-suffering.

M. K. GANDHI

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From the printed original preserved in Gandhi Smarak Sangrahalaya, Delhi.
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4. *LETTER TO J. M. WILSON*

May 3, 1919

I have read the Bihar Planters' Association Memorial¹ to the Government. Your Association has done itself and me a cruel injustice. But I will not answer the charge brought by your Association. Time is on my side and it will show you the error of a judgment hastily pronounced.

M. K. G.

From a photostat: S.N. 6578

5. *SATYAGRAHA LEAFLET NO. 14*

May 4, 1919

SATYAGRAHA IS IMPOSSIBLE SO LONG AS THERE IS ILL WILL

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

We have seen in our last leaflet that the actions of a satyagrahi should not be prompted by fear from without but by the voice from within, and that a satyagrahi should not think of attaining his objects by harbouring ill will towards his opponent but should win him over by his friendliness. I see that many hesitate to accept the second proposition. They argue: "How can we help being angry with wrong-doers? It is against human nature to do otherwise. How can we

¹ From J. M. Wilson, secretary, Bihar Planters' Association, to the secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, Simla, dated 26-4-1919, criticizing Gandhiji's activities. S.N. 6578

separate the wrong from the wrong-doer? How is it possible to direct our anger against the wrong without directing it against the wrongdoer?" A father, far from getting angry with his son, often expresses his disapproval of wrong action by taking suffering on his own person. Only on such mutual conduct is continuance of friendly relations between father and son possible. These relations cease with the ceasing of such conduct. It is our daily lot to go through these experiences and hence the proverb, "Let quarrels perish." We can live in peace and be free from our fearful position only if we apply the domestic law to our relations with the Government. The doubt need not be raised whether the domestic law can at all be extended to our relations with the Government, and whether the law of love does not for its operation require reciprocity. In satyagraha, both the parties need not be satyagrahis. Where both the parties are satyagrahis, there is no play for satyagraha, no opportunity for the test of love. Insistence on truth can come into play only when one party practises untruth or injustice. Only then can love be tested. True friendship is put to the test only when one party disregards the obligations of friendship. We stand to lose everything when we are angry against the Government. Mutual distrust and mutual ill will are thereby augmented. But if we act without in the least being angry with the Government, but also without being cowed down by their armed force, and without submitting to what we believe to be injustice, injustice would of itself be removed and we would easily attain the equality which is our goal. This equality does not depend on our power to answer their brute force with brute force, but on our ability to stand our ground without fear of brute force, and real fearlessness is not possible without love. A clear victory for satyagraha is impossible so long as there is ill will. But those who believe themselves to be weak are incapable of loving. Let then our first act every morning be to make the following resolve for the day: "I shall not fear anyone on earth. I shall fear only God; I shall not bear ill will towards anyone. I shall not submit to injustice from anyone. I shall conquer untruth by truth and in resisting untruth I shall put up with all suffering."

M. K. GANDHI

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Courtesy: H. S. L. Polak

6. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

BOMBAY,
[May 4, 1919]

MY DEAR CHARLIE,

I cannot get the time to send you a book—a mere letter gives me no satisfaction. I feel so confident that your view of vows can be shown to be wrong. Your interpretation of the action of Rama shows that you have not understood it properly. And what is the meaning of “Swean” in the passage from the Bible quoted by you? May not your interpretation of that passage also be at fault? To me the life of Jesus was one simple vow from which no earthly power could oust him. Your two vows mentioned in your letter were parody. They were no subjects for taking vows over. Why should a man hesitate to stand before his Maker and say: “Please, Sir, with your help I shall never tell an untruth”? But I can’t stand before my Maker and say, “I shall never forsake this sty or that.” I may not be clear enough, but you will admit I am frank enough, and how can Love help being that ?

Did you ascertain why the flogging was administered? I should like to know.

As you know *The [Bombay] Chronicle* has suspended publication by reason of the order of pre-censorship. *Young India* will therefore be turned into a bi-weekly. Later it may become a daily. It is to be published under my supervision. Can you find time to write for it? You may write on swadeshi, Hindu-Muslim unity, satyagraha, Rowlatt legislation.

We cannot accept the Rowlatt Bill even under the reservation suggested by you, namely, that it is not to be enforced without the previous sanction of the Legislative Council. Our objection is not merely that it may be misapplied, but we object also to the arbitrary procedure laid down in it for the trial of offences enumerated in it. I would not let even a supposed anarchist be tried summarily or under a special procedural subversion of judicial checks and certainly not under any ordinary law giving extraordinary powers. Exceptional powers have been reserved for exceptional situations. Executive authority cannot be allowed to deal with exceptional situations in anticipation.

Do please remain by the side of Shradhdhanandji as long as it is necessary. And when you are free, I would so like you to come

down, so that we may review that situation.

Yes, in the midst of all the carnage, prosecutions, martial law, military dispositions, I find the law of love answering fully and being abundantly proved.

With love to you and Swamiji,

Ever yours,

MOHAN

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

7. LETTER TO MAULANA ABDUL BARI

[BOMBAY,
May 4, 1919]

MAULANA ABDUL BARI¹,

I think there is a lack of consolidated Mahomedan opinion on Islamic questions. Everybody feels keenly and nobody comes forward with a reasoned and representative statement. I wish there were one by the ulema. It would not matter a bit if it was presented in Urdu or Arabic. An accurate translation can be easily made. I immensely like your idea of a mixed Hindu-Mahomedan commission to investigate causes of discord among the two communities and to suggest remedies leading to permanent unity. I think however that this is not the proper time for it. The energy of everybody is and must be concentrated upon the Rowlatt legislation, Islamic questions and Reforms. Probably we shall come much closer together in the process of getting these questions solved to the satisfaction of the whole of India and, at the end of a settlement of these questions, a commission such as you have suggested can do much effective work.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

¹ Nationalist Muslim divine of Lucknow who took active part in the Khilafat movement

8. SATYAGRAHA LEAFLET NO. 15

May 5, 1919

SATYAGRAHA HARTAL NEXT SUNDAY

FASTING FOR 24 HOURS AND RELIGIOUS DEVOTION IN EVERY HOME

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

Bombay has borne with great calmness the separation of Mr. Horniman. The long-sustained calmness observed by Bombay under unendurable circumstances had demonstrated its capacity for self-restraint. But the discussions at the meetings of the Satyagraha Sabha and reports of popular discussions show that the minds of the people are by no means appeased. They are desirous of publicly expressing their grief and feelings in some way or other. The desire is and must be irrepressible. The people will never forget what Mr. Horniman has done for them. He has given them a new life, a new hope and there is no doubt that they have remained calm in the hope that an occasion would be provided for them to mark their pure affection for Mr. Horniman. The Satyagraha Sabha last night decided after mature deliberation that next Sunday, 11th instant, should be the day of observance of hartal, fasting for 24 hours reckoning from previous evening, and private religious devotion in every home.

The first suggestion, i.e., hartal, is applicable to the city of Bombay. In times of unrest, such as we are passing through, it does not seem proper to declare hartal in other places. Not to observe it in other places is for the people thereof an act of self restraint and in the city of Bombay, too, it is to be confined to independent business men. Those who are employed in public or private offices are in no way to suspend business unless they obtain leave. There should be no pressure exerted upon anybody, no force used against anyone with a view to inducing suspension. For suspension brought about by force is no suspension, for a mind acted upon by force continues to contemplate the act from which it is restrained by force. We are bound not only not to interfere with a man who wants to open a shop or a *ghariwalla* who wishes to ply for hire, but to afford him every protection. I hope that both men and women in Bombay and elsewhere who have no religious or medical objection will observe the fast and devote the day to religious contemplation and try to

understand the true nature of satyagraha by recalling the illustrations of satyagraha from their own scriptures. We shall consider hereafter the efficacy of fasting as an aid to national progress, to the development of national ideals and to the attainment of restraint over our passions such as hunger, etc. For the time being, it is enough that we observe an absolutely voluntary satyagraha hartal next Sunday in the city of Bombay; we observe a fast everywhere and engage in private religious devotion in a spirit of calmness and love. We shall thereby add to our honour and speed Mr. Horniman's return.

M. K. GANDHI

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9. LETTER TO J. L. MAFFEY

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
May 5, 1919

DEAR MR. MAFFEY,

I thank you for your two letters and your telegram. Your assurance has given me the greatest relief. It saddens me to hear that the Viceroy had to give up his holiday. I hope, however, that the strain has not proved too much for his health.

I enclose herewith some of my recent leaflets. You will glance through them only if you have a few moments to spare.

I observe that Moulvi Rafiuddin Ahmed has suggested that some definite reassuring announcement be made regarding Islamic questions. What is an armed peace worth if it is not followed up by real contentment and you will never have real contentment unless Mahomedan sentiment is conciliated and Rowlatt legislation withdrawn. Probably you know that Mahomedan women and children too take the liveliest interest in the questions of Khilafat, Palestine and the Holy Mecca.

Regarding the Rowlatt legislation, it may be argued that agitators have poisoned the public mind, but whether such be the case or not, the fact is that the public thoroughly distrust that legislation and how

can you withstand emphatically expressed public opinion? What you see in India today is not a revolutionary plot. I am not prepared to say that there are no men entertaining wild dreams of revolution. But I do say that the large bodies of men who have taken part in the acts of violence have simply in a wild and furious manner given vent to their pentup feelings which is a mad protest but nothing more. Bolshevism has not yet entered India. But I would like you to consider whether you can prevent its entry or prevent mad acts of violence without endorsing the doctrine of satyagraha. I ask you to believe with me that it is not so much the military dispositions as satyagraha that is the restraining force. I think, it is commonly admitted that violence could not have been avoided in spite of the elaborate military precautions if the restraining and sobering influence of satyagraha had not been there when Mr. Horniman was deported.

Now I come to a less thorny topic, probably a topic on which we may meet. I enclose herewith the form containing the swadeshi vow. What a great thing it would be if the Viceroy would take the vow! You will see that Englishmen can take it just as easily as Indians. Do please submit it to H. E. when you think he has time to go through it. Even if the Viceroy cannot see his way to take the vow, but if he approves of the scheme, I would like you to let me have a separate letter for publication.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 6589

10. LETTER TO J. A. GUIDER

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
May 5, 1919

DEAR MR. GUIDER¹,

Dame Rumour reports you to have been displeased with your staff for their inability to trace the educated men behind the tragedy at Ahmedabad, although I was able to do so. The same lady further has it that you interpret “educated Indians” to mean only *Vakils*, Barristers, Doctors, etc. I am, therefore, being torn to pieces by friends

¹ District Magistrate, Ahmedabad

and others for having created much mischief and caused needless suffering by use of unguarded language. Naturally, I have to take the consequences of my words as I have of my deeds. I do not know how far the rumours reported to me are true, but I would like to observe that the word I have used in the original is *bhanela*, and *bhanela* by no means means only a “highly educated” Indian. For me, *bhanela* means all those who have received any education whatsoever, whether vernacular or English. For instance, the anonymous author of an inflammatory vernacular poem which I have lately seen I would undoubtedly consider to be *bhanela*, i.e., educated and it is exactly in that sense that I have used the word “educated” in the translation of my speech. As a matter of fact, if I had received evidence as to the complicity of highly educated men, I would certainly have not hesitated to make use of language to show that I meant such men. My attention was directed yesterday to Mr. Pratt’s speech at Ahmedabad wherein he referred to the complicity of educated leaders. I take it that he had not my speech in mind when he made the remark.

I may also add that “by organized manner” and “design”, I mean this: Some educated man or men believing in the efficacy of violence for securing redress saw the temper of the mob on Friday, immediately seized the situation and directed operations through gang leaders and that is exactly what I know from evidence before me happened on that awful day. You can see therefore that it is possible for these men to remain absolutely concealed.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 6590

11. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

BOMBAY,
May 5, 1919

CHI. MAGANLAL,¹

I have sent Jivan² for Ba and Rami³. It contains two bottles being specially sent by Bhai Jugatram. They have plenty of *Jivan* there. It is good if Prabhudas also takes it. Take it from Ba. Give it to Rami and Prabhudas in the morning but not more than one spoon. The correct

¹ The letter is in a different hand but the subscription is by Gandhiji.

² A kind of Ayurvedic tonic

³ Harilal Gandhi’s daughter, later married to Kunvarji Khetsi Parekh

procedure is: after brushing the teeth and cleaning the mouth one should lick one spoon of *Jivan* and then drink a glass of milk. However, my purpose of writing this letter is different. I was reminded of *Jivan* and so began the letter with it.¹

Swadeshi movement will gather great force but the tragedy is that we are not ready for it. After talking to Sir Fazalbai, I am convinced of one thing, i.e., the biggest swadeshi movement lies in producing indigenous cloth. And so, I have come back to our original position. We should start spinning cotton and weaving clothes in every home. My advice to Santok is that she should go to Vijapur and return after learning to spin yarn. Whatever hand spun yarn is there, get it woven soon. Get as much cloth as you can, woven in Ahmedabad from the mill-spun yarn. *Dakshini Maharastrian* sarees are woven there but in those, mainly imported yarn and imported silk are used. Cannot we get them made from the indigenous yarn? Avantikabehn has told me that even if they are thick, Maharastrian women will wear them. We are not at all prepared to make clothes for women—so bad is our plight. Think about this and do whatever you can. Show this letter to Kaka and others. For me, you must get the *dhotis* made from yarn spun by you, in time. The work of spinning yarn must be taken up in the Ashram. I do not think I will be able to come there for sometime yet.

How is your health?

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original S.N. 32930

12. LETTER TO HARILAL GANDHI

May 5, 1919

I got your letter of *Chaitra Vad 10*. My health has begun to feel the strain now. There is much too heavy a pressure on the brain. God will keep this body going as long as He wants work from it. I have not read *The Englishman* and I do not read it generally. Yes, I think it will be good if you keep sending me cuttings from there.

Mrs. Beast is in a pitiable condition. She is completely at a loss what course to adopt.

How could you ask whether the Government would really

¹ The remaining portion of this letter is already reproduced in Vol. "Letter to Maganlal Gandhi", 5-5-1919.

disallow [*sic*] the Rowlatt Bill?¹ How can the Bill remain [on the Statute-book] while satyagrahis are alive? Personally, I believe that, if no violence breaks out, the Bills will be repealed in no more than a few months. I do not say this from inside knowledge, but from my unshakable faith in satyagraha.

I did not stop Pragji. I have left him to himself entirely. It seems he has now decided on going to Madras. He is taking Parvati with him. I did not stand in his way in this either.

I do not like your idea of going to South Africa. My own wish is that all of you, having called yourselves satyagrahis, should content yourselves with lower profits and do business only in swadeshi goods.

The children are quite happy. I did not notice that they were particularly homesick for Rajkot or Calcutta. The thing to be most happy about is that the climate has suited them. Rami seems to be improving gradually. I have sent some *jeevan*² of the best quality for her from here.

Madhavas told me of your financial difficulties. He has accepted my advice. It was that you should go forward without monetary help from anyone, that is what I would have you do. Medh, a man of sudden impulses that he is, is naturally apt to do things without thinking and enter into too many forward deals; you think nothing of risks and want to get rich quickly. Pragji cannot resist the temptation of joining a public movement. In these circumstances, you will find yourself in trouble before you know where you are. Hence it would always be my wish that you did not depend on other people's money for your ventures. Moreover, they may send me out of the country or imprison me at any time and I take it that you will not be able to continue in business then. How can you, in this situation, invest others' money? In a country where injustice prevails, there is no dignity except in poverty. It is impossible, in the prevailing condition, to amass wealth without being a party, directly or indirectly, to injustice.

Blessings from,

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. V

¹ Of the two Rowlatt Bills, one was withdrawn earlier and the second passed into an Act on March 18, 1919.

² Ayurvedic tonic preparation

13. SATYAGRAHA LEAFLET NO. 16

May 6, 1919

SUNDAY'S HARTAL : ITS RELIGIOUS SPIRIT

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

To declare a hartal is no small matter. It requires strong reasons to support it. Let us therefore examine the justification for it. The citizens of Bombay are impatient to give some outward evidence of their deep affection for Mr. Horniman. They can provide it in a striking manner by means of hartal. Everybody's feelings will be tested thereby. Moreover, hartal is an ancient Indian institution for expressing national sorrow and we can therefore demonstrate through hartal our grief over the deportation and hartal is the best method of marking our strong disapproval of the action of the Government. It is a means, more powerful than monster meetings, of expressing national opinion. Thus, we serve three purposes by hartal and all of them are so great that we do not expose ourselves to the charge of exaggeration in declaring hartal.

This much is clear that none of the purposes above named will be served if suspension of business is brought about through fear of public opprobrium or physical pressure. If suspension were to be brought about by terrorism and if Mr. Horniman came to know [of] it, he could not but be displeased and grieved by the knowledge, and such artificial hartal would fail to produce any effect upon the Government. Hartal forcibly brought about cannot be considered satyagrahi hartal. In anything satyagrahi, there should be purity of motive, means and end. I, therefore, hope that no man or woman who is unwilling to suspend business will in any way be interfered with, but that he or she will be guaranteed protection from any harm whatsoever. *I would far rather wish that people did not suspend business on Sunday in the city of Bombay and that the organizers were exposed to ridicule than that force was used upon a single person in order to make him suspend business.* In order to avoid all risk of commotion in Bombay on Sunday, the idea of holding public meetings has been discountenanced and all have been advised to remain indoors. As all satyagraha activity should be guided by the religious spirit, I have suggested that we should fast for twenty-four hours and devote the day to religious contemplation, and it is to be hoped that all the members of families including children and servants

will take part in the religious observance. Hindus may have the *Bhagavad Gita* read to them. It takes four hours to read through it with clear pronunciation and other Hindu religious books might be read in addition [to] or in place of it. The Mahomedans and others may have their own scriptures read to them. It will be a proper way of spending the day to read the stories of great satyagrahis such as Prahlad, Harishchandra, Mirabai, Imams Hasan and Hoosein, Socrates and others. It will be opportune also to explain to family gatherings Mr. Horniman's title to our affection. The chief thing to be remembered is that we may not fritter away next Sunday in playing cards, *chowpat*, gambling or in sheer laziness, but that it should be so spent as to make us better men and women for national service. Better-placed and well-to-do families will, I hope, invite such of their neighbours as may be poor, solitary or ignorant, to participate in the religious devotion. A brotherly spirit is cultivated not by words but only by deeds.

Mr. Motilal Dahyabhai Zaveri of Kalbadevi Road has just dropped in and informed me that before the news of the declaration of hartal next Sunday, he had issued invitations for a wedding party on that day. He also said there were many such parties to be given on the same day. Mr. Motilal was most anxious that he and his friends should take part in the observance. I venture to advise that so far as the religious part of the wedding ceremonial was concerned, it should be gone through without disturbance, but that dinner parties and other rejoicings might be postponed to Monday. His patriotic affection for Mr. Horniman was such that he immediately accepted the advice and I tender it for the acceptance of those who may be similarly situated.

M. K. GANDHI

Printed by Rustom N. Vatchaghandy at the Sanj Vartaman Press, Nos. 22-24-26, Mint Road, Fort, Bombay.

From the printed original preserved in Gandhi Smarak Sangrahalaya, Delhi.
Courtesy: H. S. L. Polak

14. LETTER TO F. C. GRIFFITH

BOMBAY,
May 6, 1919

DEAR MR. GRIFFITH,

I hope you have been glancing at the leaflets being published from day to day. I want particularly however to draw your attention to yesterday's leaflet declaring hartal for next Sunday. I am hoping that all will go well.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 6592

15. LETTER TO NIRMALA

May 6, 1919

CHI. NIRMALA¹,

I have not started the real fight yet, but it will start by and by. On Sunday all are to fast. I wish you also do. Horniman, for whose sake the fast is being undertaken, is a man of many qualities and has rendered great service to India.

I cannot help you now to carry out improvements in your houses. It is for Chi. Shamaldas² and Chi. Kaku to do so. I have renounced all claim on the property.

What can be dearer to me than that my revered sister³ and you both live in the Ashram and help me in my work? She has had such a happy experience there; everyone used to carry out every wish of hers and treat her with respect. On my part, I used to be reminded of mother's and father's faces every morning as I looked upon her and felt myself sanctified. I want you both to go over to the Ashram as early as possible and it is my earnest desire that you especially pick up weaving and spinning well. I look upon it as pious and sacred work. Giving of food and clothes in charity is considered excellent gifts

¹ Widow of Gokuldas, a nephew of Gandhiji

² Son of Lakshmidas, Gandhiji's elder brother

³ Raliatbehn

among us. It is my conviction that any man or woman who produces cloth for the people will have earned the highest *punya*¹.

[From Gujarati]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. V

16. SPEECH AT MEETING IN BOMBAY²

May 6, 1919

FRIENDS,

I think we need not wait for anyone. You may tell others who come what I shall tell you.

The step we are taking on Sunday is a very important one and involves a great responsibility. Bombay has maintained the utmost patience during all this time and I should abuse it no longer. I have had some anonymous letters in which the writers, forgetting their manners, have made harsh attacks on me for doing nothing so far about Mr. Horniman. This has not hurt me in the least; on the contrary, I have been able to see people's love for Mr. Horniman and I felt that I should provide expression to their feelings. On the night following the day of Horniman's arrest, there was a strong move to call for a strike on the next day. Peace was maintained, however, thanks to the strenuous efforts of some. I told those people that I would give my approval when I was sure of one thing. You must be reading my leaflets. In these, I have said nothing to fill anyone with frustration. We have done much during the last ten days. In maintaining patience all these days, we have exercised great self-control and Bombay deserves congratulations on that. Some even level the charge that Indians have started no agitation because Mr. Horniman was an Englishman. But those who make such charges should know that, if Bombay feels for Mr. Horniman, it will certainly show its feelings at the right time. How can India ever forget a man who has always been for freedom for everyone? And the time which I said would come has now come, and I repeat that the step we are to take on Sunday is a very important one. It will be a great test for us. In anything we do now we should consider how we may

¹ Spiritual merit

² The meeting, held in the Morarji Gokuldas Market Hall, was called by Gandhiji to explain how people should observe Sunday, May 11, in honour of Horniman.

preserve peace. I am confident that no one who honours Mr. Horniman will do anything improper. If we force anyone to close his shop, we can have no regard for Mr. Horniman. Rather, everyone should stop work of his own accord. Then alone can we say that the man honours Mr. Horniman. To show that we honour him, we should see that our message reaches every corner in the city. In honour of Mr. Horniman, every community should stop work on Sunday of its own free will. No pressure should be put upon anyone. I am afraid, all the time, that some people, in the blindness of their love, will use coercion. If they do, they will have done no honour to Mr. Horniman. The right thing would be that cabmen themselves refuse, of their own free will, to put the cabs on the roads. Even the poorest shopkeeper should forgo his earnings on that day and keep his shop closed. We must not stop the trams or force any passengers to come out.

What I would say is that on Sunday we stop work ourselves and tell others that they should do the same spontaneously. Yes, we may explain things to those who may not have heard Mr. Horniman's name, and tell them: "Friend, have you heard of Horniman? He kept alive the spirit of patriotism in the people of Bombay and India and was a sincere friend of the country. He has been deported by the Government and his paper suspended, for putting it under censorship is as good as suspending it. Moreover, his security of Rs. 2,000/- has also been forfeited. If you respect a man such as he was, you should voluntarily stop your work today." If these words have no effect on the man, we need not force him to suspend work, for we shall gain nothing if he does so out of fear.

Another thing we should do is to observe a fast on that day. About this, I intend to issue a leaflet tomorrow. Go through it carefully, and also explain it to those who do not understand it. I do not want to spend time over it just now. I also advise you to read the other leaflets I have recently issued. If we spend the whole day in devotions, anger cannot enter into us. I have suggested to the Hindus that they should read and reflect over the holy *Gita* on that day. Those who cannot follow it should take others' help to understand it. People can gain much from a simple book like the *Gita*. Quite a few persons have given their interpretations of the *Gita*, all different from one another. I have also read it and pondered over it, and have discovered a truth in it. I want to place it before you some day. Those who are keen enough on reading it will certainly do so. If they cannot

do so themselves, they will have a learned Brahmin to read it to them. If there are any who say that they cannot understand it themselves, and that they are too poor to secure the services of a learned man, others who are in a position to help them should do so, invite them to their homes and offer to read the *Gita* with them. When such a sense of brotherhood has developed in you, no one dare say a word against India. If you would spend Sunday wholly in devotions, read the *Gita* attentively. It often happens that, while one reads from a holy book, the rest talk. This Sunday, however, attend to the reading carefully. The eldest one in the home should watch whether those who have assembled for the hearing listen carefully. If you do not listen so, you will be able to do no good to Mr. Horniman, nor will it appear that you honour him.

Everyone should know the duty he owes, should ask himself what, having been born in India, he ought to do for her and how. What, having been born in Bombay, did he owe to her? To what end was he a satyagrahi? What was his duty as one? And so on.

If all the people in Bombay thus spend the coming Sunday in devotions, how much can we not profit? I am sure none of you believes that the Government has passed laws like the Rowlatt Acts on purpose. If anyone does, he is mistaken. We have given no cause to the Government to adopt such a mistaken course. How, then, can we believe anything of the kind?

When a great idea permeates the atmosphere, it produces a powerful effect. I have observed this myself in the course of the eight years' struggle in South Africa. A miracle took place among the people of that continent. A few men having gone to jail, the others too abandoned work of their own accord and chose to go to jail. You know the result. People had this idealism in them, and it is what is needed in India. It is satyagrahis who will create such powerful idealism, though I admit that they, too, are not all they should be. Even so, no matter how imperfect we are, God will help us if we have love and our motives are of the best. Our deficiency will be made good by the people.

And so, this coming Sunday is to be spent in devotions and perfect peace. Many people ask how they can suppress their anger and refrain from violence. To be sure, in the prevailing atmosphere, it is likely that many will feel that way. However, anyone who exercises self-restraint and keeps ever thinking of the law of non-violence will

soon have his doubt vanish and his views will change. This Sunday, we should cover Bombay with glory and control the people, for all are not of the same mind. If anyone tries to force a shop to close down or stop a tram, we should humbly approach him and say: "Friend, you surely honour Horniman; if you do, we forbid you, in his name, to act in this manner." We should thus work as policemen and preserve peace. The volunteers, too, will need to do their best. It is your duty to explain this to those of them who have not been able to attend this meeting¹.

That was my desire, but I don't have courage enough. Our masses have not yet been disciplined and trained. The control we are able to exercise in this meeting would not be possible when dealing with millions of human beings. There may be people who think in other ways and like to create trouble. For the present, therefore, we would do well to give up this idea.

It has become easy these days to hold large meetings in Bombay, for there is plenty of enthusiasm among the people. But we need not have such meetings at present. Formerly, people followed the leaders. Now, if any leader is found half-hearted, the people will immediately criticize him and tell him that he had better lead or that otherwise they would go ahead without caring for him.

[From Gujarati]

Gujarati, 11-5-1919

17. SATYAGRAHA LEAFLET NO. 17

May 7, 1919

SUNDAY'S HARTAL AND FASTING

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

By hartal, fasting and religious devotion on Sunday next, the people propose to demonstrate to the Government in terms of satyagraha that it is not possible for them to bring about true contentment by force of arms. So long as the Rowlatt legislation is not withdrawn, so long as the Government continue to suppress men like Mr. Horniman who carry on innocent agitations against such acts of the

¹ Gandhiji then asked the audience if they had any doubts. What follows is in reply to a question whether they would not do better to assemble, after bath, in a temple or at Chowpatty.

Government, not only is true contentment impossible, but discontent must increase. All the world over a true peace depends not upon gunpowder but upon pure justice. When Government perpetrate injustice and fortify it by the use of arms, such acts are a sign of anger and they add injustice to injustice. If people also become angry by reason of such acts on the part of the Government, they resort to violence and the result is bad for both, mutual ill will increases. But whenever people regard particular acts of the Government as unjust and express their strong disapproval by self-suffering, the Government cannot help granting redress. This is the way of satyagraha and the people of Bombay will have an opportunity on Sunday next of giving expression in a clean manner to such disapproval.

A hartal brought about voluntarily and without pressure is a powerful means of showing popular disapproval, but fasting is even more so. When people fast in a religious spirit and thus demonstrate their grief before God, it receives a certain response. Hardest hearts are impressed by it. Fasting is regarded by all religions as a great discipline. Those who voluntarily fast become gentle and purified by it. A pure fast is a very powerful prayer. It is no small thing for lakhs of people voluntarily to abstain from food and such a fast is a satyagrahi fast. It ennobles individuals and nations. In it there should be no intention of exercising undue pressure upon the Government. But we do observe that like so many other good acts, this one of fasting too is sometimes abused. In India we often see beggars threatening to fast, fasting, or pretending to fast, until they receive what they ask for. This is *duragrahi* fasting and the person so fasting degrades himself and it will be the proper thing to let such people fast. It is false kindness to give anything under pressure of such fasting. If it were to be otherwise, fasting may be resorted to even for securing unlawful demands. Where it is a question of determining the justice or otherwise of a particular act, there is no room for any other force but that of reason regulated by the voice of conscience. The coming fast is thus in no way to be interpreted as designed to put pressure upon the Government.

M. K. GANDHI

Printed by Rustom N. Vatchaghandy at the Sanj Vartaman Press, Nos. 22-24-26, Mint Road, Fort, Bombay.

From the printed original preserved in Gandhi Smarak Sangrahalaya, Delhi.
Courtesy: H. S. L. Polak

18. APPEAL TO CITIZENS OF BOMBAY

BOMBAY,
May 7, 1919

In honour of Mr. Horniman on next Sunday the 11th instant,

1. The citizens should observe hartal.
2. All should fast for 24 hours.
3. People should remain indoors and pass their time in religious devotion.

BUT

1. There should be no pressure put upon anyone regarding suspension of business.
2. Tram-cars and other vehicles should not be impeded.
3. Passengers should in no way be interfered with.
4. There should be no large crowds in the streets.
5. There should be no street demonstrations.
6. Police orders and volunteers' instructions should be implicitly carried out.

In perfect preservation of peace consists real honour to Mr. Horniman and on it depends his speedy return.

Young India, 7-5-1919

19. LETTER TO ROW

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
May 7, 1919

DEAR MR. ROW,

I was delighted to receive your note about the late Sergeant Fraser. Will you kindly give me some more particulars about the deceased? Was he an orphan? Was he the only son? What were his parents? How did Mrs. Row come to adopt the deceased? What was his age when he was killed? From your name I infer that you are an Indian. Is Mrs. Row also Indian? I trust, you will excuse these questions. I am simply anxious to have the full history of the

deceased, if only for me to keep as a treasure.¹

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 6595

20. SATYAGRAHA LEAFLET NO. 18

May 8, 1919

SUNDAY'S HARTAL

TRUE MEANING OF "BHAGAVAD GITA'S" TEACHINGS

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

Even *The Times of India*, which is ordinarily regarded as the impartial newspaper, has seen fit to ridicule the forthcoming hartal and to distrust the religious character of fasting. It is our duty patiently to endure the ridicule and distrust. We can turn both into repentance by our own action, i.e., by observing the hartal in a satyagrahi spirit and by true religious devotion. But the more grievous criticism of this well-known newspaper consists in misinterpreting our calmness and inferring from it that we have felt no grief over Mr. Horniman's separation. By observing full hartal on Sunday in a quiet manner and by devoting the day to sincere religious contemplation, we can demonstrate the mistake made by *The Times of India*.

I shall now endeavour to consider in all humility a doubt raised by some Hindu friends regarding the meaning of the *Bhagavad Gita*. They say that in the *Bhagavad Gita* Sri Krishna has encouraged Arjuna to slay his relations and they therefore argue that there is warrant in that work for violence and that there is no satyagraha in it. Now the *Bhagavad Gita* is not a historical work, it is a great religious book, summing up the teaching of all religions. The poet has seized the occasion of the war between the Pandavas and the Kauravas on the field of Kurukshetra for drawing attention to the war going on in our bodies between the forces of Good (Pandavas) and the forces of Evil (Kauravas) and has shown that the latter should be destroyed and there should be no remissness in carrying on the battle against the forces of Evil, mistaking them through ignorance for forces of Good.

¹ The reply to this received from Mrs. E. C. Row read: "My husband has made the greatest mistake of his life if he wrote to you....We are no Indians."

In Islam, Christianity, Judaism, it is a war between God and Satan, in Zoroastrianism between Aurmazd and Ahriman. To confuse the description of this universally acknowledged spiritual war with a momentary world strife is to call holy unholy. We, who are saturated with the teachings of the *Bhagavad Gita* but who do not pretend to any special spiritual qualifications, do not draw out sword against our relations whenever they perpetrate injustice but we win them over by our affection for them. If the physical interpretation alluded to of the *Bhagavad Gita* be correct, we sin against it in not inflicting physical punishment upon our relatives whom we consider to have done us injustice. Everywhere in that Divine Song, we note the following advice given to Arjuna: *Fight without anger, conquer the two great enemies, desire and anger, be the same to friend and foe; physical objects cause pleasure and pain, they are fleeting; endure them.* That one cannot strike down an adversary without anger is universal experience. Only an Arujna who destroys the devil within him can live without attachment. It was Ramdas brought up in the teaching of the *Bhagavad Gita* who not only endured the lashes of a wrongdoer but actually produced for him a Jagir. Narsinh Mehta, the first poet of Gujarat and the prince among *bhaktas*, was nurtured in the *Bhagavad Gita* teaching. He conquered his enemies only by love and has given through one single poem of matchless beauty the great text of their conduct to his fellow-*Vaishnavas*. That encouragement from violence can be deduced from the *Bhagavad Gita* demonstrates the deadliness of *Kaliyuga*. It is only too true that we often find an echo of our sentiments in what we read and see. If it is true that God made men in his own image, it is equally true that man makes God also in his own image. I have found nothing but love in every page of the *Gita* and I hope and pray that everyone will have similar experience of Sunday.

M. K. GANDHI

Printed by Rustom N. Vatchaghandy at the Sanj Vartaman Press, Nos. 22-24-26, Mint Road, Fort, Bombay.

From the printed original preserved in Gandhi Smarak Sangrahalaya, Delhi.
Courtesy: H. S. L. Polak

21. LETTER TO O. S. GHATE

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
May 8, 1919

DEAR MR. GHATE,

I have seen the Brothers' representation to the Government. If it has not been yet despatched, I hope it won't be at all. It lacks dignity, it is unrestrained in language and is an overstatement of the case. The Mahomedan claim includes pre-war questions. Surely, it is an excessive demand. What I would like them to prepare is a statement of the minimum of demands. Everyone of the friends with whom I discussed the question of hijra rejected the idea and so did the Maulana Saheb. What I should so much like is an authoritative reasoned statement of the minimum demands of Islam. I would like our friends' views on the developments in Afghanistan.¹ A time may have come when the greatest wisdom and coolness of judgment could alone pull us out of the fire.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 6598

22. LETTER TO ANASUYABEHN SARABHAI

BOMBAY,
Vaishakh Sud 9, 1975 [May 8, 1919]

REVERED ANASUYABEHN,

I have made you very unhappy but what can I do? My love always expresses itself in this manner. That I suffered more before I made you unhappy is the only solace I can offer you. Bhai Shankerlal had told me that you were not well. Bhai Indulal, however, brings good news today. Come over for a visit if you are well and not needed there.

The women's meeting on swadeshi² was very well organized. I missed you very much on that day.

It seems everything is going on smoothly.

¹ The Afghan War

² *Ibid*

This letter is my first attempt, after many days, to write in my own hand.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original: S.N. 32815

23. *SPEECH AT WOMEN'S MEETING, BOMBAY*

May 8, 1919

DEAR SISTERS,

Not being well today, I shall talk to you sitting. Those among you who are educated will have read about the swadeshi vow in the papers. The one thing I have been saying over and over again ever since my return from South Africa is this: So long as women in India do not take equal part with men in the affairs of the world and in religious and political matters, we shall not see India's star rising. To take an illustration, men who suffer from paralysis of one side of the body can do no work. Similarly, if women do not share in men's tasks, the country is bound to remain in a wretched state. What conditions can we expect in a country where the women remain ignorant of the joys and sorrows of men?

I feel tempted to talk about all these matters, but I do not have the time to do so. I want you to make your full contribution to the cause about which I shall speak today. All I mean is that it is essential that women make their contribution to the developments taking place in the country. This requires no knowledge of letters. It is not true that, without such knowledge, one cannot take part in national work. Women work in their homes well enough. I have to work among farmers and weavers. We can inspire more enthusiasm in them than in the educated classes. In the satyagraha in Kheda district, if men worked, women helped as much. Had they not done so, had they yielded to fear and held back the men, where would we have been?

The swadeshi vow, too, cannot be kept fully if women do not help. Men alone will be able to do nothing in the matter. They can have no control over the children; that is the women's sphere. To look after children, to dress them, is the mother's duty and, therefore, it is necessary that women should be fired with the spirit of swadeshi. So long as that does not happen, men will not be in a position to take the vow. Woman is the mistress of the home and lives in royal style; if this

does not change, what can man do? Women's clothing costs more than men's.

India has to part with 60 crores of rupees [annually] to foreign countries. Four crores are wasted in this manner on silk and the remaining 56 crores on cotton fabrics. India has a population of 30 crores and this means that every person throws away, on an average, Rs. 2/- [annually] over foreign cloth. Further, there are three crores in India who get only one meal a day. Formerly, our mothers and sisters used to spin in the homes and that helped preserve India's self-respect and honour. That work is now taken over by the mills. Outside the Bombay Presidency, women are now observing the swadeshi vow. In Madras, Bengal and other parts, cloth for women is made by Indian weavers. Here, however, women generally use expensive foreign cloth.

It is men who are responsible for the idea that women must have English cloth. It is they who tell women about such cloth and suggest that it is good to wear. This has given the women their wrong idea, but we must correct it now. We ought not to allow our own art to perish, running after foreign art. All this has had unhappy consequences and we must help India to get rid of them. However bad the climate and soil of our country, we do not run away from it. We should use cloth made in our country, however coarse it may be. The eye will get used to it by and by. It is the soul we should care to make beautiful. We need not go after external adornment.

Our country, moreover, is miserably poor. We have frequent famines. The plague and cholera are ever with us. If the country were really rich, there would be some propriety in our living in style. At present, however, when there are some who do not even get enough clothing, this ostentation is not in good taste. Bear in mind that, if we do not act in this manner now, we shall be compelled by circumstances to do so. Posterity will feel sad for us and the country will grow poorer. If you do not want the country to remain poor, observe the swadeshi vow, and wear swadeshi cloth, however coarse it be. There was a time when a piece of Dacca muslin could be packed into a little box and yet served to cover one's nakedness well enough. Where do we find such craftsmen and such weavers? That muslin was not made on any machine. How is it that they have lost the skill now? They have been utterly ruined. The fine variety of foreign cloth which we get these days is cloth only in name. It does not serve to cover one's limbs. If everyone takes the vow of swadeshi, we shall be able

again to produce the same kind of muslin. A large number of men are ruled by women. This is my own experience, as it is that of many others. But, then, I want the women to have tenacity of purpose, a religious disposition and love for India. At the time of the war in South Africa, the Boer women showed a spirit such as no other women have ever done. My present demand is briefly stated. It is that you throw away your stocks of foreign cloth or make them over to others who may not have taken the vow of swadeshi. I should like all women to follow this course. It will sound harsh if I say that all women should take the vow this very day. But you may think of taking the vow from tomorrow, and I pray to God that He may so incline you.¹

You can take the vow a day later, but make up your mind today. It would be too long if you were to wait till all the dresses had worn out. One or two saris may be excused, but how if you have heaps of clothes? You ought to make this sacrifice for the progress of the country. What would you have done if all those clothes had been stolen? Well, think that they are stolen. This sacrifice must be made for the country. If, retaining your clothes, you are likely to feel rather sore about the thing and to feel tempted to wear them, hand them over to me. I shall put them to good use. Those who find it impossible to take this vow may take the vow of partial swadeshi but, as far as possible, they should keep the vow in full.

[From Gujarati]

Kheda Vartaman, 21-5-1919

24. SATYAGRAHA LEAFLET NO. 19

May 9, 1919

BOMBAY WILL BE TESTED ON SUNDAY

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

Bombay will be tested on Sunday. To observe hartal, fast [and] religious contemplation are easy enough for sensible people. Bombay will prove her sensibility on Sunday. In England, more especially in

¹ Gandhiji then asked the women in the audience if they had any questions to ask. Thereupon, one of them suggested that, the foreign cloth with them being expensive, they should keep it and resolve not to buy any more in future. Another said that they needed eight days' time to have new dresses made. What follows is Gandhiji's reply.

Scotland, business is suspended every Sunday for religious reasons. Trains too are running most sparingly. Even in India, public offices are closed on Sundays. There would, therefore, generally be no occasion for anxiety over hartal. There is just a little anxiety about our hartal because of the present unrest and because ours is intended to be an expression of our grief and respect. From the news received from different quarters and from the impression gathered from meetings that have been held to explain the reasons for the Sunday observance, there is every reason to hope that Bombay will do credit to herself and India by observing perfect calm on Sunday.

It is to be wished that in every mosque, church and temple and in every assembly, visitors will be told to suspend business and advised to fast, and devote the day to religious contemplation and observe peace.

I have stated in the first leaflet¹ on the hartal that employees may only suspend work on receiving permission from their employers. But those who are working in hospitals, or in connection with the sanitation of the town, dock labourers handling the grain to be despatched to famine areas ought not to suspend work at all. In a satyagrahi hartal, we are bound to give the first place to public weal, more especially the requirements of the poor. And when we use the sense of discrimination fully in all our activities, our difficulties will disappear even as the mist before the morning sun.

M. K. GANDHI

Printed by Rustom N. Vatchaghandy at the Sanj Vartaman Press, Nos. 22-24-26, Mint Road, Fort, Bombay.

From the printed original preserved in Gandhi Smarak Sangrahalaya, Delhi.
Courtesy: H. S. L. Polak

25. *LETTER TO F. C. GRIFFITH*

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
May 9, 1919

DEAR MR. GRIFFITH,

With reference to the mill-hands, I understand that they provision themselves on the pay day. This they did on the 3rd instant. I understand, too, that some of them even resented the idea of having

¹ No. 15

any shops kept open for them. I can however understand that if shops were open, many of them might make odd purchases. But I see more danger in advising all shopkeepers in the north of Bombay to keep their shops open than in leaving the present position undisturbed. I am, therefore, not doing anything in this matter beyond taking all possible precautions to avoid untowardness.

I received your message late last night, for which I thank you. I am issuing a leaflet of which I send you copy herewith. You will see that I have given full effect to H. E.'s desire.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. G.

From a photostat: S.N. 6599

26. LETTER TO DR. POWELL

LABURNUM ROAD,

BOMBAY,

May 9, 1919

DEAR DR. POWELL¹,

I thank you for your note². I have only seen Anantram Radhakishen for once. He has not presented me with any car whatsoever. I have absolutely no knowledge about his possessions. I have no money with me belonging to him. I do not think he has gone mad through satyagraha. But it is quite likely that we have more than one mad man on our list.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. G.

From a photostat: S.N. 6600

¹ Police Surgeon, Bombay

² Of May 9

27. SPEECH ON KHILAFAT, BOMBAY¹

May 9, 1919

What the Chairman has said about me is true, for I have, ever since the days of my youth, had a longing to see differences between Hindus and Mahomedans obliterated. When I was in South Africa, I came in close touch with Muslim brethren. I went there in connection with a Mahomedan case and there I was able to learn their habits, thoughts and aspirations. In 1914, I sailed from South Africa, reaching London on the 6th of August, i.e., two days after the declaration of war between England and Germany. Soon after, I read a series of articles in the [London] *Times*, speculating on Turkey's choice. I found the Mahomedans residing in London equally agitated. One morning we read the news that Turkey had joined Germany. I had no leisure then to study the Turkish question and pronounce judgement on the Turkish action, I simply prayed that India might be saved from the turmoil. Having had to explain to the Mahomedan friends in South Africa the events of the Tripolitan war and having understood their sentiments, I had no difficulty in gauging Mahomedan sentiment over the Turkish choice. Theirs became a much difficult position. I landed next year in India with ideas of Hindu-Mahomedan unity and the Turkish question and I felt when I landed that I would like to assist in securing a proper solution of these questions. There are two things to which I am devoting my life—permanent unity between Hindus and Mahomedans, and satyagraha; to satyagraha probably more, for it covers a much wider field. It is an all-embracing movement and if we accept the law of satyagraha, unity will come of itself. The question that I have to answer this evening is: How can I help in having a Mahomedan question emerging out of the late war properly solved? After my arrival in India, I began to find out good Mahomedan leaders. My desire was satisfied when I reached

¹ Delivered in Gujarati at a special meeting of the Anjuman Ziaul Islam under the presidentship of M. T. Kadarbhai, Barrister-at-law, to consider the question of the Caliphate. A large number of Muslims was present. Gandhiji, Jamnadas Dwarkadas and Shankarlal Banker were among those specially invited. Kadarbhai, in introducing Gandhiji to the meeting, said that the latter had throughout his life tried to see that the differences between the Hindus and the Mahomedans were obliterated, and that his passive resistance struggle in South Africa was principally for the Mahomedans, because three-fourths of the Indian commerce was in the hands of the Mahomedans and that he had done in one day what years of British rule could not achieve in the union of the Hindus and the Mahomedans.

Delhi, and found the Brothers Ali, whom I had the privilege of knowing before. It was a question of love at first sight between us. When I met Dr. Ansari, the circle of Mahomedan friends widened and at last it even included Maulana Abdul Bari of Lucknow. I have discussed the Mahomedan question with all these friends and many other Mahomedans throughout India and I feel that this question is the greatest of all, greater even than that of the repeal of the Rowlatt legislation; for it affects the religious susceptibilities of millions of Mahomedans. It is a remarkable fact, but it is true that Mahomedan women and children too are interested in this question. There is at the present moment suspicion, deep-rooted in the minds of the Mahomedans, regarding the intentions of the Imperial Government on this question. Though the Viceroy is not unmindful of the gravity of the situation, I do feel that a declaration of British policy is necessary in order to conciliate the Mahomedan sentiment.

So far as I am aware, there are three points involved: first, the one regarding the Khilaphate and the possession of Turkey; second, regarding Holy Mecca and Medina; third, regarding Palestine. Briefly put, your contention is that the pre-war status should be restored. With the Mahomedan countrymen, the temporal and spiritual power go hand in hand. I can, therefore, understand the Mahomedan sentiment against any dismemberment of Turkey. But it has been stated by *The Times of India* amongst others that there is as yet no authoritative and representative statement of the Mahomedan claim. You and you alone can mend this omission. There should be a calm, dispassionate and reasoned statement of the Mahomedan claim. In my humble opinion, you should set forth your minimum demands in such a way as to appeal to any impartial student of such matters. Time is running fast and unless you make a move at once in the desired direction, it may be too late to do anything; for the League of Nations is making rapid progress, as rapid as it is possible to make in view of world interests that are to be affected by its deliberations. And when you have drawn up the statement of your claim, you have to see how to enforce it.

It may be asked why I, a Hindu, bother my head about the Mahomedan question. The answer is that as you are my neighbours and my countrymen, it is my duty to share your sorrows. I cannot talk about Hindu-Mahomedan unity and fail in giving effect to the idea when the test has come. And you know that I touched the Mahomedan question in my published letter addressed to H. E. the

Viceroy immediately after the war conference that was held at Delhi.¹ Since then I have never failed, whenever the occasion has arisen, to submit my views to the proper quarters. It now remains for me to consider how your claim may be enforced. Naturally the chosen method is to make representations to the Government. Sometimes the Government do not see eye to eye with us. What are we to do under such circumstances? If we had the franchise and responsible Government, we could by our vote turn that Government out of power. But in the absence of any such effective methods of making our will felt, what are we to do? When people have become enraged against governments for a deliberate failure to carry out their wishes, they have resorted to violence and I know that many consider that violence is the only remedy open to them when ordinary agitation has failed. This is an age-long remedy. I consider it to be barbarous and I have endeavoured to place before the people and the Government another remedy which does away with violence in any shape or form and is infinitely more successful than the latter. I feel we are not justified in resorting to violence for asserting our rights. It is noble by far to die than to kill. Had it not been for my talks with Barisahib, I would have hesitated to talk to you on a subject which is deeply religious. But he assured me that there was warrant enough for satyagraha in the Holy Koran. He agreed with the interpretation of the Koran to the effect that whilst violence under certain well-defined circumstances is permissible, self-restraint is dearer to God than violence, and that is the law of love. That is satyagraha—violence is a concession to human weakness, satyagraha is an obligation. Even from a practical standpoint, it is easy enough to see that violence can do no good and can only do infinite harm, as we have seen in Ahmedabad and Viramgam. You will have further illustration on Sunday. I have advised a satyagraha hartal accompanied by fasting and prayer. I hope that you will all join the great demonstration of honour, sorrow and protest—honour to an Englishman who has served India so well and so faithfully, sorrow that he has been deported and protest against the ill-advised action of the Government. These are common causes among us and I hope that you will take your full share in this demonstration. Its success lies in its being absolutely peaceful and voluntary and if we are that we need neither the police nor the military. When satyagraha becomes the accepted

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Viceroy" 29-4-1918.

creed of India, the aeroplanes will cease to frighten us and when we provide no occasion for the use of machine-guns at Colaba and elsewhere, they would be overlaid with earth, grass will grow upon them and our children will play upon them.

Maulvi Abdul Raof then moved the following resolution:

Resolved that the Viceroy and Governor-General of India be requested to announce a British policy in concert with the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for India and the Prime Minister, which may be laid before the Peace Conference through the British representatives whose object would be (1) to settle the question of the Khalifate in accordance with the wishes of the Muslims in India; (2) to entrust the guardianship of the holy places, such as Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem, Najaf, Kerbala, Kaxomaina, Baghdad, etc., to the Khalifatul Mussalmin; (3) to desist from the proposed dismemberment of the Turkish Empire; (4) that Constantinople, which has been the seat of the Khalifate for four centuries and which is predominantly Muslim by faith and Turkish by race must remain the capital of the Turkish Empire. That the fulfilment of the above questions in their entirety will bring about the restoration of normal feelings among the Muslims of India, and remove the tremendous discontent and unrest that exist, and that therefore this meeting earnestly prays that His Majesty's Britannic Government will cause a declaration to be issued at an early date in India, bearing on the question, as such declaration will bring forth an era of peace, calmness and tranquillity so very essential to the good and orderly governance of India.

The resolution was carried.

Young India, 14-5-1919

28. SATYAGRAHA LEAFLET NO. 20

May 10, 1919

HATRED EVER KILLS—LOVE EVER DIES

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

My one request to Hindus, Mahomedans, Parsis, Christians and Jews is that by our conduct tomorrow we may demonstrate to the Government our absolutely harmless intentions and show that nobody in Bombay wishes to commit a breach of the peace, and further show that Bombay is capable of discharging heavy responsibilities with patient calmness. We should at the same time demonstrate that we are

capable of acting in perfect unity and determined to secure a fulfilment of our cherished will. But we do not desire to obtain justice by harbouring ill will against the Government but by goodwill. Hatred ever kills, love ever dies. Such is the vast difference between the two. What is obtained by love is retained for all time. What is obtained by hatred proves a burden in reality, for it increases hatred. The duty of human beings is to diminish hatred and to promote love. I pray that Bombay will observe full hartal, fast and pray and do all this in a loving spirit.

M. K. GANDHI

Printed by Rustom N. Vatchaghandy at the Sanj Vartaman Press, Nos. 22-24-26, Mint Road, Fort, Bombay.

From the printed original preserved in Gandhi Smarak Sangrahalaya, Delhi.
Courtesy: H. S. L. Polak

29. TELEGRAM TO J. L. MAFFEY¹

May 10, 1919

JUST RECEIVED LETTER. WILL CERTAINLY SERVE UT-
MOST OF MY ABILITY.² WRITING.

From a microfilm: Lord Chelmsford Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

¹ The telegram was quoted in a draft of the letter to the addressee dated May 10, 1919. The version, however, of the same letter which appeared in "Letter to J.L. Maffey", 11-5-1919, under the date May 11, 1919, quotes another telegram to the addressee. It is likely the letter was dictated on May 10 and despatched after revision the next day.

² In his letter dated May 7 the addressee, inter alia, had written: "Can we look to you for help? I believe you could be of immense assistance in stabilizing Indian opinion. I am writing this of my own initiative though I shall show it to the Viceroy. Hoping you are well."

30. TELEGRAM TO S. K. RUDRA

BOMBAY,
May 10, 1919

TO
PRINCIPAL RUDRA
STEPHEN'S COLLEGE
DELHI

STRONGLY ADVISE CHARLIE NOT PROCEED LAHORE
WITHOUT SANCTION PRESENT JUNCTURE.

Bombay Secret Abstracts, 1919, p. 416

31. LETTER TO ANNIE BESANT

BOMBAY,
May 10, 1919

DEAR MRS. BESANT,

I thank you for your note. Dr. Subramaniam¹ was not overpersuaded, so far as I am aware, by anybody. He had published his interview about satyagraha before he saw me. He took the pledge of his own free will, saying that he had been all his life a satyagrahi. I remember the occasion during your internment when I met him at his bungalow; many of your followers were there and they, one and all, accepted the plan that was unfolded by me before them. I understood then from them all that satyagraha had your full approval, and that you had advised that it should be conducted under my guidance.

It saddens me to see in your writings a new Mrs. Besant, and not the old Mrs. Besant who in utter disregard of man-made laws, whether social or political, stood for Truth against the whole world. It is tragic to think that you should now turn back upon your own teachings and accuse me of "leading young men of good impulses to break their most solemn pledges". I cannot accept the charge, but I would certainly advise everyone to break all the pledges he might have taken if they are contrary to Truth. You deprive a fellow-being of his or her human dignity when you interpose between him and his conscience,

¹ Sir S. Subramania Iyer

an outsider, no matter how high-placed in spirituality he may appear to be. Those of your followers who obey the voice of conscience in preference even to your own instructions are loyal to you as truly as Prahlad was to his father. Surely, your past life is a striking demonstration of the truth of my remark. Is not every reformer an avowed law-breaker?

But I do not want to strive with you. I shall continue to think of the Mrs. Besant whom from my youth I had come to regard as a great and living illustration of fearlessness, courage and truth

You have written your note in grief. You do not know what greater grief you have caused and are causing to those who know your services to India and who love you for them.

Should you want to see me, I am at your service. I have not a free hour today. I am free only after 10 p.m. I am free tomorrow morning.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 6605

32. TELEGRAM TO J. A. GUIDER

BOMBAY,
May 11¹, 1919

INMATES OF ASHRAM HAVE REFERRED FOR MY
ADVICE QUESTION OF THEIR HAVING TO IDENTIFY
THOSE WHOM THEY WERE TRYING PREVENT INCEN-
DIARISM. I HOPE YOU WILL NOT PRESS THEM FOR
IDENTIFICATION. THEY CANNOT CONSISTENTLY WITH ASHRAM
PRINCIPLES GIVE EVIDENCE AGAINST PEOPLE.² OUR
BUSINESS IS PROMOTE GOODWILL BETWEEN RULERS
AND RULED AND PREVENT VIOLENCE WHEREVER WE
MAY FIND IT. IT WILL BE BREACH OF PRIVI-
LEGE FOR US GIVE EVIDENCE AGAINST PRISONERS
WHOM WE WERE PREVENTING FROM COMMITTING
CRIMES. I WOULD PLEAD WITH YOU NOT TO

¹ The source has 12, but Cf. the following item.

² *Vide* Appendix "Note By District Magistrate, Ahmedabad, on Interview with Gandhiji", After 11-5-1919.

DRAW PUBLIC ATTENTION TO OUR PRINCIPLE BY
FORCING MATTERS FOR I DO NOT DESIRE THAT
OUR EXAMPLE SHOULD BE COPIED BY THOSE
WHO MAY NOT FOLLOW WHOLE OF OUR PLAN
OF LIFE AND WHO MIGHT SIMPLY MAKE OF IT
A CONVENIENCE TO SCREEN OFFENDERS.

N. A. I.: Home : Political-A : August 1919 : Nos. 261-72 & K. W.

33. TELEGRAM TO SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI

BOMBAY,
May 11, 1919

EVERYONE FREE IDENTIFY IF HIS CONSCIENCE DOES
NOT PREVENT. MY OWN OPINION IS THOSE FOLLOWING
ASHRAM PRINCIPLES MAY NOT GIVE EVIDENCE INCRIMI-
NATING THOSE WHOM THEY ARE WEANING FROM CRIME.
HAVE SENT FULL TELEGRAM MR. GUIDER ASKING NOT
FORCE YOU. THOSE WHO WILL DECLINE IDENTIFY
RUN RISK OF BEING IMPRISONED.

N. A. I.: Home: Political-A: August 1919: Nos. 261-72 & K. W.

34. LETTER TO J. L. MAFFEY

BOMBAY,
May 11, 1919

DEAR MR. MAFFEY,

I received your letter¹ this morning. It was redirected from Ahmedabad. I thank you for it. I telegraphed in reply as follows:

Things are indeed moving fast in India. We are sitting on many mines any one of which may explode any moment. The Afghan news adds to the

¹ The reference is to the P.S.'s letter of May 7, in which he had written:

“The Afghan news will surprise you. Excited by grossly exaggerated stories of disorders in India, the hot-headed, inexperienced Amanullah has decided that ‘the Afghan sword shall shine in India’. It is a new complication. Militarily it is not a serious proposition for us and we are doing our best to act with all restraint towards this young man in his midsummer madness.

“ . . . Can we look to you for help? I believe you could be of immense assistance in stabilizing Indian opinion. I am writing this of my own initiative though I shall show it to the Viceroy. Hoping you are well.”

existing complications. May God grant H. E. strength to bear these heavy burdens.

I had before the receipt of your letter already begun to move in my own way in the direction of securing a peaceful atmosphere within our own border. I confess that it is a delicate situation. I need hardly assure you that the whole of my weight will be thrown absolutely on the side of preserving internal peace. The Viceroy has the right to rely upon my doing no less. But my weight will be absolutely nothing if I receive no support from the Government. The support I need is a satisfactory declaration on the Mahomedan question and withdrawal of the Rowlatt legislation. If it is possible to give this support, I feel that you could have without a shadow of a doubt a contented India. I hope, I do not irritate by mentioning these two matters. I would so like even to go to the Punjab if my suggestion is adopted. You will not hesitate to wire for me if a personal discussion is necessary.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 6606

35. SATYAGRAHA LEAFLET NO. 21

May 12, 1919

PEACEFUL HARTAL: BOMBAY'S WORTHY EXAMPLE

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

Bombay covered itself with glory by preserving perfect calm, and the citizens have shown by their peaceful hartal [that] they have understood a portion of satyagraha. They have done true honour to Mr. Horniman and demonstrated to the Government that they disapprove of his deportation. Bombay has set a worthy example to the whole of India. It is a matter of pride for Bombay, from the satyagraha standpoint, that some shops were open. This fact proved the voluntary character of the hartal. Many causes contributed to the success of this remarkable demonstration, but the chief among them was the performance of their duty by volunteers under Mr. Vithaldas Jerajani. They had commenced operations from the commencement of the talk of hartal, and we had the results of their efforts yesterday. Our thanks are due also to the police. If aggressive military dispositions had been made, the people would have become excited and the task of preserving peace would have been much more difficult.

A nation enjoying or desiring to enjoy swaraj must possess the

following four attributes:

- (1) The police should be the least needed for self-protection and there should be concord between them and the people;
- (2) jails should be the least patronized;
- (3) the hospitals should have few cases; and
- (4) the law courts should have the least work.

Where people do violence, commit crimes, and not exercising control over their senses and committing a breach of nature's laws become diseased and engage in perpetual quarrels resulting in law-suits, they are not free but in bondage. We shall learn the first chapter of swaraj and liberty when India adopts the example of Bombay as a permanent way of life.

M. K. GANDHI

Printed by Rustom N. Vatchaghandy, at the Sanj Vartaman Press, Fort, Bombay.

From the printed original preserved in Gandhi Smarak Sangrahalaya, Delhi.
Courtesy: H.S.L. Polak

36. *LETTER TO REV. M. WELLS BRANCH*

LABURNUM ROAD,
GAMDEVI,
BOMBAY,
May 12, 1919

DEAR REV. BRANCH¹,

I thank you for your letter². I think that some of the principles of Christianity are bound to leave their impress upon the future development of India.

If by the modern movement you mean the agitation for Reforms, it is a result of modern civilization and modern education. If by the modern movement you mean satyagraha, it is an extended application of the ancient teaching. I do not think that either has anything to do with Christian teaching.

I believe that Jesus Christ was one of the greatest teachers of the world. I consider him as an incarnation in the Hindu sense of the

¹ Manager, Lucknow School of Commerce, Lucknow

² Dated 9-5-1919, wherein three questions were asked. S.N. 6608

term. I do not believe him to be the World Saviour in the sense in which orthodox Christianity understands the expression but he was a saviour in the same sense as Buddha, Zoroaster, Mohammed, and many other teachers were. In other words, I do not believe in the exclusive divinity of Jesus. *The Sermon on the Mount* left a deep impression on my mind when I read it. I do believe with you that the real meaning of the teachings of Jesus will be delivered from India. I have moved among thousands upon thousands of Indians, but I have not found any secret follower of Jesus. This does not mean that there are not secret followers of his in India. But there could not be many. However, I entirely subscribe to your opinion that such followers should come out in the open and declare their faith.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 6608

37. THE SWADESHI VOW¹

May 13,² 1915

PURE AND MIXED VOWS EXPLAINED SIGNATORIES TO THE PLEDGE³

The idea of swadeshi was first broached at the 6th of April meeting at Chowpati where thousands of men and some women met together, but the swadeshi vow was not taken on that day. It has now been fully thrashed out and the way is clear. It is our duty to take the swadeshi vow; in it lies the true prosperity of India. To use foreign articles rejecting those produced or manufactured in India is to be untrue to India, it is an unwarranted indulgence. To use foreign articles because we do not like indigenous ones is to be a foreigner. It is obvious that we cannot reject indigenous articles even as we cannot reject the native air and the native soil because they are inferior to foreign air and soil. Cotton imports amounted to about Rs. 57,00,00,000 and silk import to Rs. 4,00,00,000 in the year 1917-18. India has a population of three hundred millions and so it [means] that we sent out in that year about Rs. 2 per head, with starvation as the

¹ This was the first leaflet on swadeshi, *vide* "The Swadeshi Vow", 16-6-1919.

² May 13 according to Young India but May 14 according to Mahadevbhai ki Diary which describes this as second leaflet on swadeshi vow.

³ The first two names were those of Gandhiji and Kasturba and the other signatories included Vinoba Bhave.

result. More than thirty million men in India hardly get more than one meal a day. Such starvation must have been unknown when every house in India had its spinning-wheel and when thousands of people were busy with their handlooms. No wonder that starvation and other ills arise whenever people depart from the path of duty. One of the remedies for these ills is swadeshi. The swadeshi vow of which the text is given at the foot of this article has therefore been proposed and it has been divided into two classes. The first represents purer swadeshi vow, but the purest is that under which those taking it restrict themselves to the use of hand-woven clothes made out of hand-spun yarn. The ruin of the handloom industry makes such a vow for the time being impossible. But if those who take the first vow keep the ideal swadeshi as their goal, we shall ere long be able to obtain sufficient hand-woven cloth. I have already pointed out the great difference between swadeshi and boycott.¹ I for one am sure that boycott cannot benefit India in the least. Resorting to boycott amounts to cutting off the nose to spite the face. Shall we open our door wider for Japan boycotting British goods in order to rid ourselves of the evil of the Rowlatt Bill? The fact is that swadeshi has nothing to do with the agitation against the Rowlatt Bills. A great movement like satyagraha sets the people a-thinking about their duties and it is thus that the idea of the swadeshi has possessed the people. We shall continue to observe the vow even after the repeal of the Rowlatt legislation and after India becomes an honoured partner in the British Empire. And our vow will then not be the limited swadeshi vow today, it will be a far wider one as we shall then have been capable of meeting in India itself many of our requirements. We shall appeal² to our English brethren also to join us in this swadeshi vow.

In order to enable lacs of men and women to take and observe the swadeshi vow, commercial honesty will be *sine qua non*. The mill-owners will have to fix their rates in a patriotic spirit. Merchants, great and small, will also likewise have to keep honest dealings. I have no doubt that swadeshi cannot advance unless thousands of petty shopkeepers from whom the poor millions buy introduce honesty into their dealings. The organizers of swadeshi have ventured to place before the nation the swadeshi pledge for its acceptance upon the

¹ *Vide* "Swadeshi Vow-I", 8-4-1919.

² *Vide* "Letter to Sir Stanley Reed", 30-4-1919 and "Letter to J. L. Maffey", 5-5-1919.

belief that our merchants possess the patriotic spirit and that for the sake of the country they will be kind to the poor and truthful towards them.

Those who have foreign clothing seem to hesitate to take the pledge. Though this is natural, it is also painful. We want swadeshi to produce big results. These cannot be attained without sacrifice. Moreover, it is hoped that the spirit of swadeshi will bring in that of simplicity, and those who take to simple, though more durable clothing, will be able to recoup themselves for any loss sustained by reason of the giving up of foreign articles.

It is necessary to give the warning that none should lay by a large stock of swadeshi clothing. There is not enough cloth in Hindustan to enable many of us to have a stock to last four or five years. When there are many swadeshists, there is no doubt that we will have many swadeshi shops and that day by day we shall have more cloth woven in India. Those who take the pledge should have faith in the possibility of their being able to buy swadeshi cloth whenever they need it. As a matter of fact, everyone should learn to weave his own cloth and those who cannot should engage their own weavers. So doing, they would avoid all cause for deceit and they would be able to have durable and pure cloth for their use. This is what we used to do in days gone by.

Swadeshi depends upon women adopting it. I hope that thousands of them will give up foreign cloth in their possession and take the swadeshi pledge. It behoves us to suffer some inconvenience if only by way of penance for our past mistakes. Moreover, it is possible to put foreign cloth to other uses. It can even be sold for despatch out of India. Further the nation has a right to expect its women to clothe their children in swadeshi garments.

M. K. GANDHI

PURE SWADESHI VOW

I solemnly declare that henceforth in Hindustan I shall not wear clothing except such as is made in India out of Indian cotton, silk or wool spun in India.

This vow shall be binding on me for life/years.

MIXED SWADESHI VOW

I solemnly declare that henceforth in Hindustan I shall not wear

any clothing except such as is woven in India whether made out of foreign or Indian yarn, silk or wool.

This vow shall be binding on me for life/years.

Explanation—The true swadeshi ideal consists in the use of hand-woven cloth only made out of hand-spun yarn, but it is physically impossible today to secure a supply of such cloth for any large number of people. It is expected, however, that true lovers of swadeshi and real art will not only themselves, even at some inconvenience, wear hand-woven cloth made out of hand-spun yarn but will also endeavour to set going as many handlooms and spinning-wheels as possible.

Note 1—It should be remembered that this movement has nothing to do with the agitation for securing repeal of the Rowlatt legislation. Repeal of that legislation or the granting of other concessions or reforms will make no alteration whatsoever in the swadeshi vow or the movement for the spread of swadeshi.

Note 2—The suggestion for destruction of foreign cloth in the possession of the signatories to the pledge has been totally abandoned lest a mistaken interpretation of the suggestion may lead to the growth or the promotion of ill will against Europeans, the idea of ill will being entirely foreign to the originators of the present swadeshi movement. But the pledge precludes the use of any personal clothing of foreign make that the signatory may possess at the time of taking the vow.

Note 3—Mahomedans, Parsis, Christians and Jews taking the swadeshi pledge are not precluded from using and wearing foreign cloth having a religious significance.

Young India, 17-5-1919

38. LETTER TO F. C. GRIFFITH

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
May 14, 1919

DEAR MR. GRIFFITH,

I thank you for sending me the name of the party who sells the *Life of Mustafa Kamal Pasha*. I find that it is not a reprint of one of the prohibited books, but it was reprinted in mistake for a copy of Mustafa Kamal Pasha's speech which is a book included in the list of

prohibited literature.¹ Subject therefore to anything you might have to say to the contrary, I am not taking any steps to prevent further sales of the book in question. I enclose herewith a copy for your perusal and I think you agree with me that it is perfectly harmless.

I might add with reference to my books that have come under the ban that after the conversation with you at our first interview, I had the legal position re-examined and I found that the opinion of Government Law Officers was more correct than mine, viz., that reprints did not come under the forfeiture orders. But as we had commenced sale of these books for the sake of civil disobedience, I felt that whilst excitement lasted, it was better for me not to enter upon long explanations to the public in order to justify these sales.

You will have noticed that there was no hartal in Surat or other places. I was wrong too in thinking that Dr. Hora was a satyagrahi.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. G.

From a photostat: S.N. 6611

39. LETTER TO SIR. S. SUBRAMANIA IYER

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
May 14, 1919

DEAR DR. SUBRAMANIAM,

I enclose herewith a copy of Mrs. Besant's letter addressed to me on your behalf and also of my reply² to it. I have found it difficult to believe the statements made in it. For I know nothing of over-persuasion, nor can I believe that you can possibly deviate from the true path even at the dictation of a great *rishi*. And can any pledge prevent a man from following truth? But of course you shall say whether statements imputed to me are correct. For me satyagraha has never shone so brightly as it does today. It has weathered the storm of repression from Government and it is now facing the storm from those who want to start civil disobedience to cover their practice of violence. It is satyagraha that has localized the disturbances and that has made possible for Bombay to exercise amazing self-restraint in

¹ *Vide* "Statement on Laws for Civil Disobedience", 7-4-1919.

² *Vide* "Letter to Annie Besant", 10-5-1919.

spite of the most irritating temptation presented by Mr. Horniman's deportation. I hope you are keeping well.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. G.

From a photostat: S.N. 6605

40. REMARKS ON SATYAGRAHA

[May 15, 1919]¹

Just as I have a passionate desire for living at peace with you, so have I for living at peace with Englishmen and for that matter the whole of the universe. But I want peace with honour and such peace it is obvious can only and easily be attained by satyagraha.

From a photostat: S.N. 6612

41. TELEGRAM TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO VICEROY

BOMBAY,
May 15, 1919

TO
PRIVATE SECRETARY TO VICEROY
SIMLA

MR. GOVARDHANDAS OF LAHORE WAS ARRESTED IN MADRAS ON THE 12TH INSTANT AS APPEARS FROM "THE HINDU" OF SAME DATE. HE WAS ARRESTED UNDER ORDER OF THE MILITARY COMMANDANT LAHORE. HIS VAKIL IS REPORTED TO HAVE BEEN REFUSED PERMISSION TO SEE ORDER. GOVARDHANDAS, SO FAR AS IS KNOWN, DID NOT KNOW UPON WHAT GROUNDS HE WAS ARRESTED. VAKIL'S APPLICATION TO COMMISSIONER POLICE FOR DETENTION OF GOVARDHANDAS PENDING RECEIPT INFORMATION REGARDING NATURE OF OFFENCE WAS REFUSED. BAIL TOO WAS REFUSED. IT IS CONJECTURED THAT GOVARDHANDAS HAS BEEN ARRESTED FOR STATEMENTS ABOUT PUNJAB MADE IN BOMBAY AND ELSEWHERE.

¹ These lines were found on the sheet proceeding "Telegram to Private Secretary to Viceroy", 15-5-1919.

NEWS PUBLISHED THIS MORNING THAT MESSRS NOR-
TON AND ROY HAVE BEEN REFUSED PERMISSION
DEFEND EDITOR "TRIBUNE" FILLS ONE WITH MIS-
GIVINGS REGARDING PROPER TREATMENT OR TRIAL
OF GOVARDHANDAS IN PUNJAB. REQUEST INFORMATION
REGARDING NATURE OFFENCE GOVARDHANDAS WHETHER
HE WILL BE ALLOWED PERMISSION TO BE DEFEN-
DED BY COUNSEL FROM OUTSIDE PUNJAB. FURTHER
WHY PERMISSION REFUSED NORTON ROY DEFEND EDI-
TOR "TRIBUNE".

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 6613

42. LETTER TO J. L. MAFFEY

BOMBAY,
May 16, 1919

DEAR MR. MAFFEY,

Enclosed is a copy of the telegram I sent you yesterday. I have said not a word about the events in the Punjab, not because I have up to now not thought or felt over them, but because I have not known what to believe and what not to believe. Even the official communiques have not been over-frank. I was, as I am still, hoping that very soon there would be the fullest investigation made as to the causes of disturbances and the measures adopted to quell them.

But a shock like the one caused by the reported flogging has been delivered by the arrest with the attendant circumstances of Mr. Govardhandas and the prohibition order against Messrs Norton and Roy engaged as counsel for the defence of the Editor of *The Tribune*.

You will forgive me for troubling you at the present juncture. But I know, you will recognize the urgency of my inquiry.

I observe that the storm¹ from Afghanistan has almost blown over.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. G.

From a photostat: S.N. 6615

¹ *Vide* "Letter to J. L. Maffey", 11-5-1919.

43. LETTER TO SAKARLAL DAVE

ON THE TRAIN TO BOMBAY,
May 19, 1919

BHAISHRI SAKARLAL¹,

I have taken longer to write this letter than I had expected. I am looking out for Amritlal. I am confident that Mama will be there in June, and I know that he will acquit himself well enough. We must be able to run the school well.

I was very glad that you pointed out all those grammatical errors. Mahadev will write to you further about them. I make every effort to write correctly but it is quite likely the mistakes remain, for, what command I have over Gujarati is the fruit of my love. I had no time to learn the language systematically. My use of the root *shak* [be able to] is deliberate. *Nirbhaya* and other words have not been so used but I find Mahadev defending them. I shall accept any decision on which you two agree and correct myself accordingly. Where there is a difference of opinion between you, I shall accept your view till I get further light on the point, for I think yours will be more objective. Please do keep suggesting improvements in my language. I shall take it as a sign of your pure love.

Now, as for the meaning I have read in the *Bhagavad Gita*, if I had not found it in the work independently of all else, I would have certainly said that the principle of satyagraha was right, despite the contrary teaching of the *Bhagavad Gita*. The work is being put to an utterly wrong use, and so it is that, now that the time is ripe, I have placed before the people the meaning I have accepted for so many years.

I very much respect Anandshankarbai's views, but I would not give up any opinion of mine which has stood the test of experience even if it were contested by him. It is certainly the *Bhagavad Gita's* intention that one should go on working without attachment to the fruits of work. I deduce the principle of satyagraha from this. He who is free from such attachment will not kill the enemy but rather sacrifice himself. Killing an enemy proceeds from impatience and impatience proceeds from attachment. This is but one point in my argument, but I have no desire to convince you or anyone else with the help of arguments. Even if I wished, I do not think I have the

¹ Sakarlal Amritlal Dave, Gujarati educationist

ability. I have something far more powerful than argument, namely, experience. As far back as 1889, when I had my first contact with the *Gita*, it gave me a hint of satyagraha and, as I read it more and more, the hint developed into a full revelation of satyagraha. That a man of Krishna's intelligence should indulge in all this wisdom of the *Gita* for the benefit of an Arjuna in flesh and blood, would be like killing the buffalo for a leather-strap. To believe he did so is to tarnish his name, if it is true that he was the Supreme God, and to do injustice to Arjuna if he was a warrior of experience and judgment.

I know you will not dismiss these ideas off-hand. I would rather you embraced and developed them. You will readily admit, I am sure, that learned commentaries are of much less value than the experience of one limited intelligence.

[From Gujarati]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. V

44. LETTER TO MANIBEHN PARIKH

ON THE TRAIN TO BOMBAY,
May 19, 1919

DEAR MANIBEHN,

I heard yesterday of your father's passing away, but could not go and see you to offer my condolences. Separation from our dear ones is bound to give pain, for "but selfish are the friends of this one who has his abode in the body, in the end they will go their way". So sings one of our poets. I forget his name. If we examine the matter closely, [we shall see that] it is not love which causes the pain, but our selfishness. Otherwise, just as we are happy changing from an old house to a new one, we have no cause, surely, to mourn when an *atman*-friend gives up a worn-out body and assumes a new one. This would be true, whether the person died young or old. When exactly a body ceases to be serviceable, its Creator alone knows. We may not aspire to know it. I had not thought of saying all this to you. It came out because, at the moment, my thoughts flow in a rather unusual direction. What I wanted to say was this. We should wish that everyone meets a death as grand as your father's. It is not often we hear of a person dying a painless death, dropping off, as it were, without exacting service from anyone. Your father will always be remembered as one who had such a death. It is in vain that we mourn any death; a

death such as this ought not to be mourned. And so I offer you, not condolences but congratulations.

[From Gujarati]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. V

45. LETTER TO SATYAGRAHIS OF SURAT

BOMBAY,
May 20, 1919

Your letter wandered from place to place and came to my hand only today. I think it is wrong of you to covet my signature. My physical condition being what it is, I cannot sign, nor dictate, all letters.

So long as India has not understood the true nature of satyagraha, the doubts you have raised are bound to occur and you will have to have patience.

Satyagraha, once started, ends only when it has achieved its aim. At times it does seem to have ended, but in fact it has not. When satyagraha is likely to be confused with *duragraha*, suspending it will be a way of launching true satyagraha. It is such a subtle thing that only through experience and constant reflection do we come to understand a little of it. As I see things today, satyagraha in the form of disobedience to laws is likely to start in July. Circumstances may, however, arise even earlier in which it may be resumed.

Some of the forms of satyagraha may conceivably have to be suspended repeatedly. I think it is impossible, beyond a certain point, to explain to you what power there is in fasts and other religious practices; since you have been keeping fasts all these years—I am sure you have been—and you would not have thought of saying some of the things you have said if there had been any satyagraha in your fasts. If you could see no difference between the fasts you kept in the past and the one on Sunday for Horniman, I must say you have deceived yourselves. I am emphatically of the view that our struggle grows protracted in the measure that our satyagraha is deficient. Renunciation is no renunciation if the desire for the things renounced has not disappeared. Those of you who have sacrificed their jobs and all will have done so to no purpose if they think they have gained nothing as a result. He alone has truly given up his job who could not do otherwise. Those who gave up their jobs should have felt happy

doing so, not unhappy, but I see that that is not how they felt. This is why you feel yourselves in the position of Trishanku¹.

Who am I that I should provide an opportunity for satyagraha? A satyagrahi is ever his own master. You can discuss things with me. It is quite true that, when an organization offers satyagraha, individuals should submit themselves to its discipline. But, once a person has become a satyagrahi, he will always find opportunities for offering satyagraha. How can those who are full of doubts and fears be reckoned as satyagrahis? To be a satyagrahi is like walking on the blade of a sword.

If I have not succeeded, despite what I have said, in solving your doubts, I can only counsel patience. If you think that satyagraha only means courting imprisonment somehow, you can go to jail by breaking any law. If one can offer satyagraha in this way, every prisoner is a satyagrahi.

There can be satyagraha only in civilly disobeying a law, for sufficient reason, without violating a moral law. If I could show any such way to you, I would myself offer satyagraha.

MOHANDAS GANDHI

[From Gujarati]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. V

¹ Sent to heaven alive by Vishwamitra, but Indra would not permit him to enter it. In the result, he found himself in midspace, unable either to enter heaven or descend to the earth.

46. CIRCULAR LETTER ON CONFERENCE
OF SATYAGRAHIS

NOT FOR PUBLICATION IN THE PRESS

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
May 21, 1919

DEAR MR.

It has become necessary to consider the question of extending satyagraha, in necessary, to the events in the Punjab and it has been suggested that there should be a small informal private conference of satyagrahis from the different centres. This conference will take place on Wednesday the 28th instant in Bombay. Please let me know whether your Province could send one or more representatives for the conference. The time and the place of meeting will be notified later.

Yours sincerely,

SHRADDHANANDJI.
HUSSAIN IMAM
SUNDERLAL
KASTURI RANGA AIENGAR
JERAMDAS
VALLABHBHAI

From a photostat: S.N. 6618

47. LETTER TO F. C. GRIFFITH

BOMBAY,
May 23 [1919]

DEAR MR. GRIFFITH,

Could you please lend me or procure for me a loan of the Regulations named under the Defence of India Act today? I will return them towards evening.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From the original in Mahadev Desai's hand signed by Gandhiji: Bombay Government Records: Bombay Commissioner of Police File No. 3001/H/19, p. 129

48. LETTER TO F. C. GRIFFITH

BOMBAY,
May 23 [1919]

DEAR MR. GRIFFITH,

Many thanks for the great pains you have taken to procure the D. I. Regulations for me.

I received your message that you would like to see me tomorrow. I am, however, going to Ahmedabad under appointment by tonight's mail. I could see you anytime today between 4.30 and 5 or on Tuesday at any time you like, for I return that day morning.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From the original in Mahadev Desai's hand signed by Gandhiji: Bombay Government Records: Bombay Commissioner of Police File No. 3001/H/19, p. 125

49. LETTER TO F. C. GRIFFITH

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
May 23 [1919]

DEAR MR. GRIFFITH,

Thanks for your note. Tuesday between 2 and 4 p.m. will suit me all! right.

I return herewith "Legislation and Orders relating to the War" containing the D. I. Regulations.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. Gandhi

From the original in Mahadev Desai's hand signed by Gandhiji: Bombay Government Records: Bombay Commissioner of Police File No. 3001/H/19, p.127

50. LETTER TO ALI BROTHERS

LABURNUM ROAD
GAMDEVI,
BOMBAY,
May 23, 1919

MY DEAR FRIENDS,

I write with a heavy heart, for I see that I have disagreed with you on these things and my disagreement must pain you, as it has already considerably pained me. I wonder whether Mr. Ghate ever received my letter¹ which was meant for you, and whether if he did, you got it. That letter explains my position regarding your memorial to the Viceroy. I shall try briefly to re-explain it, as having received no reply from you, I fear that you have not seen my letter to Mr. Ghate.

I consider that your memorial was too undignified for the great cause you are espousing and of which I have felt you are pre-eminently the embodiment and for which you have suffered without a murmur all the long years and are still suffering. Your language was inflammatory and too full of declamation for a memorial. Your statement of the Mohammedan claim instead of representing an irreducible minimum was an exaggeration. I am sure, you do not propose to raise questions affecting issues that were rightly or wrongly settled long before the war. You have a right to claim the restoration of the temporal status of Islam as it existed at the time of the outbreak of war. I would like you even now to redraft your memorial, make a reasoned and logical statement that must arrest and command the attention of the world. The success of any cause naturally necessarily depends finally upon the will of God. But that will is almost conditioned by the manner in which we who approach the throne of the Almighty conduct ourselves and nothing avails there but cold reason sanctified by truth, humility and strictest moderation. In the new memorial, I would omit all mention of personal suffering. It stands as a living record speaking for itself. If you adopt my proposal, I would love to revise your draft.

The two other things in which I have disagreed with you are

¹ Dated 8-5-1919

your two letters sent to the Press for publication. You now know why I stopped the publication of your first letter. The second letter just received has also been stopped for the same reasons, but the additional reason for not printing it is that your plea for Mr. Nazim is unmerited. When the crucial moment came, he stood not for truth but for untruth. I am sorry for him, but I cannot feel with you that the action [the] authorities took was wrong. He made a deliberately false statement, when he was challenged and when it was his special duty to make a correct statement. I will not weary you with the full particulars of this painful episode.

I must confess too that I do not like your half disobedience of the order of the internment. I do not know that you got my message sent to you, after my discharge at Bombay, that you need not disobey the order of internment and I would like you, if you could summon up the courage, to recall the notice of disobedience and tell the Viceroy that upon mature consideration and for the sake of the cause for which you stand, you have decided not to disobey the order for the time being.

You may not know that in my recent confidential letters to the Viceroy and the Governor of Bombay, I have definitely raised the Mohammedan question confining it to Khilafat and the holy places. Please remember me to Aman Sahib and ask the children—I forget the names of the blessed ones—to write to me as they did before.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 6622

51. LETTER TO N. P. COWIE

[BOMBAY,]

May 25, 1919

DEAR MR. COWIE,

One Mr. Manilal Jadavji Vyas of Kathiawar and Dr. Popatlal, also of Kathiawar, who were resident in Karachi have, I understand, received orders under Act 3 of 1864 to leave British India, being classed as “foreigners” under that Act. In virtue of these orders the parties left Sind and are now in Kathiawar. I venture to consider that this act of the local authority in Karachi was high-handed in treating subjects of native States as foreigners for the purpose of summarily

deporting them from Karachi. My submission, however, receives legal justification from a perusal of the amendment of Section 1 of Act 3 of 1864. It appears to me that the Sind authorities were not cognisant of the recent amendment of that Act. I observe that in 1914 that was thus amended:

In Section 1 of the Foreigners Act, 1864, for the words “not being either or natural born subject of Her Majesty within the meaning of Statute 3 and 4 William IV, Chapter 85, Section 81, or a Native of British India”, the following words shall be substituted namely:

- “(a) who is not a natural-born British subject as defined in sub-sections (1) and (2) of Section 1 of the British Nationality & Status of Aliens Act, 1914, or
- (b) who has not been granted a certificate of naturalization as a British subject under any law for the time being in force in British India;

Provided that any British subject who, under any law for the time being in force in British India, ceases to be a British subject, shall thereupon be deemed to be a foreigner.”

The operative part of Section 1 of the British Nationality and Aliens Act referred to in the above amendment reads as follows:

- (I) The following persons shall be deemed to be natural-born British subjects, namely,
- (a) any person born within H. M.’s dominions and allegiance;
- (b) provided that the child of a British subject, whether that child was born before or after the passing of the Act, shall be deemed to have been born within H. M.’s allegiance if born in a place where by treaty, capitulation, grant, usage, sufferance or other lawful means, H. M. exercises jurisdiction over British subjects.

It is quite clear that both these Native States subjects could not be treated as foreigners but being born in British Dominions or allegiance are natural-born British subjects. Alike therefore on grounds of equity and justice, I venture to submit that these deportees and such other deportees, if any, are entitled to return to their places of business and residence in Sind. I trust therefore that H. E. will be pleased to order cancellation of the orders above mentioned.

From a photostat: S.N. 6624

52. LETTER TO COL. TUKE

THE ASHRAM,
May 25, 1919

DEAR COL. TUKE,

I thank you for your letter of the 24th instant. Regarding those who were wounded at the time of the military operations to quell the recent disturbances, I would like you, if you could, to give me an idea of the expenses likely to be incurred. I do not anticipate any difficulty in meeting them, but perhaps it is as well to know the requirements. Will you kindly send your reply to Mr. Vallabhbai Patel, Bhadra, who will deal with the matter? I am leaving tonight for Bombay.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 6625

53. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

SURAT,
May 26, 1919

CHI. MAGANLAL,

After leaving you, I have been thinking a good deal about weaving. I think we can justify our existence only if we keep four steps ahead of the people in their efforts at self-discipline. People will not need our services very much in keeping the vow of pure swadeshi, for those who take the vow will carry on somehow, obtaining yarn from Indian mills and getting it woven. But it is the Ashram alone, at present, which can help them to keep the pure swadeshi vow in its ideal form.¹ Hence we need not exert ourselves overmuch to help the observance of the first vow.² But we ought to make a Herculean effort to enable a large number of men and women to attain the ideal of pure swadeshi in the near future. The first step in this effort is for us to start spinning and weaving ourselves. If Santok cannot go, let Durga go alone. If she, too, does not go, send a man. You must run down to Vijapur without any delay. Jagannath and Chhotalal should be put entirely on to weaving. Consult Bhurarji and make some

¹ Using hand-spun and hand-woven cloth

² Using hand-woven cloth made from mill-yarn

arrangements for cooking. Write to Gokibehn. Do what you like. But regard it a sin to employ Jagannath and Chhotalal in any other work. Any shopping that may need to be done for the Ashram can be left to Revashankar or someone else. If they make mistakes, bear with them. But do not spend a rupee over work which can be got done for a pice. When Imam Saheb has recovered, find some way of using his services in weaving. When you introduce spinning it will be easy to use everyone's services. Spend the major part of your time, too, in thinking out how to help forward this ideal of pure swadeshi and taking action accordingly.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 5774. Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

54. SPEECH AT WOMEN'S MEETING, SURAT

May 26, 1919

SISTERS,

Kindly excuse me for not being able to address you standing. I am not fit enough for that. My whole body shakes when I stand. I shall, therefore, say the few words I wish to, sitting. I believe myself fortunate that I have this occasion to meet you all. The time is not yet when, having had our say, we may worry no more. The country is passing through a time when it is necessary that all men and women attend with dispatch to the tasks that may fall to them and have them off their hands. Talking and singing songs and shouting in all manner of ways—this is necessary, but only to the extent that it focusses our attention on the main task. Now that we know what needs to be done, I have not the slightest doubt that we shall fall into the lowest state if we are content merely to talk and listen. At present, we need to work on silently and let the work speak. When I put satyagraha before all the people of the country, I did not know their real temper and so, today, satyagraha has become something altogether different from what it should be. I want to explain its significance to all. There are two ways of offering satyagraha, but the basic principle is the same, namely, that we cling to truth so tenaciously that, though our hand should break and fall apart, we would not let go our hold. Let this principle be deeply engraved in our hearts as the only truth. Those women who have understood by satyagraha no more than civilly disobeying the

Government's laws have failed to understand its meaning. There are occasions when, for the sake of truth, laws may have to be disobeyed. Such was the occasion provided by the Rowlatt Bills. I advised the people then to think who would be entitled to disobey laws and when, but they did not understand, though women followed the idea better than men. If anyone asks whether women have any choice in the matter, I would take no notice of him. Women have to suffer more than men. Men and women are, of course, equal in authority—I myself believe in the idea—or rather, in the matter of suffering, women have a greater right than men. In this world, man has never suffered more than woman, nor displayed the gentleness she has done. At the moment, all that I want to say is that satyagraha against the Rowlatt Act has not ended. The number of those who have signed [the Satyagraha Pledge] is small, whether in Surat or elsewhere, but the tune has been taken up and this very fact has proved to be the source of a certain weakness. The tune has been taken up readily enough but the idea has not been examined with equal care. Anyone who has signed the Pledge may not violate it, no matter whether he has or has not understood it. When laws may be disobeyed and when satyagraha consists in obeying a law—this also needs to be considered. At present, we understand neither. Satyagraha should be offered against the Government or the people as occasion may require. The idea that, while satyagraha is going on in the country, no one should indulge in violence is not to be ridiculed. It is being asked whether this can ever be ensured in the whole of the country. I testify that it can. Whether or no people have this faith in satyagraha, it is a sacred principle in itself that no injury should be done to person or property. India has understood this principle. If it has not been understood in a few obscure or isolated spots, well, let us start again, the wiser for the lesson. These days we have been explaining to the people that, till we can be confident that no violence will be done to anyone, it will be impossible to start satyagraha. I shall not take you into these deep waters. Only let no one think that satyagraha is abandoned. I say this deliberately. Satyagraha has not ended, it can end only when the Government repeals the Rowlatt Act.

I want to talk to you about another matter besides this. It is as important as satyagraha. It grows out of satyagraha, though not out of the Rowlatt Acts. When satyagraha is going on, men and women come to think about truth. If we have followed truth even in a small measure, we shall want to overcome the imperfections in us and in our

environment. One such imperfection is our violation of the principle of swadeshi. What does the vow of swadeshi mean? Who should observe it? The vow means that we shall refrain from using things produced outside India, so long as similar articles [of Indian make] are available, no matter whether of good quality or bad. Not only this; if such foreign articles do not meet any basic need of ours [and if similar articles of Indian make are not available], we may stop using them altogether. An essential need, like food grains, we may import from outside if the crop has failed. If we do not have sufficient cloth to cover our limbs, we may certainly import some. India is a country which has all its needs. He who has given us the teeth will also give something to chew. India produces enough of everything to meet our needs. Gujarat is so fertile that it never knew famines—we can raise crops here with little effort—so that we do not have a complete idea of what starvation conditions mean. But Gujarat is not India. All over India, large numbers of people get only one meal a day, and that too consisting of rice and dhal. They get no ghee nor good pickles, only salt, none too clean. There was a time in India when hunger was unknown. A great leader of ours, Sir Sankaran Nair¹, has said in an article that, a hundred years ago, there was no starvation in the country such as we find today. It is a present-day phenomenon.

The reason is our violation of the law of swadeshi. While our own workers and craftsmen starve, we import goods from outside. What other punishment for this sin can there be, if not starvation? I have placed the swadeshi vow before the people of India to rid them of this sin. It is no very difficult vow to observe which I have put before them. Apart from food, the other biggest need in India is cloth. Last year, we paid 60 crores of rupees to foreign countries for this purpose. If we but think of this, we shall feel ashamed of ourselves. There is a place named Bavla, near Ahmedabad, where these days famine-stricken people spin and take payment for their labour, instead of accepting free supplies of grain. This prevents them from becoming a burden on others.

The scarcity in India is not of foodgrains but of money. And consider the labour these people [in Bavla] did—it was not making roads. The first task, ever so much more important than building roads, is producing food and next to that cloth. And so these people

¹ 1857-1934; a judge of the Madras High Court and president of the Indian National Congress in 1897

produced, with their labour, food for themselves and cloth with which they covered others—a doubly profitable work. When you do this, India will be all glory. You will not win it with Japanese or British saris. They will not help you to preserve your dharma. It is *adharma*¹, not dharma, which they help you to preserve. I most earnestly entreat my sisters to forsake *adharma*. Some women plead helplessness, saying that they are subject to men. Some men, on the contrary, argue that they are helpless because women would not give up their love of fashion, that three-quarters of their expenditure is over women's dresses and so they ask me to persuade women first. I have met a large number of women. I have also had a hand in running a home. It has always seemed to me that I took second place to my wife. I discovered this when I invited Dudhabhai to come and live in the Ashram. I could not keep him with me. As you work to prepare good dishes and would kick up a row if it was suggested that you could have the things from a hotel or eating-house—would take it as an affront—so also you should work to make your own saris and likewise your children's clothes. If all women cannot do this, have a weaver of your own, in the same way that you have a washerman and a barber. How stupid we are, how disloyal to India, to have sent out Rs. 60 crores to foreign countries! There was a time, not so very long ago—for 100 years is nothing in the life of a nation—when India produced enough cloth for itself and even exported some. The position today is that we manufacture one-fourth of our requirements. What can be more shameful than this? In those days, all our women, rich or poor, had a spinning-wheel in the home and worked on it, listening to its sweet music the while. From the yarn, saris as delicate as silk could be manufactured. Now, on the other hand, women spend their time in cooking all manner of fine dishes and, if any time is left, in gossiping. I have come here to tell you, in all humility, that we do not live to eat, but should be content with what little we get to keep the body going.

At the present time, the people of India are growing ever more feeble. The children do not look handsome, as they should, but all rickety, so much so that but one push would send them to the ground. The reason lies in our pleasure-seeking ways. We may enjoy pleasures and eat food which will not harm the body but make us brave rather. If you spare some time from what you spend in preparing meals and in gossiping, have the spinning-wheel in the home and spin, you will

¹ The opposite of dharma

be able to compete with the mills. When you weave your cloth on the looms, India's freedom will be near, she will have dharma and starvation will disappear. If you are not satisfied with your weaver's saris, make do with them to start with and ask him to improve. Who do you think made these clothes of mine? One Gangabehn, there in Vijapur. First, she gave me coarse khadi. I did not ask her for anything finer for the summer, but the sister had pity on the brother. She appealed to the other women to turn out fine yarn. We can in this way work for one another, there is love, satyagraha, in doing so. Fill the weavers' houses in Surat with money and ask them to weave, not with English or Japanese yarn, but with yarn provided by you. Then alone can you claim to have kept the vow of swadeshi. You have already got a copy of this pledge. It would be very good if you could observe the one which is given first. It is in two forms, one for life and another for a limited period. We are so utterly devoid of resourcefulness that we cannot procure yarn except through the mills. I have seen here that more than 75 per cent of the women wear mill-made saris. This is a matter for shame. We do not want our workers to stand before machines, like so many soulless things. There is dharma in wearing a sari in which the worker has revealed his skill and poured out his heart. Choose an auspicious day and sign this pledge on that day. Our Shastras say that, when a good idea occurs to one, that is the auspicious day and the auspicious hour and moment. We need not go to an astrologer for the purpose. You may approach one when you have something wicked to do, but then approach one who will not recommend any hour for such a purpose. This is no time in India for me or anyone else to make speeches and for you to listen. The need of the hour is work. I shall deem myself rewarded when some of the women here start spinning and weaving.

[From Gujarati]

Gujarat Mitra and Gujarat Darpan, 1-6-1919

55. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, SURAT

May 26, 1919

I am extremely sorry I have to talk to you sitting, and I apologize to you. The fact is that I am not quite fit. I hear it said, I get reports from all over India, that the satyagraha in the country has been abandoned. This proceeds from sheer lack of understanding. I have been able to see that even satyagrahis in India have not understood

what satyagraha means. It is easy enough to see then that others, the vast majority of the people who have not studied satyagraha and have not signed the Satyagraha Pledge, cannot understand it. I should have thought of this in the very beginning. That I did not do so was my error and I have admitted as much. Let no one conclude from this admission that satyagraha can ever stop even for a moment. Those who have taken the Satyagraha Pledge and understood its meaning very well will know that it has not at all been abandoned, not even for a moment. I shall try to explain what it means. It has been stated in the Satyagraha Pledge itself that, so long as the Rowlatt Bills are not repealed, civil disobedience should be committed in respect of such laws as the committee may decide. This, however, is only one part of the Pledge, and not a very important one at that. Moreover, a satyagrahi should have certain qualities to be entitled to disobey laws.

We should consider, before everything else, what comes first in satyagraha. Till we have thought this out and acted on it, disobeying laws will take us nowhere. The first thing, then, is to employ nothing but truth in any agitation we may carry on to secure permanent repeal of this Act, and the second thing is to refrain from injuring anyone in person or property. It seems to me that even satyagrahis have not followed these two things scrupulously. I am sure that, if the more than 2,000 satyagrahis in the different parts of India had loyally carried out the Pledge, the things that happened would not have happened. Their satyagraha would have had such an effect on the whole of India that the people would have understood its meaning quite well. I admit, at the same time, that it is difficult to practise such satyagraha. To refrain from injuring anyone means that even in our mind we should have no feeling of hostility against anyone. This requires *tapascharya*¹. It is, then, of the very essence of satyagraha that, even while we resist oppression uncompromisingly, we may harbour no desire for revenge against the oppressor. It is the weak in the world who seek revenge. The strong can master the desire. Strength does not mean physical strength. He is a strong man or she a strong woman who knows how to die. So it all comes to this, that, clinging to truth, we should lay down our lives, unafraid, and even at the moment of death feel no desire for revenge or no anger against the person whom we oppose with satyagraha.

In regard to the second pledge which has been placed before the

¹ Self-suffering as moral discipline

people in connection with satyagraha, we have been asking them to sign it and to be faithful to the spirit of satyagraha while it is going on. The people may, if they choose, dishonour the Pledge, but the satyagrahi will not, at that time, declare his bankruptcy. His resources are inexhaustible. His effort ceases only with his death. When, however, the people are in no mood to follow this line, we must think of other methods. I do not like processions. They do not at all make me happy. But, apart from whether I like processions or not, the sort of procession you had today bespoke the people's feelings, their unthinking love as also their support for satyagraha. If the people so often give evidence that they are on the side of satyagraha, one is entitled to hope that, while it is going on, they will not indulge in violence. If they cannot refrain from doing so, they should leave the satyagrahis and me alone. Even then, satyagraha will not stop. When the people thus support satyagraha [in the right manner] or leave it to follow its own course, there will be satyagraha of an altogether different kind.

I want to tell the people—and I am confident about this—that, if they can show the spirit I want them to, the Government will see clearly enough that they do not require a Rowlatt Act even for an hour. Let us, for a while, consider the origin of this Act. It lies in distrust of the people and, though reasons have occasionally been given for this distrust, I have pointed out again and again that they are not so strong as to leave the Government with no choice but to enact dangerous legislation like the Rowlatt Act. I have gone even further and said that, no matter how strong the reasons, a Government which enacts such dangerous legislation will be none too secure. If, in the conditions we find prevailing today, the people can show that they have no anger or animosity, what effect this will have on the Government is as simple to understand as the rule of three. Thus, the moment we understand this truth about satyagraha, we shall have qualified to disobey laws. No one, however, need be alarmed at this, thinking that we would in that case have to wait for thousands of years. I have confidence in the power of satyagraha, that, once it has started moving in the right direction, it will take no time to spread throughout India. I am confident that we shall be able to commit civil disobedience on July 1. There is nothing in the circumstances to shake this confidence of mine. On the contrary, everything I see leads me to believe that India has come to understand the meaning of satyagraha. I do not want to persuade you that India is ready to

practise it. But I certainly want to assert that, when satyagrahis start civil disobedience, India will maintain peace and have patience. I also hope, at the same time, that, during the one month and a quarter that remain [between now and July 1], we shall be able to so impress the Government that there may even be no need to resume satyagraha for securing the repeal of the Rowlatt Act.

I have already said that, when satyagraha is going on, it does not consist merely in disobeying laws. In its universal form, it is so wide in meaning that it includes a great many things, and the most important of these is the principle of swadeshi, more important even than this agitation of ours against the Rowlatt Act, which is a mere trifle. The two have no connection with each other. Everyone must have seen the text of the vow. It is in two forms, only one of which is of real worth, the second being less important, comparatively speaking. The first vow requires us to use cloth manufactured out of cotton or wool or silk produced in India, either hand-woven or mill-made. It is our moral obligation to observe this vow. For those who are unable to observe it, there is an alternative vow, one, however, which will confess our weakness. If we observe the first vow, we have another duty arising out of it. In former times, India produced her own needs of cloth and also exported some. Today, on the contrary, we produce only one-fourth of our requirements. In other words, we fail to discharge three-fourths of our duty. In consequence of this, more than three crores of people go starving. I know that there are other reasons as well for this, but the most important cause is our violation of the principle of swadeshi. I am, therefore, justified in requesting you to do *prayashchitta*¹ for the sin we have committed in violating that principle. The *prayashchitta* consists in wearing khadi, since it is our fault that India does not produce fine cloth at the present day but produces only khadi. I do not mean that nothing except khadi is available. It must be our resolve, however, to make do with khadi should it be the only kind of cloth available. This is our *prayashchitta*. It is our plain duty to follow the rule of swadeshi henceforth. By doing so, we shall save a sum of 60 crores of rupees, which was what we paid abroad during 1917-18. We shall keep our money in this country to the extent that we follow this rule. There may be risk or difference of opinion about disobeying laws by way of satyagraha, but there can be no such risk in following the rule of

¹ Atonement

swadeshi. Even a child can follow it. To do so is our duty; there can be no two opinions about this. It is not we alone who say this. Some Englishmen also say the same thing and we shall see in a short time that quite a number of them will even help us in this matter. I am confident that, if we follow the rule of pure swadeshi and if there is no element of boycott in what we do, we shall succeed in getting the Viceroy himself to follow the same rule. This is one aspect.

The country produces only one-quarter of our needs. How, then, are we to produce enough for such a large number? If we depend entirely on the cloth being produced at present, we put the poor to loss. If we are not to do so, the person taking this vow will see that he produces his own cloth. This means that we spin in every home and also start working on the looms. With folded hands, we may entreat the weavers who are still alive and help them to revive their craft. Even in days gone by, there were innumerable women who used to spin in their homes. Such women are still alive and we can entreat them as well to resume their very useful work. If we do this, our vow of swadeshi will prove its full worth and we shall be able to reap the best fruits from it.

I do not want to take more of your time. I hope you will bear in mind the request I have made. The first thing is to understand the meaning of satyagraha and explain it to others; the second thing is to take the pledge of swadeshi and persuade others to take it and see that they keep it. This means that we ourselves produce cloth or help others to produce it. By doing this, we shall be putting no one to loss. I am thankful to you for having listened to my humble request with so much patience and in such silence, and I shall be more thankful still if you act on it, in case it has appealed to you.

[From Gujarati]

Gujarati, 1-6-1919

56. FOREWORD TO "INDIAN HOME RULE"

BOMBAY,
May 28, 1919

I have re-read this booklet¹ more than once. The value at the present moment lies in re-printing it as it is. But if I had to revise it, there is only one word I would alter in accordance with a promise made to an English friend. She took exception to my use of the word "prostitute" in speaking of the Parliament. Her fine taste recoiled from the indelicacy of the expression. I remind the reader that the booklet purports to be a free translation of original which is in Gujarati.

After years of endeavour to put into practice the views expressed in the following pages, I feel that the way shown therein is the only true way to swaraj. Satyagraha—the law of love—is the law of life. Departure from it leads to disintegration. A firm adherence to it leads to regeneration.

M. K. GANDHI

Indian Home Rule (Ganesh & Co., 4th Ed.)

57. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING

BOMBAY,
Wednesday [May 28, 1919]

MY DEAR CHILD,

Mahadev has made himself ill by his self-will. A self-willed friend, brother, son or secretary often fails at the critical moment. Mahadev is all these four rolled into one. At first I thought I would revenge myself upon him by fasting. In that case you would have come down upon me with that remarkable text from the Bible "Vengeance is mine". I am therefore adopting a less drastic method—doing the letter writing myself. It is a pleasurable sensation for me to do continuous writing for any length of time. My hand too works fairly steadily.

I wish you would not torture yourself so for not sharing the

¹ First published in 1910; *vide* "Hind Swaraj", 22-11-1909.

sorrows of those you love. For you to finish your agreement¹ is severe enough self-restraint. It is absolutely necessary. If you have real love, as I know you have, it must silently but more than less surely affect your present surroundings. In thought no act is lost, says the *Bhagavad Gita*. You are therefore doing your duty to the full by patiently and conscientiously doing your present work. Even the fresh energy you will get on the hills is to be used for the sake of your work. Why then worry?

The swadeshi vow extends to personal clothing only. I dare not ask you to deny yourself the use of Danish gifts from loved ones. It is enough if in future you buy only swadeshi cloth and let your other things also be swadeshi so far as possible. We shall discuss greater changes when we meet again.

Mr. Andrews passed a few days with me. He is now in Delhi. Do tell Sundaram I was pained to hear of his illness. He must make himself healthy and strong.

With love,

Yours,

BAPU

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary Courtesy: Narayan Desai

58. LETTER TO VALJI DESAI

BOMBAY,

Wednesday [May 28, 1919]²

BHAISHRI VALJI³,

I have been wanting to write to you. I find it possible to do so today. May your married life be happy and prove beneficial to the country. Let me know to whom you got married. I trust you are quite well.

I should like you to write something for *Young India*.

Vandemataram from

MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati original: C.W. 3164. Courtesy: V. G. Desai

¹ With the Danish Mission

² The date is supplied from the postal cancellation mark.

³ Lecturer, Gujarat College, Ahmedabad; resigned from service and joined Gandhiji; translated Satyagraha in South Africa and other books

*59. NOTE ON THE INFORMAL PRIVATE
SATYAGRAHA CONFERENCE¹*

BOMBAY,
May 30, 1919

This Conference met in Bombay on the 28th instant. It was attended by delegates from Sind, Ahmedabad, Allahabad and Lucknow.

Mr. Gandhi explained the situation about the Punjab and said that in view of the impending abolition of martial law, time had arrived to consider the position from the satyagraha standpoint. He added that technically speaking the Satyagraha Pledge on the Rowlatt legislation could not cover any contemplated action regarding the Punjab. Every satyagrahi, therefore, had to consider the Punjab question on its own merits untrammelled by the Rowlatt Pledge. Mr. Gandhi wanted the advice of those present on his proposal that he should approach the Viceroy with a view to the appointment of an independent and impartial committee of enquiry to examine the causes of the Punjab disturbances, the administration of martial law, and to revise the sentences passed by the Martial Law Tribunal and that, failing to secure the appointment of such a committee after carrying on a public agitation to the extent of an appeal to the Secretary of State for India, satyagraha should be taken up. Mr. Gandhi said that he did not fear any outbreak of violence upon satyagraha (civil disobedience) being started, whether on the Punjab matter or on the Rowlatt legislation. His advice would be in either case to confine civil disobedience to the satyagrahis for the time being of the Bombay Presidency. There should be no hartal on any account whatsoever in connection with the movement, not even on prominent satyagrahis being arrested for civil disobedience. No demonstration of any kind whatsoever should be made whilst there was the slightest danger of violence being committed by anybody. Such undemonstrative satyagraha would be almost the purest form. To be able to offer such satyagraha required faith on the part of satyagrahis in the efficacy of silent suffering. Mr. Gandhi anticipated no difficulty in the resumption of civil disobedience on the Rowlatt legislation, and he

¹ This was dated May 30, marked "Not for Publication" and was signed "M. K. Gandhi".

said in answer to a question that it was possible that satyagraha on the Punjab matter might have to be undertaken after two weeks at the earliest, but he was not without hope that the Viceroy would grant the request for the appointment of a committee of inquiry. After some discussion, with the exception of Mr. Jamnadas, all present approved of Mr. Gandhi's proposal. Mr. Jamnadas¹, whilst he liked the idea itself, could not approve of the proposal, as he felt certain that imprisonment of Mr. Gandhi or any prominent satyagrahi would be followed by violence.

A letter from Sannyasi Swami Shraddhanandji was read withdrawing himself from the movement and giving the information that the Delhi Committee was disbanded nearly a month ago. A letter was also read from Mr. Hassan Imam who, whilst he was prepared to abide by the decision that Mr. Gandhi might arrive at, himself opined that, in view of the past experience, it would be wise to drop civil disobedience.

Mr. Gandhi has written to the Private Secretary to His Excellency.

From a photostat: S.N. 6628

60. LETTER TO S. R. HIGNELL

LABURNUM ROAD
BOMBAY,
May 30, 1919

DEAR MR. HIGNELL²,

It is within His Excellency's knowledge that I have made no public declaration regarding the events in the Punjab. Even at the risk of being misunderstood by my countrymen, I have refrained from saying anything in public because I had no reliable data to enable me to form an opinion. I was not prepared to condemn martial law as such; I was unwilling to do anything calculated needlessly to irritate local authority; and lastly I was not prepared to infer from Sir Michael O'Dwyer's³ reported severe administration during peace period that martial law measures would be unduly hard.

¹ He resigned from the Satyagraha Sabha due to these differences.

² Private Secretary to the Viceroy

³ Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, 1913-9

But the virtual abolition of martial law in the Punjab in so far as it was the result of mob violence of April last makes it possible to refer to its administration without any impropriety. I must own too that the official explanation regarding flogging and the bar against legal practitioners living outside the Punjab, together with the inspired justification therefor appearing in the *Civil and Military Gazette*, fill me with the greatest misgivings. The official communiques have not been overfrank. Some of them are remarkable for omissions and admissions. The secrecy that has surrounded the events in the Punjab has given rise to much hostile criticism. The complete gagging of the Indian Press has created the greatest resentment. And the heavy sentences passed against the accused persons there have filled the public mind with consternation.

No one can dispute the right of the State to declare martial law under certain circumstances, but it will be conceded on behalf of the State that it should justify to the public the measures adopted under it, specially under circumstances described above. I therefore venture to associate myself with the request made by the Press for an impartial and independent committee of inquiry to examine the causes of disturbances in the Punjab and the administration of martial law in the Province, including the sentences passed by the Martial Law Tribunal. I am sure that if such a committee is appointed, it would calm the public mind and restore confidence (much shaken by the events in the Punjab) in the good intentions of the Government. If the principle of granting such a committee of inquiry be accepted, as I hope it will, I trust that the committee to be appointed will be composed of such official and non-official members as to inspire full confidence.

May I ask you to place this letter before His Excellency and to favour me with an early reply.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 6629

61. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
May 30, 1919

MY DEAR HENRY,

I know you nowadays only through your work in the columns of *India*. I had a sweet letter from Millie¹ which I cannot separately reply to for the present. Through the weakness of the heart, my hands shake. I have just enough energy to go through the struggle. I hope you are making the two ends meet and that you are all keeping well. Do please tell Pater, Mater, Maud and Sally that I often think of them and their many kindnesses. The Ashram is making steady progress and so is the Rashtriya School.

Now for business:

Herewith my letter to the Viceroy and notes on the Satyagraha Conference. None of these is meant for publication.

Mrs. Naidu is coming there shortly for her health. She is a wonderful woman. Do come close to her.

I see that Mr. Montagu has made a speech approving of the Rowlatt legislation, and defending it. Well, he may defend it as much as he pleases. It has got to go. The study of the present struggle is a wonderful repetition of that of South Africa. There are some who will die in the attempt to secure its repeal. The Government want to show that they can afford to disregard public opinion. We must show that they cannot do so. In soul-force *v.* brute force, there can only be one result. Only soul's forces are all so scattered and faithless. The brute is well organized and disciplined. Though therefore the issue is certain, the battle is naturally being prolonged.

It is likely that Mr. Montagu will tell the army of delegates that is going there to choose between Reforms and the repeal of the Rowlatt legislation. I hope, you will tell them what their choice should be. Repeal is Reform. No reform is worth anything so long as the bureaucracy remains unbending.

I hope, you have sought out Mr. Horniman if he has not sought you out. Please keep him informed of all the doings here. Mahadev

¹ Wife of addressee

writes to him and Mr. Shastriar every week. He is on the sick list. And I am too exhausted to write any more letters just now.

With love,

Yours,

BHAI

From a photostat: S.N. 6627

62. TRIBUTE TO B. G. TILAK BOMBAY

BOMBAY,
May 31, 1919

A public meeting was held on Saturday evening at Shantaram's Chawl, Girgaum, Bombay, under the presidency of Mr. Gandhi, for the purpose of expressing appreciation of the services rendered by Mr. Tilak to India and calling upon his countrymen to contribute to the expenses incurred by him in his case against Sir Valentine Chirol. The following is a full translation of his speech in Gujarati:

I am thankful to the organizers of the meeting for asking me to preside. The goal of every thinking Indian must be the same, though the methods for its attainment may be different and it is a matter known to all that my ways differ from Mr. Tilak's. And yet I would wish to heartily associate myself with every occasion to pay a tribute to his great services to the country, his self-sacrifice, and his learning—and with the present occasion in especial. The nation does not honour him any the less for his defeat in his case against Sir Valentine Chirol. It honours him, if that were possible, all the more, and this meeting is but a token of it. I have come to offer my hearty support to it.

Truly speaking, I am in no love with fighting in law courts. Victory there does not depend on the truth of your case. Any experienced *vakil* will bear me out that it depends more on the judge, the counsel, and the venue of the court. In English there is a proverb that it is always the man with the longest purse that wins. And there is a good deal of truth in this, as there is exaggeration in it. The Lokamanya's defeat therefore made me only wish he was a satyagrahi like me, so that he would have saved himself the bother of victory or defeat. And when I saw that far from losing heart at the result of his case, far from being disappointed, he faced the English public with cool resignation and expressed his views to them with equal

fearlessness, I was proud of him. He has been in his life acting to the very letter up to what he has believed to be the essential teaching of the *Gita*. He devotes himself entirely to what he believes to be his karma, and leaves the result thereof to God. Who could withhold admiration from one so great?

I think it our duty to contribute to the expenses of his suit. He surely did not fight for his personal ends, he fought in the public interests. I am sure, therefore, that you will accept the resolution that is going to be proposed this evening to find for Mr. Tilak the expenses of his suit, and to express our gratefulness for his services to the country.¹

Young India, 7-6-1919

63. LETTER TO RAMDAS GANDHI

ASHRAM,
June 1, 1919

CHI. RAMDAS,

I have your letter. Surely, I do dictate letters for you. Hardly does a month pass without one. You have done well in taking up service with Mohanlal. I know, of course, that you will not abuse his generosity, his goodness and his love which you describe so well. But I want more, that you should be twice as painstaking and careful at a place such as his and make some return for that love. There is as much disadvantage as advantage in serving under a relative or a friend. The advantage is that we may have certain facilities in such a place which would not be available elsewhere; the disadvantage is that we may abuse the facilities because of his goodness and yield to the temptation of shirking work. I should like you to be most careful. I also want to say, at the same time, that I have no fear on your account. I know from experience that you deserve to be loved and am sure that you will earn nothing but a good name there. Attend to everything in the shop as if the shop were your very own. If there is anything about

¹ Sarojini Naidu read out in English the following resolution: "This meeting puts on record its appreciation of the selfless and devoted services rendered by Lokamanya Tilak to the Motherland during the last forty years of his life, and calls upon his countrymen generously to contribute to the Tilak Purse Fund started with the object of defraying the expenses incurred by him in the prosecution of a case, which was undertaken by him purely in the public interest."

which you do not know what to do, ask others at once. Never try, out of a false sense of shame, to conceal your ignorance in any matter. When I first went to South Africa, I did not know what a P. Note meant. I managed to conceal my ignorance for a few days; but, as days passed, I became more nervous and saw that unless I knew what a P. Note meant, I would not understand Dada Abdulla Sheth's case. And so I declared my ignorance without losing any more time. When I knew that a P. Note meant a Promissory Note, I burst out laughing, not at my ignorance but at my false sense of shame, for I could not find the phrase P. Note even in a dictionary. Hence the royal road for us, if there is anything which we do not know, is immediately to consult someone and be instructed. It will do no harm if people think us foolish, but it will do real harm if, in our ignorance, we commit an error.

I hope you are keeping well. Be at peace there and earn anything you can in honest ways. Let me know whenever there is anything you would like to tell me or anything you desire. Ba often tells me that you have grown up, that I should have you here and get you married. I have emphatically refused to call you over here and told her that, if any time you wanted to marry, you would tell me so plainly. I have also told her that I have asked you to be frank with me. This has reassured her. I have often said that, in these difficult times, when India is so poor and in such wretched plight, every Indian has an especial duty not to marry, a duty one has in a time of distress. Hence, ordinarily I would want you to exercise self-control and observe inviolate *brahmacharya* for life. With the passing of time, desire will grow weaker, your physical and mental strength will increase and you will forget the thought of marriage. But I know this is applying my standard to you. I have promised you that, whatever my own ideas on the subject, if you think of marrying, I shall give all help I can. You should, therefore, have confidence in me and let me know, without fear, if you want to marry. In this matter, forget that I am your father and treat me as a good friend and see whether I pass the test.

I am keeping well enough for my work. I take goat's milk twice and fruits thrice. There is less physical energy but the brain does not seem to have lost any of its power. I am occupied with some work or other from six in the morning to ten in the evening. I cannot do now without a nap of 30 to 40 minutes during the day. Despite so much work, the brain is not particularly tired at ten in the evening. The

struggle is on. Civil disobedience will be shortly resumed. I am getting some new experiences, besides the same old ones. Hope and disappointment have been nearly in the same measure.

You write frequently enough, but Manilal seems to be lethargic. I have heard nothing about his case, either from him or from you. I am eager to know how he defended himself. Though I do intend to write to Manilal, I may well fail to do so and, therefore, you should send this letter on to him in any case. I shall be happy to have photographs of you two brothers. Do you read anything? Do you say your morning prayers? If you have not been saying them, I remind you again to start doing so unfailingly, for I am convinced that the practice is most beneficial. You will know its value in the hour of difficulty; actually, the value of morning prayers and *sandhya*¹, gone through thoughtfully, is realized from day to day. They are so much food you serve to the soul. Just as without food the body gets emaciated, so also does the soul famish without the right kind of food.

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. V

64. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

June 1, 1919

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I heard about your having gone to Vijapur on my arrival here. You did well, though I was quite eager to see you. My remark about yarn was not meant as a rebuke. How can I rebuke you? It was intended to make you more alert, that you may put on spinning the same value as I do. What I wanted to say, and would still say, is that we should be ready to curtail as many of the other activities as possible. Who should curtail which, is for you to consider and decide. To be sure, my initial demand was that you should get plenty of cloth woven out of indigenous yarn, but I thought I had corrected it in the letter I wrote from Surat. On further reflection, I realized that this earlier demand was mistaken. We should drop or curtail, one by one, those of our activities which we think others are likely to take up; and pay

¹ Prayer with set formula

more attention to those in which others have less faith, or none, but which are all the same essential. Spinning is one such activity. Besides, the more experience I gain, the more I realize that machinery will keep us in permanent slavery, and I find that what I said about it in *Hind Swaraj* is literally true. About satyagraha, too, I have been discovering new truths. I see that, for the weakest as for the strongest, it is a weapon of the utmost purity. There will be many business men to attend to the weaving of cloth from indigenous mill-made yarn. I shall be able to get others to do that work sooner, but hand-spinning we ourselves should start. The day before yesterday, some Punjabis came to see me. They told me that, on their side, women of all castes, high and low, spin at home and get weavers to make cloth out of the yarn. Thus, the cost of yarn comes to no more than that of cotton. The fact is worth reflecting over carefully. You did well in taking Keshu with you. If he learns spinning there, he will be able to teach it to others when he gets back. If anyone from among us picks it up there, our needs will be supplied.

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. V

65. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

BOMBAY,

[After June 1, 1919]¹

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I have your letter. I hope you got the two letters I addressed to you at Vijapur from there. They contain the reply to your question. Your main work, at present, is to look after weaving and agriculture. I have no doubt in my mind that you should give some of your time to weaving. If you approve of the changes I have introduced, I think the weaving will be much better. If we can revive the craft, we shall have completed one task.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 7329

¹ One of the two letters mentioned by Gandhiji in this letter was written from Ahmedabad on June 1, 1919; *vide* the preceding item.

66. LETTER TO SONJA SCHLESIN

June 2, 1919

DEAR MISS SCHLESIN,

Ramdas advises me that you have passed your teacher's examination with some distinction. You do not want me to congratulate you, I know. I am simply anxious that you should get through your final examination, because I expect you one of these days to take your place in India. The summer months are trying enough, but the winter months give you sufficient compensation. I hope you had all you wanted without any inconvenience. You will not hesitate to come to me for more, if necessary.

Satyagraha is going on merrily. Civil disobedience is expected to commence very soon. How I often wish you were here for more reasons than one! But I must plough the lonely furrow. It often makes me sad when I think of all my helpers of South Africa. I have no Doke here. I have no Kallenbach. Don't know where he is at the present moment. Polak in England. No counterpart of Kachalia or Sorabji. Impossible to get the second edition of Rustomji. Strange as it may appear, I feel lonelier here than in South Africa. This does not mean that I am without co-workers. But between the majority of them and me, there is not that perfect correspondence which used to exist in South Africa. I do not enjoy the same sense of security which you all gave me there. I do not know the people here; nor they, me. This is all gloomy, if I were to brood over it. But I do not. I have not the time for it. I have a few moments of leisure just now. Ramdas' letter reminds me of your existence in South Africa, and I am giving myself the momentary pleasure of sharing my innermost thoughts with you. But now no more.

From a photostat: S.N. 6635

67. SPEECH ON SWADESHI VOW, BOMBAY

June 4, 1919

Gandhiji presided at the inaugural ceremony of “The Hindi Vastra Prasarak Mandali” at the Morarji Gokuldas Hall, Bombay, on June 4, 1919.

Mr. Gandhi explained in a few words what Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer¹ had said in English, for the benefit of those who did not know English. He said that unless they—every one of them—resolved to use only swadeshi goods as much as possible, there could not be any hope for the country. If they could take the swadeshi vow, so much the better; but if they could not, then they must firmly resolve to use swadeshi goods as much as possible. They must also resolve to use Indian-made cotton goods, so that not only India’s weavers might get employment, but their wives and children also. He hoped they would take to heart all that Mr. Aiyer had told them that evening and act accordingly.

The Bombay Chronicle, 5-6-1919

68. LETTER TO ALI BROTHERS

BOMBAY,

June 5, 1919

I have your letters and I was delighted to receive them. I am surprised that Mr. Ghate never received my letter.² I quite agree with you that so long as I cannot convince you, you must act according as you feel right. I can only add to what I have already said that I have discussed the contents of your letter to the Viceroy with several friends and they all practically without exception agree that the statement of claim does not represent the irreducible minimum and that withdrawal from India is not a practical step. With your permission, I shall venture to discuss the Koranic precedent you are using to the support of your proposed withdrawal from India. The circumstances that attended the Prophet’s flight were totally different from those that attend your contemplated action. He took with him the whole of the Mahomedans to Medina Sheriff. It was his satyagraha against the un-believers of Mecca Sheriff. The plant of Islam was then extremely delicate and required protection from storms from within

¹ 1879- ; Dewan of Travancore; Vice-Chancellor, Benares Hindu University

² *Vide* “Letter to O. S. Ghate”, 8-5-1919.

and from without. Rather than court what might have been certain destruction for his little band of stalwarts, he withdrew himself and them to a safe retreat till the ignorant wrath of the unbelievers of Mecca had spent itself. I can see absolutely no parallel between the case of the Prophet and yours. But I must not presume unduly upon your kindness. I have no right whatsoever to enter into a religious discussion with you based on an interpretation of the Koran. I can claim no intimacy with its teachings that you rightly possess. I have made bold to say as much as I have because I am fortified in my interpretation by the agreement of some of our common friends. Do please however give the matter further prayerful consideration. I need hardly assure you that I shall labour for a proper adjustment of the Mahomedan claims as adumbrated in my letter to the Viceroy¹ and I have little doubt that if all the leading Mahomedans unitedly presented the claim in becoming language, it will create a world opinion in its favour such that the League dare not resist it and England must surely press before it.

I hope you are all keeping well.

With my love to you all.

N. A. I. : Home : Political: September 1919, Nos. 406-28-A (Confidential)

69. LETTER TO N. P. COWIE

BOMBAY,
June 5 [1919]

DEAR MR. COWIE,

I beg to remind you of my letter of . . .² regarding orders passed by the Sind Authorities against certain subjects of Kathiawar States. I shall be obliged if you will kindly favour me with an early reply.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 6636

¹ *Vide* "Letter to J. L. Maffey", 5-5-1919.

² *Vide* "Letter to N. P. Cowie" 25-5-1919.

70. LETTER TO B. G. HORNIMAN

[BOMBAY,]
June 6, 1919

DEAR MR. HORNIMAN,

I was much relieved to hear of your safe arrival. I was deeply hurt to read Mr. Montagu's reference to you. I dare say you have vindicated yourself. You will see my reference¹ to the matter in *Young India*.

Mrs. Naidu will tell you all about the situation here. There will be no peace in India until the Rowlatt legislation is withdrawn. Mahomedan sentiment must be appeased and the Punjab sentences revised. Will you write for *Young India*?

Yours sincerely,
M. K. G.

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

71. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
[June 6, 1919]

MY DEAR HENRY,

I see you have been wrestling with Cotton. I think he has floored you with his quotation from *The Servant of India*. But both you and I have survived the fall. I rejoice (almost) in the wreckage about me. Shradhanandji gone. Mr. Jamnadas has left. Some others may follow suit. These occurrences do not baffle me as does violence from the people. But I approach the 1st of July with confidence. The Government are prepared for emergencies. And I shall avoid all demonstration. Civil disobedience will be intensive, not extensive, this time. Please make it clear to Mr. Montagu that there can be no peace in India without the withdrawal of Rowlatt legislation. He is badly served by the permanent officials here. Take the horrible misrepresentations about Mr. Horniman. The real reason for his deportation will probably be never given. Read *Young India* carefully. Most of the

¹ Vide "Mr. Horniman" 7-6-1919.

leading articles are mine¹. I am virtually editing it. See the Sind article.² More revelations are yet to come. If Mr. Montagu wants to do justice, he has to do things with better eyes than those of the officials who, wishing to support a system to which they owe their present position, cannot be expected to give him an impartial version of affairs. Rowlatt Act must go. Mahomedans should be satisfied and substantial reforms granted. For the Punjab tragedy, an impartial committee with the power to revise sentences is an absolute necessity. Give these 4 things, and peace can be had in this unhappy land. There will be no plenty so long as India is exploited for Britain's sake. Take the second increase in the rate of exchange. It means a loss to India of crores of rupees without any corresponding gain. It means a bonus to Lancashire and to the Civilians. But these matters can be adjusted if people's minds are eased by the relief above mentioned. Rowlatt legislation represents the Government determination to defy public opinion. The attitude is intolerable on the eve of Reforms.

This will be presented to you by Mrs. Naidu. She is a wonderful woman. I have compared her to Mirabai. I have seen nothing to alter that opinion. She will give all my messages of love to you and the family.

Yours,

BHAI

PS.

Will you contribute to *Young India*? I wish you would.

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

72. LETTER TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

[BOMBAY,]

June 6, 1919

DEAR MR. SHASTRIAR,

I would like you to glance at the leading columns of *Young India*. Most of the leading articles are either written by me or under my supervision. I can vouch for all the facts stated therein. The state of things revealed there shows the true official attitude. Rowlatt

¹ Only articles signed by Gandhiji or proved as his from other evidence are reproduced in this volume.

² Vide "Sind Illegality", *Young India*, 28-5-1919.

legislation is its embodiment. Hence my unbending opposition. The Government do not need it to stamp out revolutionary crime. They need it to harass people. The administration of the Defence of India Act shows the way people can be harassed. There can be—will be—no peace in the land unless that legislation is withdrawn. Mr. Montagu's defence of it is untenable. His remarks about Mr. Horniman are totally unjust and untrue. The Punjab horrors have produced a burning letter¹ from the Poet. I personally think it is premature. But he cannot be blamed for it. May I hope that you and other friends will refuse to take the Reforms if they are not given to a people made contented by removing substantial causes of discontent?

Yours sincerely,

M. K. G.

[PS.]

I hope you have benefited by the change.

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

73. *LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI*

BOMBAY,

Friday [June 6, 1919]²

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I have your letter. You must have received the two letters I addressed to you at Vijapur. Let not the women or the men take fright. In the Ashram, we shall use only hand-spun yarn for weaving but, till we are able to make wearable dhotis or saris from such yarn, we shall get them woven from outside with mill yarn. The idea is that in the Ashram we should not spend our time in weaving cloth with mill yarn. Only thus shall we realize our aim, that we should restrict ourselves, as soon as practicable, to the use of home-spun yarn for our own cloth.

I have already written to you to say that we certainly cannot give any money to aunt³ to help her repair the house.

¹ Rabindranath Tagore's letter to the Viceroy renouncing his knighthood was published in *Young India*, 7-6-1919.

² The letter seems to have been written a few days after Maganlal's visit to Vijapur referred to in "Letter to Maganlal Gandhi", 1-6-1919.

³ Gandhiji's sister Gokibehn

I have, personally, no doubt at all that with their little hands children will be able to spin best. See that everyone learns it with the utmost speed. I would say that, if Ranchhodbhai gets a fixed monthly pay, he should not charge any commission. I do not know what his understanding has been so far. Settle the matter as you think best. If, henceforth, he does not follow the course I have suggested, I think he will have to give up the work there. I am sure that, if Ranchhodbhai works from an entirely business point of view, we cannot spend public money. If he wants to earn something more than a bare living, he should do some independent business. We would buy what yarn we needed. What is the arrangement with Gangabehn? I do not remember having agreed on any such arrangement with her. She works entirely in a spirit of service. I should like her to take a little for this work, enough to meet her needs. But I do not know if she does even this.

It seems quite right to charge Mavji's pay to the Famine Committee. Do in this matter as Vallabhbbhai or Indulal may advise.

See that Chhotalal and Jagannath learn spinning immediately. These two and Mavji should be employed wholly on weaving.

You hope to raise the money for the Ashram expenses through agriculture. Work on it as much as necessary for this purpose and no more. Please consider it our duty to give most of our time at present to spinning and weaving, for we do not lose to other countries crores of rupees because of agriculture. Thanks to the disappearance of weaving, we lost sixty crores during last year alone. Certainly, we do not want to give up agriculture; in fact we want to improve and develop it. But we cannot work on two things at a time and, therefore, it will be proper to attend to what is more important for the immediate present. Even then, you may certainly work on agriculture as much as it is possible to do with hired men, without loss to us. Ask the boys to give some of their time to this work. I hope you have followed my point. We shall also be generally in difficulty for money. I can ask for only as much as I may get with little effort. Personally, I very much like the changes we have introduced in regard to weaving. They will also help us to be free, to a very great extent, from difficulties about money.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati original: S.N. 7326

74. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

[Before June 7, 1919]¹

DEAR MAHADEV,

I have sent with the peon the lead article about Horniman which will please you. He came with the newspapers. He must have seen you. It is good you took notes. See that there are no mistakes and the article is well composed.

I have received a letter from Simla that I should send the reply at my earliest. Its language raises hopes.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9855

75. MR. ANDREWS' APPEAL²

June 7, 1919

There are obvious difficulties in the way of Mr. Andrews' appeal on behalf of the Punjab prisoners being taken up by the public. There is no appeal to the Privy Council in the ordinary course against decisions of Martial Law Tribunals. We understand from an eminent lawyer that a prisoner sentenced by such a Court might appeal to the King-in-Council who might—ask the judicial committee of the Privy Council to review the Martial Law Court proceedings. The King has naturally to be advised by his ministers. The first act therefore has to be of a political nature in other words the decisions of the King-in-Council will be influenced by what the Viceroy might have to say in the first instance. It was therefore better to move H. E. the Viceroy to grant a committee of inquiry with power to revise the sentences passed by the Martial Law Tribunal. The petition to the King-in-Council can only be from the prisoners concerned; the appeal to the Viceroy goes from the public. The latter is in every way therefore a more expeditious and effective process though the former if successful undoubtedly carries greater weight by reason of the

¹ The date has been inferred from the reference to the article about B. G. Horniman which appeared in *Young India*, 7-6-1919; *vide* "Mr. Horniman", 7-6-1919.

² This appealed among the editorial notes in *Young India*, 7-6-1919.

eminent traditions of the august body examining the cases. No matter what method is adopted it is common cause that a way out of the difficulty must be found and the affairs under martial law duly investigated and overhauled. Mr. Montagu seems to have promised as much. The public must see to it that what is given is the substance of an impartial and representative committee not the shadow of a whitewashing committee composed of members enjoying no confidence of the public.

From a photostat: S.N. 6724

76. MR. HORNIMAN

Mr. Montagu's references to Mr. Horniman bear out the remarks we made in our last issue¹ about the difficulty of getting justice at the centre, where only one side of questions presented there is really represented. Mr. Montagu made out a complete case for Mr. Horniman's deportation on statements which he assumed to be true, but which in reality are not true.

When Mr. Horniman began to use his paper, in the midst of riots, to fan the flame and published an accusation that British troops had used soft-nosed bullets in Delhi and his paper was distributed free to British troops in Bombay, hoping to excite insubordination, it was high time that he left India. In normal times he would have been tried but in view of the riots prompt, swift action for restoration of order was necessary.

It would be difficult to pack more mis-statements into two sentences than Mr. Montagu has managed to into the above two. There were no riots in Bombay, he never fanned the flame, he actually advised suspension of civil disobedience when it was in danger of being unscrupulously used. The statement regarding soft-nosed bullets, as Mr. Jinnah's cable to Mr. Montagu shows, would have been promptly withdrawn had the censor allowed the telegram correcting the error to be sent or delivered without delay; lastly, the *Chronicle* was not distributed free, or at all, to British troops, and there could be no question of hoping to excite insubordination. That Mr. Montagu, when he uttered the mis-statements, did not know them to be such, does not lessen the severity of the punishment inflicted on Mr. Horniman and the public of Bombay. His Excellency the Governor

¹ *Vide* the editorial entitled "Indians in South Africa" published in Young India on June 4, 1919.

can, and we hope he will, at least correct the gross mis-statements into which Mr. Montagu has been unknowingly betrayed. It is the clear duty of the Bombay public not to rest satisfied until the wrong done is righted by the order against Mr. Horniman being withdrawn.

Young India, 7-6-1919

77. LETTER TO A YOUNG JOURNALIST

BOMBAY,
June 7, 1919

It is dangerous to call me “Revered Father”, as you will see presently. I have no doubt about your prodigality. The very slovenliness of your writing is eloquent proof of it and it certainly requires a prodigal son to write to his adopted “Revered Father” a letter containing almost as many corrections as there are lines in it written anyhow and unrevised. A son frugal in his adjectives, obedient in reality, would write to his father, especially when he is deliberately adopted, a careful letter written in his best handwriting. If he has not enough time, he will write only a line, but he would write it neatly.

Your article on Mr. Jamnadas was ill-conceived and hurriedly written. It could not be printed in *Young India*, nor is it worth printing in any other paper. You will not reform Jamnadas by letters of that character, nor will you benefit the public thereby. Your second article is not much better.... You really lose yourself in the exuberance of your own verbosity. If you will give more attention to the thought than a mere lengthening out of your story, you will produce readable matter.

Why have you inflicted certificates on me? How can they influence me when I know you so well? I neither consider you “well-informed” nor “forceful” as a writer and Mr. Menon must know very little of journalistic capacity if he really considered that you were able to acquit yourself with credit in any journalistic capacity. Now you see how difficult it will be for you to please me and yet it will be easy enough. If you will take pains in future, I would certainly take you as helper for *Young India* in spite of your many limitations as soon as you are free from your Ahmedabad obligation. I think you owe it to Mr. Chatterjee and the A.P. to finish the work you have. You can even help from Ahmedabad by giving me bright and graphic notes on the trials, not in the nature of carping criticism of the

Government or of the local legal talent. You should try to give pen pictures of men and manners. Surely there must be many humorous touches about the proceedings; but probably you will have little time for writing anything for me at the present moment.

Yours sincerely,

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

78. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

BOMBAY,
June 7, 1919

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I have your letter. In my view, no one from Calcutta or elsewhere on that side is likely to order khadi from us. A few here and there who may want it will order it from Bombay or Ahmedabad. I do not think it at all right that we should add five per cent. Our labour must be altogether free. Only so shall we be able to persuade the Swadeshi Store to be content with a profit of five per cent. How can we charge profit when trying to popularize a new thing? We get food to eat all right. If you have not sent any stock to Bombay, do not till you hear from me. It will be better to do so only after I have a talk with Vithaldas. I have heard that, in the old Swadeshi Store, no one looks at our khadi. If this is so, we shall have to think about the matter. You may use anyone you like, but I hope you will not use Chhotalal or Jagannath. If you do not get from the Swadeshi Store the amount due from it, let me know and I shall arrange.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 6638

79. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

BOMBAY,
*Saturday [June 7, 1919]*¹

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I could not write this to you yesterday. There was a letter from Ba today, in which she says that Keshu has again fallen ill and Rukhi, too. There must be reasons for this illness. You alone can discover them. If children repeatedly fall ill, how can they go forward? It is likely that something is wrong with the water there. It seems that unsuitability of water and similar factors which will not upset those who do only manual work may upset mental workers. It is not very likely that there is any other reason, apart from unclean water, or unsuitable or excessive food.

Chi. Shamaldas has decided to go over there. Shanti will also go with him. The intention is that he should become an expert in the matter of cloth. He will acquire the necessary knowledge about looms. He will go and bring his mother in a few days. See if you can rent for him some rooms in Miyakhan's buildings. Failing this, if he can get something else in that locality, that will suit him. Shanti will also go with him. If the arrangement suits all, I for one would be very happy. I think Shamaldas should be able to work.

There is a gentleman named Chandrashankar who will also go there to see our weaving factory. He is the man who has supplied the money and arranged for the spinning of cotton here till this day. I think the work here has been fast enough, but not sound. The gentleman who has undertaken it has his heart in it all right, but does not know much. In his ignorance, he has squandered the money. The yarn produced does not seem likely to be useful. It will be some time before weaving is taken in hand. We should have a good number of indigenous looms at our disposal. There must be plenty of them in Kathiawad. In Umreth, too, there are some, I know. All of them have not started working. Show everything to Bhai Chandrashankar there. Let him also see how yarn is sprayed with water. Afterwards, suggest to him that he should go and see things at Vijapur. From there he will

¹ Evidently, this letter preceded the letters to Maganlal dated June 12 and June 15, in both of which Gandhiji refers to Shamaldas's plan of taking up work in the Ashram.

proceed to Kota. I have advised him to spend further only after he has acquainted himself with everything.

The khadi dispatched to the old Swadeshi Store has been bought up for the new Store. The money will be credited in account here against the goods, The other amounts, too, will be paid in. In all, Rs. 10,000 will be paid in. The stock lying there may be packed and kept aside. They say that the Store here does not have enough room for all that stock and so it should be kept there. Send me the invoice, with a description of the goods and the quantity of each item. I shall hand it over to Bhai Vithaldas. You will not then be entitled to sell this stock. Pack it all into a bale, with a label on each item, describing hand-spun and hand-woven goods as No. 1, those with hand-spun woof and mill-produced warp as No. 2, and those with both warp and woof mill-produced as No. 3, and stating the length in yards. He will buy up whatever we produce. It is not desirable, I think, to produce any more stock of No. 3. Vithaldas is ready to sell the goods at the prices we charge. He does not want to earn a single pie by way of profit. On other goods, too, he will charge a profit of no more than five per cent. We also should not charge any profit. This is the only way in which we can popularize pure swadeshi. Vithaldas also wants us to get some khadi dyed red for *choliyu*¹. With all these facilities, do you see any need for selling stocks from there directly? Vithaldas has undertaken to tell the manager of the old Store that he should directly remit [to you], from that Store, the payment for bills in respect of goods other than khadi.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 7021

¹ A kind of cloth used by women in Kathiawar

80. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

BOMBAY,
[After June 7, 1919]¹

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I have your letter. I think it is proper that Chhotalal and Jagannath are wholly occupied in weaving. You are doing right in training up Kantilal and Ramnandan. I am trying here to see what can be done about the stocks which have accumulated. I should like to see even Kantilal and Ramnandan set to work exclusively on the loom. I should like it still more if a paid employee from outside were put on this work. From now on, you should not accept cloth from outside either, if it is not hand-spun and hand-woven. You may, if necessary, make an exception in favour of the people at Umreth.

I shall speak to someone about the money due from the Swadeshi Store.

Mavji Jetani was to see about that thing; what happened in the matter? If he has not succeeded, what do you propose to do?

Have you received the money for the stocks sent to Meghani? It is a good practice not to send any goods on credit as far as possible. About direct bargains for wholesale buyers, I have already given my opinion. You may arrange them if you can do so without engaging the Ashram men too much in this work

The amount in the Fast Fund² may as well remain where it is. You must be getting interest on it.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 7325

¹ The remarks about Jagannath and Chhotalal and the Swadeshi Store probably refer to what Chhaganlal may have said in reply to "Letter to Chhaganlal Gandhi", 7-6-1919.

² The reference is not traceable.

81. LETTER TO S. R. HIGNELL

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
June 9, 1919

DEAR MR. HIGNELL,

I thank you for your letters in reply to my letter¹ suggesting the appointment of a committee regarding the Punjab disturbances, and I thank you, too, for your inquiry about my health which is tolerable.

I have just been studying the case of Babu Kalinath Roy, Editor of *The Tribune* of Lahore. I have read the articles on which, and on which alone, he was tried under Section 124A of the Indian Penal Code. A study of the case has left me with the impression that a very great wrong has been done to Babu Kalinath Roy. I have gone through the file of *The Tribune* from the 1st of April and I have not seen another newspaper to surpass it for sobriety of statement and self-restraint. I commend the case to the very serious attention of His Excellency the Viceroy. A glaring injustice like this ought not to be allowed to continue. I therefore hope that a way would be found, and that soon, of releasing Mr. Roy. The judgment says that Mr. Roy even tendered an apology. I have not seen a single sentence in the articles concerned for which an apology need have been given. But it is a thousand pities that even the apology of a gentleman was brushed aside. I hope you will kindly place this letter before His Excellency as early as possible. I enclose herewith for His Excellency's perusal a portion of *Young India* referring to Mr. Roy's Case.²

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 6640

¹ Of May 30, 1919

² This sentence is in Gandhiji's hand.

82. LETTER TO N. P. COWIE

BOMBAY,
[On or after *June 9, 1919*]

DEAR MR. COWIE,

I thank you for your letter of the 9th instant. (I am asking Mr. Manilal Vyas himself to make a representation to His Excellency regarding his case.) But I venture to draw H.E.'s attention to the fact that I did not write seeking for mere individual relief; I brought the case to H.E.'s notice¹ as the case involved an important general principle. Your letter however seems to question the right of a public man to request relief even in such cases. The hardship caused by shutting off public men in the manner I appear to have been, is made apparent even in the present instance. As I happen to know Mr. Manilal Vyas' address, though I do not know him personally, I am able to write to him and suggest what he should do to secure relief. I have, as stated in my previous letter, heard of other similar cases but I do not know the names of all the parties. In Mr. Manilal Vyas' own case, too, the matter will now take time. Meanwhile the parties aggrieved have to continue to suffer although they might subsequently be proved to have done no wrong. I would therefore still respectfully urge that the policy of treating subjects of Native States as foreigners under Act 3 of 1861 be examined and revised by His Excellency's Government without waiting for representations from the individuals affected by the orders of the Sind authorities.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 6654

83. LETTER TO N. P. COWIE

[After *June 9, 1919*]

DEAR MR. COWIE,

In continuation of my letter regarding Mr. Manilal Vyas, I learnt from him that he has already forwarded his petition regarding his case. I do hope that it will receive H.E.'s early and favourable consideration.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 6655

¹ *Vide* "Letter to N. P. Cowie", 25-5-1919.

84. BABU KALINATH ROY

By the courtesy of the *Young India* syndicate, composed as it is largely of satyagrahis since the deportation of Mr. Horniman, I have been permitted to supervise the editing of this journal. I asked for such supervision because I was anxious that nothing should appear in it that was in any way inconsistent with the general principles of satyagraha, i.e., of truth and non-violence to person or property. In pursuance of the plan, I have hitherto also written some leading articles in the usual editorial style. But for this issue I wish to take the sole responsibility, if there be any, of writing on the case of Babu Kalinath Roy, the Editor of the now defunct *Tribune*. Personally, I consider that even from the point of view of the authorities, there is nothing wrong or out of the way in what I am about to say. But lest they may think otherwise, it is due to the public and to the *Young India* syndicate that the authorship of this writing should be known.

With reference to the Punjab disturbances, by my complete silence over them I have allowed myself to be misunderstood by many friends, and, as is now well known, I have been deprived of the co-operation, though never the friendship, of so respected and renowned a leader and co-worker as Sannyasi Swami Shri Shraddhanandji. But I still believe that I have done well in persisting in my silence, for I had no conclusive data to go upon. No public declaration of mine could have in any way affected for the better the action of the authorities. But Babu Kalinath Roy's case materially alters the situation. In my humble opinion, the¹ represents a manifest and cruel wrong. I have not the honour of knowing him personally. When I took up the judgment in the case, I approached it with a feeling that there would be at least a *prima facie* case made out against the accused on some isolated passages in his writings. But as I proceeded with it, the impression grew on me that it was a kind of special pleading in order to justify a conviction and a heavy sentence. In order to check myself, I took up the numbers of *The Tribune* referred to in the judgment and on which the serious charge against Babu Kalinath Roy under Sec. 124A of the Indian Penal Code was based, and a careful reading of every one of the writings in *The Tribune* more than confirmed the impression produced by a perusal of the judgment and led me to

¹ Some words are missing here in the source which is damaged.

think that the Martial Law Court had allowed its judgment to be warped and clouded by the atmosphere of suspicion and distrust surrounding it. The best proof of my statement must be the judgment and the writings on which it is based. They are therefore reproduced in this issue in full. I have prefaced the judgment and the offending articles in *The Tribune* with extracts from the other numbers showing the whole tendency and tone of the writings from the beginning of April just after the Delhi affairs. They are not extracts torn from their context but they are representative of the issue of *The Tribune* published after the 30th March last. The dominant note pervading all the issues is that the agitation against the Rowlatt legislation should be conducted with sobriety, truth and non-violence. I could nowhere trace in them ill will, either against Englishmen in general, or against the English Government in particular. Indeed, it would be difficult to surpass *The Tribune* in calmness and self-restraint in the face of circumstances brought about by the Delhi affairs.

This is the test that the Special Tribunal put before itself for its guidance:

You will have to consider whether this publication was or was not a calm and temperate discussion of the events that had occurred. The people have a right to discuss any grievances that they may have to complain of, but they must not do it in a way to excite tumult. You may point out to the Government their errors

The question is always as to the manner. A question is made whether they (writings) show an intention to instruct by appealing to the judgment or to irritate and excite to sedition. In other words, whether they appeal to the sense or the passions.

Judged by the standard set before the Court, the articles complained against do not warrant a conviction. They cannot excite tumult, when daily during a period of exceeding stress the writer asks his readers to refrain from all violence, telling them in unmistakable terms that disturbance can only damage their cause. The Editor has continuously appealed to the judgment of the readers by asking them not to prejudice, but to await the results of an inquiry which he persistently asked for. The Court's discussion of the passages and articles fails to convince one of the propriety of its decision. The Court has resented the use of the term "Delhi Martyrs" in the issues of the 6th and the 8th April. When you read the contents under the headings, the one has reference to prayer at the Jumma Masjid and the

other to a Relief and Memorial Fund. The Crime in the language of the Court was that “the accused chose to emphasize the memorial for martyrs and not the relief”, and the Court proceeds, “the inference from this is plain.” The plain inference from this that whoever put the heading felt that those who were shot down at Delhi were so dealt with, without sufficient cause. Why this should be considered seditious passes comprehension. And if such an inference shows, as it undoubtedly does, that the action of the magistrate who gave the order for firing was wrong, is the drawing of such a deduction to be punished? We are told by the Court that one may point out to Government their errors. I submit that Mr. Roy justly pointed out the error of one of the local authorities. (Incidentally, I may mention that there is no such Editorial heading as “Memorial to Delhi Martyrs” referred to in the judgment.) The next indictment consists in the Editor having used the word “dupe” in connection with the action of some honorary magistrates and Municipal Commissioners who tried to dissuade shopkeepers from closing their shops. This is what the article describing the demonstration of the 6th April says:

The masses of India are no fools....That they cannot be successfully duped ought to be clear from the very ignominious failure in this very case of certain Municipal Commissioners and honorary magistrates and several others who went round the city trying to persuade shopkeepers to keep their shops open.

This is a bare statement of fact as the accused knew it. Then follows an examination of the other articles as to which the gravamen of the charge is the assertion of the Editor that the action of the Punjab Government was both “unjust and unwarranted”, and that it had “exposed itself to the severest criticisms at the bar of public opinion”. Here, too, the Editor has after having reasoned to the reader led him to the conclusion to which he himself has arrived—a procedure held to be entirely justifiable under the test accepted by the Court itself. The wrong would undoubtedly be if the Editor had misstated facts. But in every case, as would appear from the articles reproduced herewith, the writer has fortified himself with what he believed to be facts, and which so far as the judgment allows us to see, have not been controverted. The other two articles referred to by the Court are “Delhi Tragedy” in the issue of the 9th, and “Blazing Indiscretion” in the issue of the 10th April. The “Delhi Tragedy” is a dispassionate review of the tragedy of the 30th March, and ends with an exhortation to the Government of India to appoint a public

inquiry. “Blazing Indiscretion” is undoubtedly an indictment against Sir Michael O’Dwyer about his speech before the Punjab Legislative Council. The speech analysed in the article in question certainly contains more than “blazing indiscretion”. The truth of the matter is that the wrong man was in the wrong box, the right man to have been in the box of the accused should certainly have been Sir Michael O’Dwyer. Had he not made inflammatory and irritating speeches, had he not belittled leaders, had he not in a most cruel manner flouted public opinion and had he not arrested Drs. Kitchlew and Satyapal, the history of the last two months would have been differently written. My purpose however is not to prove Sir Michael O’Dwyer’s guilt, but it is to prove Babu Kalinath Roy’s complete innocence, and to show that he has suffered a grievous wrong in the name of British justice, and I do not hesitate to ask Englishmen as I ask my countrymen to join me in the prayer for Babu Kalinath Roy’s immediate release. As Mr. Norton has shown, and quite recently Sir P. S. Shivaswami Aiyer, that a Martial Law Tribunal was never contemplated to be one for the trial of cases involving delicate interpretations of difficult sections of ordinary enactments. Such tribunals are properly designed only for summary justice being meted out to men who are caught red-handed in acts of rebellion or crimes which means, if left unchecked, complete disruption of society.

One thing more remains to be considered. Why should this case be singled out for special treatment when it is highly likely that an independent and impartial committee is likely to be appointed to overhaul the martial law administration in the Punjab and to revise the sentences passed by the Martial Law Court? My answer is that Mr. Roy’s case does not admit of any doubt about it. It is capable of being immediately considered by the Government and if the articles on which the charge against Mr. Roy was based do not amount to sedition—as I hold they do not—he should be immediately set free. Moreover, time is an important consideration in this case, for Mr. Roy, as Mr. Andrews has pointed out, has a very delicate constitution.

GANDHI

Young India, 11-6-1919

85. MEMORIAL TO VICEROY¹

BOMBAY,
[June 11, 1919]

We, the undersigned citizens of the Bombay Presidency, crave leave to approach Your Excellency with their humble prayer that Your Excellency may be graciously pleased, in the exercise of your prerogative, to direct the release from prison of Babu Kalinath Roy, late Editor of *The Tribune* newspaper of Lahore, who has been convicted by a Martial Law Commission of the offence of seditious writings under Section 124 A of the Indian Penal Code and sentenced to 2 years' rigorous imprisonment together with a fine of Rs. 1,000 or, in default, six months' further rigorous imprisonment.

In so praying, the petitioners have no desire to enter into the legal merits of the case or of the judgment of the Commission, beyond submitting grounds strictly appropriate as relevant to the prayer for the exercise of the prerogative.

The first ground is that the articles in *The Tribune* indicated as seditious and held by the Commission to be such, contain no words of disaffection or incitement to violence, lawlessness, or rebellion. They are the criticism of certain Acts and measures of the Punjab Government, expressly made with a view to an impartial inquiry by Government. The sole legal justification for the Commission's finding that they are seditious must, therefore, be sought in the extreme of the law of sedition, that whether any words and writings, are seditious as endangering peace, depends on the character of the times when they are published. That legal theory renders the law as to sedition so uncertain as to prove (according to some eminent English jurists and lawyers) a pitfall even to innocent journalists, and makes no distinction between criticisms, right or wrong, of specific measures of Government and deliberate attacks on it with a view to endanger peace.

To that ground the petitioners beg to add these further considerations in favour of Mr. Roy, viz., (1) the habitually sober character of his writings in *The Tribune* during his editorship; (2) the

¹ Presented on behalf of the citizens of Bombay, this was signed by Gandhiji and others including Sir Narayan G. Chandavarkar, Sir Dinshaw Wacha, G. K. Parekh and K. Natarajan. Gandhiji sent it to the Viceroy on June 27, 1919; vide "Letter to S. R. Hignell", 27-6-1919.

poor state of his health, and the effect any prolonged incarceration is likely to produce on it; and (3) the apology he tendered previous to his trial before the Commission.

Young India, 25-6-1919

86. MEMORIAL TO CHELMSFORD¹

BOMBAY,
[June 11, 1919]²

TO

HIS EXCELLENCY THE RIGHT HON'BLE BARON CHELMSFORD,

P.C., G.M.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.M.I.E., G.C.B.E.

VICEROY AND GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA IN COUNCIL,

SIMLA

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

- (1) We, the undersigned, representing the journalists of the Bombay Presidency, hereby beg to state that we have carefully perused the judgement of the Punjab Martial Law Tribunal and the articles of *The Tribune* on which the judgment is based.
- (2) In our humble opinion, all of these writings are perfectly capable of entirely innocent interpretation and we respectfully submit to Your Excellency that, in the light of the habitually sober character of Mr. Roy's writing in *The Tribune* during the period of his editorship, it is but just and fair that they should be understood in a liberal and unconstrained sense.
- (3) We understand that Babu Kalinath Roy is in a poor state of health and we fear that his continued incarceration may permanently impair his constitution.
- (4) Regard being had to these circumstances and to the fact that he tendered an apology although none was needed in so far as the articles in question are concerned, we respectfully pray that in the interest of justice, Babu Kalinath Roy may be discharged from prison.

Copies were forwarded to Subramania Aiyar, Rangaswamy Aiengar, George Arundale and C. Rajagopalachari.³

From a photostat: S.N. 6642

¹ Presumably drafted by Gandhiji

² *Vide* the following item.

³ This sentence is in Gandhiji's hand.

87. CIRCULAR LETTER ON KALINATH ROY'S CASE

June 11, 1919

DEAR

I enclose herewith a portion of *Young India* containing full text of the judgment in Babu Kalinath Roy's case, the articles on which it is based and my remarks thereon. In my opinion, there should be wide and prompt agitation throughout the country for the release of Babu Kalinath Roy on grounds of simple justice. I venture to suggest (1) a memorial by local lawyers (2) a memorial by local editors and (3) resolutions at public meetings for the release of Babu Kalinath Roy to His Excellency the Viceroy. The lawyers' memorial will show that the conviction is a legal wrong. The editors' memorial will show that they would have written nothing less than Mr. Roy wrote and public meetings will pass resolution requesting release of Babu Kalinath Roy on grounds of justice. If you fall in with my suggestion, I would suggest your writings to the traders in your district to adopt similar memorials and resolutions. We ought to invite Englishmen to associate with us, if they will, in asking for the redress of a clearly demonstrable injustice.

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

Yours sincerely,

M. K. G.

From a photostat: S.N. 6646

88. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

June 11, 1919

No lawyer has yet held out any hope of success before the Privy Council. By properly educating the public, we can secure Kali Babu's release. I suggest your going to Calcutta and other places and canvassing signatures and public meetings in support of an agitation for release not on grounds of mercy but justice and that only. I would suggest your even going to the Bishop of Calcutta and other

Englishmen to join. I do not want you to lose faith in the local men whether official or unofficial. And in any case, there is no other way of carrying on an agitation of this character. What though the Privy Council decision went against us? Those who disapproved of the Meybrook misdeed did not go to the Privy Council but forced the hand of the Home Secretary by creating solid public opinion in their favour.

Yours,
MOHAN

[PS.]

Suggestions as in Rudra's.

From a photostat: S.N. 6645

89. *LETTER TO N. P. COWIE*

AHMEDABAD,
[After *June 11, 1919*]

DEAR MR. COWIE,

I take the liberty of reminding H. E. of my letter of the 30th April last regarding swadeshi. Since then the movement has made much headway and, if I could secure some expression of sympathy from H. E., it would be most valuable for pushing the movement forward, and in this connection I would like to commend to H.E.'s attention Sir Stanley Reed's letter¹ addressed to me and reproduced in *Young India* of the 11th June 1919. Writing from Ahmedabad I have not got a copy by me to send.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 6703

¹ *Vide* Appendix "Sir Stanley Reed's Letter to Gandhiji", 22-5-1919

90. LETTER TO GILLESPIE

AHMEDABAD,
[After June 11, 1919]

DEAR MR. GILLESPIE,

I was delighted to receive your letter. Indeed I have been thinking of writing to you to beseech your help for swadeshi. I entirely agree with you regarding the necessity of mercantile honesty. I am straining every nerve to keep the movement on the right path.

Could you sign the pledge or do what Sir Stanley Reed did? Herewith copy of *Young India*¹ containing his letter.

Satyagraha is a more difficult matter. I shall be in Ahmedabad on Sunday and if you could come to the Ashram, I should be delighted to meet you.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 6683 a

91. LETTER TO SECRETARIES, SATYAGRAHA COMMITTEE

LABURNUM ROAD,
GAMDEVI,
BOMBAY,
June 12, 1919

DEAR SECRETARIES,

I would like the Executive Committee to consider and decide upon the question of the renewal of civil disobedience which I think should take place in the beginning of July next. After carefully weighing all the considerations that have been urged against such a renewal, I have come to the conclusion that, consistent with the Satyagraha Pledge, there is nothing so far as I can see today to warrant a further postponement. Causes that operated in favour of suspension in the month of April no longer operated today. People know what is expected of them. The Government are fully prepared on their own showing against all emergencies. A movement like satyagraha, designed as it is to work a moral revolution in society so far as the

¹ Dated 11-6-1919, *vide* also the preceding item.

method of attaining reforms are concerned, cannot be stopped for the vague fear of unscrupulous or ignorant persons misusing it. At the same time, every possible precaution must be taken by us against any such misuse. I shall therefore propose at the meeting that I should be given the power to select the exact moment of starting civil disobedience and the satyagrahis who should take part in it and to decide upon the manner of offering civil disobedience. I contemplate restriction of civil disobedience to areas as also to persons. The other satyagrahis will be taking their share in the movement by attending to the activity that may be assigned to them.

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 6649

92. LETTER TO S. T. SHEPPARD

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
June 12, 1919

DEAR MR. SHEPPARD¹,

I enclose herewith a portion of *Young India* containing a reference to Babu Kalinath Roy's case. I hope you will find time to peruse the case and if you agree with my view that a gross injustice has been done to Mr. Roy, I trust you will join the movement for his release. I enclose also copy of a letter² addressed to a few friends outside Bombay for their support. The letter will indicate the manner in which agitation for Mr. Roy's release might be carried out.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 6647

¹ Editor, The Times of India, Bombay

² *Vide* "Circular Letter on Kalinath Roy's Case", 11-6-1919.

93. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

BOMBAY,
Thursday [June 12, 1919]¹

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I have your second letter.

Chi. Shamaldas will be going there. He is leaving for Rajkot today. He will stay there for two days and then go to the Ashram. I have fixed no pay for him. Just now, give him some work. Fix the pay after you have had some experience together. I know there is much other work of a miscellaneous nature. To extricate oneself out of it all and recognize the most important thing to do is what I call zeal. This zeal cannot be imparted. When you have it, you can act in no other way.

Narahari was right in refusing to do the translation. We shall succeed only when we are possessed by the loom. It was I who asked the thing to be sent there for translation but, since he is busy with spinning and weaving², he need not attend to other work.

Who will look after Imam Saheb? Durgabehn has again pain in the back. There is no better treatment for this than Kuhne bath and simple food. I shall arrange to send her to Mathura.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C. W. 5770. Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

94. LETTER TO E. W. FRITCHLEY

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
June 13, 1919

DEAR MR. FRITCHLEY³,

I enclose herewith a portion of *Young India* containing a reference to Babu Kalinath Roy's case and copy of a general letter

¹ Evidently this letter preceded the letter to Maganlal, dated June 15, 1919, in which Gandhiji refers to Shamaldas' expected arrival in Ahmedabad on that date.

² Literally, "on yarn"

³ Architect, Fort, Bombay

addressed by me in the matter. I wish I could interest you in this case. I think you will agree with me that this is a case of manifest injustice.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 6650

95. LETTER TO E. S. MONTAGU

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
June, 14, 1919

DEAR MR. MONTAGU,

At the time I sent you a message through Sir Prabhashankar Pattani¹, I told him I would probably be writing to you on the subject I discussed with him. But I have refrained till now, as I was loath to trouble you more than I could help in the midst of your multifarious duties. I however did send another message through Mr. Shastriar as also Dr. Sir Stanley Reed.

Your kindly reference to me as also your hope that I would act more responsibly necessitates my writing to you. Our common interest in an Empire to which both you and I belong is my excuse for asking you to spare a few moments for this letter.

I would like to assure you that I have acted with the greatest deliberation and with a due sense of responsibility. I had not the vaguest notion of the deep-seated and widespread anger against the Government. When I suggested the Sunday demonstration and fast, I thought I would be laughed at by most people as a lunatic. But the idea struck the religious imagination of an angry people. They thought that deliverance lay through some such demonstrative and penitential act. I was unprepared for this universal response as I was unprepared for the shooting (in my opinion, totally uncalled for) at Delhi and much more so for my arrest and deportation and various orders of exclusion and internment. I was proceeding to Delhi not to offer civil disobedience but was going at the instance of the Delhi leaders to calm the popular mind there and thence to the Punjab on a similar mission. The seizing of Drs. Satyapal and Kitchlew was a criminal blunder of the first magnitude. I had no warrant for imputing

¹ 1862-1937; Dewan of former Bhavnagar State; member, India Council, 1917-9

such madness to the Punjab Government or weakness to the Government of India which sanctioned the action of the Punjab Government. Both knew that I was proceeding on a mission of peace and both ought to have known that the arrest of the two doctors and myself was bound to incense a mob that had already become infuriated at the actions of the authorities at Delhi and Amritsar. But for these blunders, you will believe me, the awful acts of the mob would never have occurred. The fury of Ahmedabad was more personal than otherwise. The people could not tolerate my arrest and the rumoured arrest of Anasuyabehn.

I have however taken my due share of responsibility for the criminal misdeeds of the people. But I remain unrepentant about my creed or its preaching. Disobedience of some sort is the right and duty of human beings when they see a wrong and are otherwise unable to right it. In the vast majority of cases, they resort to criminal disobedience. This I think is wrong in every case. I have attempted unceasingly for the last 12 years with more or less success to replace criminal by civil disobedience as a method for securing reform. And had the doctrine sufficiently permeated the masses, there would have been no violence from the people in any event whatsoever. It is the advent of satyagraha which localized the disturbances and which has been such a powerful aid on the side of law and order.

I beg to assure you that there will be no peace in India until Rowlatt legislation is repealed and Mahomedan sentiment is satisfied. I venture to suggest too that the inquiry contemplated by you should include revision of sentences passed by the Martial Law Tribunal in the Punjab.

This retention of Rowlatt legislation in the teeth of universal opposition is an affront to the nation. Its repeal is necessary to appease national honour. Conciliation of the Mahomedans is necessary to appease their religious sentiment. The reforms will fall flat if they are not accompanied or preceded by an announcement on these two points.

In conclusion, may I congratulate you on your great and generous speech on the second reading of the Reforms Bill? It will, I know, be hailed with acclamation throughout India. I hope the Bill and the regulations will come up to the standard of your speech.

*I am,
Yours sincerely,*

From a photostat: S.N. 6658

96. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
June 14, 1919

MY DEAR HENRY,

I am adding to your burdens. You will read the two issues of *Young India* for the week. You have to attend to

- 1 The South African situation
2. The Rowlatt legislation
3. The status of subjects of Native States (read Vyas' case¹ reported in *Young India*)
4. The Punjab inquiry with the power to revise sentences
5. The release of Kalinath Roy

The last is at present the most urgent. Kali Babu is ailing and is ill able to bear imprisonment. Vyas' case raises an issue of the highest importance. See Sir Prabhashankar Pattani. Unless Rowlatt Act is withdrawn earlier, I propose starting civil disobedience next July. Needless to say I shall take every precaution against violence breaking out. More of this later.

With love,

Yours,
BHAI

[PS.]

Here is a copy not for public use of my letter to Mr. Montagu.

From a photostat: G.N. 3793

¹ Vide "Letter to N. P. Cowie", 25-5-1919.

97. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

BOMBAY,
June 15, 1919

CHI. MAGANLAL,

In my letter of yesterday I said that Chi. Shamaldas would most probably arrive there today. My condition with him is this that he should learn weaving, sufficient for his purpose, do all that may need to be done about it and go wherever necessary. I expect him to cultivate contacts with weavers all over India, to set them working and find out capable men among them, as also women who can spin. I think he can do all this. Another condition I have made is that he should bring over Shanti to the Ashram. Shanti will perhaps agree to live there, but I do not think, nor does Shamaldas, that Nandkorbhabhi¹ will. If I remain free and succeed in wining her over and bringing her to the Ashram, persuading her that the activities there are wholly concerned with dharma, that will be another story. Meanwhile, however, Shamaldas must stay with Nandkorbhabhi. I think it will be possible for him to rent the out-houses in Miyakhan's bungalow. Anasuyabehn tells me that, apart from these rooms, some other house will also be available. Do what you think best in this matter. Shamaldas believes that in 15 to 20 days Nandkorbhabhi will agree to come over there. The condition I have agreed upon with him is that I should provide him 80 to 90 rupees a month. Give the amount to him and enter them in the books accordingly. I think I shall be able to obtain this from Dr. Mehta. It is for you, Chhaganlal and Shamaldas himself to see that he is wholly absorbed in the Ashram activities. You can ask me for any help that may be needed. I am very keen that all the three brothers should join me in my work. I had a very good letter from Ranchhod. He says that he would certainly love to take an examination and that, accordingly, I should let him satisfy his desires; he is sure, though, that, after taking his B.A. he will come over there. He has no doubt that he loves all the activities I have undertaken. Ranchhod's language is very beautiful. I see from this that he has improved his Gujarati.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 6661

¹ Widow of Lakshmidas Gandhi

98. LETTER TO GANGABEHN

“MANI BHUVAN”,
LABURNUM ROAD,
GAMDEVI, BOMBAY,
Sunday, Jeth Vad 2 [June 15, 1919]

DEAR SISTER,

A school for teaching spinning has been started here today. It will work every day from 12 to 3. I should like you to attend. Behn Ramibai showed me hand-woven cloth. It was excellent,

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS GANDHI

GANGA SWARUP¹ BEHN GANGABAI MEGHAJI²
KANJI KARSANDAS BUILDING
HOLI CHAKLA
FORT, BOMBAY

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 5736. Courtesy: Gangabehn Vaidya

99. LETTER TO ZAFAR-UL-MULK ALAWI³

[After June 15, 1919]

I thank you for your letter of the 15th instant. Do please keep me informed of the proceedings in appeal against the conviction of Saiyid Fazl-ul Rahman.

The picture you gave me of Lucknow is the picture I am receiving about almost every part of India. It does not dishearten me, for we have now got the correct perspective. If you tell me that you have to stand there alone in the midst of the social and political debris, you may come down to Bombay and take part in the constructive programme that is being shaped. *Ramzan* is fast drawing to a close and I suppose you will be at liberty thereafter to leave Lucknow.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

¹ Literally, in a state like Ganga's; according to the Mahabharata, the sacred river took human form and lived as wife of King Shantanu for some time. Among the Hindus, the term is prefixed to the name of a widow.

² Later joined the Satyagraha Ashram and was a member of its Managing Committee

³ Editor, Alnazir

PS.

I shall see that you get the literature you want. Do you get *Young India*?

Bombay Secret Abstracts, 1919, pp. 601-2. Courtesy: Maharashtra State Committee for the History of the Freedom Movement in India

100. THE SWADESHI VOW¹

Monday, June 16, 1919

We advisedly deferred issuing this leaflet so long, for the reason that we thought it necessary to make some provision for the supply of cloth to intending signatories before giving the vow wider publicity.

Mr. Naranji Purushottam has succeeded in securing the co-operation of Mr. Vithaldas Jerajani, lately manager of the Swadeshi Co-operative Stores, and has invested his own capital in starting a Pure Swadeshi Cloth Store, the opening ceremony of which will take place on Wednesday next. Any person will be able to get at this Store pure swadeshi cloth woven from yarn spun out of indigenous cotton, wool or silk. Messrs Narandas and Jerajani have vowed not to charge more than 5 per cent on cost price as profits. A fixed rate of prices will be strictly observed. These gentlemen have also vowed not to charge anything by way of profits on hand-woven cloth out of hand-spun yarn.

Pure swadeshi cloth within the meaning of our vow, as also cloth which alone can be called pure swadeshi, but which is not yet available enough for a large number of vow-takers, will thus be obtainable at this Store from Thursday next. As this Store is going to be run on purely patriotic lines, and not on business lines, nothing but cloth necessary for swadeshi vow No. 1 and No. 2 will be sold at the Store. Only shops run on these lines and a hearty public response to them can materially promote swadeshi. We hope other liberal-minded merchants will copy Mr. Naranji Purushottam's example, and provide facilities for these taking the swadeshi vow.

But it must be fully borne in mind that merely opening swadeshi stores will never satisfy the objects of swadeshi. One great object of the propagation of swadeshi is to prevent the country's wealth

¹ Described as the second leaflet in the source. For the first leaflet, *vide* "The Swadeshi Vow", 13-5-1919.

from going out of it. And this can be attained only if import of foreign cloth is stopped and more cloth produced at home. The thing to be borne in mind in this connection is not that swadeshi cloth produced in the country remains unsold for want of buyers. The fact is that we do *not* produce enough cloth to meet our needs. Every man and woman taking the swadeshi vow must therefore keep one aim in view, viz., that he or she should produce, or get somebody to produce, cloth necessary for his or her requirements. If lakhs of men and women were to do this, much of the money going out of our country would remain here, and the exorbitant prices of cloth our poor people have to pay would be saved. In view of these considerations, it is clear that he helps swadeshi more who *produces* or helps to produce more swadeshi cloth, than one who simply rests satisfied with *using* swadeshi cloth.

Let us now consider how production of cloth can be increased in the country. I here are three ways of doing this: (1) by starting more mills; (2) by purchasing foreign yarn and weaving it on handlooms; (3) by weaving oneself or getting woven cloth out of yarn spun by oneself or by someone else in one's own country.

Now apart from any views against machine-made cloth, it will be seen that it is no easy thing to start mills as quickly as we would. It certainly takes some time to erect buildings for the mill, to get machines from abroad and to procure labour. Assuming, therefore, for a moment that there would be no difficulty in obtaining capital, it is not possible for us to add to the stock of our cloth by means of having new mills.

It is no doubt possible to weave cloth from yarn obtained from abroad, and the second swadeshi vow was devised with the view that it is far better to use cloth woven in our country out of foreign yarn, and thus to save some money at least going out of the country, than not to use swadeshi cloth at all.

But the more I think, the more I see dangers in this. Our demand for foreign yarn in a quantity sufficient for cloth necessary for lakhs of men is likely to send up the prices of foreign yarn to such an extent that the rise will be equal to the wages we have to pay for labour here, which would mean that we had gone ahead, only to fall back. If, therefore, we could find some way out, we would not have to depend on foreign yarn.

This brings us to the third way, viz., to get yarn spun here, and

to get it woven on handlooms. This is the royal road, and the surest to lead us to the goal. If this is adopted by the people, the goal will be reached with the least possible labour and in the shortest possible time. This would also provide thousands of men with an independent calling, and hundreds of thousands of poor women and widows with a means of livelihood to be pursued in their own homes. The experiment does not require any very large capital, but it does require two things to be successful. The first thing necessary is a number of volunteers. They need not be highly educated or highly intelligent. Honesty and perseverance are indispensable. Education and intelligence cannot be had at will, but honesty and perseverance can be had if one but makes up one's mind for them. The volunteers can be useful in two ways: (1) They can learn spinning and/or weaving and can dedicate some hours of their labour to the country, or (2) they can find out men knowing spinning and weaving and introduce them to the public. If a number of such volunteers came forward, we would within a very short time produce cloth worth thousands of rupees.

But of more importance than even the volunteers is pure love of country, a sacrifice of some luxuries which it entails. It will take a long time, of course, to raise the art of spinning to its original level and to produce yarn sufficiently fine to weave fine muslin out of it. At the present moment, numerous men and women can learn the art of spinning to start with. Spinning fine yarn is a matter of practice and careful effort. In the meantime, people will have to be satisfied with what cloth they can get made out of hand-spun yarn. If they are not ready even for this little sacrifice, it will not be possible for us to fulfil a great pledge like the swadeshi. We hope to consider this third method of increasing the stock of our cloth at some more length in our next leaflet.

M. K. GANDHI

Young India, 18-6-1919

*101. EXAMINATION ON COMMISSION IN CONNECTION
WITH DR. KITCHLEW'S TRIAL AT LAHORE*

BOMBAY,
June 16, 1919

In connection with Dr. Kitchlew's trial before the Martial Law Commission at Lahore, Mahatma Gandhi was called upon to give evidence; on Monday, before Mr. Aston, the Chief Presidency Magistrate, Bombay.

Asked as to his occupation, Mr. Gandhi described himself as a farmer and a weaver.

At this, Mr. Aston smiled and said, "You were summoned as a Barrister-at-Law."

MR. GANDHI: I was a Barrister, but am not practising at present.

Mr. Aston said he would describe him as a farmer, weaver and a Barrister not practising at present.

Mr. Gandhi was next asked if he knew Dr. Kitchlew, to which question he replied that he did not know Dr. Kitchlew personally, except by report. Questioned whether the satyagraha movement had anything to do with the Rowlatt legislation, Mr. Gandhi gave an affirmative answer. He was then asked whether, to his knowledge, Dr. Kitchlew was a law-abiding subject. Mr. Gandhi said he could not say. He did not know that.

The Bombay Chronicle, 17-6-1919

102. SPEECH ON SWADESHI, BOMBAY¹

June 17, 1919

The ideas which I used to express piecemeal since the year 1900 have been confirmed by my experience here in India. So long as we do not bring ourselves to observe scrupulously the rule of swadeshi, we shall not succeed in attaining swaraj. Those who have read any book on Indian history will instantly recall that the Dutch, the French and the British came to India for the sole purpose of trade. We had no navy at that time, though of course we had a merchant fleet. The concern of our people for dharma is evidence enough that India depended entirely on her skills for defending her trade. The kind of fine cloth which India produced then no other country did, and it was

¹ The meeting was held near Carnac Bunder, Gandhiji was in the chair.

this which attracted foreign merchants to India. The tracery-work formerly done in India was so good and artistic that it had no equal anywhere else. With the advance of research, European scholars testify that our sciences, and even our holy books, went abroad following the very lines of our trade. This caught the eyes of merchants from all the three countries and they took shiploads of wonders from India. So wonderful were the things produced in the country in those days that these merchants thought it profitable to carry away shiploads of them. They also carried spices and herbs from here. This very India which was reputed to be a prosperous country, leading in trade, has fallen into the present plight, being obliged to import her needs from abroad. In no other country will you find such a state of affairs.

The chief reason, in my view, for this miserable condition is our loss of interest in swadeshi goods, and you, too, if you but think, will feel the same way; for you will find no country which advanced by turning its back upon its own goods. Not many centuries have passed since free trade was introduced in England; even then, she has never permitted herself to be in the same condition in which we find ourselves [today]. The people of Australia, New Zealand and of South Africa, of which I have personal experience, freely use goods produced in their own countries and impose customs duties as they think best on imported goods; for they are not dependent on such goods. We in India lost even our freedom only because we abandoned swadeshi. Though the Moghul Emperors are in a sense regarded as foreigners, under their rule India was not reduced to the plight which she is in today; for at that time India flourished in trade and industry and even the luxuries which surrounded the Emperors were the produce of indigenous craftsmanship so that the country's wealth remained in the country. The sight of our old monuments like the Taj Mahal, the Kutub Minar, etc., cannot but recall to us the prosperity of our by-gone days. When we scrupulously follow the law of swadeshi, even British rule will cease to be foreign rule and will become swadeshi rule. When we cease to import any goods from outside, our relations with foreign countries will no longer be based on considerations of self-interest but will be inspired by concern for general welfare. Only when all the nations of the world seek their welfare with a sense of kinship among themselves as among members of a family, will England adopt such an attitude towards us. We are not even able to follow our dharma of using swadeshi; how, then, can we compare ourselves with England? Swadeshi is our primary dharma;

not to follow it and yet hope for India's progress is like hoping to find a flower in the sky.

When swadeshi was introduced in Bengal, the people there were not ready for it, nor the traders. The leaders then embarked upon the task of spreading swadeshi far and wide among the people, and gave it up, for, in the attempt to take too big a step, they lost everything. We should embrace again what we have abandoned all these 200 years. If we think of using everything swadeshi all at once, the result will be that we shall succeed in using none. I am placing before the people a programme which they can assimilate and carry out. If we start using only swadeshi cloth, we shall prevent the loss of 60 crores of rupees to foreign countries on that account. This will be no small gain.

The purest swadeshi vow will be to use cloth made out of yarn spun by one's wife, sisters and children in the home.

Even mill-made cloth cannot be treated as pure swadeshi, for the yarn [used in it] is produced here and [finished] on costly machines abroad with foreigners' intelligence. That means that we are entirely dependent [in respect of mill-made cloth] on foreign sources.

You will see at Narandas's shop on Thursday a stock of swadeshi goods which will supply the cloth required to observe the vow of undiluted swadeshi. The chief reason so far for our being in such a state is our lethargy and lack of patriotic sentiment. There was a time in India when they worked on perfect machines which a carpenter of ordinary abilities could make in a day.

Shri Narandas and Shri Vithaldas have undertaken to run this pure swadeshi store and spread the idea throughout the country. I hope you will take advantage of this *shuddha*¹ Swadeshi Store.

[From Gujarati]

Gujarati, 22-6-1919

¹ Pure

103. LETTER TO S. R. HIGNELL

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
June 18, 1919

DEAR MR. HIGNELL,

It is just likely that this letter will cause pain to His Excellency. But I fear that it is my duty to inform H.E. that I contemplate renewing civil disobedience in July next unless circumstances alter my plans.

The awful experiences of the past two months and a half have shown me that there is nothing save satyagraha of which civil disobedience is an integral part, that can possibly save India from Bolshevism and even a worse fate. In spite of the indications to a superficial observer may appear to be contrary, satyagraha alone can smooth the relations between Englishmen and Indians. I would like His Excellency to believe with me that the exhibition of anti-English feeling during the second week of April was not due to the advent of satyagraha which is designed among other things to remove the acerbity¹ between the two members of the Empire but to pre-existing causes and the further belief (and this is the more important) that the madness was confined to certain small parts only of this great continent because satyagraha had arrived and it was doing its silent but most efficient and effective work during the critical period. I will not deny that the military preparations had, too, something to do with the preservation of peace in the other parts of India. But I venture to suggest that satyagraha had a greater deal to do with it.

Anyway, such being my opinion of satyagraha and its efficacy, I would be no longer justified in further suspending civil disobedience. I wish I could persuade the Viceroy to see eye to eye with me in the matter of the Rowlatt legislation. It is legislation which irrespective of merits ought not to stand after the expression of public feeling against it during the months of March and April. No doubt, there were many causes operating in favour of the vast demonstrations witnessed on the 6th of April last. But the Rowlatt legislation was the *causa causans*. I trust that His Excellency will see his way to withdraw the legislation.

¹ The source has "acerbation".

My letter regarding the appointment of a committee of inquiry¹ is already before H.E. as also my letter requesting the release of Babu Kalinath Roy.² Both these are matters of the greatest importance and have an intimate connection with the Rowlatt legislation agitation. I hope that both my requests will receive H.E.'s favourable consideration.

It now remains for me to add that should a renewal of civil disobedience become necessary, it will be confined only to myself, the other satyagrahis will qualify themselves for civil disobedience by assisting to preserve peace and by other services of an ennobling character. My earnest desire is in the present circumstances of the country to confine civil disobedience to the narrowest limits possible. For the time being, all demonstrations including hartal will be avoided.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 6666

*104. SPEECH ON OPENING SHUDDHA SWADESHI
VASTRA BHANDAR, BOMBAY³*

June 18, 1919

Mr. Gandhi, addressing the meeting, said that the first thing that he would like to point out was that the idea of making money was farthest from the organizers of the Store whose only end and aim was to minister to the needs of the people, charging the least possible rates. The Store deserved their most active sympathy and support which could only be proved if a number of rich merchants followed by opening many such stores not only in Bombay, but in other parts of India.

Mr. Gandhi next read a letter from Mr. Jamnadas wherein he had expressed his inability to attend the function as he had to be away at Poona, and expressed a wish that many of his brethren in Bombay would follow Mr. Narandas⁴ example.

Proceeding, Mr. Gandhi said that there were no two opinions as to the importance of swadeshi. It was as much a necessity of daily life

¹ *Vide* "Letter to J. L. Maffey", 16-5-1919.

² *Vide* "Letter to S. R. Hignell", 9-6-1919.

³ At the Morarji Gokuldas Cloth Market

⁴ One of the proprietors of the Store

as air, water and food. The truth of this could only be realized by looking at swadeshi in a religious spirit. No nation on earth had risen without adopting swadeshi as a principle of life. It was beyond his purpose to dilate any more on the necessity and importance of swadeshi, he only wanted to offer a few suggestions as to how swadeshi could be put into practice and how it could be promoted.

This first thing was to understand one's limitations, and in the present wretchedly dependent state of the country, one could not but restrict the principle to clothing alone. India produced only twenty five per cent of cloth necessary to clothe its people. It was therefore their principal duty to produce more cloth. He wished to point out to all the members of the mercantile community present, with all the force that he could command, that without producing a sufficient stock of pure swadeshi cloth, their salvation was impossible. He hoped, therefore, that those who had money and those who had expert knowledge would place their money and their knowledge at the disposal of the country.

He asked those present to hark back to the past when swadeshi was practised without any effort, as effortlessly as one took in air and water, and he asked them to consider how that was possible. The simplest and the most effective contrivance of handloom rendered that possible. He did not for a moment think Europe had a monopoly of intellect and enterprise. When other nations were leading the most primitive life, when they could find no better clothing than the bark of trees or hides of animals, Indians invented the art of growing cotton, of spinning cotton and weaving it into cloth. He believed that the intellect of the man who devised the simple spinning-wheel and the handloom was far greater than that of the man who invented the power-spindle and the power-loom.

He was glad to inform them that in the Punjab at the present moment thousands of ladies even of high families were spinning yarn in their own homes, that he had himself secured the willing service of a Punjabi lady who conducted a spinning class at his own residence in Bombay. He referred with touching effect to the fine music of the spinning-wheel that he had the privilege to hear nowadays and invited them to share that privilege with him and to convince themselves what a jarring contrast was produced by the harsh noise of the spindles and looms in a modern factory. He was pained to point out that there were 56,00,000 sadhus in India who lived entirely on begging. It was their

clear duty to tempt these sadhus out of their idleness and to persuade them to employ themselves in spinning and weaving. There were, besides the sadhus, many widows who spent most of their time in temples and idle ritual. He would most earnestly advise these and other ladies of rich families who had no other work to do to take to spinning and weaving and give some hours of their labour to the country.

He added that he did not need to point out to them that swadeshi cloth was much more durable than foreign cloth, as that was a matter of everyone's experience.

Mr. Gandhi then said that he had prepared after some consultation and discussion with Mrs. Ramibai Kamdar and others a third vow¹ which allowed those taking it to continue the use of foreign clothes that were in their possession before taking the vow. He had done this in deference to the earnest wishes of some ladies, and he was not sure there were no dangers in that vow. He therefore emphasized that those taking the third vow would keep as their goal the first vow and try to dispose of the foreign clothes in their possession as speedily as they could, by using them for daily use and reserving pure swadeshi cloth for important ceremonial occasions.

Mr. Gandhi exhorted the audience to realize the importance of commercial morality.

He laid special emphasis on the fact that so long as speculation was rife in Bombay, it was bound to be a great barrier in the success of swadeshi. It was high time that they resolved to keep studiously aloof from it. The Japan magnates laid their titles and their treasures at the disposal of their country. The magnates of India could also copy their example and render lasting service to their country. Humanity and honesty should be their watchwords and true patriotism which was the only effective motive force should guide them. Swadeshi, he concluded, was one of the very few subjects on which there was absolutely no difference of opinion and he expected all who were concerned in some way or other with the shaping of the country's destiny to grasp the fact and actively move in the direction of propagating swadeshi which only could rid people of their poverty.

Young India, 21-6-1919

¹ *Vide* "Swadeshi Sabha Rules", before 1-7-1919.

105. LETTER TO A LADY FRIEND IN SOUTH AFRICA

[After June 18, 1919]¹

At the rapid pace things are moving, it is difficult to do full justice to any particular movement. Economic distress, political repression and an awakening amongst the masses in particular in all countries have all played an important part in bringing about the present world conditions where, enquiring of every country, you find them affected without exception by unrest of a deep-seated character. In America, it is class warfare; in England, it is labour unrest; in Russia, Bolshevism, and in India, it is an all round unrest due to repression, famine and other causes. The situation which now faces the western nations was inevitable; for western civilization, based on the basic principle of brute force as a guiding motive, could have ultimately led only to mutual destruction. But in India against all odds, the high principles of our hoary civilization have still a strong hold on the masses; and if the rapidly widespread growth of Bolshevism which is attacking one nation after another in Europe was to be successfully arrested in India, and even any possibility of its finding a congenial soil safeguarded against, it was necessary that the people of India should be reminded of the legacy of their civilization and culture, which is comprised in the one word “satyagraha”—the highest *mantra* one can know of.

In the last week of January, 1919, the Government of India published the text of two Bills, now popularly known here as the Rowlatt Bills. The Bills secured to the Government of India arbitrary powers which they had under the Defence of India Act, specially passed as a war measure for the duration of the war and six months after. But what could be tolerated in a time of war cannot be permitted in times of peace when the Government should solely devote their attention to problems of reconstruction and not instead be over-anxious and stubborn in claiming arbitrary powers as essential for maintenance of peace and order. At a time when the Parliament itself has felt the need of indianizing the administration of this country and the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform proposals were before the country for criticism, and when the member of the Civil Service and the

¹ The Swadeshi Store to which there is a reference in the last paragraph of this letter was opened on June 18, 1919.

Anglo-Indian capitalists, fearing that they may lose the privileged positions they have been holding at the expense of the Indian masses, employ fair and unfair means to nullify the utility of the Reform proposals, and the Viceroy, the highest authority in India, openly countenances them by an announcement in the Imperial Council akin to a surrender to the clamour of vested interests, no Indian can calmly contemplate the future of public life in this country, with the Rowlatt legislation in the Statute-book. The opposition in the country to the Rowlatt legislation has been unanimous beyond comparison, and in the Imperial Council when the Rowlatt Bill No. 1 was passed into law, on March 18th, not a single Indian member voted for it. On account of the strong opposition to the Bill, the Rowlatt Act No. 1 was made temporary for three years and also specially designated as "The Revolutionary and Anarchical Crimes Act". But these concessions amounted to nothing practically.

After consideration of all the circumstances, I came to the conclusion to inaugurate the offering of "satyagraha" against the Rowlatt Act. At the end of February, 1919, the Satyagraha Pledge was taken by me and other leaders and the people were also invited to take the Pledge, which states that, being conscientiously convinced of the injustice of the Rowlatt legislation, until it is repealed, the signatories will resort to civil disobedience and binding themselves to follow Truth and refrain from violence. I toured over India preaching the principles of satyagraha, and after the passing of the Rowlatt Act No. 1, recommended, as a first step, a hartal and 24 hours' fast and 30th March, 1919 was fixed for the same. Later, it was postponed to 6th April, but in some places it was observed on 30th March, and on that day, at Delhi the mob was fired upon, on some ground or other, by the authorities, resulting in some deaths and many wounded. This incident roused such feeling in the country that the demonstration arranged for 6th April was largely attended and even Anglo-Indian critics had to admit it was an unprecedented demonstration. On 7th April, copies of proscribed literature, including *Hind Swaraj*, were sold by the satyagrahis in all the centres. On the evening of 8th April, I left for Delhi to personally acquaint myself with the conditions at Delhi, and I was served with an order by the Punjab Government and the Government of India, not to enter the Punjab by the former and to reside within Bombay Presidency by the latter. As a satyagrahi, I could not obey the order, and, on entering the Punjab, was arrested. I felt so glad at it, for the soul was now free while the body was taken

care of by the Government. I sent message to the people asking them to welcome it as happy news and celebrate the event. But, instead of being kept in confinement, I was brought into the Bombay Presidency and set free. I returned to Bombay only to find the city full of disturbances. That evening, I addressed a huge mass meeting on the sea sands, where I gave expression to my keen disappointment at the misguided action of the people and characterized their action as *duragraha*, and told them that, if they should again betray the trust reposed in them by acting as *duragrahis*, the only course open to me would be to offer satyagraha against them by observing *dharana*¹ and giving up this body as a penance for inaugurating satyagraha and taking the huge moral responsibility for the good conduct of the movement and its followers. But disturbances in the Punjab at Lahore, Amritsar and other places and at Ahmedabad, near which the Ashram is situated, have been of very grave character, involving the proclamation of martial law. Loss to life and property has been enormous. But the disturbances in the Punjab are not due to the satyagraha movement but the outbreaks in Bombay and Ahmedabad were sufficient to show to me that real satyagraha would consist in suspending the civil disobedience programme and in preaching the principle of *ahimsa*. The Satyagraha Sabhas, accordingly, suspended civil disobedience on 20th April, which event was shortly followed by the deportation of Mr. B. G. Horniman, a noble-hearted Englishman and fearless Editor of *The Bombay Chronicle*. Orders of forfeiture of security and pre-censorship were passed on the *Chronicle* and it is only for the last fortnight the *Chronicle* has been appearing without comments under pre-censorship and it is only a few days ago the censorship has been removed from the paper, the maximum security of Rs. 10,000, having been deposited by the proprietors. During the six weeks from 20th April, the events in the Punjab have been of an unprecedentedly cruel character. Martial law had been proclaimed in several areas and was withdrawn only a week or two ago. Aeroplanes have been used to throw bombs, machine-guns have been used, and educated public leaders have been arrested under serious charges of waging war against the King, etc., and are being tried by a Martial Law Commission. Mr. K. N. Roy, Editor of *The Tribune*, has been tried for seditious writings and tried by a Special Tribunal and denied legal

¹ Sitting at one spot without food or drink for the purpose of exerting moral pressure. The source has "dharama", evidently a misprint.

help of his choice and sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment. After perusing the connected records, I am convinced that in Mr. K. N. Roy's case, a serious miscarriage of justice has occurred. The actions of the mobs during the disturbances also have been unworthy and of a highly condemnable character.

The circumstances that led to the suspension of civil disobedience exist no longer and the civil disobedience campaign might be safely begun now with sufficient safeguards to see the satyagrahis do their part of duty in keeping the peace.

In order to keep the people fully engaged and teach them that the best way of expressing one's sympathy with the principles of satyagraha is to practise them, I have begun an active swadeshi campaign; and within the short period of six weeks, it has spread very rapidly. Many Indian sisters have bravely volunteered in the cause, of the movement, and, in addition to themselves observing the vow by wearing Indian-made clothes woven from Indian yarn and also setting up handlooms, have found men to work them. A true sympathizer's duty with the swadeshi movement is not only to wear swadeshi clothes but also to help in producing them. In Bombay, the *shuddha* Swadeshi Stores have been already opened and other centres will also be opening similar stores soon. *Shuddha* swadeshi consists in wearing clothes hand-woven from hand-spun yarn. Of course, at this early stage, it will not be possible to get fine *shuddha* swadeshi clothes but one should not mind that.

Indian Opinion, 12-9-1919

106. TRIBUTE TO B. G. HORNIMAN

BOMBAY,
June 19, 1919

Of Mr. Horniman, I can say that the more I knew him, the more I loved him. Few Englishmen have served journalism, and through that gift India, with such fearlessness and strength of conviction as Mr. Horniman, and this I am able to say, although I often disapproved of his strong language and invective of which he was a master.

M. K. GANDHI

The Bombay Chronicle, 19-6-1919

107. LETTER TO E. L. SALE

LABURNUM ROAD,
GAMDEVI,
BOMBAY,
June 19, 1919

DEAR SIR,

I have put certain young men to the study of different subjects. Mr. S. P. Patwardhan, M.A., is one of these young men who has been put to a study of salt-tax. The public libraries do not keep all available literature on the subject. I expect your office library contains certain books unavailable in the local libraries. Mr. Patwardhan will, according to your wishes, either do the reading in your office or take away books if they can be lent. He specially wants the Report by Captain Peddar about 1871-2 and the Report of the Commission appointed by the Bombay Government about 1905.

Yours faithfully,

TO

E. L. SALE, ESQ.
COMMISSIONER OF CUSTOMS, SALT & EXCISE

From a photostat: S.N. 6667

108. SPEECH AT SWADESHI SABHA MEETING, BOMBAY

June 19, 1919

A crowded meeting was held under the auspices of the Swadeshi Sabha at the Morarji Gokuldas Hall on Thursday evening to hear addresses on swadeshi. Mr. Gandhi was in the chair...

The chairman, winding up the proceedings, said that it was a happy augury for the future that according to the information given to him by Mr. Jerajani the sales at the *shuddha* Swadeshi Bhandar amounted for the very first day over Rs. 1,800 whereas they had expected much less. The purchasers included a large and an equal number of Hindu and Parsee ladies. There were also many Mohammedan buyers who bought swadeshi cloth especially for the approaching *Id* festival. Salesmen were kept busy throughout the day. Mr. Gandhi hoped that all who had not taken the vow would go to the Swadeshi Sabha office and take the vow. He then drew attention to Mr. Jamnadas' impending departure to England and invited the audience to associate with him in wishing Mr. Jamnadas a safe voyage and success in his mission. He remarked that he

had received letters adversely criticizing Mr. Jamnadas' resignation from the Satyagraha Sabha. Mr. Gandhi said that Mr. Jamnadas had honest difference of opinion with him. He had grave fears that the approaching renewal of civil disobedience might result in violence. He (Mr. Gandhi) did not share Mr. Jamnadas' fear but holding the view that Mr. Jamnadas did he was entitled to secede from the Satyagraha Sabha without in any way laying himself open to the charge of ceasing to be a satyagrahi. Mr. Gandhi said that his regard for Mr. Jamnadas remained absolutely undiminished in spite of his resignation. The chairman thanked the speakers¹ for having responded to the invitation of the Swadeshi Sabha to speak at the meeting and the audience for giving them a patient hearing.

Young India, 21-6-1919

109. LETTER TO N. P. COWIE

AS AT LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
June 22, 1919

DEAR MR. COWIE²,

I have just seen the petition submitted to His Excellency for mercy in the case of one Chand, a lad of 15 or 16 years, who has been sentenced to be hanged for the murder of the late Sergeant Fraser³. There is in my opinion no doubt that the young boy was one of the murderers of an innocent police officer. I do not share the view taken by Chand's pleader in his petition. But I do respectfully share the view taken by the prosecuting counsel who is reported by *The Times of India* (12th instant Dak Edition) to have said in his address before the Court: "The only extenuating circumstance in favour of the 1st accused (Chand) was his age." There is no doubt too that this was not a murder deliberately planned by Chand or anybody else but that Chand evidently did the act in a fit of mad excitement. Regard being had to all the circumstances of the case I venture to submit that the ends of justice will be better met by tempering it with His Excellency's prerogative of mercy and by commutation of the sentence in any manner that may appear to His Excellency to be most proper. I may observe that Chand has a widowed mother. I trust that

¹ Messrs Khadilkar, Dewji Dwarkadas, Chinoy and Jamnadas Dwarkadas

² Private Secretary to the Governor of Bombay

³ Who was killed in a mob violence at Ahmedabad on April 11; *vide* "Letter to Sir Stanley Reed", 15-4-1919.

His Excellency will be pleased to give favourable consideration to the petition for mercy.¹

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 6670

110. LETTER TO SADIQ ALI KHAN

[June 23, 1919]²

MY DEAR SADIQ ALI KHAN,

I have your letter. I am glad grandmother and all the children have reached there safely and glad that the Begum Sahiba had the opportunity of seeing the Brothers. I never had any doubt that they will be treated in the gaol with every consideration. I am most anxious to get a most correct answer to the charge made in the Government communique; as I have already said, for the present, we should avoid all agitation in the Press regarding the Brothers. I do not know what action can lie against the Government of India. I would like to know more about it. Civil disobedience may now be commenced any day, but it wouldn't be before Monday week. But even then I do not want any other satyagrahi but myself to actually commence civil disobedience, i.e., to say, not for one month after my incarceration. Some instructions³ are being printed, of which I shall send you a copy, and which you may explain to Azimuddin Khan. Please remember me to the Begum Sahiba and all other friends.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 6656

¹ The sentence was commuted to transportation; *vide* "Speech at Chowpatty, Bombay", 6-4-1919.

² *Vide* reference to commencement of civil disobedience before Monday week.

³ *Vide* "Instructions for Satyagrahis", 30-6-1919.

111. CABLE TO E. S. MONTAGU

LABURNUM ROAD,
GAMDEVI,
June 24, 1919¹

TO

RIGHT HON'BLE E. S. MONTAGU

I FEEL I OUGHT TO INFORM YOU THAT UNLESS
CIRCUMSTANCES ALTER SITUATION I PROPOSE RESUM-
ING CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE EARLY JULY STOP WITH
ME IT IS A CREED STOP WHILST PROSPERITY,
JUST LAWS JUST ADMINISTRATION LARGELY
PREVENT CRIMINAL DISOBEDIENCE I FIRMLY BELIEVE
NOTHING BUT CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE WITH TRUTH
AND NON-INJURY AS INDISPENSABLE OBSERVANCES WILL
EVER REPLACE CRIMINAL DISOBEDIENCE AND ONRUSH
BOLSHEVISM STOP GOVERNMENTS WHETHER ALIEN OR
INDIGENOUS WILL SOMETIMES GRIEVOUSLY ERR EVEN
TO EXTENT FLOUTING PUBLIC OPINION AS HAS
HAPPENED IN CASE ROWLATT LEGISLATION. IN SUCH
CASE DISCONTENT MUST EITHER TAKE FORM CRI-
MINAL DISOBEDIENCE AND ANARCHICAL CRIME OR
MAY BE AND CAN BE DIRECTED HEALTHY CHAN-
NEL BY CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE WHICH IS NOTHING
BUT PARTIAL OR TOTAL WITHDRAWAL OF SUPPORT
BY CIVIL RESISTERS FROM GOVERNMENT IN AN
ORDERLY MANNER AND WITHOUT ANGER OR ILL
WILL STOP I WISH HOWEVER THAT ROWLATT LE-
GISLATION COULD BE WITHDRAWN AND COMMITTEE
OF INQUIRY BE APPOINTED TO INVESTIGATE CAU-
SES DISTURBANCES PUNJAB AND ADMINISTRATION MAR-
TIAL LAW WITH POWER TO REVISE SENTENCES
AND THAT KALINATH ROY EDITOR "TRIBUNE" BE
RELEASED STOP I HAVE ALREADY SENT LETTER
VICEROY REQUESTING ABOVE MENTIONED RELIEF.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 6675 R

¹ This was actually sent on June 27, vide "Letter to H. S. L. Polak", 27-6-1919.

*112. SPEECH AT SATYAGRAHA SABHA MEETING,
BOMBAY*

June 24, 1919

Under the auspices of the Satyagraha Sabha, a public meeting was held on June 24, 1919, at the Morarji Gokuldas Hall to protest against the Rowlatt Act and Bill and Mr. B. G. Horniman's deportation. Mr. Gandhi presided.

Mr. Gandhi, after apologizing for being late, said there were many reasons of an important kind for meeting there that night. One of them was the Rowlatt Act and Bill and they had to pass a resolution protesting against them. The second was the resolution against the deportation of Mr. Horniman. The meeting was held under the auspices of the Satyagraha Sabha and he requested all the speakers to speak in such a manner as would become true satyagrahis. At these satyagraha meetings, it was desirable that all the speakers should be satyagrahis, but they had not definitely decided on that question. He then called upon Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta to move the first resolution. . . .

Mr. Gandhi put Mr. V. Jerajani's resolution [relating to Mr. Horniman] to vote and asked them to pass it in silence, all standing to show their respect to Mr. Horniman.

He then said if they could hold similar meetings all over India and conduct them in as orderly a manner as they had done that night, the Government would have to cancel their order against Mr. Horniman. Let the people do their duty and the Government would have to do theirs. Let them hold meetings and pass similar resolutions, and their objects would be easily attained.

The Bombay Chronicle, 25-6-1919

113. LETTER TO G. A. NATESAN

BOMBAY,
June 25, 1919

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Here are instructions¹ issued for this Presidency. You will see they have been issued in virtue of power given to me by the Working Committee.² I suggest the same thing for Madras with the necessary

¹ *Vide* "Instructions for Satyagrahis", 30-6-1919, the draft whereof appears to have been sent. These were to be followed after Gandhiji's incarceration; also "Letter to H. S. L. Polak", 27-6-1919.

² *Vide* Satyagraha Sabha resolution of June 15, 1919, not reproduced here; also "Letter to Secretaries, Satyagraha Committee", 12-6-1919.

changes. The only centres I know are Trichinopoly and Madura, besides Madras itself. But you know better. I therefore leave you to do what you may think best for your Presidency. It would not matter in the least if no other civil resister courts imprisonment. Remember what I have often said, "One real satyagrahi is enough for victory". This is becoming clear to me day by day. Even as a true coin fetches its full value, so does a true satyagrahi fetch his full value, i.e., attain the intended result. And even as false coins or coins of lesser value mixing with the true may diminish for the time being the value of the true coin, it seems to me that a Satyagraha Sangh (Sabha) being a mixture is a weakness from the pure satyagraha standpoint. I do not therefore regret the mixture but I point out the spiritual cause of the temporary setback we received in April. Good often cometh out of evil. It always does in satyagraha. But I must pause now. I have written so much in order to share with you my inmost thoughts as they come to me this morning. (It is now 6.30 a.m.) For on you and the few we are will lie the burden. I enclose also copy of a cable which is being sent to Mr. Montagu.

You may send copies of this to fellow-satyagrahis. Please show this to Devdas.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 6681

114. LETTER TO C. VIJAYARAGHAVACHARIAR

LABURNUM ROAD, GAMDEVI,
BOMBAY,
June 25, 1919

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Here are instructions issued for this Presidency. You will see they have been issued in virtue of power given to me by the Executive Committee. I suggest the same thing for Madras with the necessary changes. The only centres I know are Trichinopoly and Madura, besides Madras itself. But you know better. I therefore leave you to do what you may think best for your Presidency. It would not matter in the least if no other civil resister courts imprisonment. Remember what I have often said: one real satyagrahi is enough for victory. This is becoming clearer to me day by day. Even as a true coin fetches its full

value so does a true satyagrahi fetch his full value, i.e., attain theintended result; and even as false coins or coins of lesser value mixing with the true may diminish for the time being the value of the true coin, so it seems to me that a Satyagraha Sangh (Sabha) being a mixture is a weakness from the pure satyagraha standpoint. I do not therefore regret the mixture, but I point out the spiritual cause of the temporary set-back we received in April. Good often cometh out of evil. It always does in satyagraha. But I must pause now. I have written so much in order to share with you my inmost thoughts as they come to me this morning. For on you and the few we are, will lie the burden.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: C. Vijayaraghavachariar Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

115. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO VICEROY

SATYAGRAHA SABHA,
72, APPOLO STREET,
FORT, BOMBAY,
June 26, 1919

TO
THE PRIVATE SECRETARY TO
HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY
SIMLA

SIR,

I have the honour to communicate the following resolution unanimously passed at a public meeting held here on the 24th instant under the auspices of the Satyagraha Sabha:

That this meeting convened under the auspices of the Satyagraha Sabha prays to His Excellency the viceroy to withdraw the order of deportation against Mr. Benjamin Guy Horniman, lately the Editor of *The Bombay Chronicle*, in view especially of the fact that the reasons given by the Rt. Hon. the Secretary of State for India in justification of that order have been found to be not capable of being substantiated and that there is perfect peace throughout the Bombay Presidency.

May I also request that the said resolution be conveyed to the Rt. Hon. the Secretary of State for India.

I have the honour, &c.,

From a photostat: S.N. 6685

116. LETTER TO S. R. HIGNELL

[BOMBAY,]

June 26, 1919

DEAR MR. HIGNELL,

I enclose herewith petition (petition for submission) to His Excellency praying for Babu Kalinath Roy's release. This petition, as per Sir Narayan Chandavarkar's telegram, should have gone forward on Monday last. My secretary had the matter of despatching in his hands, but he fell ill, and is now in Ahmedabad. The work of taking signatures was in other hands, and I know nothing about the contents of the telegram sent until this morning when Sir Narayan Chandavarkar dropped in and asked me whether the petition had been duly forwarded. He was naturally hurt when I told him that it had not yet gone forward as friends were still taking signatures. Even now, I cannot send you the copy signed by Sir Narayan, Sir Dinshaw Wachha and others. I hope to get hold of it tomorrow and forward it. I apologize for the delay but I know that it will receive that consideration from His Excellency to which it is entitled weighted as it is by the name of a jurist of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar's eminence.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 6686

117. LETTER TO SIR N. G. CHANDAVARKAR

[BOMBAY,

June 26, 1919]

DEAR SIR NARAYAN,

I was deeply grieved this morning to see you so grieved over the unpardonable delay about sending the Kalinath Roy petition. I remain so overwhelmed with work that when a particular thing is entrusted to one of my co-workers, I do not enquire or worry any more about it. Had I known of the contents of the telegram to Simla, I would

certainly have personally attended to the matter. I hope you will distrust the incident from your mind.

I send you copy of a letter I have written to the Private Secretary to the Viceroy. I enjoy fairly intimate relations with him and we often write freely to each other. You will be glad to learn that the copies that were in circulation have been extensively signed. I am hoping too that you will see the signatures in the *Chronicle* tomorrow morning. These copies, as I have stated in my letter to Mr. Hignell, will leave tomorrow without fail. Sir Dinshaw Petit¹, I am sorry to say, has declined to sign the petition. I have not despaired of securing Sir Chimanlal's signature.

As you were in a hurry and also evidently affected that the promise made to you by Mr. Desai had not been carried out, I did not ask you about Lady Chandavarkar's health. I hope she is doing well.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 6683

118. CABLE TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

[BOMBAY,]
June 27, 1919

SHASTRIAR
CARE INDIA OFFICE
LONDON
KALOPH²
STRAND
LONDON

HAVE CABLED MONTAGU SAYING MUST RESUME CIVIL
DISOBEDIENCE EARLY JULY IF ROWLATT LEGISLATION
NOT WITHDRAWN. HAVE ALSO ASKED FOR INQUIRY
PUNJAB DISTURBANCES INCLUDING POWER OF REVISION
SENTENCESAND RELEASE KALINATH ROY.

From a photostat: S.N. 6691

¹ 1873-1933; mill-owner and merchant M. L. C., Bombay

² H. S. L. Polak

119. TELEGRAM TO MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA

[BOMBAY,]
June 27, 1919

HON'BLE PANDIT MALAVIYAJI
ROCK HOUSE
SIMLA

ANOTHER TELGRAM LAHORE

LADIES DECIDE PERFORM CEREMONY SUNDAY¹ AM GOING
ON YOUR BEHALF PLEASE SEND MESSAGE HERE.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 6692

120. LETTER TO S. R. HIGNELL

LABURNUM ROAD,
[BOMBAY,]
June 27, 1919

DEAR MR. HIGNELL,

I am just now going through what may be termed domestic fire. I feel ashamed of myself. But circumstances sometimes happen which you cannot control. I have just discovered that the copy I thought was sent to you yesterday did not as a matter of fact go because of the mistake made by my amanuensis. I now send that copy and the one signed by Sir Narayan Chandavarkar and others. There is a third copy in circulation which will be in your hands a day later.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 6687

¹*Vide* "Speech at Foundation Laying of Vanita Vishram, Ahmedabad", 29-6-1919

121. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
June 27, 1919

MY DEAR CHILD,

Your letter just received makes me extremely sad. I cannot conceive the possibility of their deporting you. But if they should, you have to cheerfully submit to the fate. If you wish me to, I shall gladly correspond with the Government. I may fail in my attempt. That would not matter. My advice to you also is that if they impose conditions on which alone you could stay, you should accept the conditions in so far as they are not humiliating.

I may commence in my person civil disobedience next week. It is therefore at the present moment hardly possible for us to meet.

As for swadeshi, there is no need for you to discard what you have from home. It is enough for you to confine all your present need to swadeshi things. The vow is only restricted to personal clothing.

Subject to your Board's¹ consent, you should introduce spinning-wheels in your school.

Regarding yourself, I suggest also your consulting Mr. Bittmann and being guided by him. Shall I write to him? I am so anxious that not a single step be taken by you in haste or in anger. Then whatsoever happens will be for the best. Please write to me often.

With deep love,

Written in haste and unrevised.

Yours,
BAPU

My Dear Child, pp. 36-7

¹ Of the Danish Missionary Society

122. LETTER TO GILLESPIE

LABURNUM ROAD,
GAMDEVI,
BOMBAY,
June 27, 1919

DEAR MR. GILLESPIE,

I thank you for your letter. I know it will be a great trouble for you to come to the Ashram on a Sunday, and yet I am so anxious to have a chat with you that I have not the heart to ask you not to come. I shall discuss with you the points you raised about swadeshi. I never knew that you were born in a place¹ where father served as Diwan for many years and where he passed the last days of his life.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 6693

123. LETTER TO MUKERJI

LABURNUM ROAD,
GAMDEVI,
BOMBAY,
June 27, 1919

DEAR MR. MUKERJI,

Many thanks for your letter of the 24th instant, enclosing the petition to H.E. the Viceroy. I am publishing the petition *in extenso* in *Young India*. I am also publishing the bit of information about Mr. Kalinath Roy's health contained [in] your letter. I am hoping that our friend will regain his liberty at an early date.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 6694

¹ Porbunder

124. LETTER TO S. T. SHEPPARD

June 27, 1919

DEAR MR. SHEPPARD,

I thank you for your letter and more especially for your drawing attention to what has appeared to you to be a discrepancy between the trading article and the Bill. I have certainly not wished to exaggerate the effect of the Section in question. If you deprive the Indians from having controlling interest in a company, in my opinion, you prevent them from holding fixed property in the Transvaal as shareholders of a duly registered company. My reading of the Bill is that under it the majority of shareholders cannot be Indians. Today the majority can be and, as a matter of fact, are Indians in all such companies. The object of the Bill is to stop and de-legalize the present practice.

I have sent for the law you want and hope to let you have it soon.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 6484 b

125. POST-SCRIPT TO LETTER TO H.S.L. POLAK¹

LABURNUM ROAD,
GAMDEVI,
BOMBAY,

June 27, 1919

You will please pass this on to Mr. Horniman. Please share the copy of instructions with Mr. Jinnah. Mr. Shastriar, Mrs. Naidu and other friends as there are no more copies ready.

From the original: Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy: National Archives of India

¹ For the text of the letter, *vide* "Letter to H.S.L. Polak", 27-7-1919.

126. SPEECH AT SATYAGRAHA SABHA MEETING, BOMBAY

June 27, 1919

Gandhiji presided over a public meeting held on June 27, 1919, at Shantaram's Chawl, Bombay, under the auspices of the Satyagraha, to protest against the Rowlatt Act and the deportation of Mr. B. G. Horniman.

Mr. Gandhi said many persons had not come to the meeting on account of the rain, and he thought that they were not real and staunch satyagrahis. The two resolutions were to protest against the Rowlatt Bill and the deportation of Mr. Horniman. He requested the speakers to be as brief as possible.

Mr. Gandhi put the resolution to vote and it was carried unanimously.

The Bombay Chronicle, 28-6-1919

127. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

LABURNUM ROAD,
GAMDEVI,
BOMBAY,

June 27, 1919

MY DEAR HENRY,

I am dictating this after 11 p.m. You will not therefore expect anything lengthy from me. I hope you received my cable in fairly good time. Here is a copy of my cable to Mr. Montagu.¹ I delayed sending it for four days. I enclose copy of instructions² issued by me to be followed after my incarceration. By the time this reaches you, many things would have happened here. The only thing therefore that I need say to you is that I am embarking on civil disobedience because I am no longer able to bear the agony of remaining free while the Rowlatt Act is on the Statute-book; add to this the events in the Punjab, the martial law proceedings, the heavy sentences, the iniquitous conviction of Babu Kalinath Roy. The only thing that deterred me from offering civil disobedience was the recrudescence of violence and it is that fear which has made me restrict civil disobedience to myself. To send others to jail would have caused less stir, but it would not have been satyagraha. The more I think into

¹ *Vide* "Cable to E. S. Montagu", 24-6-1919.

² *Vide* "Instructions for Satyagrahis", 30-6-1919.

the thing, the more truly I perceive the beauty and the strength of my own statement that one satyagrahi, if he is a genuine article is enough for a win.

Please show this to Mr. Shastriar to whom also I sent the cable that I sent to you.

Remember me to everybody. My love to you and Millie. The Transvaal Bill¹ is wretched. I have written to the Viceroy. It is too terrible for words.

From a photostat: S.N. 6690

128. LETTER TO S. R. HIGNELL

LABURNUM ROAD,
GAMDEVI,
BOMBAY,
June 28, 1919

DEAR MR. HIGNELL,

I have your letter of the 25th instant for which I thank you. After much consideration, I thought that I should send a cablegram to Mr. Montagu which I did yesterday and of which I send you a copy herewith.²

Your letter was not unexpected by me. I share the Viceroy's regret but sometimes in life duty compels one to do things, although one may regret having to do them. May I, however, draw His Excellency's attention to the fact that the unfortunate events that happened in April last were not precipitated by any manifestation of satyagraha? The Government well knew that I was proceeding to Delhi purely and simply on an errand of peace, not to offer civil disobedience. And looking back upon the black days of April, I cannot help feeling that if the Government had not committed the error of serving the orders that it did upon me, the history of that month might have been written differently. Moreover, I am taking extraordinary precautions in order to avoid any excitement that may follow upon my arrest and imprisonment. You will observe from the proof copy of the instructions that I am issuing for the fellow-satyagrahis that for the time being civil disobedience is to be confined

¹ Asiatic Land and Trading Amendment Bill

² *Vide* "Cable to E. S. Montagu", 24-6-1919.

only to me and not to be taken up by the others unless there is a certainty of absence of violence.

And lastly, must the subject always be in the wrong and the Government always in the right? Is it not a proper thing for a Government to recognize an evident mistake and retrace its steps? I respectfully submit that it is time that the Government revise and reconsider that position regarding Rowlatt legislation.

I am grateful for the assurance contained in the last paragraph of your letter and I hope that the forthcoming committee will be thoroughly representative and independent possessing the power of revision of sentences and that Mr. Roy will be soon granted his liberty.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 6697

129. LETTER TO M. A. JINNAH

BOMBAY,
June 28, 1919

DEAR MR. JINNAH¹,

I was delighted to receive your letter. I shall certainly keep you informed of the doings here. I cannot say anything about the Reforms Bill. I have hardly studied it. My preoccupation is Rowlatt legislation; add to that the Punjab, Kalinath Roy, Transvaal and swadeshi and I have more hay on my work than I can carry. Our Reforms will be practically worthless, if we cannot repeal Rowlatt legislation, if a strong committee of enquiry is not appointed to investigate the Punjab affairs and to revise what appear to be excessive sentences, if the glaring wrong done to Kalinath Roy is not redressed and the Transvaal Indians not protected from further encroachments on their liberty, and if India does not take up and appreciate the work of swadeshi. The first four are needed as much to test our strength as to test the measure of the goodwill of Englishmen, and the last, viz., swadeshi, is an earnest of our love for our country, and I am, therefore, concentrating all my energy upon these things. And as I can imagine no form of resistance to the Government than civil disobedience, I

¹ Mohammed Ali Jinnah (1876-1948); Muslim leader; founder and first Governor-General of Pakistan

propose, God willing, to resume it next week. I have taken all precautions, that are humanly possible to take, against recrudescence of violence. I have duly informed the authorities of my intentions and I have even sent a cable to Mr. Montagu.

I enclose proof copy of the instructions I shall be leaving behind. They will give you the further information I should like you to possess.

Pray tell Mrs. Jinnah that I shall expect her on her return to join the hand-spinning class that Mrs. Banker Senior and Mrs. Ramabai, a Punjabi lady, are conducting. And, of course, I have your promise that you would take up Gujarati and Hindi as quickly as possible. May I then suggest that like Macaulay you learn at least one of these languages on your return voyage ? You will not have Macaulay's time during the voyage, i.e., six months, but then you have not the same difficulty that Macaulay had. I hope you will both keep well during your stay.

If you get the time, please turn over the pages of *Young India* sent under separate cover. It is wretchedly printed because I have no kained help yet, and I am training helpers at the expense of indulgent subscribers.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 6698

130. SPEECH ON SWADESHI, BOMBAY¹

June 28, 1919

The idea of swadeshi is of great importance and the progress of the country in dharma is bound up with it. A country which has forsaken swadeshi can be said to have no patriotic sentiment and will never be able to follow its dharma. We do not find this said in our shastras; on the contrary, it is even deduced from them that patriotism may be an obstacle on the path of dharma. This is an utterly absurd and misleading idea. Everyone ought to be mindful of his duty and failure to do so is to reduce the path of karma to sheer confusion. In

¹ The meeting was held in Jain Upashraya at Lalbaug under the auspices of the Cutchchi Jain Mandal.

Jainism, the secret of this path is explained with much greater insight than in any other faith. The friends who have assembled here do not need to be told what it is. If a man is born in India, there must be some reason behind the fact; that being so, we need to consider what is our especial duty. That duty is swadeshi and is included in dharma. Jainism teaches compassion towards living creatures and the duty of non-violence; it even teaches the protection of violent animals against small creatures. This, however, is no justification for our neglecting the duty of compassion and non-violence towards human beings. If our neighbours are in pain or misfortune, it is our duty to share their suffering and help them. All over the world, the religious life has lost importance to such an extent that irreligion is spreading in the name of religion and men everywhere are deceiving themselves. We claim to be men of dharma, whereas all our actions are tainted with *adharma*. We cannot claim to have followed dharma by earning money through *adharma*, and giving it in charity for promoting pious causes. Most of the people assembled here are traders by profession. We are told that trade cannot be carried on without some admixture of dishonesty. I shall be plain and tell you that, if that is so, you had better give up trade. One's dharma lies in refusing to forsake truth even if that means starving, and, unless we live in this manner, dharma will not be the central purpose of our lives.

There is a painful thing I am obliged to mention, and it is that our religious leaders, whose duty it is to enlighten people, have forgotten that duty. This is true, however much it may hurt us. Religious leaders have it in them to set an example to their followers by their conduct. Mere preaching will have no effect on those who assemble to listen to their discourses. Religious leaders, too, should follow the rule of swadeshi. They have plenty of time on hand. They should take to the spinning-wheel and spin and thus set an example to their followers. More than in the repetition of Rama as they tell the beads, in the music of the spinning-wheel will they hear the voice of the *atman* with a beauty all its own.

Swadeshi is our primary obligation because natural to us. We have forsaken this natural obligation. Because of its neglect of swadeshi, the nation has been ruined. Three crores in India, that is, a tenth of the total population of the country, get only one meal a day, just plain bread and no more. Crores of rupees are annually lost to foreign countries. If this wealth of crores could remain in the country, we would be able to save our starving countrymen. Thus, our

economic well-being is also bound up with swadeshi, and in its observance there lies compassion for living beings. Moreover, swadeshi cloth is likely to be cheaper than English cloth. I submit to you that you should make your own cloth or get it made. The vow of swadeshi is not a difficult one to keep. Through it, we shall remove the hardships of our countrymen. If we work at the spinning-wheel for eight hours, we can spin one pound of yarn. The cloth being produced in India today can meet the needs of only 25 per cent of the population; we should therefore produce enough to meet the needs of the remaining 75 per cent. If, thus, people take to turning the spinning-wheel, not only we shall succeed in keeping the vow of swadeshi but shall also ensure production of cloth in plenty.

[From Gujarati]

Gujarati, 6-7-1919

131. OBSERVATIONS ON SWADESHI AT MEETING IN BOMBAY¹

June 28, 1919

We should take the first vow, that of pure swadeshi, and always follow the rule of swadeshi. Any person placing himself under a vow should take all possible steps to ensure that he is able to keep it, otherwise there is every danger of its having to be violated at some future time. He should, therefore, use foresight and take all necessary steps for being able to keep it. We should make an effort to promote the production of hand-woven cloth and handspun yarn so that we may succeed in keeping our vow. Today I went to a women's meeting at half past four and, following my request to them, it is likely that most of them will start working at the spinning-wheel. If both women and men join this movement for swadeshi, it will be a great success and we shall be able to follow the rule of swadeshi with ease. This movement has nothing to do with boycott. I have placed this rule before the people because I think it to be our duty and a part of our dharma. I request my countrymen not to mix up the movement for swadeshi with boycott.

[From Gujarati]

Gujarat Mitra ane Gujarat Darpan, 6-7-1919

¹ The meeting was addressed by Gangadharrao Deshpande, with Gandhiji in the chair.

132. QUESTIONS ON COTTON INDUSTRY¹

[Before June 29, 1919]

INFORMATION REQUIRED BY MAHATMA M. K. GANDHI [ON] COTTON INDUSTRY

Questions

1. Different varieties of cotton, cultivated in India—their names. *Vide* Statement A²
2. Localities of those cottons and average yield. *Vide* Statement B.
3. Average rates. *Vide* Statement C and page 26 & 28 of Appendix B.
4. Total area under cultivation. Total yield. 14 million acres. 4 million bales of 400 lb. each.

¹ This is given as an enclosure to the following letter:

THE INDIAN INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE
OFFICE OF THE HON. JOINT SECRETARY,
23, CHURCH GATE STREET,
FORT, BOMBAY,
29 JUNE 1919

TO
MAHATMA M. K. GANDHI,
BOMBAY
DEAR SIR,

In compliance with your wishes, I have tried to answer your queries to the best of my ability and the sources of information available to our office.

Some queries are under reference and the information called for therein will be forwarded on receipt.

Hoping to be excused for delay,

Yours faithfully,
M. B. Sant
Asstt. Secy.

² The statements and other enclosures referred to here are not reproduced.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 5. Results of experiments in introducing foreign varieties. Causes of failure. | Vide page 19 of the Cotton Committee's Report & pages 31 to 33 of the Appendix B to the Industrial Commissions's Report. |
| 6. Results arrived at by the Cotton Commission. | <i>Vide</i> reply to Question 5. |
| 7. Places and firms manufacturing Handloom | (1) Mr. Tikekar of Sholapur.
(2) The Salvation Ginning Loom Factory, Bombay.
(3) Shri Shiwaji Metal Factory, Sholapur.

There was a loom factory at Baroda, called Sayajee Loom Works. You may consult Rao Bahadur Raojibhai Patel of Baroda. |
| 8. Varieties of different spinning machines where prepared and their prices. | —do— |
| 9. Varieties of ginning machines their manufacturers and prices. | Exports of raw cotton cwt. 8_ million. [<i>sic</i>] |
| 10. Cost of labour for yarn-weaving per lb. | } Under inquiry. |
| 11. Difference in cost between the mill-made and hand-spun yarn. | |
| 12. Total production of cotton cloth in the country. | |
| 13. Total production of yarn in the country. | 381 million lbs. 1,614 million yards
6 ¹ / ₂ million pounds & its quantity upto 60 S (Sta. E) |
| 14. Total imports and exports of yarn and manufactured cloth. | <i>Vide</i> Statement D. Mill-made yarn available to Indian weavers 252 million lbs. |

15. No. of spinning mills in India.	}	Total No. of mills 263, 6 million spindles, 114,621 looms.
16. No. of weaving mills in India.		
17. Minimum capital required for the starting of a weaving mill.		About 10 lakhs.
18. Minimum capital required for the starting of spinning mill.		—do—
19. Average No. of workmen required for spinning as well as weaving mills.		1,200 per mill.
20. Cost of machinery and building required for spinning and weaving mills.		Under inquiry.
21. Places suitable for starting new spinning and weaving mills.		<i>Vide</i> page 223 of the Cotton Committee's Report.
22. Average cost of production for dhotis, towels and other important articles.		Not possible to give information as there are numerous varieties and sizes of cloth towels, &c
Total population of hand-spinners, weavers, &c., engaged in cloth trade in the whole country.		32 lakhs.
Excise Duty of Indian Cloth.		79 lakhs.

From the enclosure to M.B. Sant's letter: S.N. 6700

133. LETTER TO MAHOMED ALI

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
June 29, 1919

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I have been following everything about you since your being taken to the Betul Jail. I still retain the opinion I had formed regarding your memorial. Any way, if you are permitted to write letters, I would like to have your views about the Government communique issued in justification of the orders of imprisonment. I have advised friends to keep absolutely quiet about yourself, as I am most anxious that not a single false step is taken. I hear that you are keeping well, and that you are receiving all the consideration that can be given in a prison. I shall look forward to your letter. I need hardly say that you are never out of my mind, although we may not for some time come to meet face to face. I am in close touch with our public men, as also with those in authority regarding the Moslem question.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

N.A.I.: Home: Political: Sept. 1919: Nos. 406-28 A (Confidential)

134. LETTER TO N. P. COWIE

AS AT LABURNUM ROAD, GAMDEVI,
BOMBAY,
June 29, 1919

DEAR MR. COWIE,

I received your letter about Chand as I was leaving for Ahmedabad. I have just received news that the sentence against Chand has been commuted into transportation. May I say that this great act of mercy will be much appreciated not only amongst the poor family of the lad, but widely amongst all those thousands of men and women who have been following the proceedings of the Tribunal with more or less interest, amongst whom I count myself as one. Will you please place this letter before His Excellency?

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 6704

135. SPEECH ON SWADESHI, AHMEDABAD¹

June 29, 1919

A movement for swadeshi was launched on a large scale at the time of the Bengal Partition during Lord Curzon's regime, but, as I have said at many places, it left much to be desired. There are bound to be deficiencies in every new movement. I have no desire to harp on such deficiencies; we only consider how we may avoid them. If there were any faults in the movement at that time, there were also plenty of enthusiasm and other virtues.

Those who would do sound and beautiful work, or would learn well, should examine the deficiencies to which experience has drawn attention and, after due inquiry, sift these deficiencies and prepare a truthful account.

The fault, then, which I have noticed in the earlier movement is this, that it was organized on too large a scale. It is plain enough that we cannot have everything swadeshi all at once. A vow is a vow in fact only if it is such as we can keep. This will be easy to understand with the help of an illustration, that of a right angle. We cannot have everything swadeshi, which will meet all our needs at the same time and in equal measure, and if we take a vow which will require this, the result cannot but be imperfect. If, however, we are inspired with the necessary moral fervour, we may take a vow of perfect swadeshi and resolve to do without things of any kind which we cannot get swadeshi—such firmness will yield the desired result in future.

I have felt since 1908 that we can start the experiment in this respect with cloth. There was a time when India was on top of other countries. If we can form a definite idea of the kind of arrangements which obtained then, the way to success in the experiment will have been opened.

The population of India was divided mainly into two classes, some were agriculturists and others weavers. I shall go further and assert that the people who followed the profession of agriculture also occupied themselves with weaving in their spare time. I address this to the ladies, for it is on them that the development of this craft depends.

¹ At the meeting under the auspices of the Swadeshi Sabha, with Gandhiji in the chair. A summary of the speech appeared in *Young India*, 2-7-1919.

You are perhaps no strangers to Dr. Harold Mann¹. He carried out a survey of villages in the neighbourhood of Poona and published two books. He has proved, on the basis of his observations, that during the six months following the period of *Ashadh*² to *Margashirsha*³ the agricultural class spend their time doing nothing. They can take up weaving during the period when they have no work. Thanks to the ruin of the weavers' occupation, 80 per cent of the population is left unemployed and their idleness is ever on the increase. It is not that the people themselves remain lethargic. They get no opportunity to take up any such occupation [as weaving]. If it is said that the burden of taxation on the farmers is much heavier than it used to be, I shall agree. But this is no justification for their remaining idle.

During 1917-18, cloth worth Rs. 60 crores was imported into India. This is the condition of a country which, once upon a time, was at the peak of prosperity and exported goods on a large scale. The figure of 60 crores relates to 1917-18. It is for consideration how much larger the figure would have been if there had been no war and if shipping facilities had remained normal.

Today, the people go even without their minimum needs by way of a shirt, a jacket, a head-gear and a dhoti or half-length sari and make do with just one article of clothing where they need three or four. I once asked such a person the reason for this. In reply, he asked me how he could spare the five to seven rupees that would be needed. This is what the use of foreign cloth has reduced us to.

It is the aim of this body to revive occupations which have died out. By way of an experiment, a start has been made with a movement for producing cloth. We can start the movement only with cloth. Then followed the idea that people should take a vow. For the sake of convenience, the vow has been divided into three categories: one pure, another mixed, and the third requiring that cloth bought in future must be swadeshi. Really speaking, once the vow is taken, the use of foreign cloth should be regarded as totally forbidden. But an issue was raised by Ramibai Kamdar, that it would put them to a heavy loss if they discarded their costly saris and other dresses; hence it would be

¹ Of the Poona Agricultural College; author of *Land and Labour in a Deccan Village*

² Months in the Indian calendar, corresponding roughly to July and December, respectively.

³ Same as Footnote No. 2

better [she said] to insist on buying swadeshi cloth only after they had used up the dresses in stock with them. And so the third category was introduced. If we are unable to keep a vow once taken, we would invite upon ourselves the same disgrace which was ours before taking the vow.

When the Indian people come to a firm decision that, in the absence of swadeshi cloth, they would make do with no more than a loin-cloth, India will have risen high indeed. I do not hope for so much right now. Hence the three categories.

Knowing that a beginning is made, those who are well disposed to us will express their sympathy or offer congratulations and the only profit will be that we shall feel gratified or happy. If, however, you would learn something from the beginning you have made, you should turn to your critics and listen to what they say. They will point out your deficiencies which, then, it will be possible for us to overcome, so that our experiment becomes perfect. I saw Mr. Wadia and Mr. Fazalbhai Karimbhai in Bombay. The latter cautioned me, asking me what it was I expected to achieve by inviting the people to take the vow and saying that they were not yet in a position to produce sufficient cloth to meet the people's needs. That [he said] would require 50 years more. Shri Wadia took up an extreme position. He said their duty was to supply the quality of cloth people wanted. The view was in keeping with his extreme position. I, of course, replied that just as they did not mind spending lakhs in other ways for promoting their business, so also they should spend crores to satisfy public taste and popularize swadeshi on a large scale, and should create the necessary means. The reply, however, in no way satisfied me. The country produces, even today, good varieties such as muslin and *atlas*¹. Other varieties, too, can be produced but we do not have skilled workers, nor men to promote such crafts. There is a dearth of people who would encourage them.²

So powerful is the effect of the vow of swadeshi that it will be a source of strength to those who take it and, with this strength, it will be possible to promote the growth of the industry. It has already made a beginning in Bombay and is about to make it elsewhere. I realized this when I conducted classes for spinning on the spinning-wheel. When I

¹ A kind of silk

² Gandhiji then proceeded to reply to an argument which had appeared in *The Leader*. This part of the speech is not available,

myself sat down to work for an hour, I learnt spinning and discovered the art which lay in it. The thing seemed to me quite easy.

Shankarlal Banker's mother and Ramabai are the two who have especially set to work in this field. They hold demonstration classes in spinning. It will not take one more than six months to be proficient in working the spinning-wheel. No fees have to be paid for the training. Personally, I wish that the kind of industrial activity which is presently growing among the people of Japan be not followed by India and do not become her ideal. Industrial Commissions hold meetings and publish their reports. But their approach is different from mine. I cannot afford to wait for years. After full deliberation, our sages came to the conclusion that one must produce yarn, since covering for the body is a primary need next only to food.

Work in this field has been going on for a year in the Satyagraha Ashram. During this period, cloth worth 20,000 rupees was produced. I invite your attention to the work of the Famine Relief Community. It adopted the method of helping the people by providing them with work, weaving, instead of offering them free doles. This prevented large numbers from turning beggars and gave them an occupation. I do not ask you to give up your present profession, if you have any, and take wholly to this one. Even if you use your spare time in this work, you will profit much. Introduce spinning-wheels in the homes. Men or, if it is not possible for them, women should teach spinning.

If only a million women all over India were to spend daily one hour each on this work, what progress could be made? In one hour, a person can spin two tolas¹ of cotton. This is but the first step, by way of demonstration. When people find the work quite profitable, they will take to it in large numbers and make it their occupation.

A branch of the Swadeshi Sabha has been established in Ahmedabad in Shri Chimanlal Chinai's office in Maskati Market. Volunteers may have their names registered there and obtain all information. They can serve by themselves spinning or persuading others to spin, by cultivating public opinion and in various other ways.

[From Gujarati]

Gujarati, 13-7-1919

¹ A measure of weight, 2¹/₂ tolas making an ounce avoirdupois

*136. SPEECH AT FOUNDATION LAYING OF VANITA
VISHRAM, AHMEDABAD¹*

June 29, 1919

You are sorry, I know, that the great patriot, Bharatbhusan Pandit Malaviyaji, who treats me as an elder brother, is not here today, but I am more sorry than you are. This ceremony should have been performed by him. We can understand how much it must have hurt Sulochanabehn and Rukshmanibehn that this could not be. Panditji could have possibly come here some time ago. He had come as far as Bombay. But this function was then postponed owing to the events which occurred and which we were unable to control. Even on this occasion, it was my wish that this ceremony should be performed by Malaviyaji. But he has had to go to Lahore and it is his own order that I should perform it. I therefore do this as his representative. His words are worth noting.² I agree with what he says about how much men owe to women.

I have been touring all over India since 1915 and saying everywhere that, till woman takes her place by the side of man and claims her rights, she will not come into her own. And till she does so, there can be no progress for us. If one of the two wheels of a carriage remains in a working condition but the other goes out of order, the carriage will not run properly. This was the burden of the ladies' song here before us, and it is true. Opinions differ, and probably that is so in regard to this subject. Men carry all manner of plans in their pockets, as if they had them ready-made, and they produce plans about women's education, all different from one another. They seem to me like the leaflets which they dropped in this place from aeroplanes. This, of course, is no reason for the founders of the Vanita Vishram to be uneasy. With patience and experimenting, they will reach the goal. One need not be afraid of making mistakes, nor of experimenting. If we do not move forward, we shall lag behind. Hence

¹ Gandhiji laid the foundation stone of an independent building for the Vanita Vishram, a school for girls.

² In his message, he had said:

“Great is man's debt to woman as mother, sister, wife and daughter. Nothing we can do to honour and comfort womankind can repay the countless self-sacrificing acts of affection and devotion with which women influence lives of men for good and contribute to our richest happiness.”

the founders should go on making experiments within the frame-work of their principles. If we correct the mistakes we make, we shall succeed in our aim.

We see from this report of the Vanita Vishram that Sulochanabehn has brought lustre into her widow's life. There is beauty in widowhood, if only we can see it. It is well known that there are two different views about widowhood; in any case, however, it remains true that, in the measure one has strength and nobility of soul, one can promote one's own and others' good. Every widow owes it as an especial duty to dedicate her strength and her soul to the motherland. If we like, we may say that, becoming a widow, Behn Sulochana has, as Narasinh Mehta would have said,¹ shaken off her burden; but, then, in her widowhood, she has taken the motherland to husband. Thanks to her indefatigable efforts, this institution is making good progress.

In this great task, Shri Somnath's donation has been a good help. With reference to what was said here about donations, I should like to say that, if we are sincere in our work, donations will come seeking us. I found disappointment in the report. It is an unhappy thing for the founders that, for a matter like money, they had to go begging for this small institution as far as Africa; for Ahmedabad, it is a matter of shame. The people here should have said that, while they were alive, they would never permit the founders to go to foreign countries for money. They owe it as a duty to give such a re-assuring promise. In my view, those in charge of the institution (do not need to go to Africa. They ought to collect the money from the citizens and, should they refuse, resort to satyagraha against them. I am afraid the men on the managing body are not seasoned enough. They have everything in them but self-confidence. With faith in their own strength, they should melt the citizens' hearts and get from them the money they need.

This institution needs scholars as much as it needs money and widows to manage it. That is, we require learned teachers. I have been all this time looking at the motto in front of me: "Learning owes its worth to dharma." What the motto says is true. I have discovered in the course of my travels in India that, without dharma, learning is barren. This raises the question: "What is right learning?" I have given my reply often enough. We shall settle afterwards the issue of

¹ In a verse attributed to him, the poet welcomes his wife's death as it has set him free to devote himself entirely to worship of God.

what manner of learning to provide. For the present, we may follow one definite method and include religious instruction in it. Religion is not a matter for reflection but of conduct. It is not a subject for talking about, be it noted. Teachers can create the thing only by their conduct. Gujarat itself should produce such teachers; it is shameful to go looking for them outside.

It was said here, by way of complaint, that Ahmedabad has an excess of *Vanik* shrewdness; but I am not unhappy about this. Along with the shrewdness of a *Vanik*, one should have a venturesome spirit, knowledge and readiness for service, that is, the qualities of a Kshatriya, a Brahmin and a Sudra. It is the *Vanik* who in fact gives the country its wealth. He is the best *Vanik* who has dedicated his skill in commerce to the country and is carrying on trade accordingly. The spirit of patriotism does not come unless one has a true sense of dharma. By the compassion which the *Gita* teaches, I only understand that we should dedicate ourselves wholly, body, mind and possessions, to relieving the suffering of those around us whom we find in distress.

In Gujarat, we may embark upon any kind of ventures. It is my prayer to God that the venture on which this institution has embarked may prove the best among them all and be followed by similar ones elsewhere in the province.

It is my especial wish that the scholars and men of letters of Gujarat should be put to use in this or similar institutions. It is but right that the wealth which the people of Gujarat accumulate with their commercial shrewdness should be used by them with the same shrewdness for philanthropic purposes.

To the pupils in the school, I have only this to say: "Bring credit to your education. When you enter on family life, see that you bring credit to your home and country."

The widows who have been taking advantage of this Ashram should dedicate to the service of the country the training of body and spirit which they receive here.

[From Gujarati]

Gujarati, 13-7-1919

137. INSTRUCTIONS FOR SATYAGRAHIS

NOT FOR PUBLICATION
BOMBAY,

June 30, 1919

INSTRUCTIONS FOR SATYAGRAHIS IN TERMS AND IN VIRTUE
OF THE RESOLUTION OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE SABHA
PASSED ON THE 15TH JUNE '19

(TRANSLATED FROM GUJARATI)

(1) As it is or should be the belief of satyagrahis that those are the best fitted for offering civil disobedience who are the most free from anger, untruth and ill will or hatred and as I consider myself to be from this point of view the best fitted amongst the satyagrahis, I have decided that I should be the first to offer civil disobedience.

(2) The manner in which I propose to offer civil disobedience about the beginning of July is by disobeying the orders against me of internment and externment.

(3) I firmly believe that our victory lies in the nation preserving perfect peace and equanimity at the time of, after and during my incarceration. Such preservation will be the best way of bringing about the withdrawal of the Rowlatt legislation.

(4) I therefore advise that upon my incarceration there should be no demonstration of any kind whatsoever, no hartal and no mass meetings.

(5) I advise that civil disobedience by the others be not resumed at least for one month after the day of my incarceration as distinguished from my arrest or some such final act on the part of the Government.

(6) This month should be treated as one of discipline and preparation for civil disobedience and, assuming that no disturbances take place after my incarceration, it should be devoted to the following constructive programme:

- (a) The preaching of the cardinal principles of the doctrine of satyagraha, namely, the necessity of strictest adherence to truth and ahimsa and the duty of civil disobedience as the natural corollary and the equally paramount duty of

refraining from criminal disobedience and, with this end in view, literature such as Thoreau's *Civil Disobedience*, *Hind Swaraj*, *Defence of Socrates* by me, Tolstoy's *Letter to Russian Liberals* and Ruskin's *Unto this Last* should be widely distributed. It is true that we sold some of this literature as part of the plan of actual civil disobedience. But now we have the knowledge that the Government have been advised that reprints and the sale of prohibited literature is not an offence except in so far as such or any literature may be covered by Section 124A. We should therefore now sell this literature as part of our propaganda but not as an act rendering us liable to penalty for breach of any law.

- (b) Propaganda of swadeshi should be taken up on an intensive and extensive scale. It should cover so far as possible the whole of India. Propaganda should be free from all bitterness and from even a suspicion of boycott, swadeshi being regarded as an economic, political and even religious necessity for all time. And this propaganda should include in an equal degree both the presentation of the different pledges to the public for acceptance and activity for the new production of cotton cloth, principally by the encouragement of hand-spinning and weaving, even though it may be for the time being at a loss.
- (c) The advocating of the Hindu-Muslim unity not by means of public speeches but by concrete acts of help and kindness on the part of Hindus towards Mohammedans and on the part of the latter towards the former. Hindus would, therefore, naturally give enthusiastic support to the Mohammedans in their just claims regarding the retention of Turkey as a Mohammedan sovereign State with full regard for their feelings as to the holy places and the Khaliphate.
- (d) Meetings should be held to pass resolutions praying for the repeal of the Rowlatt legislation, the appointment of an independent impartial committee of enquiry with the power to enquire into the causes of the Punjab disturbances, the administration of martial law and to revise the sentences passed by the Punjab Martial Law

Tribunal, the release of Babu Kalinath Roy without the necessity of an enquiry and cancellation of the order of deportation against Mr. Horniman.

(7) If full peace is observed for one month as per para three and it has been ascertained that the people have understood the doctrine of satyagraha, time will have arrived for offering further civil disobedience assuming, of course, that the Rowlatt legislation has not been repealed.

(8) Civil disobedience may then be offered by those who may be selected by the leaders appointed in para 15. I, however, advise that not more than two at a time should offer civil disobedience from any one centre nor should civil disobedience be commenced simultaneously at all the centres. But the effect of resumption of civil disobedience in one or more centres on the public mind should be watched before resuming it in the other centres.

(9) The recommending of the laws for civil disobedience is a most difficult task. In the present state of the country, when it is highly debatable whether the spirit of civil disobedience replacing and entirely superseding criminal disobedience has been understood by the masses, I am unable to advise civil disobedience of the revenue laws, i.e., the salt tax, land tax and the forest laws. I also feel that the satyagrahis may not disobey any orders issued by the Government regarding processions and mass meetings.

(10) The income-tax is a feasible proposition on the ground of safety from any violent disturbance but I am more than doubtful as to any response being made by those who pay the income-tax. Nevertheless, if any satyagrahi desires to offer satyagraha by not paying this tax, he may do so at his own cost with the permission of his leader. There remain, therefore, the political laws, and only the Press Act and other laws regarding printing lend themselves to civil disobedience but there also the only possible manner of civil breach is the establishing of unlicensed printing presses or of issuing an unlicensed newspaper, to do so at his own cost with the permission of his leader.

(11) I can, therefore, only advise that individual satyagrahis when they receive orders of internment or orders prohibiting them from speaking or publishing any matter which the Government may consider to be obnoxious but which from the satyagraha standpoint may be flawless, such orders should be disregarded.

(12) It may be that the Government may not view with indifference the propaganda of the doctrine of civil disobedience or the distribution of reprints of prohibited literature, although such literature from the moral, i.e., satyagraha standpoint are perfectly innocuous. In that even civil disobedience is offered in the easiest and most dignified way. It is open, however, to the leaders to add the ways above mentioned by thinking out other laws which may have escaped my notice.

But it will be no fault in them to confine themselves to the limits mentioned in these paragraphs but it would be considered agrave indiscretion on their part if they select laws which do not hold proper matter for civil disobedience or a civil breach of which is likely to lead to a criminal breach.

(13) In the event of a prosecution for civil disobedience, a satyagrahi, if he has committed it, should plead guilty, offer no defence and invite the severest penalty. If he is falsely charged with civil disobedience, he should make that statement but not enter upon any further defence and accept the penalty he receives. If a satyagrahi is prosecuted for criminal breach as, for instance, for having actually uttered sedition or incited to sedition, he should make a statement denying the guilt and producing his witness. It is open to him also to engage a lawyer if he wishes to, but it is no part of the duty of the Sabha or of co-satyagrahis to find funds for engaging lawyers, as the essence of satyagraha lies in inviting penalty for deliberate civil disobedience and in accepting penalty where one is falsely charged with criminal disobedience because a satyagrahi is indifferent to the pain of imprisonment. He glories in it when it is self-invited and resigns to it when a false and malicious charge has been brought against him. That he may, by not making effort to get the best lawyer possible, be found guilty not only by the court but be considered such by the public should not concern a satyagrahi. The voice of a clear disciplined conscience is the final arbiter for him.

(14) I have come to the conclusion that it is better to divide the Bombay Presidency into so many independent self-sustained centres, each seeking co-operation with the advice from the rest but none being under the orders of any, and I select Bombay, Surat, Broach, Nadiad and Ahmedabad as such centres. I make no selection in the other Presidencies, for the Bombay Sabha's jurisdiction is limited only to that Presidency and the resolutions giving me extensive

powers can refer only to this Presidency.

(15) I, therefore, propose to give separate brief instructions using this as a basis to be adopted by the centres outside the Presidency. The centres appointed under this paragraph will be responsible each for its own district, for instance, Nadiad for the whole of Kaira. For Bombay, I appoint Mrs. Naidu if she has returned in time, Messrs Umar Sobhani, Shankarlal G. Banker and I. K. Yajnik if he can be spared from Ahmedabad, successively, as leaders. In Surat, Messrs Dayalji Manubhai Desai and Kalyanji Vithalbai Mehta. In Broach, Mr. Haribhai Javerbhai Amin. In Nadiad, Messrs Foolchand Bapooji Shah and Mohanlal K. Pandya. In Ahmedabad, Messrs Vallabhbai J. Patel, Balwantrao Narasimha Prasad Kanuga, Indulal Kannaiyalal Yajnik, all successively leaders as in Bombay. I advise the leaders to form small committees and for their guidance consult the feelings of such committees and other fellow-satyagrahis.

(16) All along I have assumed that there will be no disturbance. If, however, the worst happens and there is a disturbance, every satyagrahi living in the disturbed centre will be expected to lose his life in preventing loss of other lives, whether English or Indian. He will at the same peril prevent destruction of property and if he thought there was shooting of innocent men, he will offer himself also to be shot.

(17) Wherever there are individual satyagrahis whether within the Presidency or outside who either for want of ability, confidence in themselves or otherwise are unable to remain in their respective places, it is open to them to go preferably to Bombay or to some other active centre and work under the direction of the leader acting for the time being.

(18) The above instructions are for general guidance but in emergencies every leader is free to depart from them at his own risk. Read paragraph 11 in this connection.

(19) Satyagraha in action is in some respects like physical warfare. The laws of discipline, for instance, are most common to satyagraha (spiritual) warfare and the physical warfare. Therefore, a satyagrahi is expected to render implicit obedience to the instructions of the leader and is not to reason why. He must obey instructions first and then question the leader as to the propriety of a particular action but, unlike as in physical warfare, a satyagrahi does retain his final independence in vital matters and then on occasions of such vital

difference as a true satyagrahi yielding to the leader the same right of independent judgment will without irritation place his resignation in his hands. But it should be remembered that in the vast majority of cases, differences arise not on vital matters but on trifles. A satyagrahi, therefore, will not mistake the voice of Satan for the voice of conscience and dignify trifles into things of the essence and then precipitate differences. My experience is that it is only he who has obeyed in nine hundred and ninety-nine things finds the thousandth perhaps to be a legitimate matter for difference. With him everyone else is first, himself last.

M. K. GANDHI

From a printed copy: S.N. 6662

138. MESSAGE

[About June 30, 1919]¹

As my arrest may come upon me unawares, I wish to leave the following as my message.

I appeal to all my countrymen and countrywomen throughout India to observe absolute calmness and to refrain from violence to person and property in any shape or form. The greatest injury that can be done to me is deeds of violence after my arrest and for my sake. Those who love me will show their true affection only by becoming satyagrahis, i.e., believers in Truth and *ahimsa* (non-violence) and self-suffering as the only means for securing redress of grievances. To the Government of India, I respectfully wish to submit that they will never establish peace in India by ignoring the causes of the present discontent. Satyagraha has not bred lawlessness and violence. It is a vital force and it has certainly hastened the crisis that was inevitable. But it has also acted as a restraining force of the first magnitude. Government as well as the people should recognize this fact and feel thankful for it. Without the purifying and soothing effect of satyagraha, violence would have been infinitely greater, for mutual retaliation would have produced nothing but chaos. Mahomedans are deeply resentful of what they believe to be England's attitude towards the question of Turkey, Palestine and Mecca Sharif. The people are deeply distrustful of England's attitude towards the forthcoming Reforms and they want repeal of the Rowlatt legislation. No repression

¹ The date of this item appears to be the same as that of the preceding item.

can possibly avail to secure even a shadow of peace in the land. Substantial peace can only be had by conciliating Mahomedan religious sentiments by granting reforms in a liberal and trusting spirit, even as was done by the late Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman in the case of South Africa and by recognizing the sacredness of public opinion by immediate repeal of the Rowlatt legislation. But the British Government all the world over have demanded proof of a people's earnestness. The chosen European method of expressing earnestness is to create disorder by violence. The Government have given a crushing reply to this method. It may prosper in Europe, but not in India. To satyagraha, there can be no reply but that of acceding to satyagraha demands. Government of a country is possible when people support it by contributing revenue, by filling public services and such like actions symbolic of approval. When a Government does justice, i.e., is broadbased upon the will of a people, such support is a duty in spite of its temporary aberrations. Withdrawal—total or partial—of such support becomes equally a duty when Government is carried on in defiance of people's will and such withdrawal of support is pure satyagraha when it is unaccompanied by violence in any shape or form and unadulterated by untruth. Satyagrahis, then, knowing the sanctity and invincibility of satyagraha will not lend themselves to violence and untruth and will refrain from offering civil disobedience until they are assured that there will be no violence on the part of the people, whether such a state of things was brought about by the peoples' willing acceptance of the doctrine of Truth and non-violence or by the military dispositions of the Government. In the former case, the whole of India will have participated in the joy of satyagraha and will have given a lesson to the world. In the latter case, the Government will realize that no physical force that they can summon to their aid will ever bend the spirit of satyagrahis.

From a photostat: S.N. 6713

139. LETTER TO D. HEALY

ASHRAM,
June 30, 1919

DEAR MR. HEALY¹,

I thank you for your note. I am leaving tonight for Bombay, expecting to return on Sunday. If the inquiry is in connection with the proposed civil disobedience, I wish to add further that I do not intend at present to renew civil disobedience till after the end of this week, and when I do, I shall give ample notice to the local authorities. I am hoping to disclose the whole of my plan to the Government. If there is any further information required, please assure Mr. Pratt that I shall make every endeavour to supply it.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 6705

140. TELEGRAM²

June, 1919

HAVE JUST READ OF TWO DEATH SENTENCES
ALONG WITH OTHERS, IN GUJARANWALA CONSPIRACY
CASE. I DO NOT SAY SENTENCES ARE WRONG
OR HARSH. I RESPECTFULLY SUBMIT THAT ALL
EXECUTION DEATH SENTENCES BE STAYED PENDING
RESULT OF COMMITTEE INQUIRY WHICH I HOPE
WILL BE APPOINTED.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 6706

¹ Deputy Superintendent of Police, Ahmedabad

² Presumably to the Viceroy

141. LETTER TO E. W. FRITCHLEY

June, 1919

DEAR MR. FRITCHLEY,

I was delighted to receive your long letter and in accordance with it I had hoped to have the pleasure of meeting you at Laburnum Road. I returned to Bombay on Tuesday. I hope that you will drop in during the week.

Yours sincerely,

E. W. FRITCHLEY, ESQ.
ARCHITECT
FORT [BOMBAY]

From a photostat: S.N. 6702

142. LETTER TO RANCHHODDAS PATWARI¹

Wednesday, [June 1919]²

RESPECTED BHAISHRI,

I do not remember to have received your letter earlier. I was myself wondering if you had forgotten me.

If a person like you would adopt swadeshi, it can be spread in India in no time. The work which the native states can do in the . . . condition cannot be done in British India.

I think it is difficult to visit Kathiawar at present.

If one spinning-wheel is plied for 360 days and it is done everyday, 180 lbs. of yarn would be spun, and if one loom weaves cloth from 360 lbs. of yarn and every man (villager) takes 12 yards of cloth . . . that one loom would provide cloth for 30 persons in a year.

The mill yarn which is suitable for khadi costs Rs. 37 per maund at present. This yarn is made from the waste cotton left after preparing fine yarn. The mill spends Rs. 15 per maund for this cotton. Thus, the mill makes a profit of Rs. 22, or takes Rs. 22 as spinning charge for the cotton worth Rs. 15. Cotton for hand-spinning must be of good quality and it costs Rs. 25. Deducting from that figure the labour and

¹ Omissions in the letter are as in the source.

² From the contents; *vide* "Letter to Ranchhodlal Patwari", 9-9-1918 and "Speech on Swadeshi, Ahmedabad", 29-6-1919.

waste, it would come to Rs. 15. Thus, looking at the prices at present, we have to spend Rs. 3 more. But the cloth made from hand-spun yarn is twice more durable. There is likelihood of much difference in this price, because the cotton market keeps on changing every day.

If good cotton is used for spinning there, the Ashram is prepared to buy the whole stock of that yarn at the rate of three annas a *seer*. I have no provision if the stock is very large. Thus, with the increased price of cotton, one would get three annas per *seer* as the spinning charge. This is the way I get the work done by 200 women at Bijapur. These women were sitting idle before they got this job. Altogether, cloth worth Rs. 20,000 was prepared in the Ashram or under the auspices of the Ashram during the last year. It provided employment to 400 men and women.

Apart from this cloth worth Rs. . . . was ordered to be woven for the Famine [Relief] Committee. This was done in an atmosphere of hostility. People are very much attracted by machinery. Hence I have rarely found help except from the poor people. A couple of friends have given financial help. It is only now that hand-weaving has become a 'fashion'. If you can adopt this work for Kathiawar, the people would be prosperous and they would easily be delivered from the state of dependence. The nation whose needs are provided from outside either remains dependent, or it has to be prepared to fight with force by maintaining an army.

Jaishrikrishna from
MOHANDAS

[PS.]

I have written in pencil. Please excuse me.

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G. N. 4122

143. "NAVAJIVAN" WEEKLY

At the time of Horniman's deportation, *Young India*, published from Bombay in English, was a weekly. Simultaneously with his deportation, *The [Bombay] Chronicle* was put under censorship.

In the circumstances, the management stopped publication of the *Chronicle*. Thereupon the management of *Young India* decided to make it a bi-weekly, so that it might serve, partly, the purpose which the *Chronicle* had served and entrusted me with supervision of its contents. Though the *Chronicle* has now resumed publication as usual,

Young India continues to be brought out as a bi-weekly. Some friends posed a question to me whether it was not my duty, seeing that I was burdening myself with the supervision of an English paper, to bring out a similar paper in Gujarati. This same question had occurred to me. I think I have a service to render to India by delivering a message to her. Some ideas I have come by as a result of my thinking are such as will advance us towards our welfare. It has ever been my endeavour to explain these. I have not succeeded as well as I should have liked to for want of ability or time or favourable circumstances. For instance, even about satyagraha, I see a great deal of misunderstanding prevailing yet. I am convinced that I have no gift better than this for India. I have always been avid of placing before the people this priceless thing, and several others of which I have had ample experience. One powerful modern means for this purpose is the newspaper. The founders of *Navajivan* and *Satya* have agreed to place it under my supervision and undertaken to secure facilities for its publication as a weekly. Shri Indulal Kannaiyalal Yajnik is a busy man in the public life of Gujarat. Even so, he has pledged himself to make *Navajivan* his chief concern and help it to the utmost. These circumstances are no mere accident. I would be ashamed not to welcome them. And so, though my health is not what it used to be a year ago, I have ventured to assume the burden of running *Navajivan*. I seek the blessings of Gujarat in this and invite the help of its men of letters in running the paper and of others in ensuring a wide circulation for it, and I am perfectly confident that I shall get it.

Navajivan will be published every Sunday and arrangements have been made to see that it is available on the same day at a number of places in Gujarat.

The management has no desire to run the paper for profit. Accordingly, it has decided to keep the rate of subscription as low as possible, at Rs. 3-8-0 a year including postage. This is the very figure which had been decided upon for the monthly *Navajivan* from its July issue onwards, with some increase in its size. A copy of *Navajivan* will be priced at 1 anna and the first number will be issued on Sunday, September 7.

The subscription rate mentioned above is regarded as the minimum for the reason, mainly, that the weekly will carry no advertisements. I realized from my experience of running *Indian Opinion* in South Africa for many years that advertisements bring

little profit to the people. Ultimately, they are paid for by the public itself, and all sorts of them appear, moral and immoral.

For this reason, *Indian Opinion* has been running for years without carrying any advertisements. For the present, *Navajivan* will have eight pages of foolscap size. As circulation increases and facilities improve, the size, too, will be enlarged.

Those, other than subscribers of the monthly *Navajivan*, who desire to enrol themselves as such should send their names to the Manager at Ahmedabad. I earnestly hope that *Navajivan* will have a great many subscribers.

MOHANDAS K. GANDHI

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan ane Satya, July, 1919

144. SWADESHI SABHA RULES¹

[Before July 1, 1919]²

1. This Association shall be called the Swadeshi Sabha.
2. Its head office shall be situated in Bombay.
3. Its objects are:
 - (a) to popularize the swadeshi vow attached as schedule hereto by explaining fully the meaning and importance of it;
 - (b) to devise schemes for an increased production of swadeshi cloth, whether silk, woollen or cotton, and to make every effort to carry them into effect;
 - (c) to devise methods for the introduction of swadeshi regarding other articles of use besides cloth and for the manufacture of all such articles in the country.
4. Any person who has taken the swadeshi vow, pure or mixed, referred to in Rule 3, can become an A, B, C, D class member of the Sabha by paying an annual subscription of Rs. 25, Rs. 12, Rs. 6, Re. 1, respectively, the subscription being payable for the whole official

¹ Presumably drafted by Gandhiji

² The Central Swadeshi Sabha was inaugurated at Bombay on July 1, 1919.

year. Members of all the classes shall have the same rights and privileges.

5. Any person who has taken the swadeshi vow, pure or mixed, referred to in Rule 3, can become a life member of the Sabha by contributing Rs. 500 or more to the Sabha.

6. Donations will be accepted from sympathizers of the swadeshi movement even though they have not taken the swadeshi vow.

7. Persons under 18 and school and college students shall not be admitted as members of the Sabha but they can take the swadeshi vow.

8. The Sabha shall have a president, a vice-president, three secretaries, and two treasurers.

9. The Managing Committee of the Sabha shall consist of 30 members including the office-bearers.

10. All vacancies in the Managing Committee, office-bearers, and auditors due to resignation or any other cause shall be filled up by the Committee.

11. The Managing Committee shall be in charge of all the books and records of the Sabha and it shall stand possessed of all its funds.

12. The Managing Committee shall have the power to do each and everything necessary to effect the objects of the Sabha.

13. The Managing Committee may recognize and start branches of the Sabha in the Bombay Presidency. Each branch shall have at least ten members. The Managing Committee shall have the power to supervise the work and examine the accounts of the branches but shall not incur any responsibility for their debts.

14. The Managing Committee shall meet at least once a fortnight.

15. A special meeting of the Managing Committee shall be called on a written requisition of four or more members of the Committee within three days of the receipt of such requisition.

16. At all meetings of the Managing Committee, five members and at all general meetings 12 members shall form a quorum. No quorum shall be necessary at any meeting adjourned for want of quorum.

17. A general meeting of the members of the Sabha shall be held at least once a month. A special meeting shall be called on a suggestion

from the Managing Committee or on a written requisition of not less than ten members, within eight days of the receipt of the requisition.

18. The official year of the Sabha shall commence from the 1st of June.

19. The annual general meeting of the Sabha shall be held in the month of August to transact the following business:

- (a) to receive and adopt the annual report and the audited statement of accounts,
- (b) to elect president, a vice-president, three secretaries, two treasurers, two auditors and the Managing Committee,
- (c) to transact such other business as may have been duly notified.

20. The secretaries shall keep a list of members with their addresses; they shall also keep a list of the names and addresses of those who have not joined the Sabha but have taken the swadeshi vow.

21. The secretaries shall record the minutes of the proceedings of all meetings of the Managing Committee and of the general meetings of the Sabha.

22. The treasurers shall collect all subscriptions, be the custodians of the funds of the Sabha subject to the directions of the Managing Committee, shall keep regular accounts, and furnish a quarterly statement of accounts in which they shall bring to the notice of the Managing Committee all defaults in the payments to be made to the Sabha.

23. The Managing Committee may without assigning any reason expel any member of the Sabha by a two-third majority of the total number of its members.

24. All subscriptions shall be paid within three months from the date of joining the Sabha and thence forward from the commencement of the official year. If the subscription of a member be in arrears, the secretaries shall give him notice to pay, and if he fails to pay within a month after such notice, the Managing Committee shall remove his name from the list of members.

25. The foregoing rules shall be subject to alterations and additions as may be made from time to time by the Sabha.

SCHEDULE
SWADESHI VOW
PURE SWADESHI VOW¹
MIXED SWADESEHI VOW²
THIRD VOW

I solemnly declare that henceforth I will buy for my use only such cloth as is woven in India, from Indian and foreign cotton, wool or silk, spun-in India, and outside.

Explanation: Those desirous of buying only pure swadeshi cloth will remove the words “and foreign” and “and outside” from the pledge.

Note: The pledge has been prepared for the convenience of those who do not desire or are unable to discard such foreign cloth as they already possess; but it is hoped that those taking this vow will discard foreign clothes as early as possible and at all auspicious occasions will use only swadeshi clothes.

Indian National Printing Work, 306, Bora Bazar, Fort, Bombay.

Signature _____

Full Name _____

Address _____

Vow _____

Date of Observance _____

Period _____

Date of Signing _____

Volunteer _____

From the printed pamphlet: S.N. 6485

¹ *Vide* “The Swadeshi Vow”, 13-5-1919.

² *ibid*

145. WRITTEN STATEMENT ON FUTURE PLANS¹

BOMBAY,
July 1, 1919

I have received through Mr. Robertson² the message kindly sent by the Government of India with reference to my plans. I wish to state that whenever I actually resume civil disobedience, I shall give due notice to the local authority. Civil disobedience will be restricted only to myself and my co-workers will not take it up for at least one month after my incarceration except at their own risk. As I have written to His Excellency the Viceroy a letter³ to which I expect a reply and as I have sent a cable⁴ to Mr. Montagu in order to wait for reply to these two communications, I do not propose to offer civil disobedience up to Tuesday⁵ next. The manner in which I propose to offer civil disobedience is by crossing the border of this Presidency at some point. So far as I can think at present, it is not my desire to cross the border by attempting to go to the Punjab, as I feel that I would be unnecessarily disturbing the process of peace going on there at present and doing an act which might irritate the local Government. If the Government of India or the local Government would wish me to cross the border of the Presidency at any particular point, I would gladly do so. My movements up to Tuesday are as follows:

I intend to take the Gujarat Mail on Saturday evening and reach Nadiad on Sunday morning, staying in the Kaira District practically the whole of Sunday, during that time if necessary pay a visit to Kathlal for the sake of delivering an address at Kathlal on swadeshi. In that event, I would take the evening train from Nadiad to Ahmedabad on Sunday and stay in Ahmedabad during the whole of Monday, taking the return Gujarat Mail from Ahmedabad to Bombay, which accordingly I reach on Tuesday morning at 8 o'clock. The day in

¹ This was made during Gandhiji's interview with Griffith, Commissioner of Police, Bombay, on July 1, 1919; *vide* Griffith's report of the interview, which read: "In conclusion Gandhi made a statement which was reduced to writing of which I attach a copy. His plans for the future are detailed in that statement." *Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India.*

² L. Robertson, Inspector General of Police, Bombay Presidency

³ *Vide* "Letter to S. R. Hignell", 28-6-1919.

⁴ *Vide* "Cable to E. S. Montagu", 24-6-1919.

⁵ July 8

Ahmedabad I propose to pass by talking to my friends about the manner of preserving peace after my civil disobedience and I propose to address the same day a meeting of women in Ahmedabad on swadeshi.

I would like respectfully to state that if the Government desire that I should suspend the resumption of civil disobedience for any definite time not too distant, I would consider it my duty to respect their wish, as I am most anxious that no action on my part should in any shape or form cause embarrassment to Government, save what embarrassment is inevitable by reason of civil disobedience on the ground of the refusal of Government to listen to the appeal for withdrawal of the Rowlatt legislation. I have heard on, what is in my opinion, good authority that it is the intention of the Government of India as also the Secretary of State for India to revise their opinion on the Rowlatt legislation and at a suitable time not very far distant they propose to withdraw the Rowlatt Act and that they have abandoned the intention of processing with the sister Bill. If my information is correct and if the Government will so far as they can at present give the assurance, not for publication, that such is their intention, I would indefinitely postpone civil disobedience.

M. K. GANDHI

Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. II, pp. 794-5

146. LETTER TO S. T. SHEPPARD

[BOMBAY,]

July 2, 1919

Pray accept my warmest thanks for your prompt attention to the South African question and your very excellent leading article in today's *Times of India*. I am sure it will do good and will lead the way to a consolidation of public opinion in India.

I duly received the law book.¹

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 6484 b

¹ Volume of Transvaal Laws

147. LETTER TO JEHANGIR B. PETIT

LABURNUM ROAD,
[BOMBAY,]
July 2 [1919]

DEAR SHRI JEHANGIRJI,

I am thankful to you for the courteous hearing you gave to the message I sent you. Your failure to do anything in the matter of South Africa has hurt me very much. I wrote to the editor of *The Times of India* four days ago; he immediately sent for literature, read it, and today we have a fine article. Compare this promptness with your indifference. I had expected much from you. Even now, I entreat you to shake off your apathy on this issue and do your duty.

This was one thing, and not so very important either. I have some money with me, given by friends to help me in my activities, and I manage with it to meet my requirements; but don't you think it was improper of you to have unnecessarily kept me all these days without the money offered to Mrs. Polak?

I have already incurred some expenses on affairs concerning South Africa. I want to send them a long cable today. You have promised to meet all the expenditure that may be incurred on this account, but I have grown nervous because of your indifference. How can I go begging elsewhere for money which it is for the Imperial Citizenship Association to provide? If, therefore, you think it right that the Association should pay the money, you have to send me Rs. 1,000 towards this expenditure. I shall send you the account. A good many cables have to be sent.

Yours,
MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 6484

*148. LETTER TO THE PRESS ON SOUTH AFRICAN
QUESTION¹*

[BOMBAY,
July 3, 1919]²

TO
THE EDITOR
THE BOMBAY CHRONICLE

SIR,

The Times of India has led the way in showing that in the midst of sharp differences between us—the English and Indians—there are points of contact on which we can act with unison. Such is the South African Indian question. Notwithstanding our preoccupations, we may not—dare not—forget this big question.

Even whilst the Maharaja of Bikaner was hoping and appealing to the Dominions' statesmen that the Indian settlers in the Colonies would receive fair and liberal treatment, a scheme was being hatched by the responsible officials of South Africa to deprive the Indians of the Transvaal of vested rights in breach of the compact of 1914, to which the Government of India was witness, if not party.

The Bill, which is now being discussed in the Press and which, according to the latest papers received, has passed the committee stage of the Union House of Assembly at the end of May last, virtually deprives the Indians of the Transvaal from [*sic*] holding fixed property even as shareholders of companies or as mortgagees, as they have hitherto successfully and legally done. It further deprives them of the right of obtaining new trade licences throughout the Transvaal. This means that Indian settlers, if they are not now efficiently protected, will be reduced to the status of menial servants, no matter what their capacity might be. It was bad enough to restrict so as almost to prohibit fresh immigration. It is intolerable to confiscate the economic and material rights of legally admitted immigrants and their descendants.

The duty of Englishmen residing in India and Indians is, in my

¹ This was published also in *New India*, 4-7-1919. *Young India*, 5-7-1919 and *The Hindu*, 7-7-1919.

² The Associated Press of India released it on July 3, from Bombay.

humble opinion, clear. We can create such an emphatic public opinion that we can shame the Europeans of South Africa into doing the right thing. We can also by our united protest strengthen the hands of the Government of India in its endeavour, which it will make as trustee effectively, to protect the Indian settlers of the Transvaal from impending extinction.

Yours, etc.,

M. K. GANDHI

The Bombay Chronicle, 4-7-1919

149. LETTER TO SIR GEORGE BARNES

LABURNUM ROAD,

BOMBAY,

July 3, 1919

DEAR SIR GEORGE BARNES¹,

You were good enough to write to me some months ago that you were inquiring about the South African Indian situation. It has since gone from bad to worse. You will gauge it from the enclosed cuttings. Briefly, the position, if the Bill referred to in the enclosed becomes law, will be that Indians in the Transvaal will not be able to trade and hold fixed property, as they have hitherto been legally able to. This is a manifest and direct breach of the compact of 1914 to which the Government of India was witness, if not party. And party or no party, can it for a moment tolerate legal confiscation of economic and material, as distinguished from political, rights? It is one thing to stop or restrict immigration, it is another to deprive legally admitted immigrants of the means of honest and honourable livelihood. I know you will act, and that promptly. The Bill might even have passed all stages. I trust you will put the cable in motion and inquire.

Hoping you have benefited by the change.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 6484 b

¹ Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council in charge of the Department of Commerce and Industry

150. LETTER TO R. B. EWBANK

BOMBAY,
July 3, 1919

DEAR MR. EWBANK¹,

I have long intended to write to you but something or other has intervened to prevent me from doing so.

You have perhaps followed the swadeshi propaganda going on in the Presidency. I enclosed the rules and the pledges. Could I interest you in the movement?

My desire is to introduce hand-spinning and hand-weaving among the peasants who have no profitable employment practically during half the year and among lakhs of women and men who have spare time on their hands and who will not and do not do any profitable and honourable work. If you approve of the idea, your active co-operation will give a powerful impetus to the movement. It is in this branch of our work that I would like you to join the movement. It is totally non-political in character and if you could take one of the pledges or, if not that, you could become an associate, I should greatly esteem it. I enclose for your perusal copy of a letter from Sir Stanley Reed.²

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 6717

151. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI³

July 3, 1919

You must add to Kalinath Roy the South African question and again get together Mr. Natesan, the Diwan Bahadur and others representing different groups. I see that we will have to extend the scope of satyagraha activity to all spheres of life and to all other questions. I am seriously thinking of altering the constitution of the Sabha and make it a permanent body. The whole thing is in a

¹ Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Bombay

² *Vide* Appendix "Sir Stanley Reed's Letter to Gandhiji", 2-5-1919.

³ Chakravarti Rajagopalachari (b.1879); statesman and first Indian Governor-General

nebulous state. The South African question has compelled attention to this aspect of our activity. We who are representing no party must try wherever we can to bring the groups on a common platform where there are or can be no differences of opinion.

You will see my letter to the Press on the South African question. We should hold meetings and pass resolutions calling upon the Government to do their duty. Cables should be sent to the Secretary of State also. You will see *The Times of India* has come right round to us. You should try on your side to get the English element to go with us in this matter. I am still in correspondence with the Viceroy on the Rowlatt legislation. Civil disobedience has therefore been delayed. I do not propose to attempt to go to the Punjab but cross the Bombay border at some other point. I hardly think it right to challenge prosecution formally regarding the Punjab. I ought to do so, if there was any doubt about my position. What I mean is any such challenge will appear theatrical and I abhor such display. The Punjab authorities have looked sufficiently foolish by naming me as a conspirator and yet leaving me alone. I would take away from that effect by committing the folly of saying "Why do you not prosecute me?" when I know they do not want to and dare not. Do you follow my argument? I am anxious to convince you that it would be wrong to adopt your suggestion.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. G.

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

152. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

Thursday, Ashadh 1975 [July 3, 1919]¹

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I forgot to tell you that the man who has arrived from Bagasra should be asked not only to teach but also to look after weaving.

Look after Shankarlal properly. Tell him all about the work. I have told Ba that he should have greens and other things with his meals.

¹ It appears from the first sentence that Gandhiji wrote this letter soon after he had left Ahmedabad, which he did on June 30. July 3 fell on a Thursday.

Tell Kishorelal that I have sent him a loaf today for Surendra. Thinking that Balubhai may not send it in time, I send one today. If needed in future, I shall be able to send more.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 6716

153. SPEECH ON SWADESHI, BOMBAY¹

July 4, 1919

Shri Jerajani has shown in his speech that India is not an industrially backward country. He and Narandas have done a great service by opening the Swadeshi Store. From now onwards, I shall ask the people at every meeting how many of them have taken one of the swadeshi vows. The vow of the third category is so simple that I even felt ashamed when including it, for there can be no vow which does not entail some suffering. I cannot understand why people have not taken such a simple vow in large numbers. There should be none in Bombay who has not taken one or other of the three vows. If a majority of the people take the vow, some of them will start thinking from where they will get so much cloth and, in the result, they will themselves set to work or make others work. Those friends, therefore, who have not taken the vow so far, should go to the office of the Swadeshi Sabha tomorrow and do so. However, the person who takes the vow should resolve in his mind that he would himself spin the quantity of yarn he might need or arrange to get it spun, and weave his own cloth or get it woven. If the person lacks this spirit, he will have taken the vow in vain. The well-to-do should not think that they will pay and buy ready-made cloth for themselves; they too should resolve as above. If we remain sunk in lethargy, the country will be still further impoverished. Finally, I shall merely say that you should, without delay, take the swadeshi vow which is within your capacity and see that you positively keep it. Rather than take a vow without thinking and then fail to keep it, better not to take it at all.

[From Gujarati]

Gujarat Mitra ane Gujarat Darpan, 13-7-1919

¹ The meeting was held under the auspices of the Swadahi Sabha. Gandhiji was in the chair.

154. SMUTS-GANDHI AGREEMENT

So long as the *Young India* syndicate continue to permit me to supervise its contents and policy, so long do I propose to use this journal for placing before the country a programme of work which I hold to be of primary importance and in which I possess a special knowledge, and so long shall I continue to use these columns for a criticism, where such is necessary, of the Government doings—a criticism which shall often be helpful, but sometimes temporarily obstructive, when the Government needs obstruction in its progress towards something which is in reality harmful to the country at large.

I trust the readers of *Young India* will not grumble if they for the time being find its pages filled with references to the position of our countrymen in South Africa. It is better that I allow its columns to be occupied with something useful, authentic and requiring immediate attention than that it should contain matters of which neither the contributors nor I may possess any special knowledge, or in which neither they nor I may be specially interested. This does not mean that I claim any superiority for this manner of conducting a journal. I merely state the aim for the time being of this journal. I do hold however that no well-conducted journal should contain irresponsible or ill-informed criticism or deal with matters of which its conductors do not possess an adequate knowledge.

This question of the status of our countrymen in South Africa is a matter of no small importance. The measure of our capacity for self-government is the measure of our ability to feel for the meanest of ourselves. The cause being just, the wrong being clearly demonstrable, we have to be the readier to act when the cause is of the helpless. It is the magnitude of the wrong, not the person, that should arrest attention. According to the above test, this question of the status of our countrymen in South Africa is of more immediate importance than even the all-absorbing question of Reforms. This question cannot await solution till after the Reforms are granted. It must be dealt with now or never. It is to be hoped therefore that India will witness a revival of the agitation that was started by the late Mr. Gokhale in 1913 and which culminated in the settlement of 1914.

What, then, is the Smuts-Gandhi agreement? It is remarkable but it is true that every amelioration in the status of the Transvaal Indians

has been used afterwards often successfully by their opponents to take away further rights from them. The Indian settlers have therefore always been engaged in resisting encroachment on their liberty. Their progress thus has been negative. The agreement is set forth in the two letters dated 30th June 1914, the one addressed to me on General Smuts' behalf and the other being my reply thereto. There is another letter from me written to Mr. Gorges, the then Secretary for the Interior, setting forth my interpretation of the term "vested rights". Anyone may see for himself that the reply of the 30th June was written in my representative capacity, the letter of the 7th July in my private capacity showing what I thought of "vested rights" in connection with the Gold Law and Township Amendment Act. The curious reader will see the correspondence for himself reproduced elsewhere and will find no difficulty in interpreting it. I would not press for the insertion of a definition of vested rights in the representative correspondence, because I felt that any definition in the correspondence might result in restricting the future action of my countrymen. Thus my letter could not be used for the curtailment of our rights. But the definition given by me as a matter of fact does not in any way whatsoever curtail existing rights. There was even in 1914 and prior to it an attempt being made to interpret the two laws mentioned in my letter of the 7th July 1914 so as adversely to affect the rights of the Indians residing in the Gold area. I therefore contended that the terms of the settlement required that no rights that were exercised by the Indians at the time of the passing of the two laws could be taken away even though the legal interpretation thereof went against our countrymen. In support of my contention, I used Mr. Jaup de Villers' own statement prepared for the Imperial Government. If, therefore, my letter be part of the settlement, it could only protect Indians from statutory infringement of their liberty. That letter could not be used, as it has been used, even by the Committee of the House of Assembly for creating a legal restriction. Mr. Duncan's independent interpretation of it will bear repetition.

He did not regard the Smuts-Gandhi agreement as an agreement or an assertion that no more Indian licences should be obtained after that date. The agreement was a protective agreement, under which an undertaking was given that the law should be administered with due respect to vested rights and that the Gold Law would not be put into force against the Indian community.

Whatever the interpretation of my letter or the whole settlement, the only question before India—the Government and the people—is: “Are Indians of the Transvaal who have served the Empire as faithfully as any of the other inhabitants of South Africa to be deprived of the right to reside and trade freely and to hold fixed property therein at least as they have done hitherto?” The Government of India and the people can only answer it in one way. And I hope that before the week is out, India will send a message of hope to her children who are battling against heavy odds.

Young India, 5-7-1919

155. LETTER TO F. C. GRIFFITH

LABURNUM ROAD,

[BOMBAY,]

July 5, 1919

DEAR MR. GRIFFITH,

I acknowledge with thanks your letter just received, and I was about to acknowledge your letter received yesterday giving me Mr. Crerar's message which I now do hereby. I shall gladly come over to you on Tuesday¹ as soon as I can after 12 o'clock, on the assumption that the train reaches in time, when the time for waiting on H.E. can be easily fixed up. Meanwhile, I need hardly say that a day's delay would not matter to me if thereby I can better consult His Excellency's convenience.

Thank you for so promptly sending me the Khan Saheb. He has given me much hope and if it is realized, and if you would not mind, you shall give away Fatima the poor girl, especially if the happy event comes off whilst I am locked up in some place or other under the Defence of India Order.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 6725

¹ July 8

156. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

July 5 [1919]

MY DEAR HENRY,

I have your confidential memorandum. I must confess that I do not like it. We cannot accept merely formal legal equality with the full knowledge that administratively trade licences will be taken away. We must take up an unbending and unbendable attitude on the question of trade and fixed property. The existing law and the existing practice, and so far as the latter is in our favour, must be at least maintained and where the present law adversely interferes with the existing practice, as for instance in case of Dada [Osman], the law must be altered to accord with the practice. I am moving here in that direction.

You will see from the columns of *Young India* what is being done. Mr. Sheppard of *The Times of India* has responded satisfactorily in the matter.

As for civil disobedience, I am awaiting some news from you and the reply from the Viceroy to my letter. You must have noticed in *Young India* Manilal Vyas' petition regarding the order of deportation against him from Br[itish] India. What do you think of Mr. Jehangir Petit calling a meeting of the Committee of the Imperial Citizenship Association today in response to a letter of mine addressed to him in the middle of February last for the consideration of the South African question?

Please forward the enclosed to the respective addressees.

From a photostat: S.N. 6484 b

157. THE DUTY OF SATYAGRAHIS

NADIAD,
July 6, 1919

The above was the title given by Mr. Gandhi to the address which he delivered before a Nadiad audience on Sunday last. Mr. Gokuldas D. Talati, President of the Nadiad Municipality, presided. Between two and three thousand people were present. The following is the substance of Mr. Gandhi's speech as edited by himself:

Mr. Gandhi, speaking on the subject, said that he had a special claim on the people of Nadiad in particular and the population of Kaira in general, as he had lived

for so long in their midst and was surrounded with so much affection from them. His largest experiments were carried out in Kaira. It was no small matter for law-abiding people to suspend the payment of revenue. It was a very serious responsibility he had taken upon his shoulders of advising them to do so. The actual working of that experiment showed that there was no cause for regret. It was acknowledged by officers concerned that this was a most peaceful, orderly and becoming demonstration of their grievance. It was this exemplary and successful act of civil disobedience which betrayed him into the miscalculation of April last and, if he then considered his mistake to be as big as the Vindhya Range, now after longer experience he felt that it was a Himalayan miscalculation. Not only, however, was his claim upon the Kaira people based upon the revenue struggle, but also upon the recruiting campaign.

Mr. Gandhi further said:

The first was to the people's liking; recruiting by reason of long disuse in the training of arms and of absence of real affection was unattractive and unpleasant, and yet I know that you had begun to respond nobly and I feel confident that had the war been prolonged, Kaira would have quite voluntarily contributed from the middle classes probably not less than 1,000 recruits. I had therefore hoped, as I still hope, that Kaira would play no mean part in the work of national regeneration and that my services to the motherland will be rendered largely through you or, perhaps more correctly speaking, Gujarat. And so as I may have to offer civil disobedience at a very early date, I thought I would speak to you today about the duty of satyagrahis. It is hardly possible to understand this duty without a correct appreciation of the meaning of satyagraha. I have already given its definition but the mere definition often fails to convey the true meaning. Unfortunately, popular imagination has pictured satyagraha as purely and simply civil disobedience, if not in some cases even criminal disobedience. The latter, as you all know, is the very opposite of satyagraha. The former, i.e., civil disobedience, is undoubtedly an important but by no means always the main part of satyagraha. Today, for instance, on the question of Rowlatt legislation, civil disobedience has gone into the background. As satyagraha is being brought into play on a large scale on the political field for the first time, it is in an experimental stage. I am therefore ever making new discoveries. And my error in trying to let civil disobedience take the people by storm appears to me to be Himalayan because of the discovery I have made, namely, that he only is able and attains the right to offer civil disobedience who has known how to offer

voluntary and deliberate obedience to the laws of the State in which he is living. It is only after one has voluntarily obeyed such laws a thousand times that an occasion rightly comes to one civilly to disobey certain laws. Nor is it necessary for voluntary obedience that the laws to be obeyed must be good. There are many unjust laws which a good citizen obeys so long as they do not hurt his self respect or the moral being, and when I look back upon my life, I cannot recall a single occasion when I have obeyed a law whether of society or the State because of the fear of punishment. I have obeyed bad laws of the society as well as of the State, believing that it was good for me and the State or the society to which I belonged to do so, and I feel that having regularly and in a disciplined manner done so, the call for disobedience to a law of society came when I went to England in 1888 and to a law of the State in South Africa when the Asiatic Registration Act was passed by the Transvaal Government. I have therefore come to the conclusion that civil disobedience, if it has to be renewed, shall be offered in the first instance only by me as being the fittest to do so and the duty of fellow-satyagrahis will be to assimilate for the time being the first essential just mentioned of civil disobedience. In the instructions I have drawn up, I have suggested that civil disobedience by the others should not be taken up for at least one month after I have been taken charge of by the Government. And then, too, by one or two chosen satyagrahis chosen in the sense above mentioned and only if it is found that no violence has been offered after my incarceration by the satyagrahis so called or others acting in co-operation with them. The next duty then is for the remaining satyagrahis themselves to observe perfect calm and quiet and to see that others do likewise. You will, therefore, see to it that after I have offered civil disobedience, if I do, there is no hartal, no public meetings, and no demonstrations of any kind whatsoever so to give excitement. And I feel sure that if perfect peace is observed after my incarceration, Rowlatt legislation will go by reason of that very fact. But it is quite likely that the Government may remain perfectly obstinate. In that event under the conditions I have already mentioned, it will be open to the satyagrahis to offer further civil disobedience and continue to do so till every satyagrahi has rendered a good account of himself.

For the intervening period, I have drawn up constructive work in the instructions. I have suggested the swadeshi movement as an item—swadeshi in a religious and true spirit without even a suspicion of

boycott, —swadeshi which would enable the Viceroy down to the humblest ryot to take part in. At the lowest estimate, 80 per cent of the population of India is agricultural. This makes over 24 crores. It is well known that, during half the year, this population remains practically idle or has at least many hours at its disposal for useful work. If this population is given an easy, substantial and profitable work to do, one of the higher economic problems will have been solved. In my humble opinion, such an occupation is hand-spinning. It can be easily learned by everybody and it is the most perfect way in my opinion of utilizing the idle hours of the nation. Swadeshi is mainly a matter of production and manufacture. The more goods we manufacture the more swadeshi there is in the country. The vows have been framed in order to serve as an incentive to manufacture and production. This work requires a large number of volunteers whose sole qualification needs to be perfect honesty and love of the country. I would like every man and woman in India to devote themselves heart and soul to this work. And I doubt not that in an incredibly short time we would have restored to its original vigour the lost art of weaving the finest cloth of the most effective design.

There is one more subject I have to touch upon. Painful as it were, in their consequences, the tragic events of the mad mob in Ahmedabad and Viramgam in April last, some of the doings in Kaira were, if possible, still more tragic if you contemplate what might have happened. I refer to the cutting down of the telegraph wires and the tearing down of the railway. The acts of the mob in Ahmedabad betoken mad frenzy. The acts in Kaira betoken deliberation. They were also done in anger but even in anger there can be thoughtlessness or thoughtfulness. The Kaira crimes, though far less disastrous in consequences than those of Ahmedabad, were from a satyagraha standpoint more inexcusable, if there can be any excuse for any crime whatsoever. I understand that those who were responsible for the misdeeds of April have not all come forward to boldly confess the crime. It was a pity that Kaira behaved so nobly during the revenue struggle should have forgotten itself during April, but it is a greater pity that the guilty ones should now try to hide themselves. It is therefore the plain duty of satyagrahis to make an open confession if any of them is in any shape or form responsible for the crime and to persuade, if they have the knowledge, those who have committed the crimes to make the confession. It is cowardly enough to tear down the railway and thus endanger the lives of

soldiers who were proceeding to restore peace and order. It is still more cowardly not to come forward boldly and admit the wrong. A hidden sin is like poison corrupting the whole body. The sooner the poison is thrown off, the better it is for society. And just as a bit of arsenic mixed with milk renders it none the less vitiating for the addition of pure milk, so also do good deed in a society fail to cover unexpiated sins. I hope that you will strain every nerve to find out those whose mad grief betrayed them into unpardonable crimes and appeal to them to own up like men and thus purify the social, moral and political atmosphere of this district.

(I have considerably abridged the speech but added one or two sentences to complete or amplify my meaning.)

M. K. G.

Young India, 9-7-1919

*158. SPEECH ON SWADESHI AT WOMEN'S
MEETING, NADIAD*

July 6, 1919

SISTERS,

I am happy to see such a large number of my sisters of Nadiad present here. I am thankful to you all for attending. I shall speak as loudly as I can; even so, I cannot continue speaking unless you maintain silence. I have not come here to make a speech, but to explain things to you. What I have to say has an especial bearing on our dharma. It has an economic aspect and also a political one. Today, however, I shall place before you the idea of swadeshi from the point of view of dharma, that is, explain how through swadeshi you will follow your dharma. It will be useless for me to make a speech if you understand nothing, and it is plain that, if you do not hear, you cannot understand.

There was a time in India when, following our belief, we could not drink water offered anywhere except in a Hindu home or, rather, by anyone not our own caste. In the fair at Hardwar, water was fetched by Brahmins and Muslims. The Muslims accepted the water fetched by Brahmins but the Hindus would not touch water fetched by Muslims. It was a matter of dharma for them to believe and act so, despite all the heat of the day. And so they would not drink water offered by a Muslim.

I have stayed in the place where Ramachandra was born, and in that place, in Bihar, and its neighbourhood, where Sita grew up and played. There are many there who will not eat in a train, but fast. To be sure, it is a valuable religious sentiment which will not permit a man to eat in a train, not to speak of other places. There is self-control in this, self-control meaning deliberate refraining from the use of certain things. No one is under pressure from anyone else in this matter. This cultivates strength of the *atman*, takes one higher. There is self-control in rules about eating and not eating, drinking and not drinking. If we treated anyone with contempt, we should be committing a sin. There is dharma, I believe, in refusing to eat food cooked by a particular person, if we do so not because we doubt whether we would get it to our liking¹ but because we believe such food to be forbidden.

Formerly, men and women in India used cloth made with their own hands. Among the extracts from the shastras which some *shastris*² have sent me, I find that the bridegroom used to say something to this effect to the bride when offering her the wedding garment: "I give you these garments made by the guardian goddesses of my family; may you and I be happy, wearing them." There are verses to this effect in the shastras, but we do not need them at the moment.

We have our sisters in the Punjab. Those ladies who believe that Nadiad and Gujarat are not the whole country, that our country is India and so the Punjab, too, is our land, for them the Punjab is their land. There, they spin and weave with their own hands and wear the clothes so made. This was formerly the practice all over India. Even women in big wealthy families used to spin. People of every caste did so. Our people, the elders among them, discovered that, if they would clothe the millions in the country, they should learn to make cotton into yarn. We cannot go without food, and so women should know cooking; this is so everywhere on the earth. We cannot go without clothes and everyone should know weaving. This was the way Indian civilization was built. The elders in the country did not think that they would import cloth from abroad and use it here. A country which does so will go to ruin.

If this course is not followed, one country will have to fight with another. People must cultivate friendship for Ahmedabad for the sake of its cloth. If a country depends on another for its needs, the former

¹ The *Gujarati* report is not clear at this point.

² Men learned in the shastras

should be friends with the latter; otherwise it should be prepared for war. The cause of wars in this world is trade. Our forefathers used great foresight and decided that India should have two things. If people get food and clothing, they can live happily. These two things should be available in India. They raised cotton, invented simple machines for spinning and weaving and thus we got plain clothes to wear.

A hundred and fifty years ago, i.e., five generations ago, we used cotton grown in this country, yarn spun with one's own hands and cloth woven by the weaver. Compared to the cloth you wear now, that of former times was of priceless worth. It had a soul in it. Today, you have reason to envy me. You ought to want to wear cloth like mine. You are deceived if you think that it is of fine texture or in any way beautiful. If you offered me your clothes, I would throw them into the fire. My cloth is the product of dharma, yours is the product of *adharma*.

Using foreign cloth for the last hundred and fifty years, we have violated dharma and morals and lost our industries. Dharma consists in compassion. Tulsidas describes compassion as the root of dharma. If the men and women of India had compassion on India, they would not import cloth from abroad. Suppose I were your neighbour and lived by weaving cloth, and suppose I requested you to buy some. You would perhaps send me away with a word of abuse or, if you happened to be polite, tell me that you would rather have Chinese cloth. Would you say this was compassion, or cruelty? You may advise me to give up weaving, but I know it is the only thing I can do. In the result, the weaver who is your neighbour will have been ruined and your own sisters will have lost what they can earn through spinning. In what way can they have earned? Formerly, we used to spin with our own hands and that itself meant some earning. If we get the spinning done by an outsider, we have to pay him something. If we do it ourselves, we shall have yarn for the cost of cotton. Further, if we ourselves weave, we shall have cloth for the price of cotton. A hundred and fifty years ago, they followed this straightforward course. We serve both our economic interest and our dharma through swadeshi, the former because our wealth remains in the country and the latter because we take work from our neighbour, so that his talents may have scope. There is no dharma in your neglecting your neighbour and giving your work to someone else. Your neighbour will lose his

dharma and you will lose yours. To abandon swadeshi amounts to plucking out dharma by its very root. Your swadeshi industry is the occupation of millions. The agriculturists and *Patidars* of Kheda own farms and raise crops. If anyone told you that they were off their heads and, giving up this work, started getting grains from the Punjab, what would you say? "Their days are numbered".

What sort of wisdom is there in transporting grains from the Punjab when you have *bajra* and other crops growing right in front of your homes? If there were [real] teachers of religion, they would knock the people so hard that the latter could not but take notice. Just as it would not be right for Kheda district to give up agriculture, so it is not right for India as a whole to give up weaving her own cloth. We can do so if we do not mind going naked. So long as we would cover our nakedness, dharma requires us to use cloth produced with our own hands from our own cotton. As parents do not abandon their ugly child or a husband his ugly wife, for God has created love for one's children and one's wife, so also one may not abandon one's occupation. We say it is cruel of an *aghorī*¹ to abandon his child. Because of imported cloth, the people are getting impoverished. You are all well dressed. Not travelling about in India, you have no idea of the starvation which prevails. This itself shows that the country is going the wrong way. The better houses in prosperous villages are growing dilapidated. The wooden rafter in the huts are not being replaced. I saw in the course of my tour of Kheda last time that people had no grains in their big earthen jars. This bespeaks famine conditions. Anyone who goes round will see this for himself. If these conditions had come about a hundred and fifty years ago, they would not have tolerated them. On cloth, we lose, on an average, two rupees a head annually. This makes 300 rupees for 150 years. How utterly ruined must be the men and women who have lost so much of their wealth!

The nation has thus been gradually ruined. For want of suitable occupation, men and women lost their all as time went by. Farmers and their womenfolk could, during the three months from Fagan², spin enough yarn to meet the family's needs [for the year]. If you spin with your own hands, you will have yarn at no more than the cost of cotton. Again, if you do the weaving yourselves, you will have the

¹ A sect of mendicants following very harsh practices

² Name of month in the Indian calendar, roughly corresponding to March

cloth, too, for the price of cotton. The person whom you pay will then be richer. If, instead, you have the money yourselves, weaving with your own hands, you will earn more than the assessment [you pay]. What this comes to is this, that you can earn the amount of three years' assessment in one year. Even little girls can understand this simple calculation.

If you wish a prosperous future for your children, you should leave them, as legacy, the idea that it is *adharmā* to obtain our needs by imports. They should want to use cloth made in this country.

Do not choose your dresses in imitation of those of the British.

If your husband brings any such garments for you and asks you to go about dressed in unbecoming fashions, you should say you will have none of this husbandly assumption of authority, that your sari must be one made in this country. They will ask how it is possible to have a sari of fine texture made here. However, if you indeed want saris of such quality, you will have them. A sister once came to me; she wanted money. I asked her of what material her skirt was made. She said it was made from the covering of her bedding, so much the wiser she was.

You should use cloth produced in Nadiad. Do not think it will be much too heavy on the body. If it is, you should see to it that the quality improves and it is no longer heavy. If a child is ill, you will give him medicine, and not abandon him. Likewise, you should accept a piece of work and then get it improved by the weaver-physician. You should wear only such cloth which is made by our weavers. You should not discard the clothes you have with you. Wear them out. But the new ones you buy henceforth should be swadeshi. Use and encourage swadeshi cloth. Get swadeshi saris made. Win over your husbands and, helping one another, be independent. If you, ladies, understand this idea well and act upon it, you will say after two years that Gandhi was right.

The day after tomorrow is *Bhima ekadashi*¹. People will be taking the *chaturmas*² vow on that day. What is the vow you will take on that *ekadashi*?—that you will not wear cloth which has not been made in India, that you will wear out what you have, but will not buy any more foreign material. You should take the *chaturmas* vow with a

¹ Eleventh day of the bright half of *Ashadh*, roughly corresponding to July

² Literally, a period of four months; the term signifies a vow of fasting and semi-fasting during the four monsoon months.

pledge to this effect. Your taking the pledge to use cloth made in Nadiad will not by itself satisfy me; you should also persuade others to wear Nadiad cloth. I cannot estimate the resulting increase in prosperity if everyone were to make such a resolution. We should have this result in no more than a year or two.

Everyone among you should learn spinning. It is easy work. I know this because I have done spinning myself. On my right side is Gangabehn and on this side Anasuyabehn; they have experience of the work.

Do what some other ladies do. You have two or three hours in which you do nothing. You spend them in temples. Telling the beads in temple is dharma, but at the present time real *bhakti* consists in this work for cloth. To till the land for love of others and make the produce available to the people, to spin for the good of India, sitting in the home, and that too not for money—this is the highest dharma. If you do less, you will have followed less of dharma. Even a person who spins for money will have followed dharma. Women in rich families should spin two or three hours every day and pass it on to the Store here, gift it to the venture which the friends here have undertaken. The cloth will be cheap then. Next, gift it to Kheda. When Nadiad has had enough, give it to some other place. As God has created you that you may live in Nadiad, service of the people here is India's service. It is your dharma to see that Nadiad does not become a burden on other parts or on a foreign country.

It is, therefore, my request to the ladies in well-to-do families that they should spin and gift the yarn. Anyone who spins for money will get three annas a pound [of yarn]. Every pice earned is useful. With the money so earned, you can buy your needs. You can buy things like medicine which you may need. The more you earn, the more the gain. This is an excellent means of earning. The effort is small, the machine simple. The spinning-wheel is priced at two rupees eight annas. This is cheap. If you cannot afford this price, under the plan here they will supply a spinning-wheel. A deduction of four annas a month will cover the cost gradually and be fair to you.

This swadeshi dharma is a very important one. Through it alone will India become prosperous. Everything else is mere bookish theory. This alone is swaraj. The *Gita* teaches that where dharma prevails, other things follow. Walking in the way of the swadeshi dharma will ensure our uplift. We have no desire to be millionaires.

We can be so only by doing injustice. The whole population of 30 crores cannot have millions, but all can be prosperous. I am here today to show you the way.

I thank you for hearing me attentively. If you see anything in the idea, swallow this dose. I wish such women to come forward. Out of the 24 hours of the day, you should spend some at the spinning-wheel. Speak about it to your neighbours and your husband. Just as a good family should have a quern, so also it should have a spinning-wheel. If this comes about, Nadiad can produce its needs. There will be no more hunger. Swadeshi is the only right way of passing your time in doing dharma. Use swadeshi. Produce swadeshi. If we use swadeshi, there is not enough cloth to go round. We can have it, if we take to weaving. If all men and women agree, we can see to it that foreign cloth disappears in 11 days. If we but make up our mind, the way is simple. We shall have to produce the 75 per cent [of our requirements] at present imported from outside. If all the women embrace this dharma, be sure our emancipation is near at hand, within 15 days.

May you embrace this dharma, I pray. And I pray to God, likewise, that He may dispose you all to this and prompt you to work for this right cause.

[From Gujarati]

Gujarati, 20-7-1919

159. LETTER TO RANCHHODDAS PATWARI

ASHRAM,

*Monday, Ashadh Sud 9 [July 7, 1919]*¹

RESPECTED RANCHHODBHAI,

For several reasons I have postponed resorting to civil disobedience. You will see those reasons in the newspapers. I know that the news will make you happy. But my purpose in giving you this information is to let you know that I am now ready to come to Gondal for the swadeshi work. So long as I was contemplating to resort to civil

¹ From the reference to Gandhiji's proposed visit to Gondal, which he visited in September 1919; also from reference to civil disobedience which was suspended by Gandhiji in that year. The source has *Ashadh Sud 9*, which seems to be a slip for *Ashadh Sud 10*, which was a Monday and corresponded to July 7.

disobedience, I had been wondering whether I should tour Kathiawar or not. I kept thinking that I might be embarrassing friends to a certain extent. Now I do not feel handicapped that way. Nevertheless, consult the respected Thakore Saheb. I would like to come only if he consents. For if the native states extend whole-hearted co-operation, the swadeshi movement will really flourish and the subjects of the states will gain in prosperity. Most probably I shall be only at the Ashram till Friday. I have sent Chi. Maganlal to Kathiawar. I have also asked him to meet you so that he can fully explain to you this easy way.

Yours respectfully,

MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4118. Also C.W. 2794

*160. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO GOVERNOR
OF BOMBAY*

[On or after *July 8, 1919*]

I thank you for your letter.¹ I shall duly wait on H. E. on Saturday the 12th at 3 p.m. I was sorry to hear from Mr. Griffith that H. E. was indisposed. I do hope he has now been completely restored [to health].

From a photostat: S.N. 6732

161. LALA RADHA KRISHNA'S CASE

When Babu Kalinath Roy's case was taken up in these columns, I was asked by several Punjabi friends why I had not taken up Lala Radha Krishna's² case which was equally strong, if not stronger than Babu Kalinath Roy's. I respectfully told the friends that I did not know Lala Radha Krishna's case and that I would be glad to study it if the papers were sent to me. I have now received the papers, namely, the charge, the defence statement, the judgment, Lala Radha Krishna's petitions and the translations of portions of the *Pratap* from which the statements in the charge-sheet were taken. These are all published in

¹ Of July 8 conveying the Governor's desire to meet Gandhiji at Poona on Saturday

² Editor of *Pratap*

this issue. The reader, therefore, has complete data for coming to a definite conclusion.

In my humble opinion, the judgment is a travesty of justice. The case is in some respects worse even than Babu Kalinath Roy's. There are no startling headlines as in *The Tribune* case. The accused has been sentenced not on a section of the Indian Penal Code but on a rule temporarily framed as a war measure. My meaning will be clear when the reader has the rule itself before him. Let me remind him that it is not a rule passed by the Legislative Council. It is a rule promulgated by the Government under the powers granted to it by the Defence of India Act. Here is the whole of it:

(1) Whoever by words, either spoken or written, or by signs, or by visible representations or otherwise, publishes or circulates any statement, rumour or report—

(a) which is false and which he has no reasonable ground to believe to be true, with intent to cause, or which is likely to cause, fear or alarm to the public or to any section of the public; or

(b) with intent to jeopardize, or which is likely to jeopardize, the success of His Majesty's forces by land or sea, or the success of the forces of any power in alliance with His Majesty; or

(c) with intent to prejudice, or which is likely to prejudice, His Majesty's relations with Foreign Powers; or

(d) with intent to promote, or which is likely to promote, feelings of enmity and hatred between different classes of His Majesty's subjects—

shall be punishable with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years, and shall also be liable to fine, or if it is proved that he did so with intent to assist the King's enemies with death, transportation for life or imprisonment for a term which may extend to ten years.

(2) No court shall take cognisance of any offence against this rule save upon complaint made by order of, or under authority from, the Governor-General-in-Council, the Local Government or some officer empowered by the Governor-General-in-Council in this behalf.

It will be noticed that the rule is so drastic that an offence against it could not be taken cognisance of except under special orders of the Government or some officer appointed in this behalf.

Let us turn to the indictment. Now a charge-sheet should contain no avoidable inaccuracies and no innuendoes. But we find that this indictment contains material inaccuracies. One of the three statements claimed by the prosecution to be false is that the accused said in his paper that “they (the crowd) were fired at in Delhi without any cause”. Now this is a dangerous inaccuracy. The passage in question reads, “they were, *at least from their point of view*, fired at without any cause.”

The words italicized have been omitted from the charge, thus giving a different meaning to the writing from the one intended by the writer. From the third item, too, the relevant portion which alters the accused’s meaning in his favour has been omitted. The third count concludes, “the people threw stones and brickbats at the time when the authorities had already taken the initiative.” The relevant and qualifying sentence in the article from which the above is extracted is: “*But it is possible that somebody among this huge crowd might have thrown stones on the police officers (before they resorted to firing)*”. Even admitting this to be true, we say that the wisdom and prudence of the authorities demanded that some other method than firing guns should have been adopted with a view to suppress this disturbance.” This sentence with the portion italicized again alters the whole meaning. If such an omission was made by a defendant, it would amount to *suppressio veri*, and he would rightly put himself out of court. Done by the prosecution, the omission has passed muster, but in reality it is far more dangerous than *suppressio veri* on the part of a defendant. The Crown by a material omission, intended or otherwise, may succeed in bringing about an unjust conviction, as it appears to have done in this case.

The last paragraph of the charge contains an unpardonable innuendo:

The accused has published a number of seditious and inflammatory articles, but the Crown prefers to proceed under Rule 25.

The suggestion that the accused has written “seditious and inflammatory” articles could only be calculated to prejudice the defence. I have never seen an indictment so loosely drawn up and so argumentative as this. In a properly constituted court of law, I venture to think that it would have been ruled out of order and the accused set free without having to enter upon any defence.

The judgment, too, I am sorry to say, leaves the same impression

on one's mind that the charge does—an impression of prejudice and haste. It says: "The prosecution have also established that each of these statements is false." Now I have, I hope, already demonstrated that two of the statements in the indictment would not be false, for they are statements *torn from their context and incomplete*. No amount of evidence to prove the falsity of such incomplete statements could possibly be permitted to injure the accused. There remain only two statements to be examined. The first statement is, "By the evening of the 31st March, forty Hindus and Mussulmans had been killed." Now it would be quite clear to anybody perusing the judgment that even now it is not known how many persons were killed. I suggest that the deciding factor in examining the falseness or otherwise of the above statement is not the number killed but whether any people were killed at all. If anything could then alarm the people, it was the fact of firing, not necessarily the number killed. And the fact of firing is not denied. As to the number, the newspapers including the Anglo-Indian Press had different versions. The learned judge dismisses the plea that other respectable papers contained about the same statements that the *Pratap* did. I submit that it was a relevant plea in order to establish the defendant's *bona fides* with a view to showing that he had reasonable grounds for believing the statements he published. The second statement made by the accused is, "It cannot be denied that most who were killed or wounded were innocent." Lala Radha Krishna in his petition pertinently observes that "the Delhi authorities themselves took this view and in order to provide for the innocent sufferers in the riots opened a public fund". Let me add to this that no attempt was made by the Crown to show that even one man killed or wounded among the crowd was guilty of any act of violence himself. The court seems merely to have relied upon the fact that those who were killed were "members of a violent and dangerous mob". That fact does not necessarily prove that those actually killed were guilty of violence nor has the accused in his articles complained that the innocent suffered with the guilty. His complaint naturally was that the firing was at all resorted to.

It is now necessary to examine the rule under which the accused was charged. Lala Radha Krishna was charged under sub-clause (a) of sub-section I of Rule 25. In order to establish the guilt of the accused, it is necessary to prove

- (a) that the statement is false;

(b) that the accused “has no reasonable ground to believe it to be true”;

(c) that it is published “with intent to cause”, or it “is likely to cause fear or alarm to the public”.

It has been made abundantly clear in the foregoing that the statements have not been proved to be false, and that even if they were, it has not been proved that the accused “had no reasonable ground for believing them to be proved”. On the contrary, the defence statement gives clearly the grounds of his belief and lastly the prosecution never proved that there was any “intent to cause fear or alarm”, or that “there was likely to be any fear or alarm to the public, we are satisfied that the publishing and circulating of these false statements did actually cause fear and alarm to the public.” Lala Radha Krishna observes on this point, “The prosecution witnesses were unable to cite any specific instances of such alarm having been caused by the articles in question.”

The judgment takes no note of the antecedents of Lala Radha Krishna, of the fact that although there was not the slightest reason for expressing regret for anything he had written, he expressed it in his statement to the court for any unconscious exaggerations and of the very material fact that the error, if error it was, regarding the number of the dead was corrected by him as soon as the official communique was published and that he published too the *Civil and Military Gazette* version. This seems to be a question of manifest injustice. We understand that Lala Radha Krishna’s petition for release is still engaging the attention of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab. We hope that the public and the Press throughout India will support the prayer for justice and that it will not go in vain.

Young India, 12-7-1919

162. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR

[July 12, 1919]

To
THE PRIVATE SECRETARY TO
HIS HONOUR THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR
LAHORE

DEAR SIR,

I enclose herewith copy of *Young India*¹ dealing with the case of Lala Radha Krishna, the Editor of the *Pratap*, for submission to His Honour. I understand that the case is under His Honour's consideration at the present moment. May I hope that Lala Radha Krishna's sentence will be remitted ?

I am,
Yours faithfully,

From a photostat: S.N. 6765

163. LETTER TO SUNDER LAL²

LABURNUM ROAD,
GAMDEVI,
BOMBAY,
July 12, 1919

Herewith I enclose copy of *Young India* referring to Lala Radha Krishna's case. In my opinion, it is as bad as, if not worse than, Babu Kalinath Roy's case, and I think you should respond all the quicker for Lala Radha Krishna, he not being as influential as Mr. Roy. I think that the same procedure should be followed as in the case of Mr. Roy. Perhaps a single memorial instead of separate ones from lawyers, editors, and the general public, will answer the purpose. Meetings should certainly be held, as the matter is still under the consideration of the Punjab Government. Resolutions at public meetings may be addressed to the Viceroy and the Lieutenant-Governor. I need hardly say that promptitude is necessary to secure a ready relief.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 6741

¹ Dated 12-7-1919

² Of Uttar Pradesh

*164. SPEECH ON SWADESHI AT FERGUSSON COLLEGE,
POONA¹*

July 12, 1919

In addressing the students in Hindi, Mr. Gandhi said the question of swadeshi included the question of language, and he would prefer to address them in their lingua franca, Hindi, rather than in English; but it was about swadeshi in respect to clothing that he was there to speak to them.

Dr. Harold Mann had surveyed the conditions in a Deccan village near Poona and he had observed that a large part of the population was without work for a large part of the year and had to depend on daily labour, e.g., carrying milk to Poona, working in the Ammunition Factory, etc., and that for the most part it was the males only who found work in this direction. How, asked Mr. Gandhi, did the women employ themselves? They had no work, or they employed themselves with unprofitable work. That was the condition all over India. Sir Dinsha Wachha had calculated that during the period of the war, they had much less cloth for their consumption than they had in the five years preceding the war. Should they wait for more mills to supply the shortage of cloth from which they were suffering? asked Mr. Gandhi. It would take years before the mills could come effectively to their rescue. Swadeshi alone could effectively and without loss of time supplement their supply of cloth. Sir William Hunter² had calculated that one-tenth of their population scarcely got one meal per day. The speaker's own experience of the peasant in Champaran proved the truth of the calculation. He could say that most of the peasants in Champaran had to rest satisfied with scanty meals. He said Mrs. Gandhi herself went about in the villages of the Champaran District and she revealed to him the painful fact that many of the women had not sufficient clothing to cover themselves with, and some of them had not had their bath for days together for want of clothing to change for the dirty scanty clothing on their bodies, which they could ill afford to wash! Thousands of peasants burnt away their precious manure in winter to warm themselves with, only because they had nothing wherewith to buy warm clothing. And what was at the root of all this misery? One hundred and fifty years ago, they produced their own cotton, spun it and wove out of it their own cloth; today they had to depend on foreign market. It would be tormenting to him to relate, and to them to hear, the painful process of the extinction of their handicrafts ill the past. It was for

¹ Under the auspices of the Philosophical Club, R. P. Paranjapye, the Principal of the College presiding

² 1840-1900; historian, an authority on Indian affairs; author of *Indian Empire*; served in India for 25 years, and was sympathetic to Indian aspirations; member of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress in London

them—the students, who were the hope of the future—to study the conditions of the agriculturists, to think of how their lot could be improved and to set to them the example of their own lives. They themselves could learn spinning and weaving in a short time, and go from village to village preaching to the peasants the need of swadeshi and explaining to them how they could fight starvation and famine by filling their time with spinning yarn and weaving cloth out of it. It was a serious state of affairs for any country if its peasant population had to remain without work for six months in the year. He explained to them the three vows that he had placed before the public, but told them that the purest swadeshi consisted in using cloth woven on handlooms out of hand-spun yarn. The question of machine-made cloth apart, Mr. Gandhi said it was undoubted that the clothing he wore was more artistic than what the students wore. Art, he explained, lay in producing something which could not be exactly imitated, which had on it the stamp of some ideal, which in short, had the soul of the artist in it. Machine-made cloth had no soul in it. As to the greater durability of hand-woven cloth, there was scarcely any doubt. But if the audience did not share his views on art, they had the Indian mill-made cloth to fall back upon while the peasants could manufacture their own yarn and cloth in their cottages.

From the point of view, then, of rejuvenation of their lost art, of service of the Motherland, and of protection of their peasant population, swadeshi was a thing without which none of them could do. For some time to come, they would have to rest satisfied with cloth of a coarse texture, but it was little sacrifice on their part, considering the mighty issues involved.

The speaker emphasized that he did not hold out the handloom as a competitor of the power-loom. The objective was not that the former should supplant the latter. It was rather that the former should supplement the latter. What he meant to say, however, was that any amount of progress in our mill industry could not improve the condition of our agriculturists. Only a revival of cottage industries, viz., hand-spinning and hand-weaving, could work their economic salvation. He hoped they would discuss the whole question with their professors and that both they and the professors would see their way to support swadeshi in a religious spirit.

Principal Paranjapye, in rising to thank Mr. Gandhi, said that as Mr. Gandhi spoke in Hindi, he could not follow him fully. He could only get the gist of his remarks. But he could guess the rest. He then mentioned some of the grounds on which, he said, he was opposed to the idea of what he thought to be a crusade of an unpractical nature. One hundred years ago, he said, they might have produced their own cloth; similarly, they travelled large distances by means of primitive bullock-carts and their caravans brought in and took out commodities to and from their country in that primitive fashion. The railways had then come and ruined the profession of those carters. Did Mr. Gandhi wish that the railways should be

destroyed and the primitive means of trade and communications be restored instead? It was vain, he maintained, to strive to turn back the tide of time, and to seek solution of an economic question in a sentimental way. Similarly, it would be absurd to say that the printing presses which had supplanted the copyists of the olden time should go, and allow the copyists to minister again to our needs of writing. . . . He had not made up his mind in the matter, but Mr. Gandhi had left him unconvinced.¹

Young India, 16-7-1919

165. SPEECH ON SWADESHI AT CITIZENS' MEETING, POONA

July 12, 1919

Mr. Gandhi, who was introduced to the audience by Mr. Khadilkar, said speaking in Hindi, that at the outset he wanted to discuss swadeshi not from a political standpoint, but from an economic and religious one. Swadeshi, as he understood it, was broad-based on certain religious and economic principles according to which all men from the Viceroy to his peons downwards might accept it. It recognized no distinction as of the Moderates or the Extremists among its votaries, and it was such that it was possible to bring men of all races, castes and creeds under its influence. There was thus no place in it for boycott, which was the predominant element in, or which practically meant, the swadeshi of a few years ago. He therefore wished to request them with all the force that he could command to keep the thought of boycott away from their minds while thinking of swadeshi.

He recalled a day when just after his return from South Africa he visited Poona and there said at a meeting that what Poona thought one day, the rest of India would think on the next. He said he was still of the same opinion. He believed that no city in India could compare with Poona in its learning and its self-sacrifice, and he had no doubt that if Poona saw eye to eye with him in the matter of swadeshi, it would relieve him from half of the task. What, in his opinion, Poona lacked was faith and self-confidence. Poona still believed, he thought, that there was no salvation without their being Westernized. It was only when Poona disabused itself of this belief that it could truly help in raising the country from its despondency.

Proceeding to explain swadeshi, Mr. Gandhi drew a homely analogy. Supposing, he said, a man had ample provisions and a wife to prepare out of them dainty dishes for him, and if in spite of it he sent for his dishes from an outside hotel how should they describe him? They should, he said, regard him as one out of his

¹ Here followed a few remarks by Gandhiji as editor, *Young India*, while publishing the report of his speech; *vide* "Note on Principal Paranjapye's Observations", 16-7-1919.

senses. Similarly, a nation, which acted in the way this man did, could not but be characterized as one out of its senses, and India was an instance in point. A hundred-and fifty years ago, she produced her own cloth and produced fabrics of cotton and silk woven into a texture the fineness of which no cloth produced anywhere else in the world could compete with. And today she depended on foreign countries for a large part of her cloth. Last year, for instance, India paid 60 crores of rupees for the cloth imported from abroad. This dependence was at once an act of folly and of sin. If having given up their old profession of producing their own cloth, they had busied themselves with something more profitable, Mr. Gandhi said, he would have no quarrel. But the fact was that they had not done so. The peasant population, i.e., two hundred and forty million of our whole population, spent six months in the year idly. He had lived among the agriculturists of Kaira and Champaran and he knew that they remained without work for half the part of the year. The condition of these people could not be improved unless they became self-supporting which for them meant the earning of their living and manufacture of their cloth by hand-spinning and hand-weaving. And here he instanced the case of Vijapur, a village near Ahmedabad, where owing to the indefatigable efforts of Mrs. Gangabai Mazumdar, a widow of fine patriotism and selflessness, four hundred Mussulman women who had before nothing to do and who on account of the *pardah* could not go out to work, added to their income by spinning cotton in their own homes. It was Gangabai who brought employment to those unemployed and her example deserved to be copied everywhere. And, argued Mr. Gandhi, they should bethink themselves of England and Germany, how they tackled their food problem during the war, how they turned fallow land into arable and grew potatoes on it in six months' time. Spinning and weaving their own cloth was surely a less difficult task than growing potatoes. That, however, was the economic aspect of the question. He had still to put before them the question from a religious standpoint. He had defined swadeshi as restricting oneself to the use and service of one's immediate surroundings to the exclusion of the more remote. He thought it was scarcely humane for people to prefer remote surroundings to those nearest themselves, and humanity, said the great Tulsidas, was the basis of all religion. He felt that the first and elementary duty of man was to use and serve his neighbours and that if he went farther for his needs and services, it argued on his part more regard for self than for others. Mr Gandhi said:

We have wasted a considerable part of our precious spare time, and it behoves us now to bestir ourselves to utilize it and to dedicate our labour to the land of our birth.

Mr. Gandhi then explained to them three swadeshi vows.¹ He wished they could share his view that there was more art in hand-spun and hand-woven cloth than cloth manufactured in factories. Even supposing that there could be one day in India mills enough to supply all the cloth they needed, there was nothing wherewith the women of the country could employ their sparetime better, or wherewith those who

¹ Vide "Swadeshi Sabha Rules" before 1-7-1919.

had no means of honourable living could get a means more honourable than spinning and weaving. The chief part of swadeshi activity was production of, as much cloth as possible, and the need of it could not be overestimated. Perseverance, patriotism and self-sacrifice were the essentials of success in their programme and Mr. Gandhi hoped that Poona would respond enthusiastically to his call and justify its proud traditions.

Young India, 16-7-1919

166. LETTER TO R. B. EW BANK

[After *July 12, 1919*]¹

DEAR MR. EW BANK²,

I thank you so much for your letter of the 12th instant and for your offer to meet the Committee of the Swadeshi Sabha³. I had a talk in the matter with His Excellency⁴ who promised to discuss it with you. I expect to wait on the Governor again very soon and go into the matter more fully with him. I hope then to write [to] you to meet the Committee on a day that will suit you.

I appreciate your reasons for not taking the Swadeshi vow. All I am anxious for is your general and active support in the work of production by the agricultural population. I feel that that way lies an easy solution of our present and future difficulties about cloth and about the poverty of the masses. But I shall not anticipate our discussion. I am glad and thankful for your promised support in this direction.

I thank you for your inquiry about my health. I am as well as I can be without the rest I need for some months and which for the moment I cannot give myself.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 6744

¹ The letter acknowledges the addressee's letter dated July 12. For an earlier letter dated July 3 to the addressee, *vide* "Letter to R.B. Ewbank", 3-7-1919

² Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Bombay

³ The Central Swadeshi Sabha which was inaugurated on July 1, 1919; *vide* "Swadeshi Sabha Rules", Before 1-7-1919.

⁴ Gandhiji had met the Governor of Bombay on July 12.

167. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

GAMDEVI,
BOMBAY,

Sunday, Ashadh Vad I [July 13, 1919]

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I have your letter. I returned from Poona only today. I had a talk with the Governor for nearly two hours. The result is that the struggle will be suspended. I must wait for the Viceroy's letter. I said that, if the latter wanted me to suspend the satyagraha for the present, I was ready to do so. I shall know in a day or two what I am to do. What often happened in the Transvaal is happening here. The sum of Rs. 2,500 which was received is to be credited to the satyagraha account. The money is to be used at my discretion for the purpose of the struggle. Write to Chi. Maganlal wherever he happens to be, and tell him to go and spend a day or more at Gondal. He should see Ranchhodbhai and have a talk with him. If Ranchhodbhai understands the thing in a personal talk, he can do something immediately. He can also help about looms, etc. I think we shall need quite a number of them.

I remember to have been told by Anasuyabehn that some money had been handed to you on behalf of Ambalal. About Somanath Rupji, talk to Girjashankar and do as he advises.

I hope you are both well.

It looks as though I cannot go there this week. I see that I must stay on in Bombay. Most probably I shall be able to leave next Saturday.

Give the news about the struggle to everyone in the Ashram.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati; S.N. 6743

*168. SPEECH AT BOMBAY ON INDIANS IN SOUTH
AFRICA¹*

July 13, 1919

The problem which has brought us together today is a very important one and calls for an urgent solution. If we do not come forward to share the suffering of Indians, wherever they may be,- it can be said that we are not fit to be an independent nation. The hardships of Indians in South Africa can be imagined only by those who have had to suffer them. It was many years ago that Indians started going to South Africa. In those days the way lay through Morocco. Forty years ago, Indians in good numbers started going there under contract as indentured labourers. On the expiry of their contract, they lived on as free citizens. Many Indians, especially our Memon brethren, went there as traders to supply the needs of these indentured Indians.

When gold was discovered in the Transvaal, a large number of Englishmen from surrounding areas descended on it and succeeded, too, in making their fortunes. Indians also earned, some more, some less. Following this, a few people suggested to President Kruger that Indians should be expelled from the Transvaal. He could not do this at the time, but later in 1885 a law was passed as a result of which our Indian brethren there were put to much hardship. This law contained two important provisions, one which prohibited Indian settlers in the Transvaal from holding immovable property and another which required an Indian to pay £3 for taking out a trading licence. One more law was passed later which is known as the Gold Act. This also interfered with the enjoyment of their rights by Indians.

An agreement was arrived at in 1914, which however did not remove all the hardships of Indians. The anti-Indian laws which the Government had recently passed were repealed. One of them was the Registration Act against which the satyagraha campaign had been directed. This agreement between Mr. Smuts and me contained a provision to the effect that the existing rights of Indians would not be disturbed. This provision is being interpreted by Indians in one sense and by the Transvaal authorities in another. In 1913, when I had got

¹ Under the auspices of the Home Rule League with Faiz B, Tyabji in the chair

Indians ready to march into the Transvaal, Lord Hardinge, the then Viceroy of India, sent Mr. Benjamin Robertson to South Africa. At that time, even here everyone felt that this would bring the desired results. Then followed correspondence between Mr. Smuts and me which brought about some understanding. Moreover, some Englishmen had also suggested that Indians should be refused licences in the "Gold Area". No one has succeeded so far in securing the repeal of the Act of 1885, which bears on the Indians' right of ownership of immovable property. But, in my capacity as a lawyer, I used to advise people that we were entitled to the use of lands mortgaged to us. In this way, many of our Indian brethren came to hold lands. Besides, two or more people forming a company could acquire land. Because of this freedom, our Indian brethren have been holding lands there by forming corporations.

But now they have been depriving us of these rights too. I admit of course that there was a provision to the effect that, without prejudice to their rights to the lands and immovable properties already held by them, Indians would not in future be able to acquire lands, even in the name of companies. What is happening, however, is altogether unjust.

A law has been passed as a result of which, after May 31, no Indian will be able to carry on trade. In this way, they are being deprived of trade rights which they have been enjoying for many years. As Indians, it is our duty to raise a united voice and call the attention of the Government of India to this intolerable situation. Our fight is not against the Indian Government; we have only to strengthen its hands. It does not stand to lose anything by our doing so. If at all the Imperial Government has been helping the South African Government in this matter, our raising a strong protest here will oblige it as well to take our side. The South African Government accepted my contention that there should be no racial discrimination in the Immigration Act. But today we find that the white population there has come forward to deprive people of their rights.

Unfortunately, the three able men who worked indefatigably for Indians in South Africa are no more. One of them was Mr. Sorabji Shapurji Adajania. As fate would have it, he has passed away. Another

was Mr. Ahmad Mahomed Cachalia. He also has passed away. The third was Mr. Polak who has left South Africa and has settled in London. There is still one person there, but he has to attend to this matter in addition to his own work.

In short, I shall merely say that when we find Indians in South Africa being unjustly deprived of their rights, we should help them. I hope you will pass these resolutions with acclaim.

(1) That this public meeting of the Bombay citizens respectfully protests against the Asiatic Land and Trading Amendment Bill reported passed by the-Parliament of the Union of South Africa as it contravenes the Smuts-Gandhi Agreement of 1914 and it violates the elementary rights of the British Indians lawfully resident in the Transvaal and, therefore, calls upon the Government of India and the Imperial Government to intervene so as to secure the repeal or the veto of the said Bill.

(2) That this meeting tenders its heartfelt sympathy and assurance of support to their Indian fellow-citizens in the Transvaal who are heroically struggling against the unjust and the unwarrantable encroachments made by the said Bill upon their rights as citizens of the Empire.¹

[From Gujarati]

Gujarati, 20-7-1919

¹ The resolutions are supplied from *New India*, 14-7-1919.

169. LETTER TO F. C. GRIFFITH

BOMBAY,
July 14, 1919

DEAR MR. GRIFFITH,

I have your note¹. I have made no statement to the Press and shall certainly make none until I hear further. I am not responsible even for the A. P.² message that appears in the Press today.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. G.

From a photostat: S.N. 6746

170. LETTER TO R. P. PARANJAPYE

[BOMBAY,
July 14, 1919]

DEAR PROF. PARANJAPYE,

It was good of you to have permitted me in spite of differences of ideals between us to address your pupils. I was therefore deeply pained to see them hiss [at] your criticism. Having permitted me to speak to the students, you could have done nothing less than you did and I wish you could let the students know my own feelings in the matter. I do think that it is no part of their training either to applaud or to hiss. The period of study requires a calmness of mind that shall

¹ This read:
URGENT

HEAD POLICE OFFICE,
BOMBAY
14-7-1919

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

I have just received a telegram from Mr. Crerar which runs as follows:

“Please inform Mr. Gandhi that His Excellency presumes that he will make no statement regarding his interview on Saturday pending further communication which will shortly be made.”

Yours sincerely,
F. C. GRIFFITH

PS.

Will you kindly acknowledge receipt of this letter by the bearer?

² Associated Press of India

not be swayed or dismayed by argument addressed to sentiment or passion. Their duty is prayerfully to weigh, consider and weave into their lives what appeals to cold reason.

And now a word in reply to your criticism.¹ As you addressed yourself to what you thought I must have said, knowing, as you do, my views on machinery, not to what I actually did say. I am keeping swadeshi propaganda free of the application of my special views on machinery, as will appear from the various pledges drawn up by me. The carters' or the copyists' fate has therefore no bearing on the movement. Both these classes have found other employment. My point about swadeshi is that our farmers, whose wives formerly spun yarn and who themselves wove it, have ceased to do so without finding any other employment. I propose to utilize this spare time of the nation even as a hydraulic engineer utilizes enormous waterfalls. Surely you will not have our women to cease to make pastry, even though you may get better and cheaper machinemade pastry, unless you can utilize the labour thus set free for a higher end. The problem before you and me is how to use the six months of the 24 crores of the peasants of Hindustan, the months during which they at the present moment do practically nothing. It is this enforced idleness which is in my opinion responsible for the growing poverty of the masses if not chiefly at least equally with the heavy assessments. Your argument that if the votaries used up our mill-made cloth, the poor would suffer is, I think, sufficiently answered in the plan suggested by me. Under it, the mill-made cloth will be used by the 20 p.c. of the population which may not be satisfied with the coarser though more artistic cloth woven from hand-spun yarn.

If I have not made my position clear, I would like you to spare a few moments and put down your counter argument. You know I value your criticism. I shall learn much from friendly and informed criticism like yours. And I need hardly assure you that I shall not be slow to own and correct any proved errors.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 6747

¹ *Vide* "Speech on Swadeshi at Fergusson College, Poona", 12-7-1919.

171. LETTER TO D. N. NAGARKATTI

[July 14, 1919]¹

DEAR SIR,

Could you please let me know whether in the Nizam's Dominions, the industry of cotton-spinning by hand is still going and if it is what counts are spun and what quantity of yarn is so turned out annually? Please also let me know how many handlooms are working in His Exalted Highness' Dominions and what quantity and value of cloth is being manufactured annually.

Yours sincerely,

D. N. NAGARKATTI
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR OF INDUSTRY
HYDERABAD, DECCAN

From a photostat: S.N. 6748

172. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

[BOMBAY,
July 14, 1919]²

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I have your letter.

The cheque for Rs. 100 which you sent was received at Revashankarbhais. You must have got the intimation from him. Besides this, a second cheque for Rs. 4,000 on Polak's account was also received, and another for Rs. 1,000 on account of the expenses in connection with South Africa. These, too, have been paid here. You must have debited the sums to their respective accounts. I am doing something about the amount due from the Swadeshi Store.

I am waiting for the Viceroy's final reply. Till I get it I can not decide. I expect to be able to start for that side on Saturday. Today, Lady Tata, Lady Petit and Mrs. Jehangir Petit came over to learn [spinning]. They will also take away one spinning wheel each. I don't

¹ From addressee's reply dated 10-8-1919 to Gandhiji. S.N. 6795

² This letter seems to have followed the letter to him dated July 13, but preceded the letter to Mama dated July 15, in which Gandhiji says he would be in Ahmedabad on Tuesday or Wednesday of the following week.

know how it happens, but women have the spinning-wheel as a fish takes to water.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

How is the pressure of work on you? How does Revashankar work?

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 6745

173. LETTER TO MAMA PHADKE¹

BOMBAY,

Tuesday, July 15, 1919

BHAISHRI MAMA,

I got your postcard. It seems I shall be able to go there next week. According to my present programme, I shall be there on Tuesday or Wednesday. Give this information to Vamanrao also. Everything depends on a letter I am expecting from the Governor. How are things going with you? How is your health?

Vandemataram from

MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3808

174. NOTE ON PRINCIPAL PARANJAPYE'S OBSERVATIONS²

[July 16, 1919]

It is evident that the learned and popular Principal of the Fergusson College, as he himself admitted, could not follow Mr. Gandhi in detail. He evidently thought that Mr. Gandhi was endeavouring to bring his known views on machinery into the swadeshi propaganda. The fact is that he had deliberately refrained from doing so. All the three vows prepared by him recognized the use

¹ A teacher of the Ganganath Bharati Vidyalaya, Baroda, who joined Gandhiji.

² Published as editor's remarks along with the report of the function held at Fergusson College, Poona, on July 12; *vide* "Speech on Swadeshi at Fergusson College, Poona", 12-7-1919.

of mill-made goods. He [had] said in his address that the city people could use the mill-made cloth only if the peasant population produced and used hand-made coarse cloth. The illustration of the carters and the copyists has really no bearing on the questions. These two classes have found other occupations; whereas the peasantry, especially the women-folk of the villages, remain largely idle for want of work at home. Mr. Gandhi has suggested hand-spinning and hand-weaving for the millions who have to pass nearly half the year in enforced idleness. Referring to Shri Dinsha Wachha's letter to *The Times of India* on the shortage of cloth and his prognostication that "no relief by way of increased output from Indian mills can be expected owing to the difficulty of strengthening the mills by additional spindles and looms", *The Modern Review* remarks, "Cannot handlooms and the indigenous spinning-wheels render any further help than they do? We think they can."

EDITOR,
Young India

Young India, 16-7-1919

175. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

*Wednesday [July 16, 1919]*¹

CHI. MAGANLAL,

This note will be brought by one Mr. Venkat Krishnama. He has been sent by Rajagopalachari, the well-known satyagrahi. He wants to do manual work. He says he will be able to get us Rs. 10 every month. He will be satisfied, he says, if he gets a verandah to himself, and is ready for any kind of work. His own wish is to learn weaving. You may put him on to any labour you like, starting him, at the same time, on spinning. He may stay if he works well and leave if he is not happy. I may, thus, send on any person I think fit; if you find the thing embarrassing any time, let me know immediately.

I am to see the Governor on Friday. I shall know better on that

¹ From the reference to the meeting with the Governor, which was expected to take place "at the latest on Saturday", July 19; *vide* "Letter to F. C. Griffith", 18-7-1919.

day what the future holds for me. I hope you are looking for a house for Shamaldas.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 5771. Courtesy: Radhabehn Chaudhri

176. LETTER TO A. H. WEST

LABURNUM ROAD,
GAMDEVI,
BOMBAY,
July 17, 1919

MY DEAR WEST,

I have your undated letter from Durban expressing your keen disappointment at the absence of any news from me. I simply cannot understand it. I have written to you, Mrs. West and Devi, not many letters it is true, but enough to show you all that you are never away from my thoughts. In one of the letters I expressed my difficulties and wished how glad I should be if you were by my side. I have not left a single business letter of yours unanswered, even when I was practically on death-bed. I remember having advised Mr. Rustomjee to debit me with all the payments made to you in terms of your letter to me. I remember, too, that in one of your letters you asked me to cable to Mr. Rustomjee about funds. I refrained because at that time I felt by computation, and in this I was supported by Mahadev Desai, that Mr. Rustomjee must have received my letter. But it is likely that my letters get lost in transit and it is also likely that the posting volunteer might have carelessly lost some of my letters. For I have received complaints not only from you but from Polak, Ramdas and others, and I must write to you, what I have written to other friends, that they should bear with me and never think that I am neglectful about writing. I wish I had more leisure to write as much as and as often as I would like to but that is not vouchsafed to me at the present moment. I am writing to Mr. Rustomjee again regarding the £70.

Recently I wrote to Manilal about *Indian Opinion*. He asked me to supply him with funds or to let him revert to advertisements and business printing. I still retain the view I held there and the more I see of the jobbery that goes on here, the indiscriminate manner in which

advertisements are taken and the more I think how these advertisements, etc., are nothing but an insidious method of indirect voluntary taxation, how all this debases journalism and how it makes of it largely a business concern, I feel more and more convinced of the rightness of my view. Any way it would not be proper to blow hot and cold. Either you must make *Indian Opinion* a business concern and then not expect the public to take philanthropic or patriotic interest in it, or to make it merely an organ representative of Indian aspirations in South Africa and then rely entirely upon public support and goodwill. I have dissuaded Manilal from making it a business concern. I have not sent him there to do business but to render public service. I feel that *Indian Opinion* has served its purpose if only partially. It has brought into being several Indian presses and several Indian newspapers. They all in some shape or other somewhat serve the public. Manilal lacks the ability, through no fault of his own, for leadership and for original work. His effort, therefore, cannot be impressive. I have therefore advised him, in consultation with you and Mr. Rustomjee and consistently with the obligations to the subscribers who have already paid, to wind up *Indian Opinion*, to get up Phoenix, to let you have what you want of the Printing Press, to parcel out the land as you will think best and to use the income also, as you consider advisable, to bring here most part of the books unless they are wanted there for a better purpose and himself to come away with them. Ramdas has gone there primarily for business. He seems to be well fixed, well cared for and happy in the thought that he is at last earning something without doing violence to his conscience. He may stay as long as he likes.

I do not think I have made one suggestion in my letter [to] Manilal which occurred to me possibly after I wrote to him. I make it now. If you think that you would like to add to your *business*, the turning out of *Indian Opinion* you may do so. Perhaps it would not be a bad thing. You cannot give the Gujarati portion. Give only the English portion, thus becoming a vehicle for transmission of authentic news to India and England about Indian disabilities and Indian doings in South Africa. I would like you to consider it purely as a business proposition. If you find it workable, then only elaborate my proposal. If you find that as a business proposition it is useless, dismiss it altogether from your mind.

I am moving heaven and earth for getting redress about the

Trade and Land Bill regarding Transvaal. But I am handicapped for want of information. Ritch¹ has written to me, Naidu wrote to me but once, there was cablegram from Asvat on which I took immediate action² but there is no reply to a cablegram³ I sent now nearly a fortnight ago. I am anxious to know the latest news about the Bill. Will you please collect the information and write to me? Or ask the proper parties to write? Of the doings here you should know from *Young India* which is practically under my charge. I wonder if you see the paper. It is being sent to Phoenix. Do please write to Devi telling her that I have written to her also fairly regularly. How is she doing? Is she in Martitzburg? Where is Mrs. Doke⁴ living now? And Mr. Phillips⁵? Please tell Parvati that she never wrote to me again as she promised: I wonder whether she received my letter which I wrote to her months and months ago. I believe it was written when I was last in Champaran. Do you find Manilal any better towards you than before? Hilda must have grown up into a big girl. Why can't she favour me with a line? Please remember me to Grannie⁶. She must be a perfect wonder to all about her. And remember me also to Mrs. West and Sam⁷. I wonder what he is doing with his gun!

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the handwritten copy signed by Gandhiji: C.W. 4431.
Courtesy: A. H. West

¹ L. W. Ritch, an articled clerk under Gandhiji in South Africa and secretary, South Africa British Indian Committee, London.

² *Vide* "Letter to the Press on South African Situation", 25-2-1919.

³ Also in "Letter to Jehangir B. Petit", 2-7-1919, Gandhiji says "I want to send them a long cable today." This cable, however, is not available.

⁴ Wife of Rev. Joseph J. Doke (1861-1913), minister of Johannesburg Baptist Church.

⁵ Rev. Charles Philips, Congregational minister

⁶ Mother-in-law of A. H. West

⁷ Govindswami, machine foreman in the International Printing Press, Phoenix

177. LETTER TO F. C. GRIFFITH

[BOMBAY,]
July 18, 1919

DEAR MR. GRIFFITH,

H.E. told me when I was in Poona that he would see me unfailingly at the latest on Saturday, i.e., tomorrow, and he told me also that I should let you know for his information when I proposed to leave Bombay. It is surprising that I have not yet heard from H.E. as I had expected. I am therefore somewhat in a quandary in the matter of regulating my movement. I wish, if possible, to leave for Ahmedabad tomorrow. Will you please inform H. E. and ascertain whether I shall be wanted in the near future ?

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 6758

178. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

BOMBAY,
Friday [July 18, 1919]¹

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

We shall decide about sending money to Gangabehn when I am there. I am writing to her.

I may not perhaps be able to start even tomorrow. An interview with the Governor may be fixed for Sunday.

Yes, you may give Durgabehn's room to Shamaldas. But let it be understood that he must pay rent. I see that for the present Durgabehn will have to stay on here. The magistrate did not even have the courage to demand security from *Young India*. It would not have been furnished, if he had demanded it. We had assumed that he certainly would, and so expected that Mahadev would become free. But it is the Lord's will that prevails.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 784

¹ In the letter to Chhaganlal Gandhi, dated July 13, 1919, Gandhiji said he would be leaving for Ahmedabad on Saturday next, i.e., on 19-7-1919. This letter was evidently written on Friday, the 18th.

179. SPEECH ON GANDHI-SMUTS AGREEMENT, BOMBAY

July 18, 1919

Under the auspices of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association, a public meeting was held in the Excelsior Theatre, Bombay, on July 18, 1919, to protest against the Asiatic Land and Trading Amendment Act recently passed by the South African Union Legislature. The Hon. Sir Dinshaw M. Petit, Bart., presided.

Mahatma Gandhi, seconding the first resolution moved by Sir N. G. Chandavarkar, said that when the Boer War broke out some years ago, Lord Lansdowne, one of His Majesty's ministers, declared that one of the causes which had led to that war was the treatment meted out to Indians residing in the Transvaal by the Government of the country, and Lord Lansdowne added that it never pained him so much as when he remembered the hardships to which the Indians were subjected by the Transvaal Government. This was said by Lord Lansdowne in 1899, and he (Mr. Gandhi) said the condition of their brethren in South Africa should certainly be not allowed to be worse than what it was in 1899. It should have been better than what it was before that war, but, on the contrary, the Indians in the Transvaal stood, on account of the new legislation, in a much worse position, as regards the right of acquiring land and trading, than they did before that war; for, before 1899, they enjoyed those rights with the help of the British Agent in that country. They could trade freely and have mortgages on land and could even own land, but now this legislation proposed to deprive them of both these rights.

And to the question of the insistence, on a strictly legal interpretation of the agreement arrived at between General Smuts and him, he (the speaker) recalled the case of the late Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, who had asked Lord Kitchner in regard to the Peace Treaty with the Boers to interpret the agreement from the point of view of the weaker party. Mr. Gandhi urged that the agreement he had referred to should be interpreted in the same generous manner, namely, from the point of view of the Indians, who were the weaker party in this case.

Continuing, he said, H. E. the Viceroy had been exerting himself to his utmost on behalf of the Indians. H. E. had made strong representations to the Imperial Government in this matter, and it was the duty of the whole of India to support H. E. He hoped H. E. would soon make a statement of what steps he had already taken and what he was still taking.

The Bombay Chronicle, 19-7-1919

180. LETTER TO H.S.L. POLAK

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
July 19 [1919]¹

MY DEAR HENRY,

Jamnadas, his wife and two friends with him leave per s. s. *Chindwara* for London on the 26th instant. Jamnadas wants to assist me in my work but feels that he has not the capacity for the task. He has a friend who has advanced enough money (not repayable) for his studies. His wife shares his views. He does not know, I do not know, what they should do to fit themselves. I am not sure that training there is necessary but it is enough for me that Jamnadas thinks it is. And he and his wife go there with my consent and blessing. Please receive them at the Docks or the station yourself or by deputy. Advise him² as to lodgings to an expensive hotel. Finally please advise Jamnadas as to the best course he should follow. Be sure that in all he does, he retains his and his wife's health. He is, as you know, a willing, able, honest young man. He will be in need of guidance in that strange land. You are there and I am satisfied.

I am working for the Transvaal case for all I am worth. Yesterday we had the Imperial Citizenship Association meeting.³ Sir George Barnes⁴ writes to me saying the Viceroy is doing all he can. Let us see. [PS.]

As I am posting it after the ordinary hour, I am enclosing the other letters for you to post or deliver.⁵

From the original: Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy: National Archives of India

¹ From the contents; *ibid.*, p. 467 Vide also p. 269-70.

² The source has "his".

³ *Vide* "Speech on Gandhi-Smuts Agreement, Bombay", 18-7-1919.

⁴ Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council in charge of the Department of Commerce and Industry

⁵ The post-script has been struck out.

*181. LETTER TO THE PRESS ON SUSPENSION OF CIVIL
DISOBEDIENCE¹*

LABIJRNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
July 21, 1919

SIR,

The Government of India have given me, through His Excellency the Governor of Bombay, grave warning² that resumption of Civil Disobedience is likely to be attended with serious consequences to the public security. This warning has been enforced by His Excellency the Governor himself at interviews to which I was summoned. In response to this warning and to the urgent desire publicly expressed by Dewan Bahadur Govinda Raghava Iyer, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar and several editors, I have, after deep consideration, decided not to resume Civil Resistance for the time being. I may add that several prominent friends belonging to what is called the Extremist Party have given me the same advice on the sole ground of their fear of recrudescence of violence on the part of those who might not have understood the doctrine of Civil Resistance. When, in common with most other satyagrahis, I came to the conclusion that the time was ripe for the resumption of the Civil Resis-

¹ This letter was published also in *New India* and *The Bombay Chronicle* both dated 22-7-1919.

² This was as follows:

Bombay, 20th July 1919

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

I am to inform you that the Government of India have desired His Excellency the Governor of Bombay to convey to you a grave warning of the consequences which must inevitably be anticipated from the resumption of any action or propaganda involving disobedience of the law and of the heavy moral responsibility that must lie on those who take or advise this course.

In making this communication to you, I am to say that His Excellency would add a further warning that any assumption that such action can be undertaken without most serious consequences to the public security, is entirely unwarranted by the situation in his presidency.

for Political Secretary to Government

—Source Material for A History of the Freedom Movement in India.

tance part of satyagraha, I sent a respectful letter¹ to His Excellency the Viceroy, advising him of my intention to do so and urging that Rowlatt legislation should be withdrawn, that an early declaration be made as to the appointment of a strong and impartial committee to investigate the Punjab disturbances with power to revise the sentences passed, and that Babu Kalinath Roy who was, as could be proved from the record of the case, unjustly convicted, should be released. The Government of India deserve thanks for the decision² in Mr. Roy's case. Though it does not do full justice to Mr. Roy, the very material reduction in the sentence is a substantial measure of justice. I have been assured that the Committee of Inquiry, such as I have urged, is in the process of being appointed. With these indications of goodwill, it would be unwise on my part not to listen to the warning given by the Government. Indeed, my acceptance of the Government's advice is a further demonstration of the true nature of Civil Resistance. A civil resister never seeks to embarrass Government. He often co-operates and does not hesitate civilly to resist where resistance becomes a duty. He attains the goal by creating goodwill believing as he does that unflinching exercise of goodwill even in the face of unjust acts of a Government can only result in goodwill being ultimately returned by the Government. Further suspension of Civil Resistance is, therefore, nothing but a practical application of satyagraha.

Yet it is no small matter for me to suspend Civil Resistance even for a day while Rowlatt legislation continues to disfigure our Statute-book. The Lahore and Amritsar judgments make suspension still more difficult. Those judgments, read by me with an unbiassed mind, have left an indelible impression that most of the Punjab leaders have been convicted without sufficient proof and that the punishments inflicted on them are inhuman and outrageous. The judgments go to show that they have been convicted for no other reason than that they were connected with stubborn agitation against the Rowlatt legislation. I would, if I had my way, have therefore preferred to court imprisonment to retaining the restricted liberty vouchsafed to me by the Government of India. But a satyagrahi has to swallow many a bitter

¹ *Vide* "Letter to S. R. Hignell", 18-6-1919

² The Governor-General-in-Council reduced on July 6 Kalinath Roy's term of imprisonment from 2 years to 3 months.

pill and the present suspension is one such. I feel that I shall better serve the country and the Government and those Punjabi leaders who, in my opinion, have been so unjustly convicted and so cruelly sentenced, by suspension of Civil Resistance for the time being. But this suspension, while it lightens my responsibility by reason of the feared outbreak of violence, makes it incumbent upon the Government and the eminent public men who have advised suspension to see that the Rowlatt legislation is removed without delay.

I have been accused of throwing lighted matches. If my occasional Civil Resistance be a lighted match, Rowlatt legislation and persistence in retaining it on the Statute-book are a thousand matches scattered throughout India, and the only way to avoid Civil Resistance altogether is to withdraw that legislation. Nothing that the Government have published in justification of that legislation has moved the Indian public from the attitude of opposition to it.

I have thus suspended Civil Resistance to hasten the end of that legislation. But satyagrahis will pay for its removal by their lives if it cannot be removed by lesser means. The period of suspension is for satyagrahis an opportunity for further discipline in an enlightened and willing obedience to the laws of the State. The right of Civil Resistance is derived from the duty of obedience voluntarily performed. And satyagraha consists not merely, or even chiefly, in civilly resisting laws, but mainly in promoting national welfare by strict adherence to Truth. I would respectfully advise fellow-satyagrahis and seek the co-operation of all great and small in the propagation of pure swadeshi and promotion of Hindu-Muslim unity. Swadeshi is, I hold, a necessity of national existence. No Englishman or Indian can view with equanimity the huge enforced waste of the labour of twenty crore peasants during half the year. That labour can be quickly and immediately utilized only by restoring to the women their spinning-wheels and to the men their handlooms. This means the elimination of unnatural Lancashire interest and the Japanese menace. The elimination of the unnatural Lancashire interest purifies the British connection and makes the position of equality possible. The elimination of the Japanese menace will avert a national and Imperial disaster. Extension of Japan's hold upon India through her commerce can end only in India's degradation or a bloody war.

The Hindu-Muslim unity is equally a national and Imperial necessity. A voluntary league between Hindus, Mahomedans and

Englishmen is a league in my conception infinitely superior to and purer than the League of Nations just formed. Permanent union between the Hindus and Mahomedans is the preliminary to such Triple Union. That unity can be materially advanced by the Hindus whole-heartedly associating themselves with the Mahomedans in their very just aspirations regarding the Caliphate, holy Mecca and other holy places of Islam.

The swadeshi propaganda and work for Hindu-Muslim unity require powers of organization, honesty of purpose, integrity in trade, and immense self-sacrifice and self-restraint. It is, therefore, easy enough to perceive that swadeshi propaganda on the purest lines and promotion of Hindu-Muslim unity cannot but have an indirect, though none the less effective, bearing on the movement for securing withdrawal of the Rowlatt legislation for which the Government can claim no justification—little as they can claim even now—when we give an unexampled demonstration of the qualities named above.

M. K. GANDHI

Young India, 23-7-1919

182. LETTER TO S. R. HIGNELL

LABURNUM ROAD, GAMDEVI,
BOMBAY,
July 21, 1919

DEAR MR. HIGNELL,

I enclose herewith a petition signed by Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, Sir Dinshaw Wacha and others praying for the release of Lala Radhakrishna¹. I think that this case is worse than Babu Kalinath Roy's². I understand that the matter is still engaging the attention of

¹ Editor of *Pratap* who had been sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment. For details *vide* "Lala Radha Krishna's Case", 12-7-1919.

² Editor of *The Tribune*, who had been sentenced to 2 years' imprisonment. His petition for mercy had earlier been rejected but the sentence had been reduced to 3 months on July 6. For details *vide* "Babu Kalinath Roy", 11-6-1919, "Memorial to Viceroy", 11-6-1919, "Memorial to Chelmsford", 11-6-1919 and "Cable to E.S. Montagu", 24-6-1919.

the Punjab Government. I venture to hope that speedy justice will be done in this matter.¹

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 6764

183. LETTER TO S. R. HIGNELL

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
July 22, 1919

DEAR MR. HIGNELL,

After a long and courteous interview with His Excellency the Governor of Bombay to which he had invited me, I have decided to suspend Civil Disobedience for the time being. The public letter², a copy of which I enclose herewith, will show that the suspension is for me a further demonstration of Civil Resistance being perfectly compatible with respectful obedience to and co-operation with authority. But the letter will also show the determination to bring about by all lawful means including Civil Resistance the withdrawal of Rowlatt Legislation and I hope that the Government of India will not persist in flouting public opinion.

I would like further to bring to His Excellency's notice the Lahore and Amritsar judgments. His Excellency.³ [th]at even at the risk of. [m]isunderstood by my. 'publicly referring. [M]artial law proceedings in the Pun[jab]. publicly dealing with the [ca]ses in which on the face of the judgments the injustice could not be proved. I am grateful for the substantial though partial justice being done in the case of Babu Kalinath Roy.⁴ I fully expect that justice will be done in La[la] Radhakrishna's case. But the Lahore and Amritsar cases⁵, I know, stand on a different footing. They deal with leaders who have taken an active part in the recent agitation. The verdict rests partly upon documentary and partly upon oral evidence. But there is enough in the two judgments to show an impartial student that they

¹ Radhakrishna's sentence was subsequently reduced to 2 months by the Lt. Governor on July 25, 1919.

² *Vide* "Letter to the Press on Suspension of Civil Disobedience", 21-7-1919.

³ The letter is damaged at places.

⁴ *Vide* the preceding item.

⁵ *Vide* "The Lahore Judgment", 23-7-1919

are more in the nature of political pronouncements than judicial, and that there is not a tittle of evidence to show, with the exception of Dr. Bashir, that anyone of the leaders either brought about or encouraged violence. I am glad that the death penalty against Dr. Bashir has been commuted. Though . . . evidence to prove encourage[ment]. it was stoutly rebutted . . . of Dr. Bashir. These sentences have cast a profound gloom all over India. The Government may underrate the intensity of Indian feeling regar[ding] them. But many of tho[se] who deplore the sentences are unconnected with any political agitation. And theirs is the severest condemnation of these trials and the sentences. One such critic is Mr. Burjorji Padsha, the well-known manager of Messrs. Tata and Sons. He has been writing in the columns of *The Bombay Chronicle* open letters whose main theme is the Punjab affairs. I trust that they have been brought to H.E.'s notice. They . . . what resentment is. . . over these trials [sente]nces. . . It is a serious... leaders of open. . . over lose confidence in . . . justice whether special or otherwise. These cases are not such as to await the decision of the forthcoming Committee of Inquiry¹. [I] would therefore respectfully urge that [su]ch. . . action as has been taken in the case of Babu Kalinath Roy may be promptly taken in the matter of these two judgments.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 6769

184. LETTER TO CHHOTALAL TEJPAL

SABARMATI,

Ashadh Vad 10 [July 22, 1919]²

DEAR SHRI CHHOTALAL,

I cannot praise your enthusiasm too much. Send me a brief account of the reform you have introduced;³ I will then see if I can publish it and give my views on the subject. When did you start? What is the evidence? If formerly a cart was used, why do we carry [the bier] on shoulders now? How many dead bodies have been removed

¹ The Punjab Disorders Inquiry Committee

² The postmark, however, bears the date July 26, 1919.

³ The addressee had been trying to persuade people to we carts for removing bodies of the dead.

by cart so far? How much does it cost to employ a cart? Who drives the cart? How is the thing arranged? Is there any association for the purpose or do you alone bear the burden? Do you work in Rajkot only or elsewhere too? St only facts without going into reasons.

MOHANDAS GANDHI

BHAI CHHOTALAL TEJPAL,
ARTIST
RAJKOT

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2590

185. THE LAHORE JUDGMENT

Whoever wages war against the Queen, or attempts to wage war, or abets the waging of such war, shall be punished with death or transportation for life, and shall forfeit all his property.

— Section 121, Indian Penal Code.

Lala Harkishan Lal, Bar-at-Law, Chaudhari Rambhaji Dutt, *Vakil*, and Mr. Duni Chand, Bar-at-Law and Messrs Allah Din and Mota Singh have been convicted by one of the Special Tribunals under Section 121 and 121A of the Indian Penal Code and have been sentenced to transportation for life and forfeiture. The reader may dismiss from his mind Section 121A for the time being. Having convicted the accused under Section 121, the Tribunal had no option but to pronounce the sentence of transportation for life and forfeiture. That, it will be seen, is the lowest penalty the court could inflict, the highest being the penalty of death by hanging. The Judges felt the severity to be so great in the last two cases that they were constrained to remark,

Allah Din and Mota Singh are minor offenders, and had it been in our power, we should in their cases have awarded much lighter sentences.

The learned judges had it in their power not to convict any of the accused at all or to convict them on other charges. But they have said, “We do not consider it necessary to record findings on other charges.”

Though the judgment covers twenty seven sides of the foolscap size, it is being presented to the readers of *Young India*, and I would urge every reader to go through it word by word. For the Judges have made it the *cause celebre* of all the cases and shown to the world what

the Punjab, and incidentally the whole of India, is in their estimation.

This judgment, read together with the Amritsar one, forms the saddest commentary on British justice, when the judges are ruled by passion and prejudice and not by a sense of justice. To me, the judgments are a proof of the contention I have ventured to urge that we need not be enamoured of British justice and that it, in its essence, is no better than any other justice. We deceive ourselves into a false belief when we think that British Courts are the palladia of liberty. Justice in British Courts is an expensive luxury. It is often “the longest purse that wins”. It is the crucial moments which provide the surest test. The judges’ business is to rise superior to their surroundings. The Punjab Tribunal, in my opinion, has signally failed to do so. Mr. Winston Churchill at the time of the education crusade permitted himself to admit that even the judges were not free from political bias. It is possible, though highly improbable, in this case that the Privy Council will or can set the matter right but if it does, what then? At what cost will it have been done? How many tens of thousands feeling, and having cause to feel, aggrieved by decisions of lower courts, can afford to go to appellate courts and finally to the Privy Council? It is much to be wished that people would avoid litigation. “Agree with thine adversary quickly” is the soundest legal maxim ever uttered. The author knew what he was saying. But it will be asked, what when we are dragged, as we often are, to the courts? I would say: “Do not defend.” If you are in the wrong, you will deserve the sentence, whatever it may be. If you are wrongly brought to the court and yet penalized, let your innocence soothe you in your unmerited suffering. undefended, you will in every case suffer the least and, what is more, you will have the satisfaction of sharing the fate of the majority of your fellow-beings who *cannot* get themselves defended.

But I have digressed. I do not wish to inflict on the reader my special views on law courts, though I hold them to be thoroughly sound. This Lahore judgment shows clearly what our duty is as to the Rowlatt Act and as to the sentences. The judgment is designed to condemn the Rowlatt legislation agitation.

The opening paragraphs of the judgments set forth in some detail the “public agitation against the Rowlatt Bills” which “begin

with a protest meeting held at the Bradlaugh Hall on the 4th of February, 1919". They refer to my letter¹ of the 1st March, including the Satyagraha Vow, and bring up the events to the 15th April, including the firing in Delhi, the disturbances at Amritsar, and the meetings at the Badshahi Mosque and say,

Such are the main facts and the prosecution sets out to combine and connect these facts with the accused in such a way as to show that there was a conspiracy to secure the repeal of the Rowlatt Act by criminal means. The Court indicates the criminal means in the very next sentence.

The defence has asked us to believe that there was no sort of organization of the hartal and that every individual shopkeeper in Lahore, Muzang and Bhagwanpura decided of his own accord that he must close his shop as a protest.

It then describes what it calls to be violent posters in order to show that the hartal was organized. I can see no violence in any of them, but I can detect in them the agony of an embittered soul. The criminality consists in the hartal having been organized and continued, *langurkhanas*² having been opened during its continuance and meetings having been held during the time. I venture to think that hartal is the inherent right of the people when they are deeply grieved by any action of the authorities. From time immemorial, it has been held to be meritorious to organize hartals without using force as a means of protest against acts of the governing authority. And when merit becomes a crime, it is a sacred duty to commit that crime, and imprisonment for it, instead of being a disgrace, becomes an honour that every good citizen should cherish. And the least that he can do is to continue the agitation against the Rowlatt legislation so intense and formidable that Government must withdraw the Act or withdraw the liberty of the agitators. And were I not afraid of an outbreak of violence in the present state of tension, I would certainly advise hartals again. The tension was no doubt brought about, not by the advent of satyagraha, but by the folly of the Government in precipitating and almost inviting violence by arresting me whilst I was proceeding to Delhi, and if necessary to Lahore and Amritsar with the deliberate intention of calming the atmosphere and bringing about peace. The Government invited violence by the mad act of arresting Drs. Kitchlew

¹ *Vide* "Letter to the Press on Satyagraha Pledged", 26-2-1919.

² Community kitchens or places of congregation of the poorer people to have their frugal daily meals

and Satyapal, who were leaders of the people, but who whilst they were no doubt carrying on a stubborn agitation against the Rowlatt legislation, were able to curb the temper of the people and were entirely on the side of law and order. The tension must some day go. And if the Government persist in the folly of retaining the Rowlatt legislation, they must prepare for a repetition of hartals well organized but without any force being used and without a drop of blood being shed by the people. When the masses have imbibed the message of satyagraha, we shall repeat from a thousand platforms Chaudhri Rambhaji Datta's formula which has been interpreted into threat by the Tribunal in order to prove the existence of criminal conspiracy. The formula is: "Remove our sufferings or we close our shops, suspend our business and we ourselves shall starve." There is no doubt that a great and effective demonstration was degraded by cries such as "*Hai Hai Rowlatt Bill*"¹, "*Hai Hai George mar gaya*"², or by an inspector of the C.I.D. having been beaten and driven out; or by disgraceful sheets like the *Danda Akhbar* or by the destruction of pictures of Their Majesties. The accused could not be held responsible for them any more than Mr. Shafi and others who were endeavouring to bring about peace. What right had the Government to launch out a prosecution for criminal conspiracy or, what is worse, for waging war against the King in respect of men who are not proved to have brought about any of these excesses, whose whole character and status make them almost proof against any such incitements? Whatever may be the technical view of expression "waging war", to dub a powerful agitation against an odious law an act of war is descent to the ludicrous. One might as well incriminate a Government for the unauthorized crimes of its servants. If the acts of Lala Duni Chand, Lala Har-kishan Lal and his co-accused were acts of wary no organized agitation is possible in the country. And as organized agitation must be the breath of public life when there is stagnation in the body politic, whether of a social, economic, or political character, it must be counted as a "merit" to wage war after the style of the Lahore accused.

The whole of the judgment is tinged with a political bias. This is how the judges dismiss from their consideration the previous record of the accused:

Before proceeding to consider the case of each accused, it is necessary to

¹ "Damn the Rowlatt Bill"

² "Damn George; he is dead".

remark that each of them according to their station in life have been able to produce testimonials from more or less eminent members of the society to their moderation and loyalty. These could doubtless have been multiplied as often as they wished. Some of them again have been able to show that in recent times they have not merely prayed for the success of the British arms but have advocated War Loans, helped in recruiting and have even “given” relatives to the Indian Defence Force or clerks for Mesopotamia. Perhaps all of these efforts were not very valuable, and it has to be remembered that some of the accused are men who are always in the limelight; but we have no doubt that every one of them, however much he may dislike the existing Government, at least preferred it to the prospect of German rule. None of these things, however, really affect the matter before us.

When one’s judgment is so warped, as is evident was the judges’, from the passages above quoted, it is impossible to expect an impartial decision.

The issue raised by the case is abundantly clear, though not stated. Can we, or can we not, legally carry on a sustained powerful agitation involving processions, hartals, fasting, etc., but eschewing, always and invariably violence in any shape or form? The implication in the judgment is that we may not do so. If the sentences are allowed by the Government to stand, it is quite clear that they are of the same opinion as the judges. I for one would not welcome the release of the accused on any side-issue or as an act of clemency. There is nothing in the judgment to show that any of the accused either directly or indirectly encouraged violence. And where there is absence of intent to do violence, it is absurd to call a peaceful combination a criminal conspiracy even though uncontrollable spirits may find their way into that combination and do mischief. The happening of untoward incidents may be used as a warning to leaders. They may be used for justifying the declaration of martial law but they ought not to be used for the purpose of making out peaceful, law-abiding citizens as criminals and liars. The duty of the Indian public is clear: by a quiet, persistent and powerful agitation, but without violence and irritation, to secure repeal of the Rowlatt legislation and the reversal of the sentences.

M. K. GANDHI

Young India, 23-7-1919

186. CERTIFICATE TO A. VENKATARAMAN

SABARMATI,

July 24, 1919

Mr. A. Venkataraman, Bar-at-Law, of King's Inns, Dublin, was a member of the volunteer Indian Ambulance Corps that was formed in 1914 in London immediately on the outbreak of hostilities. He was one of the earliest to join and helped considerably in the recruiting work. He was a member of the Executive Committee which was formed with the approval of the War Office. He served as a non-commissioned officer in Military Hospitals at Netley and Barton-on-Sea to the satisfaction of the superior officers. He bears to my knowledge an irreproachable character. Mr. Venkataraman is now seeking to obtain some responsible post under the Government of Madras. I hope that his efforts will meet with success.

M. K. GANDHI

CHAIRMAN OF THE VOLUNTEER
COMMITTEE

From a photostat: S.N. 7100

187. LETTER TO SIR GEORGE BARNES ON TRANSVAAL
ASIATIC LAW

BOMBAY,

July 26, 1919

DEAR SIR GEORGE BARNES,

I thank you for your full letter¹ of the 18th instant regarding the recently enacted Transvaal Asiatic Law.

In view of the last sentence² of your letter, I am publishing it together with my reply³. I am deeply grateful that H.E. the Viceroy and you have been moving in the matter. I am, however, sorry to have

¹ This letter reviewed at length the position in South Africa and regretted that protests from the Indian Government had been unavailing. It also gave assurance that the Government would consider further action to be taken when the full text of the new statute was received.

² "Of course, you are welcome to make any use you may think fit of this letter."

³ Published also in *The Bombay Chronicle* and *New India*, both of 29-7-1919.

to observe that the information placed at your disposal as to the true nature of the Bill is incomplete, if not misleading, and so is the information regarding the judgment of the Transvaal Supreme Court referred to in your letter.

Here is the true position regarding the Supreme Court judgment, Sections 130 and 131 of the Transvaal Precious and Base Metals Act, 1908, merely refer to residential rights. They have no reference to trade rights which another judgment of the same Supreme Court has held to be inviolable so far as the existing Transvaal laws are concerned. You will, therefore, see that the new law deprives the Indian settler in the Transvaal of his existing trading right. Sections 130 and 131 of the Law of 1908 attempted to curtail residential rights; the new law superadds the curtailment of trade rights and thus completes the virtual ruin of Indians lawfully resident within the gold area of the Transvaal. How can the Union Government with any cogency claim to have scrupulously observed the compact of 1914? Let me add that the law of 1908 has always been a bone of contention between the Transvaal Government and the Indian community, and it was, I am thankful to say, because of the strenuous fight that the Imperial Government put up in our behalf that the provisions of Sections 130 and 131 remained practically nugatory. You will perhaps now see what is meant by the promise, in General Smuts' letter to me, "to see that they (the existing laws) are administered in a just manner and with due regard to vested rights". The vested rights regarding residence were the rights which were exercised and enjoyed by the Indians even before 1908, viz., the right of holding fixed property under leases throughout the Transvaal. Let me recall a bit of old history. Law 3 of 1885 itself had become a matter of protracted correspondence between the South African Republic and His Majesty's Government through the British Agent at Pretoria. The matter was then referred to the arbitration to the then Chief Justice of the Orange Free State. He declared all legislation apart from Law 3 of 1885 as amended in 1886 to be contrary to the London Convention. All laws, therefore, passed after the award in further restrictions of the liberty of British Indian settlers of the Transvaal were contrary to it and it was, I expect, for that reason, apart from the equity of the case, that Mr. Harcourt declared on 27th June, 1911, from his place in the House of Commons:

Complaints against that legislation (the Gold Law and Townships Amendment

Act) have been made and are now being investigated by the Government of the Union of South Africa, who have lately stated that there is no intention of interfering with any business or right to carry on business acquired and exercised by Indians prior to the date of legislation.

Similarly, in 1912, Mr. De Villiers, the then Attorney-General of the Transvaal said: "No right or privilege which a Coloured person has at the present time is taken away by the new Act." Indians had a right to rely upon Mr. Harcourt's assurance and Mr. De Villiers' interpretation of the Act in question, and if the Transvaal judgment has gone against us, it is the duty of the Union Government not merely in virtue of the compact of 1914, but also of the assurance and the interpretation above referred to, now to amend the law of 1908 and not to put a further restriction upon Indian liberty as the new law does.

I know you are overworked. My only fear is that as you have to act upon briefs prepared for you, and as a powerful Government like the Union Government can far more easily gain your ear than a handful of British Indians of South Africa, their case may suffer simply from want of information. Do you know that the Indians of South Africa raised an Ambulance Corps which served under General Smuts in South Africa? Is the new law to be their reward? I ought not to have to bring in the War services in order to secure the protection of an elementary right which considerations alike of honour and justice entitle them to. I commend to your attention the Report of the Select Committee of the Union House of Assembly. I will gladly lend you a copy, if you do not have one yourself.

Regarding fixed property, I see you have not got full information I know you will share my sorrow that the Union Government, unmindful of their trust and equally unmindful of the written word, accepted an amendment

prohibiting the holding of mortgages by Asiatics on property, except as security for a *bona fide* loan for investment and providing that any Asiatic company which acquired fixed property after the 1st instant should dispose of the same within two years or . a further period as fixed by a competent Court with a rider that in the event of failure to do so, the property might be sold by order of the court.

I am quoting from Reuter cable, dated the 23rd May, from Cape Town. You will see that this completes legalized confiscation of property rights throughout the Transvaal and virtually the trade rights

within the gold area of Indian settlers. There was no evasion of Law 3 of 1885. The Indians did openly what the law permitted them to do, and they should be left free to do so.

I do not wish to prolong this tale of agony. The Government of India are bound to protect the rights of the 5,000 Indian settlers of the Transvaal at any cost.

Here is my solution. Law 3 of 1885 authorizes the Government to appoint wards and streets in which Indians can hold fixed property. In virtue of this authority, they can declare streets and wards of gold area township for Asiatic residence and ownership, and they can instruct receivers of revenue to issue trade licences in respect of such streets and wards to lawful Indian applicants. This will be pending the Commission promised by the Acting Prime Minister, Mr. Malan. The Government of India can see (by sending a strong representative) that the Commission does not prove as abortive as the Select Committee of the House of Assembly. The Dominions may have the right to regulate immigration. But as part of a professedly civilized Europe, they cannot restrict or take away the trading and property rights of lawfully resident settlers. The proposed Commission should result in the abolition of all racial restrictions upon such settlers.

Young India, 30-7-1919

188. LETTER TO H.S.L. POLAK

NOT REVISED
LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
July 26 [1919]¹

MY DEAR HENRY,

I have taken to writing to you regularly but I find no response from you. You are paying me in my own coin only not with the same reason that I had. But I know that you are all the same attending to my letters.

I have sent you a long cable today with copies to Mrs. Naidu and Shastriar. You will see in *Young India* my letter regarding suspension.² I felt that I ought not to resist the Viceregal appeal to

¹ From the contents

² *Vide* "Letter to the Press on suspension of Civil Disobedience", 21-7-1919.

refrain. But there is not getting away from the fact that if the Rowlatt Act is not repealed, Civil Resistance is a certainty.

Regarding South Africa, there is the news today that our people mean Civil Resistance if any equal status is not granted to them. I have a long letter just now from Sir George Barnes. It is not satisfactory. You shall have all that next week. I am dealing with it.¹ You have, I hope, reports of all the meetings that are being held here. It is a wretched situation.

The Punjab sentences are monstrous.² They must be revised. To me the reforms are worthless if the spirit of the men on the spot is not changed.

The Mahomedan question means trouble so far as I can see. Evidently a decision has been arrived at regarding Turkey but it is being suppressed. This is a suicidal policy. I simply cannot understand this diplomacy that is satisfied with...³

I had an interview with the Governor. Montagu has sent a nasty message. He opens well and ends ill. It is confidential. He says if it was folly to take up civil disobedience, it is wickedness to renew it. One may return in his own words if it was folly for the Government to pass the Rowlatt legislation, it is wickedness to persist in it. And yet Montagu says in the same message that the Act will not be repealed. We are used to that kind of language. All I know is that the Act has got to go and some of us have to die in the attempt. It has cost treasures of blood. Let them keep it if they dare. They do not understand the ABC of civil disobedience. I must be patient. I have therefore told the Governor that if the Government desire that I should further suspend C.D. for the time being, I shall do so but they should reckon upon my renewing it in the near future if they will not repeal the Rowlatt Act.

You have Manilal Vyas's case⁴ before you. You have also the Punjab Committee of inquiry. It must have the power of revision of sentences.

¹ *Vide* "Letter to the Press on suspension of Civil Disobedience", 21-7-1919.

² *ibid.*

³ This sentence, occurring at the end of a page, is left incomplete in the source

⁴ *Vide* "Letter to N.P.Cowie"

You will be interested to learn that at last the great Jehangir Petit has paid a portion of the funds I furnished Millie.¹ The rest he will pay in time.

With love to you all,

Yours,

BHAI

From the original: Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy: National Archives of India

189. LETTER TO KALYANJI MEHTA

BOMBAY

July 26, 1919

BHAISHRI KALYANJI,

I clean forgot to write to you. I will start tomorrow (Sunday) and be definitely there. I shall travel by the passenger train which arrives there at 6 or thereabouts. If it is not necessary, don't keep me for two days. You may, though, if absolutely necessary. For the moment, I leave the matter at that.

Vandemataram from

MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2670

190. CIVIL. DISOBEDIENCE IS NOT SEDITIOUS

[July 27, 1919]²

The Mahratta, quoting from the judgment in the *Hindwasi* case, had suggested that Gandhiji should clear up the point raised by the magistrate in the passage quoted. Mr. Gandhi responded to the suggestion by the letter to *The Mahratta*. The passage from the judgment is given below:

There is another aspect of satyagraha in its political garb which shows as plainly as the events at Delhi the inherent—the law-breaking—character of the doctrine. The substance of the Satyagraha Vow is a matter of common knowledge. By the Vow the individual claims the right to disobey civilly any

¹ *Vide* "Letter to N.P. Cowie"

² The letter to *The Mahratta* was published on this date.

laws which the Satyagraha Sabha decides should be disobeyed. Now “civil disobedience” has never been explained. In Bombay, it is well known, “civil disobedience” took the form of selling proscribed literature, an offence under section 124-A., I.P.C., or in other words, an active disobedience of a criminal law. Furthermore, “civil disobedience” of any law which safeguards the right of others is plainly subversive of all law and order, and is *ipso facto* calculated to bring Government, as the guardian of law and order, into hatred and contempt. That is to say, this aspect of political satyagraha is in essence and effect seditious.

And here is Mr. Gandhi’s reply:

After quoting from the magisterial judgment in the *Hindwasi* case, the dissertation of the magistrate on Civil Disobedience, you have asked me to clear the point raised in the judgment. I gladly respond to your wish.

It is difficult to crowd into a paragraph more misconceptions about a grand doctrine of life, or mis-statements of facts, than has been done in the paragraphs you have quoted. The paragraph referred to begins:

There is another aspect of satyagraha in its political garb which shows as plainly as the events at Delhi the inherent—the law-breaking— character of the doctrine.

Until the mystery about Delhi is cleared up by an impartial judgment, we shall never know whose fault it was for the events that happened at Delhi. Let it, however, be remembered that Civil Disobedience had not commenced on the 30th March last, nor on the 6th April. Swami Shraddhanand contends that the law was broken by the authorities and that the handful of satyagrahis were busy, even at the peril of their lives, restraining the fury, alike of the mob and the local authority. The judgment proceeds:

By the vow, the individual claims the right to disobey any law that the Satyagraha Sabha decides should be disobeyed.

Now in this sentence there is the sin of commission and omission. The Vow gives the votary the right to disobey civilly, not any laws which the Satyagraha Sabha decides upon, but such laws as may be selected by the Special Committee to be appointed by the votaries. The distinction is important. The learned magistrate has omitted to mention that in committing Civil Disobedience the Civil Resister is pledged to truth and nonviolence to person and property—

not an unimportant qualification. The next sentence betrays ignorance that is unpardonable in a judge. He says, "Civil Disobedience has never been explained." If he proposed to convict on the grounds of Civil Disobedience, it was his duty to have understood it thoroughly. He had the whole of the Satyagraha Leaflet Series including, Thoreau's Classic on Civil Disobedience,¹ at his disposal.

WHAT IS CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE?

I must endeavour here to explain briefly what is meant by Civil Disobedience before I can show the absurdity of the sentences that follow. Civil Disobedience is opposed to criminal or immoral disobedience. Civil Disobedience therefore can be confined only to those laws which do not carry any moral sanction. Laws in themselves may be either criminal or civil. But a Civil Resister will not hesitate to commit a civil breach of artificial crime (law ?), e.g., Section 124 A of the Indian Penal Code, under which anything according to the vagaries or predilections of a judge may be termed sedition. He will not commit any attack upon the rights of others. He will never do an act which is calculated to bring any person or corporation in hatred or contempt but he will not hesitate to disregard or expose, irrespective of consequences to himself, any hateful or contemptible act of such person or corporation; and by so doing, he will protect such person or corporation from all undeserved hatred and contempt. The law of sedition could never mean [that] tyranny or high-handedness, even though they may be enshrined in a Statute-book, should be submitted to, for fear of the tyrant being held in contempt. A Civil Resister will therefore not impute motives but examine each act on merits. Civil Disobedience is therefore based upon love and fellow-feeling whereas criminal disobedience upon hatred and ill will. Civil Disobedience therefore is to criminal disobedience what light is to darkness; and when the spirit of Civil Disobedience permeates, as I hope it will very soon permeate, the people of India, crimes or violence will be practically things of the past.

OBJECTION ANSWERED

What has been urged by friends and the Government is that whilst Civil Disobedience as a doctrine of life is admirable in itself, unthinking people not being able to distinguish between Civil and

¹ *Vide* Appendix "Satyagraha Leaflet No. 1", March 1919.

Criminal disobedience and being mentally disobedient as to what they do not relish are likely to mistake Civil Disobedience of the enlightened for any disobedience and thus resort to lawlessness. This is an argument which has appealed, but it has not disproved the necessity or the grandeur of Civil Disobedience. It emphasizes the necessity for caution in one like myself trying to practise Civil Disobedience on a new and extensive plane.

Your readers now will be able to assess at their true value the following concluding passage from the paragraph in question:

In Bombay, it is well known that Civil Disobedience took the form of selling proscribed literature, an offence under Section 124-A I.P.C., or in other words an active disobedience of a criminal law.

The sale of proscribed literature was undertaken not for committing an active disobedience of criminal law but for questioning a prohibitory order of the executive authority and, as it has now turned out, the sale did not amount even to Civil Disobedience. For, it did not attack any law or order. The Civil Resister had misread (?) the prohibitory orders.

The paragraph then proceeds:

Furthermore, Civil Disobedience of any law which safeguards the rights of others is plainly subversive of all law and order and is *ipso facto* calculated to bring the Government as a guardian of law and order into hatred and contempt, that is to say, the aspect of political satyagraha is in essence and effect seditious.

After the explanation that I have offered of Civil Disobedience, further comment is superfluous. And if Mr. Jethmal¹ had been convicted upon a total misconception of the doctrine of Satyagraha, he ought to be set free without delay.

Yours, etc.,

M. K. GANDHI

Young India, 2-8-1919

¹ Jethmal Parasram, editor of *Hindwasi*, a Sindhi periodical

191. LETTER TO S. R. HIGNELL

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
July 27, 1919

DEAR MR. HIGNELL,

As you are aware, I am supervising and controlling the policy of *Young India* by the courtesy of its syndicate. I have seen a confidential notice dated the 23rd instant served upon *Young India* as on other newspapers. It runs as follows¹:

I shall see to it that the desire of the Government of India is observed by *Young India* to the fullest extent.

But the notice gives rise to disturbing reflections which I would like to lay before His Excellency. Why is there this hypersensitiveness regarding news about Turkey? Why should the terms of peace with Turkey, if they are honourable, cause the slightest excitement in India? I was further disturbed as I came upon the letter addressed to the Prime Minister by influential Mahomedans at present residing in London. Among the signatories I notice H. H. the Aga Khan, Chief of Bombay, Ex-Justice Ameer Ali, Sir Abbas Ali Baig and others. I have no doubt H. E. has seen that very weighty communication "on the subject of the threatened dismemberment of Turkey and on the grave situation of anxiety and uneasiness that this report has created among the Mahomedans", which the signatories go on to say will become aggravated if the design attributed to the Peace Conference is carried into effect.

I have said I was disturbed, because I am daily receiving communications or seeing Mahomedan friends who tell me that they are going to be sold. I have reassured them that H. E. is straining every nerve to place the correct view before His Majesty's ministers and that there is no occasion for them to distrust the latter. They have received my assurances with incredulity. I feel that I ought to place the very serious position before H. E. Is it not possible to make some definite reassuring pronouncement? If the worst fears of the Mahomedans are realized, there can only be an armed peace in India, not a real peace. I am sure that no Reforms, however generously

¹ The notice has not been reproduced here.

granted, will ever reconcile the Mahomedans to any dismemberment of Turkey or an encroachment upon their holy places. I know that all these matters cannot be out of H. E.'s mind, but considering myself as I do to be a well-wisher of the Empire I should be failing in my duty if I did not bring to H. E.'s notice serious matters that come within my knowledge. May I hope that if it is at all possible a statement will be made regarding Turkish matters?

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 6777

192. CABLE TO POLAK AND OTHERS¹

BOMBAY,
July 28, 1919

TO
KALOPH, STRAND
HON. SHASTRI, INDIA HOUSE
MRS. NAIDU, LYCAEUM HOTEL,
PICCADILLY
LONDON.

RESPONSE	VICEREGAL	AND	FRIENDS	ADVICE	SUSPEN-
DED	CIVIL	RESISTANCE	TIME	BEING.	THROWS
RESPONSIBILITY	LEADERS	CARRYING	REDOUBLED	AGITA-	
TION	SECURE	WITHDRAWAL	ROWLATT	LEGISLATION.	IF
NOT	WITHDRAWN	REASONABLE	TIME,	RENEWAL	CIVIL
RESISTANCE	INEVITABLE.				

GANDHI

Bombay Secret Abstracts, 1919, pp. 679-80; also a photostat: S.N. 6770

193. ADDRESS TO STUDENTS, SURAT

July 28, 1919

In the afternoon he addressed the students of the Sarvajanik College, and Sarvajanik School, laying particular stress on the students' duty to be as careful of their time as of money. He also exhorted the boys that it was none of their business to criticise the fitness of teachers just as it was not children's duty to judge their

¹ This was intercepted.

parents. Their bounden duty was to respect them. He explained to the boys why they were receiving education. The main object was to build up character. Education was not the means of earning a livelihood. Its purpose was to enlarge the mind.

Service is not the right way of earning a living. We should earn it only through the labour of our bodies. A Russian writer has employed a beautiful expression, *bread labours*¹ which you will not find in any dictionary. Education is for developing the mind and the mind should develop so that the heart may develop and not in order that we may learn how to steal and murder as it happens in America and France these days.²

He further said that the quality of fearlessness should be acquired.

The Bombay Chronicle, 1-8-1919; also *Gujarat Mitra and Gujarat Darpan*, 328-1919

194. SPEECH AT INAUGURATION OF SWADESHI STORE, SURAT

July 28, 1919

I shall say a few words sitting. The inauguration ceremony of this Store has been performed by me. I wish it ever to prosper, it being understood that the organizers will always maintain honesty and run the Store for the service of the people. Mr. Kalyanji has told me that the Store will charge six and a quarter per cent profit on cloth for those who keep the vow of pure swadeshi and seven and a half per cent on cloth for those who have taken the vow of part-swadeshi. We need not feel for the other shops which may go out of business because of the opening of the Store. These other shops will run if they compete in doing service or, in the alternative, only if the people of Surat lack sincerity, cherish no ideals and are inclined to foreign materials; in this latter case, they will run, no matter what percentage they charge as profit. I will always pray to God that, right from a peon—I shall go further and say, a sweeper—to the Collector, everyone will refrain from buying foreign material and encourage swadeshi products, and you should join me in this prayer. He alone prays sincerely who acts as he prays. If you join me in the prayer, you will come to act accordingly. Place noble ideals before others, cherish

¹ Gandhiji uses the English expression.

² This paragraph is from *Gujarat Mitra and Gujarat Darpan*.

such ideals' yourselves and live by them. As I suggested, let everyone in this district take this vow and keep it. It is a big problem how to bring round the sweeper, but in no way difficult to persuade the Collector to follow this ideal. I shall now explain to you how the prosperity of the country depends entirely on our doing this. I have read the history of some countries. We see from it that all countries, in Europe, in America, and elsewhere attained prosperity only when the spirit of swadeshi had developed in them. Without such a spirit, a country cannot prosper economically. It helps progress from the religious point of view as well. I shall speak about the economic aspect on this occasion. History tells us that begums and queens used to spin. You must have heard the words *spinster*¹ and *wife*². *Spinster* means one who spins. *Wife* does not mean a spouse; it means one who weaves. Every woman born used to spin while a girl; on becoming a wife, she used to weave and spin. We come across these ideas in the shastras. The countries which have reached this stage of economic 'development have prospered. Seventy three per cent of India's population lives on agriculture. I have been saying that we should be precise in the language we use; some speak of eighty per cent, but a careful study of figures shows that 73 per cent, i.e., 21 crores of men and women are dependent on agriculture. In this profession, people are idle for half the year or four months. The zamindars acquire means which yield them income all the year round, but the cultivators do not work for the whole year and so earn less. In Europe, wives have given up weaving and *spinsters* have given up spinning. But they have done so because they have other industries. I shall not go into the question whether these other industries are good or bad. Be that as it may, the rulers in India are now trying to find subsidiary occupations for the cultivators which will put them on their feet. If this is not done, in a few years it will so happen that they will stop paying the assessment they do. I have been telling the people, politely and firmly, that, if they wish to prosper, they should popularize the use of swadeshi in such fashion that the cultivators will be enabled to spin and weave. Everyone knows that all of us desire India's prosperity. Is there anyone who does not? If you resolve to keep the vow of swadeshi you will know how to produce such cloth. Instead of buying our cloth from the mills, it is more profitable to spin the cotton with

¹ Gandhi uses the English words

² *ibid*

our own hands and then weave the yarn into cloth; we can have it at the price of cotton. Women have enough time on hand, as you and I, and the women present here will testify. As we cook our food, so we should produce the cloth we need. If you want India to have swaraj and independence, swadeshi is the foundation. In conclusion I wish prosperity to this Store and hope that honesty, service of the country and patriotism will be the guiding motives in running the industry.

[From Gujarati]

Gujarat Mitra and Gujarat Darpan, 3-8-1919

195. SPEECH ON SWADESHI, SURAT

July, 28, 1919

Mr. Gandhi was on a visit to Surat the week before last. While there, he opened a Pure Swadeshi Cloth Store and delivered on the evening of July 28, a lengthy address on the "Principles of Swadeshi". A detailed report of the speech, which was one of the most important till now delivered on the subject, is given below :

Before beginning the subject, Mr. Gandhi entered into a short, instructive digression. A speaker who had preceded him had regretted the apathy of certain gentlemen towards satyagrahis, and observed that they seemed to shun them as though they feared the very name of satyagraha. Adverting to these remarks, Mr. Gandhi said there were people and people, there were some who were subject to the feeling of fear, while there were others who were more fortunate and who were free from it. But those who were free from the feeling had no right to be angry with those who were subject to the feeling. When they felt, said Mr. Gandhi, that others should be fearless like them, and got irritated because they could not come up to their expectations, they needed to exercise—what in English has felicitously expressed "charity". The best thing for a man who got angry was to spend his anger on himself and to try to understand that time, place and circumstance went a great way in the making of man.

SWARAJ IN SWADESHI

Turning to the subject proper, Mr. Gandhi said it was truly said that in swadeshi consisted our swaraj. The country of which the people could not well order their own needs of food and clothing was not at all fitted to enjoy swaraj. This was a self-evident truth. There was not a country on earth which was unable to provide for its food and clothing and was still enjoying swaraj. However swaraj might be defined, it was undoubted that only those countries that were self-sufficient enjoyed swaraj. Even the uncivilized tribes of South Africa were enjoying swaraj. These negroes

produced their own food-stuffs and their clothing. They lived on maize and game. They clothed themselves in the hides of animals killed by them. When these people began to get “civilized”, and thus to depend on others for their food and clothing, they lost even the paltry swaraj they were enjoying. Every nation that thus became dependent on others for its two principal needs was reduced to such a plight.

JAPANESE MENACE

In a letter which he sent to the Press some days ago declaring continuance of suspension of civil resistance, Mr. Gandhi had said that swadeshi would eliminate the unnatural Lancashire interest- and would help in purifying the British connection. But he believed he had said a greater thing in the same letter, viz., that swadeshi would rid them of the Japanese menace.

If, said Mr. Gandhi, they did not realize what the Japanese menace meant for them, they did not know the first lesson of swaraj. Japan was gradually and steadily extending its hold over them. In the course of the last four years, it had increased its exports by several hundred per cent. Wherever they turned their eye, they saw Japanese articles, Japanese matches, Japanese saris, Japanese soaps, Japanese umbrellas and so on. What was the meaning of this? It meant increasing domination of Japan. Just as the *sowcar*¹ exploited and impoverished the poor agriculturist, even so, said the speaker, was Japan, exploiting and impoverishing India. Japan was fast becoming India's *sowcar*. England must either fight or accept Japanese domination. What was the object of the “opium” war² with China? If China produced her own opium, the opium war would not have been waged. Students of history knew that it was a war of blind self-interest on the part of England. So long as England's relation with the Colonies was based on England's self-interest, it was not a pure relation. But the Colonies took a very timely hint. They taught themselves and they taught England also a lesson.

FISCAL AUTONOMY

They were talking of fiscal autonomy, said Mr. Gandhi. He for one did not believe that fiscal autonomy would be worth anything if it was a gift from England. Real fiscal autonomy lay in swadeshi. Even the economists said that without fiscal autonomy, swaraj was meaningless. But these very economists, when a remedy like the swadeshi was proposed to them by a man like himself, demurred to it. Mr. Gandhi said he must disregard their objections, for it was his faith that in swadeshi lay fiscal

¹ Moneylender

² The war of 1840 between China and Great Britain caused by the import of opium into China by foreign traders. Fifteen years later another war broke out owing to the huge smuggling trade in opium whereafter the cultivation of opium in China was permitted and import from India was made legal.

autonomy as ample and vast and inexhaustible as the sea and it was such fiscal autonomy that they wanted. And, continued Mr. Gandhi, even though England gave them fiscal autonomy, whom should they have to blame if they did not follow the eternal principles of swadeshi? Without swadeshi, they would fall into the meshes of Japan after being free from those of England, which would be tantamount to going from the frying pan into fire. It would be impossible for them to set at naught the treaty obligations of England with Japan. Their Government would warn them against imposing any duties on Japanese imports, on the ground that that would pave the way for another war. Such a catastrophe might occur in the course of the next five years. How, asked Mr. Gandhi, were they to save themselves from that catastrophe? Only by grasping and following the principles of pure economics. If there was a country on earth that did not produce its own food and clothing it deserved to be deserted, or no hopes of swaraj might be entertained with regard to it. If swaraj could exist in such a country, it was bound to be nothing but what might be termed devilish swaraj. The people of that country must either deceive and exploit other countries by their act and their diplomacy and obtain their food and clothing, or they must do so by force. England was the only exception to the rule that every country that was civilized produced its own food and clothing. She produced her own food-stuffs, but she imported them also; she produced her cloth, but she imported it also. And for this England had to maintain a great navy. England was proud of her navy but that pride was, in the opinion of Mr. Gandhi, transient. She could only be proud in that she could maintain such a navy, but the position she enjoyed thereby was purchased at the cost of heavy taxation on her people and of keeping a close watch on international highways. If, said Mr. Gandhi, they wanted to purify British connection, purging it of all unnatural interest, they should demolish her economic theories. The speaker was never enamoured of the British navy and had never thought of such a navy being necessary for India. For England and Scotland, he observed, were small islands. They abounded in vast country and it was therefore easy for them to maintain a navy. India, on the contrary, was a vast country and not an island, but a peninsula. It had no big coalfields, it was open to the invasion of the Afghan and the Tartar, of the Chinese and the Tibetan. India, therefore, even if she could possess a navy could not rely solely upon it, she would have to maintain an army in addition and the expense of maintaining both would empty her resources.

BRITISH FISCAL POLICY

In the time of Queen Elizabeth, said the speaker, turning to a consideration of the fiscal policy of England, England also had to rely on swadeshi, so much so that the use of swadeshi articles was made obligatory by her. Cloth coarser than the speaker was wearing used to be worn in royal households. England's adoption of the policy of free trade was but a recent affair. Considerations that led to the adoption of

that policy were by no means mean. But the defects therein imposed the load of a large navy on England which had crushed the nation. England had adopted the free trade policy, but she was now veering in the other direction. Mr. Joseph Chamberlain died fighting against Free Trade policy and a day would soon come when England would have to abandon the policy, or face a civil war.

A patient study of European history should, Mr. Gandhi thoughts wean them away from a blind imitation of Europe. India should not imitate an experimenting nation, she should make her own experiments. Using Mr. Sidgwick's phrase, the speaker said, India should not be the blotting-sheet of European civilization. She should not adorn herself with the cast-off apparel of Europe.

A study of the history of other nations showed that those nations that had failed to maintain their economic independence for want of a policy of swadeshi had fallen. In the same way, the nations that had been able to remain economically independent had always enjoyed swaraj. Mr. Gandhi instanced the smaller European States. They were, aid he, independent economic units because they followed swadeshi. Every independent nation was a follower of swadeshi in its own way. Switzerland and Denmark kept the trades and manufactures suited to their own people to themselves, and allowed no outsiders to interfere with them. India's swadeshi lay in producing her foodstuffs and he cloth. As regards food-stuffs they had fortunately no need to take a vow, as people used, for the most part, food-stuffs produced in the country, excepting a very few who might be in need of "Scotch oats". As regards clothing, they were in a serious predicament. Once the producers of the finest cotton and silken fabrics, today they were dependent on Japan and Lancashire. And only swadeshi, repeated Mr. Gandhi, could free them from the unnatural Lancashire interest and the Japanese peril.

UNITED EFFORTS

But the speaker did not expect to achieve any great results working single-handed He had no desire to work alone. He earnestly desired the co-operation of the 31 crores of his countrymen, as also of Englishmen. He confessed he was swadeshi-mad. Like Vaidarbhi rambling in search of Nala, and asking even the trees and stones that she passed by to show her Nala, he asked every little thing that he came across to show him the way to swadeshi. He asked the people to gird up their loins with him even for a year, and he promised them that they could surprise the world by the results that would be achieved. And he assured them they needed not the help of boycott or any such thing; they only needed to produce and to restrict themselves to the use of their own cloth.

There were many things that were essential for success in that direction. Two of these were commercial morality in the producer and sympathy and fellow-feeling in

the rich for their poorer brethren. The rich should feel that the poor in the country should not be suffered to remain ill-clad and they should be fired with an enthusiasm to provide cloth for them. Every woman should resolve to give at least one of her spare hours to spinning cotton. If indeed honesty, industry, patriotism and riches could combine. What results would be achieved !

Mr. Gandhi asked the audience to fling away the superstition that the country could not do without a network of mills. The speaker was not against mills. But he maintained, and Sir Fazulbhai also admitted it, that it would take some 50 years before they could think of providing the whole of their country with mill-made cloth. As it was, there were figures to show there was more cloth produced in the country on handlooms than was being turned out by the mills. And the speaker had no doubt that hand-spinning and hand-weaving, if introduced everywhere, would make the country self-sufficing in a very small period. The agricultural population of India was 21 crores; if every one of them spun and wove cotton during the idle period of four months in the year, a very large stock of cloth could be produced. In conclusion, Mr. Gandhi emphasized the fact that every village in India was self-sufficient in the olden times, and that they could be made such even now if people took keenly to the two suggestions of hand-spinning and hand-weaving he had made. He exhorted the Surat people to send out large bands of volunteers to every village to preach and bring the idea of swadeshi home to them so as to cover the villages with a network of spinning-wheels and handlooms.

Young India, 16-8-1919

196. JAGANNATH'S CASE

It is not without extreme sorrow that I have to invite public attention to a third miscarriage of justice in the Punjab. This time it is not a case of a celebrity like Babu Kalinath Roy or a lesser light like Lala Radha Krishna, the Editor of the *Pratap*. The case of which the papers have been furnished me relates to one Mr. Jagannath, unknown to fame and unconnected with any public activity. He has been sentenced by one of the Martial Law Tribunals to transportation for life, with forfeiture of property, under Section 121 of the Indian Penal Code, i.e., for waging war against His Majesty. The facts of the case are lucidly set forth in his petition to be found elsewhere. It is addressed to the Hon. Sir Edward Maclagan, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab. The reader will find also the judgment in the Gujranwalla case in respect of fifteen accused of whom Mr. Jagannath was one. The following is the text in the judgment dealing with the case:

Jagannath, accused 10, had the notices convening the meeting of the 5th, printed in Lahore and was present at the meetings of the 12th and 13th. But we have no hesitation in holding that he was present at both and that his defence is worthless. There is ample evidence to show that on the 14th April, he took a very active part in having the shops closed. We are satisfied of his guilt and convict him under Sec. 121, I.P.C.

I submit that it was no crime on the accused's part to have the notices convening the meeting of the 5th printed, nor to have been present at the meeting was of an incriminating character. This is what the Court has to say about the meeting of the 5th April:

It is alleged that the people of Gujranwalla knew little and cared less about the Rowlatt Act and that on the 4th April certain of the accused decided to start an agitation against this Act on the same lines as had been adopted in other parts of the country at the instance of Gandhi. A mass meeting was accordingly convened and held on the evening of the 5th April when the Rowlatt Act was condemned.

Under no statute known could these facts be held to involve any crime. The judges themselves have stated as much:

We are not however satisfied in this case, that prior to the 12th April any indictable conspiracy had come into existence. We therefore feel constrained to acquit those of the accused who are shown only to have taken part in the proceedings prior to that date.

It is difficult therefore to understand the reference of the Court to the accused's presence at the meeting of the 5th or his having been an agent for getting the notices printed. The Court proceeds,

On the evening of the 12th and during the day of 13th, certain of the accused in consultation with Bhagat agreed that they should follow the example set at Amritsar [of] burning bridges and cutting telegraph wires.

Now these facts, it is plain, undoubtedly prove a criminal conspiracy but the Court is silent as to which accused agreed upon the crimes recited in the paragraph. It should be remembered that there was a meeting on the 12th of the District Congress Committee held prior to the evening meeting of the 12th referred to in the sentence quoted above. I submit that it was necessary for the Court definitely to find that the accused was present at the agreement alleged to have been arrived at for burning bridges and cutting telegraph wires. But there is nothing in the finding of the Court beyond a vague general statement about the accused's presence at the meetings of the 12th

and 13th. I would suggest that even if the accused was in Gujranwalla on the 14th April and took a very active part in having the shops closed, it would be no offence, unless he could be proved to have been party to the criminal agreement referred to. Whilst, therefore, the judgment seems to afford no evidence of the accused's crime, statements most damaging to the Court and conclusively in favour of the accused's defence rested upon an *alibi*. He stated that he left Gujranwalla on the 12th April by the 5 p.m. train *en route* for Kathiawar where he had a case. Now I admit that it is as easy to set up an *alibi* as it is difficult to prove it. But anyone reading the petition can only come to one conclusion, viz., that the defence of *alibi* was completely established. Mr. Jagannath produced local respectable witnesses to show that he had left Gujranwalla on the 12th. He applied for subpoenas to summon witnesses from Kathiawar to show that he was in Dhoraji on the 16th April. The Court rejected the application, but granted interrogatories, put the accused, a poor man, to the expense of Rs. 250 for the expenses of the Commission, and yet strange as it may appear, pronounced judgment against the accused without waiting for the return of the Commission. He made an application for the stay of argument till after the receipt of replies to interrogatories. The application was rejected. In a second application, he urged that the Court should ascertain by telegram the result of the interrogatories. Even that application proved unavailing. The accused has rightly contended in the petition that on this ground alone the conviction was illegal and ought to be set aside. The petition refers to the register of the *Foujdar* of Dhoraji seeing that he reached Dhoraji on the 16th April. The accused shows also by the examination of 10 independent witnesses that he was in Dhoraji on that date. He shows further by extracts from Railway Time Tables, that it takes 44 hours to reach Dhoraji from Delhi by the fastest train, and shows conclusively that it was physically impossible for him to be in Gujranwalla after 6 p.m. on the 13th; though as a matter of fact he shows by other conclusive evidence that he left Gujranwalla on the 12th. He produces proceedings of Jetpur Court where he had his case in Kathiawar. There is therefore no ground whatsoever for keeping the accused in jail for a single moment. The accused on his own showing is

a petty shopkeeper at Gujranwalla, paying no income-tax, being ignorant of Urdu as well as English and not possessed of any influence in big towns like Gujranwalla with a populations of 30,000 persons. He being a man of humble position and status in life, with no education, has never taken part in politics,

nor was he a member of the local District Congress Committee or any other political body or association.

The humbleness of his position makes the injustice all the more galling and makes it doubly incumbent on the public to see that the meanest of the subjects of the King suffers no wrong. The decision of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor in the case of Lala Radha Krishna raises the hope that speedy justice will be done in this case. Bad as Babu Kalinath Roy's and Lala Radha Krishna's cases were, this, if possible, is worse in that Martial Law Judges in their impatience, shall I say, to convict, declined to wait for a return of the Commission they themselves had granted—a Commission on whose return hung the liberty, and might have been, even the life of the accused.

M. K. GANDHI

Young India, 30-7-1919

197. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO
LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR

LABURNUK ROAD,

[On or after *July 30, 1919*]¹

TO
PRIVATE SECRETARY TO
HIS HONOUR THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR
LAHORE

DEAR SIR,

I beg to enclose herewith a copy of *Young India* dealing with the case of one Jagannath who has been recently convicted and sentenced to transportation for life with forfeiture of property. His petition for revision of the case and quashing the sentence, is, I understand, already engaging His Honour's attention. In my humble opinion palpable injustice has been done in this case. The hasty pronouncement of judgment, by the Martial Law Tribunal without waiting for the return of the Commission issued by it is in itself fatal to the conviction. The facts set forth in the petition seem completely to establish the defence of *alibi*. Both therefore in substance and in law, I submit that the conviction is bad. I therefore respectfully trust that His Honour will be pleased to set aside the conviction and restore the liberty of the poor petitioner.

Yours faithfully,

From a photostat: S.N. 6766

¹ *Young India* referred to in this letter was dated 30-7-1919.

198. TELEGRAM TO SWAMI SHARADDHANAND

[Before August 2, 1919]¹

SWAMI SHRADDHANANDJI²
CARE LALA DHARMACHAND, VAKIL
ANARKALI
LAHORE

WILL CERTAINLY SUPPORT YOUR APPEAL FOR
SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR BEREAVED FAMILIES. I PUBLISH
YOUR LETTER OR WILL YOU SEND ANOTHER
MORE DETAILED. PLEASE REPLY EXPRESS.

From a photostat of a handwritten copy : S. N. 6731

199. AN APPEAL FROM THE PUNJAB

Sannyasi Swami Shri Shraddhanandji, writing from Delhi regarding the Punjab, says :

I have been to the Punjab twice (i.e., since the tragedies of April last).³ I have been to Amritsar, Lahore, Gujranwalla, Sekhupura and Chachadkhana and heard and seen much. On the 13th April in Amritsar not less than fifteen hundred persons must have been killed. In the other places also many, though not so many as at Amritsar, must have been killed. Of these, hundred were the sole wage-earners of their families. Some have been hanged or sentenced to transportation for life, others have been sentenced to undergo imprisonment for from ten to twenty years. There must be one thousand families in the Punjab which are left only with their womenfolk and children. It is our duty to reach them food and clothing. Pundit Malaviyaji⁴ has appealed to the public for one lac of rupees. But I believe that we shall have to support many of these families for six months at least. If so, we shall need one and a half lacs of rupees. This estimate is based on the supposition that most of

¹ "An appeal from the Punjab" was published in *Young India*, 2-8-1919; *vide* the following item.

² 1856- 1926; earlier known as Mahatma Munshiram; nationalist leader, Arya Samajist and educationist. He the founder of Gurukul Kangri, near Hardwar.

³ The reference is to the disturbance and the martial law atrocities in the Punjab.

⁴ Madan Mohan Malaviya (1861-19460; nationalist leader, educationist and founder of Banaras Hindu University

those suffering imprisonment will, during that time, have been discharged. If you are in agreement with this proposal of mine, please beg of the rich people of Bombay donations and send the money to me. I shall need also trustworthy volunteers for the work of distribution. You can send such volunteers. If possible, please send four or five such men.

The Swami's appeal is eloquent for its brevity and I hope that it will strike the right chord in many a breast. I hardly think that it needs any commendation from me. There cannot be two opinions about the necessity of support and the duty of the generous public of Bombay. I hope that there will be no question of scruples about supporting the families. That many who lost their lives in Amritsar and elsewhere were innocent cannot be doubted. Their families deserve the support of all without distinction of party or race. The Commissioner of Delhi, it will be remembered, appealed for subscriptions for the families of those who were wounded or shot during the firing on the 30th March last. But if there is any question as to the propriety of supporting the families of those who have been sentenced for doing violence or worse, I would respectfully suggest that the families of such men have committed no crimes and the families of even the worst offenders—persons who are guilty of committing private crimes and, therefore, whose motives are far worse than those of political offenders—deserve public support. Society is bound to support the needy and the indigent irrespective of the character of their pedigree. I trust, therefore, that the wealthy people of Bombay will generously respond to Swamiji's appeal. Quickness is essential in this matter. I have a wire from him saying that money is needed at once. All amounts received will be duly acknowledged. There is another matter equally important in Swamiji's letter. He requires trustworthy volunteers who would go to the Punjab and help him in the work of distribution. I invite the help of those who have the means and the time enabling them to go to the Punjab. The one indispensable quality in such a volunteer is that he will go merely as a trustee to distribute funds under the guidance and directions of Shradhanandji. He is not to air his political views or to combine two missions in one trip. Real success in national work can only be assured when workers develop the quality of losing themselves in their work to the exclusion of every other work for the time being. By trying to do many things at the same time we succeed

in doing nothing well or satisfactorily and often give occasion for suspicions being raised about our motives. The readers will share my anxiety that the humanitarian work undertaken by the Swami should not be marred by any action of the volunteers who may be selected to proceed to the Punjab.

Young India, 2-8-1919

200. INTERVIEW TO A JOURNALIST¹

[BOMBAY,
August 4, 1919]

As soon as he finished his letter, he turned round to me again and asked me what had brought me all the way from Madras. I told him I had come to see Mr. R off on his way to England and then we fell to discussing the general situation. I asked him whether he had any near idea of resuming civil disobedience. He said it all depended on the Government and what they did to relieve the situation in the near future. He did not want to complicate matters by any precipitate action of his as it might easily lend itself to mask real issues. If the Government do not move in the matter pretty soon, relieve the situation in the Punjab and repeal the Rowlatt Act², it will be his painful duty to resort to passive resistance again. Should this contingency arise, he intends to break his internment order on the Madras border as being much the quieter side so that there may be no excuse for the Government to set in motion any positive measures on the plea of disorder or violence.

¹ This was published as by "C.R.S." and was preceded by the following remarks: ". . . I went in and found Mr. Gandhi seated cross-legged on his couch, dressed in his usual coarse hand-woven clothes and with his spectacles on, busy writing a letter to some friend of his in Gujarati. The letter-paper, pencil and envelope were apparently of the more common swadeshi type, for I noticed the paper was none too fine, the pencil had to be pressed hard to make an impression, and the envelope would not easily open in the prevailing weather. I noticed also that one of the curls of his spectacles had broken midway and was being held in position by a piece of thread knotted round his head. I was wondering why a fresh curl had not been put in, but soon found a broken curl was not without its uses, as it served well enough for a toothpick on occasions. Well, when Mr. Gandhi looked up from his writing and saw me, his thin ascetic face lighted up with a charming smile as he recognized me, and bade me sit down and excuse him for a few minutes as he finished his letter."

² This was one of the two Bills recommended by the Rowlatt Committee in 1918 ostensibly for curbing seditious activity and was passed in 1919, in the face of public opposition. It gave occasion for the Rowlatt Act Satyagraha in April

I asked him if he had any special message for the time for the people in South India and any special duty for the satyagrahis.

Yes, I want every man, woman and child to learn handspinning and weaving. I want every satyagrahi to help to propagate this work. Let every man learn to provide for his clothing in his house and many of our current problems will resolve themselves. I am asking you to do nothing new. It is not as though you have to skip over the centuries and go to ancient India for this kind of work. Even a few decades back, every village had its hand-looms and the people were wearing only clothes woven therefrom. Spinning was being done normally in every house. It is not neecha [mean] work. Ranis [queens] in palaces have done this. If this is resumed again we shall have done well by our country. I am quite hopeful of results. I have already set a thousand looms going in Gujarat and leading people like Mrs. Banker¹, Mrs. Petit², Miss Anasuyabehn³ have taken up spinning enthusiastically. The mechanism is quite simple and a spinning outfit costs only about Rs. 3-8-0 to Rs. 4. The work is easily learnt in a couple of days. For example you will find in the next room Mrs. T.A. Chettiar learning to spin. She has been at it only from yesterday and a few more hours practice will make her quite fit for the work and quite competent to put other people in the way as I expect her to do. . . .⁴

The Hindu 9-8-1919

¹ Wife of Shankarlal Banker, associate of Gandhiji

² Wife of J. B. Petit, Parsi philanthropist of Bombay, Gandhiji's friend and host

³ Anasuyabehn Sarabhai, social worker and educationist; sister of Ambalal Sarabhai, Ahmedabad Mill-owner

⁴ At this point Madan Mohan Malaviya called on Gandhiji. The latter part of the report which covers the writer's interview with the former is not reproduced here.

201. LETTER TO G.S. ARUNDALE¹

LABURNUM ROAD
BOMBAY,
August 4, 1919

DEAR MR. ARUNDALE²,

I have read and re-read your kind letter for which I thank you. I am publishing the letter³ in *Young India* together with this reply.

Much as I should like to follow your advice, I feel that I am incompetent for the task set forth by you in your letter. I am fully aware of my limitations. My bent is not political but religious and I take part in politics because I feel that there is no department of life which can be divorced from religion and because politics touch the vital being of India almost at every point. It is therefore absolutely necessary that the political relations between Englishmen and ourselves should be put on a sound basis. I am endeavouring to the best of my ability to assist in the process. I do not take much interest in the reforms because they are in safe hands and because reforms cum Rowlatt legislation mean to my mind a stalemate. Rowlatt legislation represents a poisonous spirit. After all, the English civilians can, unless Indian opinion produces a healthy reaction upon them, reduce the reforms practically to a nullity. They distrust us and we distrust them. Each considers the other as his natural enemy. Hence the Rowlatt legislation. The Civil Service has devised the legislation to keep us down. In my opinion, that legislation is like the coil of the snake round the Indian body. The obstinacy of the Government in clinging to the hateful legislation in spite of the clearest possible demonstration they have had of public opinion against it makes me suspect the worst. With the views enunciated above, you will not wonder at my inability to interest myself in the reforms. Rowlatt legislation blocks the way. And my life is dedicated among other things to removing the block.

¹ This was in reply to his letter of July 26, appealing to Gandhiji that since civil disobedience had been suspended, he should join in working the Montagu-Chelmsford Constitutional Reforms.

² Theosophist, and editor of *New India*

³ *Vide* Appendix "Letter from G.S. Arundale", 26-7-1919

Let there be no mistake. Civil resistance has come to stay. It is an eternal doctrine of life which we follow consciously or unconsciously in many walks of life. It is the new and extended application of it which has caused misgivings and excitement. Its suspension is designed to demonstrate its true nature, and to throw the responsibility for the removal of the Rowlatt legislation on the Government as also the leaders (you among them) who have advised me to suspend it. But if within a reasonable time the legislation is not removed, civil resistance will follow as surely as day follows night. No weapon in the Government armoury can either overcome or destroy that eternal force. Indeed a time must come when civil resistance will be recognized as the most efficacious, if also the most harmless, remedy for securing redress of grievances.

You suggest the desirability of unity. I think unity of goal we have. But parties we shall always have—and we may not find a common denominator for improvement. For some will want to go further than some others. I see no harm in a wholesome variety. What I would rid ourselves of is distrust of one another and imputation of motive. Our besetting sin is not our differences but our littleness. We wrangle over words, we fight often for shadow and lose the substance. As Mr. Gokhale used to say, our politics are a pastime of our leisure hours when they are not undertaken as a stepping-stone to a career in life.

I would invite you and every editor to insist on introducing charity, seriousness and selflessness in our politics. And our disunion will not jar as it does today. It is not our differences that really matter. It is the meanness behind that is undoubtedly ugly.

The Punjab sentences are inextricably mixed up with the Rowlatt agitation. It is therefore as imperatively necessary to have them revised as it is to have the Act removed. I agree with you that the Press Act requires overhauling. The Government are actually promoting sedition by high-handed executive action. And I was sorry to learn that Lord Willingdon¹ is reported to have taken the sole responsibility for the—in my opinion unwarranted—action² against *The Hindu* and the *Swadesha Mitran*. By it, they have not lost in prestige or popularity. They have gained in both. Surely there are judges enough

¹ 1866-1941; Governor of Bombay; later Viceroy of India, 1931-6

² The Government demanded a security of Rs. 2,000 from each of these Madras newspapers and banned *The Hindu* in the Punjab and in Burma.

in the land who would convict where a journalist has overstepped the bounds of legitimate criticism and uttered sedition. I am not enamoured of the Declaration of Rights business. When we have changed the spirit of the English civilian, we shall have made considerable headway with the Declaration of Rights. We must be honourable friends, or equally honourable enemies. We shall be neither, unless we are manly, fearless and independent. I would have us to treasure Lord Willingdon's advice and say "no" when we mean "no" without fear of consequences. This is unadulterated civil resistance. It is the way to friendliness and friendship. The other is the age-worn method of open violence on honourable lines in so far as violence can be allowed to be honourable. For me the roots of violence are in dishonour. I have therefore ventured to present to India the former, in its complete form called satyagraha, whose roots are always in honour.

Yours sincerely,

M.K. GANDHI

Young India, 6-8-1919

202. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

BOMBAY,

Monday [August 4, 1919]¹

CHI. CHHAGANLAL²,

I have your letter.

Bhai Hanumantrao was a member of the Servants of India Society. Look after him; give him a room near Ba's. I have written to him that he may stay as long as he likes.

The bank-note for Rs. 600/- is to be credited to the Famine account. The sum has been received from England. Mention this too.

Sundaram has reached [home]. It seems now the rains are a little too much.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand : S. N. 6785

¹ In the source, below Monhay appear the dates: 3 August 1919, *Shravan Sud* 7, 1975, in a handwriting other than Gandhiji's. In August 1919, however, the first Monday fell on the 4th, which corresponds to *Shravan Sud* 8 in the Indian calendar.

² Gandhiji's nephew and associate

203. LETTER TO MANUBHAI NANDSHANKAR MEHTA

LABURNUM ROAD,
GAMDEVI,
BOMBAY,
[August 4, 1919]¹

BHAISHRI MANUBHAI,

I was in Vijapur last Thursday. There, and on the way, I met thousands of men and women. It was the movement for swadeshi which took me there.

There is a prominent lady from Broach, a widow, in Vijapur. Spinning, and now weaving as well, is being promoted there through her. Her name is Gangabehn². The aim behind this programme is to increase the production of cloth in the country. Women, and men too, who have free time should devote it to spinning and, if they can, to weaving. In this way, it is hoped to restore to the agriculturists an old-time subsidiary occupation of theirs. As part of this programme, at present 125 women spin in Vijapur and, depending on how much they work, earn daily two to four pice or even more. These women did no work before they took this up. Gangabehn and others work for the love of God.

A loom has also been installed recently. I saw that the institution was very much short of space. My request to the State is this. Make one or two acres of land available near the station and immediately get a building ready, in which people may live and work. I am prepared to pay rent for it. If you can see to this, the work there will progress better. If the Maharaja thinks well of this work, I should like him to advise the officers also to help. If I get some encouragement, I am hopeful that, in a very short time, we shall have plenty of cloth produced in Vijapur taluka and the agriculturists and others will have a means of supplementing their income.

This is one matter on which I have to trouble you.

¹ Gandhiji was in Bombay On August 4, 1919, after having visited Vijapur, and later in the day left for Ahmedabad.

² It is to her that Gandhiji ascribes the discovery of the spinning-wheel in Vijapur; *vide and Autobiography*, part V, Ch. XL.

I saw that the passengers in the train were packed like so many goats. The carriages are too few and there is only one train. That is not enough. I should like you to do something about this, too, if possible.

I beg to be excused for this letter.

Yours,

SHRI MANUBHAI NANDEHANKAR
DIWAN
BARODA

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand : S. N. 6796

204. LETTER TO A. H. WEST

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
August 4, [1919]

MY DEAR WEST,¹

I have just read your letter on my return from Bombay. And as you want me to give you a letter in my own hand, I lost no time lest my reply may be pressed out.

My heart goes out to you in all your mental worries. I am sorry about your mother's death.

When I asked Mahadev inquiring about Devi, there was no letter from her for some time. And as she is a most regular correspondent, I grew anxious.

I do read *Indian Opinion* when I am in the Ashram. What I wanted was what you could not give me through I.O.

I am positive that I instructed P[arsi] R [ustumjee]² long before my second letter. But my post going through many hands at times does miscarry.

Please give Manilal³ a month's notice and stop editing for him. I quite agree with you that if he has not acquired the habit of writing given now, the paper may stop.

¹ Manager, International Printing Press, Phoenix; a close friend and associate of Gandhiji in South Africa; *vide* "Our Trial", 31-12-1904

² *Vide* "Letter to A.H. West", 17-7-1919

³ Gandhiji's second son

I do not still approve of job or advertisements, but as I do not want to finance Manilal, I have said he could do what he liked on his own responsibility.

Mr. Andrews¹ is no good for details. He therefore gave me only general information. But I waive your weekly letter, private or public. You will write when you can. About South Africa letter I suggested your name to the *Chronicle*. They will pay you if you could write. I see no harm in your accepting payment.

I am immersed in work as ever. My arrest is reported to be imminent.

The Ashram is increasing. Harilal² is in Calcutta. His children are with me. Devdas⁴ is just now travelling with me. Chhaganlal and Maganlal⁴ are with me. Anandlal⁵ is managing the Navajivan Press. The schools and weaving are making steady progress. I wish you could see these things one day with your own hands⁶.

With love to you all,

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostate of the original in Gandhiji's hand : C. W. 4432. Courtesy: A.H. West

205. SHAKING CIVIL RESISTERS

The Hon. Mr. C.Y. Chintamani⁷ in his special contribution to India of the 4th July says that Sir Michael O'Dwyer⁸

is said to have declared his intention of taking note of the anti-Rowlatt legislation agitation and passive resistance demonstration before there was any disturbance of peace.

We know what kind of note he took of both the cause and the effect, and we know, too, what he succeeded to an eminent degree in disturbing the peace in the Punjab. And though Sir Michael is no

¹ C. F. Andrews (1871-1940); British missionary whose humanitarian work in India won him the name "Deenabandhu", i.e.; friend of the poor; *vide* "Speech at Maritzburg", 27-12-1913

² Gandhiji's eldest son

³ His fourth and youngest son

⁴ Chhaganlal Gandhi's brother

⁵ Son of Amritlal Gandhi, a cousin of Gandhiji

⁶ This is evidently a slip for 'eyes'.

⁷ 1880-1914; editor of *The Leader*

⁸ Governor of the Punjab

longer in India in body, he is certainly in our midst in spirit. Witness the many Punjab cases that have been discussed in these columns. The Martial Law judges will certainly not be to blame if the spirit of civil resistance is not dead either in the Punjab or in India. But the O'Dwyerean spirit has travelled to far-off Burma and touched the Lieut.-Governor of the Province of British India¹ For, the Chief Secretary to Government of Burma, the A.P.I.² informs us, "has written to the two Indian promoters of the All-Burma mass meeting" that was to be held in Burma on the first of August that, whilst there is no objection to the meeting discussing the Reform Scheme in Burma,

serious objection would be taken if extraneous matters are introduced either under the colour of the published resolutions, or as separate resolutions not on the agenda. In particular,

the Secretary goes on to say,

the Lieut.-Governor has no intention of permitting meetings at which the adoption of passive resistance is advocated, or at which the policy of Government, in connection with the passing of the Rowlatt Act or the suppression of the recent disturbances in the Punjab, is called in question.

The public of Burma in discussing the political Reforms which should be adopted in Burma are in no way concerned with the events in the Punjab. The Government of Burma have certainly taken time by the forelock. We do not know what happened on the 1st of August in Rangoon nor do we know what reply the Indian promoters of the meeting returned to the Chief Secretary. But it is clear that, so long as the spirit embodied in the words of the letter from which we have quoted remains alive, the Reforms that the people of Burma might get would not be worth having.

But an echo of the spirit is heard nearer Bombay also. We now know, more fully than we did before, the cause of the High Court notice served upon some of the satyagrahi lawyers of Ahmedabad. The notice was prompted by a letter addressed by the District Judge of Ahmedabad to the Registrar of the Bombay High Court. We give the full text of the letter elsewhere.³ It remains to be seen what action the

¹ Burma became an independent state in 1935.

² The Associated Press of India

³ This is not reproduced here. The District Judge of Ahmedabad had in his letter dated April 22, 1919, raised the question of the property of two barristers and three pleaders of Ahmedabad taking the satyagraha pledge. According to this the lawyers undertook "to refuse civilly to obey these laws (viz., the Rowlatt Act) and such other laws as a committee to be hereafter appointed may think fit." The judge

High Court will take when the case is argued before it on the 25th instant. But it is curious the way the District Judge has pre-judged the issue. He considers the activities of the “League”—we suppose he means the Satyagrahe Sabha¹—to be illegal. He does not hesitate to make the impudent suggestion that

there can be no doubt that the suspension is merely a device to avoid the possibility of punishment falling on the satyagrahis in respect of acts directly or indirectly due to their teaching and influence.

We use the adjective “impudent” advisedly, for the very next paragraph of this precious letter states the belief of the writer that

the above gentlemen are sincerely and conscientiously under the impression that the Rowlatt legislation is a crime. As they have that impression, I would not blame them for going to the edge of the law to oppose it.

The imputaion of an unworthy motive to such men would be ungentlemanly in a stranger, it is unpardonable in one who claims to have the high opinion that the learned District Judge claims to have of the lawyers in question. The last paragraph of the letter clearly discloses the feelings of the District Judge in the matter. He says he has “no power to deal with the two Barristers”, and adds, “very likely recent events in Ahmedabad may make it unnecessary to proceed against them”, meaning, we presume, that they would be charged and convicted by the Special Tribunal. They have not been charged, it is true. But that was no fault of the District Judge. He had made up his mind that they had committed a criminal breach of the law of the land.

Thus we see that the attempts are being made with more or less vigour to suppress civil resisters. Those who are making the attempt are beating against the wind. The spirit of civil resistance thrives under suffering. Here and there a civil resister so called may succumb and

considered such conduct inconsistent with their professional status and duties in terms terms of their *sanad*. On this submission, the Bombay High Court served notices on the lawyers, on July 12, in its disciplinary jurisdiction. A copy of the District Judge’s letter reached Gandhiji, who published it in Young India along with his terms of their *sanad*. On this submission, the Bombay High Court served notices on the lawyers, on July 12, in its disciplinary jurisdiction. A copy of the District Judge’s letter reached Gandhiji, who published it in Young India along with his comments. The High Court gave its ruling in the case against the lawyers on October 15. For Gandhiji’s comments on the judgment, vide “The Satyagrahi Lawyers”, 22-10-1919

¹ A body formed in ahmedabad on March 3, 1919, with Gandhiji as President, to organize satyagraha against the Rowlatt Act.

under the pressure of suffering deny his doctrine. But when once kindled it is impossible to kill the spirit of civil resistance. The only pity of it is these traducers of civil resistance and civil resisters are consciously or unconsciously becoming the instruments for propagating Bolshevism as it is interpreted to us in India, i.e., the spirit of lawlessness accompanied with violence. Bolshevism is nothing but an extension of the present method of forcibly imposing one's doctrine or will upon others. The Government of Burma, the Government of Punjab, the District Judge of Ahmedabad are all in their own way endeavouring forcibly to impose their will upon others, in this case, civil resisters. But they forget that the essence of civil resistance is to resist the will of the wrongdoer by patient endurance of the penalty of resistance. Civil resistance is, therefore, a most powerful antidote against Bolshevism and those who are trying to crush the spirit of civil resistance are but fanning the fire of Bolshevism.¹

Young India 6-8-1919

206. LETTER TO SIR S. R. HIGNELL

[August 7, 1919]²

DEAR MR. HIGNELL,

In continuation of my letter³ of 27th July on the Turkish question I enclose herewith copy of an astounding article appearing in

¹ This article became, later, a cause for action against Gandhiji for "Contempt of Court"; *vide* "Letter to the Registrar, Bombay High Court", 22-10-1919.

² This and the following letter appear to have been written on the same day.

³ In the course of this letter, which was located too late for inclusion in Volume XV, Gandhiji had observed: ". . . Why is there this hypersensitiveness regarding news about Turkey? Why should the terms of Peace with Turkey, if they are honourable, cause the slightest excitement in India? I was further disturbed as I came upon the letter addressed to the Prime Minister by influential Mohammedans at present residing in London. Among the signatories I notice H. H. the Aga Khan, Chief to Bombay [*sic*], Ex-Justice Ameer Ali, Sir Abbas Ali Baig and others. I have no doubt H. E. has seen that very weighty communication on the subject of the threatened dismemberment of Turkey and on the grave situation of anxiety and uneasiness that this report has created among the Mohammedans, which the signatories go on to say 'will become aggravated if the design attributed to the Peace Conference is carried into effect'.

"I have said I was disturbed, because I am daily receiving communications or seeing Mohammedan friends who tell me that they are going to be sold. I have reassured them that H. E. is straining every nerve to place the correct view before His Majesty's ministers and that there is no occasion for them to distrust the latter. They

the *New Age* of 10th July from the pen of Mr. Marmaduke Pickthall. The information given in it seems to be authentic. If it is really so, it is sad. I feel that it ought not to be withheld from the public. I venture to press with all the emphasis that I can command upon the attention of H.E. the Viceroy the urgent necessity of making a soothing public declaration, if such is at all possible. In my humble opinion, the peace will be a mockery if weak nations are to be treated in the manner in which Turkey, it seems, is to be treated. But apart from the justice of the case, are the Government of India prepared to stand the sullen discontent of millions of the citizens of the Empire? I cannot believe that it is beyond H.E.'s power to secure a proper solution of the Khilafat question.

I may add that I have applied to the Government of Bombay, in terms of the notice referred to in my previous communication, for permission to publish Mr. Pickthall's article.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat of a handwritten draft : S. N. 6790

207. LETTER TO J. CRERAR

[August 7, 1919]¹

DEAR MR. CRERAR,

I have just come across an astounding article in the *New Age* of 10th July from the pen of Mr. Marmaduke Pickthall. *Young India* in common with other papers has received a confidential notice No. 4515 dated 23rd July last from the Political Department, expressing the desire of the Govt. of India that the terms of Peace with Turkey or any item of news on the subject which is likely to cause excitement in

have received my assurances with incredulity. I feel that I ought to place the very serious position before H. E. Is it not possible to make some definite reassuring pronouncement? If the worst fears of the Mohammedans are realised, there can only be an armed peace in India, not a real peace. I am sure that no Reforms, however generously granted, will ever reconcile the Mohammedans to any dismemberment of Turkey or an encroachment upon their holy places. I know that all these matters cannot be out of H. E.'s mind, but considering myself as I do to be a well-wisher of the Empire, I shall be failing in my duty if I did not bring to H. E.'s notice serious matters that come within my knowledge. May I hope that, if it is at all possible, a statement will be made regarding Turkish matters." (S. N. 6777)

¹ The date is derived from the addressee's acknowledgement dated September 5, 1919.

India should not be published in newspapers in India without the previous approval of the Govt. of India for such publication. I have already submitted my views of H.E. the Viceroy on the question and the necessity of some satisfying public declaration in the matter. As you are aware, I am supervising in detail the policy of *Young India* and controlling everything appearing in it. It seems to me that I ought not to keep back from the public Mr. Pickthall's analysis of the question. It is hard to me to believe that the information contained in it is true. But evidently Mr. Pickthall writes with authority and his quotations are given in inverted commas. Please let me know as early as you can what the wishes of the Government are in the matter of publication. For ready reference I enclose herewith the original article.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. G.

From a photostat of a handwritten draft: S. N. 6789

208. LETTER TO ABDUL AZIZ

BOMBAY,
August 8, 1919

DEAR MR. ABDUL AZIZ,

When Sir Narayan Chandavarkar¹ wrote his open letter to me and the Government expostulated with me upon the then proposed renewal of civil-wrongly called passive-resistance, I respectfully responded by suspension for the time being, and therefore did not attempt any other reply. Your open letter² however raises fundamental issues and requires a detailed reply to the various objections to civil resistance discussed in it.

At the outset, I wish to thank you for your kindness in thinking of me. You will be interested to know that I had stalwart Pathans from your district working with me as civil resisters during the eight long years of the struggle in South Africa. One of them was working in a Natal mine. He was severely beaten by his foreman apparently for no other cause than that he had joined the civil resistance movement.

¹ 1825-1923; judge of the Bombay High Court

² This was published in *The Pioneer*, 27-7-1919; *vide* Appendix "Letter from M. Abdul Aziz", 27-7-1919

Being under the pledge not to resist the wrongdoer and yet to disobey his will, he meekly suffered the punishment for disobedience. He came to me and bared his striped back as he was saying, "I have suffered this for the sake of my pledge and you. I am a Pathan and the man who laid his cruel hands upon me would not have gone unscathed any other time." His suffering and that of thousands like him secured, among other things, repeal of the abominable poll-tax of £3 which our poor countrymen, their wives and the grown-up children had to pay annually as the price of freedom for the principal member to reside in Natal without indenture.

You ask me to give up "the idea that wrought the freedom of the dumb labourers of Natal". You wish me to give up the idea that has made Islam a living faith among the great faiths of the world. No evil followed my civil disobedience of the order of expulsion served upon me by the authorities in Champaran in 1917. I claim that my resistance laid the foundation for the partial awakening of the poor ryots of Champaran and the Government of Bihar. How shall I give up an idea which I have treasured for the past forty years and which I have consciously enforced in my own life with no mean success for the last thirty years?

But you cite the awful experiences of April last. Have you really analysed the situation? The sixth of April was observed from Cape Comorin to Peshawar and from Karachi to Calcutta by millions of men, women and children an event the like of which has not occurred within living memory. I do not know what happened that day in Peshawar. But I do know that it passed off peacefully in all the chief cities and in thousands of hamlets of India. I suggest to you that it was a striking demonstration of the possibilities of civil resistance. On the 6th, there was no civil resistance actually offered. It was a preparation day. Any other Government in the world would have recognized this incoming new force, would have courageously yielded to it and removed the *causa causans*—the Rowlatt Act. But the Punjab Government went mad. They "dictated" terms to the Government of India and the policy of ruthless repression was commenced. Two leaders were interned and deported. I was prevented from proceeding to what they knew was a mission of peace to Delhi and, if necessary, to the Punjab, arrested¹ and brought under arrest to Bombay and there

¹ The arrest took place near Delhi on April 9; Gandhiji was released at Bombay the following day.

set free. And there was a conflagration. I submit that if the Punjab Government had deliberately and with malice aforethought planned an insurrection in the Punjab, they could not have taken more effective steps to do so. And yet such was the efficacy of satyagraha that the whole of India outside the Punjab and three centres in Gujarat remained partially calm in the midst of the gravest provocation. I have admitted my mistake. What was it? I miscalculated the capacity of the people to stand *any* amount of suffering and *provocation*. It was *possible* for the Punjab people to remain quiet in spite of the provocation offered by the arrests I have mentioned. But what happened was beyond endurance. The people of Amritsar could not restrain themselves and brook the deportation of their leaders. Neither you nor I can apportion the blame for what followed. Satyagraha apart, the question will have to be solved whether the people were provoked into madness by the firing or whether the military were provoked to action by the mob.

Be that, however, as it may, how can I abandon the idea of resuming civil resistance because people in April, in some parts of Hindustan, owing to special causes resorted to violence? Must I cease to do right because some people are likely at the same time to do wrong? I admit the the question is not quite so simple as I have put it. All action is controlled by a complexity of circumstances some of which are under the doer's control and the others beyond his control. He can therefore restrain himself only till he has obtained the maximum of control over the surrounding circumstances, and then trust to the Almighty to see him through. And that is exactly what I have done in suspending. I have shown that civil resistance in diametrically opposed to criminal resistance, that it is perfectly compatible with co-operation and respect for the Government.

You cite Peshawar to show, I suppose, that the people unthinkingly, or actuated by mischievous people, jointed the demonstration of the 6th April. They may have done so. My reading of the events is different from yours. Had ther been no Rowlatt legislation, there would have been no demonstration, and therefore no handle given to the mischievous elements. The wrong consisted not in the organizing of the demonstration or civil resistnace, but in the Government so defying public opinion as to produce an agitation they had little anticipated.

Is not the moral obvious? The Government must bow to the force of public opinion and retrace their steps. Assuming that the

powers of the Rowlatt Act are necessary, they must patiently cultivate public opinion and adopt such means and powers that enlightened public opinion will tolerate. As it is, they have ignored the advice of their friends and held them up to ridicule by showing their incapacity for influencing the Government on matters of moment. In my humble opinion, your letters, open and private, and those of other leaders, should be addressed to the Government, asking them to right the wrong, not to me, tempting me away from the path of duty. I hope it is common cause between us that the Rowlatt Act which has roused such opposition and which has cost treasures of blood must be removed. If you have a remedy other than civil resistance, by all means apply it, and if you are successful, civil resistance falls away automatically. The period of suspension is the period during which you and all the leaders who dread or disapprove of civil resistance can work with all your might to bring about the desired result.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Young India, 9-8-1919

209. LETTER TO H.S.L. POLAK

M.K. GANDHI

ON THE WAY TO POONA,
*August 8 [1919]*¹

MY DEAR HENRY,

I am on my way to Poona to deliver an address on the Transvaal question and chat with the moderate leaders on swadeshi. I have your letter. If you will read my reply to Arundale published in *Young India*² you will find in it my reasons for remaining in politics. The more I observe and the longer I live, the more do I find that you cannot divide your energies into watertight compartments. You deny religion when you plead on the ground of your exclusive religious nature inability to help, say, a man so unjustly treated as Kallenbach. I say that you fulfil your religious mission only when you take part in and alleviate human sorrow as often as you see it and are able to share it. I know that Rowlatt Act takes away manliness from a nation. I know that I have the ability to do something to secure its repeal. I *must* act. I

¹ From the contents; *vide* "Speech at Deccan Sabha, Poona", 8-8-1919

² *ibid*

take so much part in politics as is necessary for the due fulfilment of my religion.

My sympathies go out to you in your trials there surrounded as you are by so many conflicting elements. I know you will do the right thing. In my opinion you are mistaken about my estimates of people. But I need not discuss them. I do hope you have received Manilal Vyas's papers, i.e., *Young India* containing all the facts and arguments. The matter is still engaging the attention of the Government of Bombay.

The Punjab sentences are being materially reduced. They produce in me no satisfaction. It is like robbing a man of all his property and giving him back portion of it.

Mr. Montagu is reported to have said that Rowlatt Act is necessary. Well, as I can say is that civil disobedience is equally necessary in that event.¹ It is an insolent declaration to make that an Act which has involved such brutality is necessary. I hope you will raise a great agitation over it. Anyway, you will presently see a great agitation here.

Jamnadas left on Wednesday last, the 6th of August for *Chindwara*. He has his wife and two friends with him. They will all live together for the time being. You will please do the needful. You and Millie will not fail to make Jamnadas feel at home in that big city of yours. He will in the initial stages require all the warmth that love can give in that, to him as to many, lonely place. You will find out when *Chindwara* reaches London. Someone must go and receive him at the Docks or at Waterloo where I suppose he will arrive.

The Ashram is looking superb. Shankerlal Banker and Anasuyabehn² are regularly learning weaving. They are giving much time to it. Spinning is becoming fashionable. I wish Millie will write to me something on it for publication if she has at all followed what I have been writing.

Did you ever receive my cablegrams about civil resistance?³

With love,

Yours sincerely,

BHAI

From the original: Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy: National Archives of India

¹ From the contents; *vide* "Speech at Deccan Sabha, Poona", 8-8-1919

² Anasuyabehn Sarabhai

³ *Vide* "Cable to Pokaj and Others", 28-7-1919

210. SPEECH AT DECCAN SABHA, POONA¹

Friday, August 8, 1919

Mr. Gandhi got up amidst loud cheers, and moved the following resolution :

The public meeting of the citizens of Poona, held under the auspices of the Deccan Sabha, hereby places on record its deep sympathy with the British Indian settlers in South Africa struggling for the elementary rights of citizenship, congratulates them on the brave and sustained struggle carried on by them, and assures them of hearty support from the motherland. This meeting further desires to thank the Government of India for their advocacy of the Indian's case and trusts that the Government of India and the Imperial Government will not rest satisfied until full justice has been done to the British Indian settlers in South Africa by the withdrawal of the Act recently passed and by the restoration of full rights of residence, trade and ownership.

Mr. Gandhi, speaking in Hindi, told the audience that it was impossible for them to have an adequate idea as to how severely the recently passed iniquitous measure had affected the interests of the Indians in South Africa. It was a subject worthy of their serious consideration and it was their duty to help their suffering countrymen in every way. Mr. Gandhi said he had a telegram from Bombay informing him of Sir George Barnes' letter to him wherein the latter promised that the Government of India would give careful consideration to all that Mr. Gandhi had to say and that they were already in communication with the secretary of state in the matter. He said he was grateful to the Government of India for their sympathetic attitude. The new law, Mr. Gandhi declared, robbed the Indians of their elementary rights such as those of being domiciled citizens of South Africa, trading as others did, holding landed property, etc. He recalled a Poona meeting held in 1896 under the chairmanship of Dr. Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bandarkar, to protest against a similarly iniquitous enactment.² Dr. Bandarkar on the occasion said that he never took part in politics, nor did he ever desire to do so, but as he was assured that the Indians in the Transvaal were suffering intolerable wrong, he had decided to preside at the meeting with the greatest pleasure. Poona, the speaker reminded the audience, was a great centre of political, social and educational movements and its contribution therefore in the agitation in question should be very substantial. Mr. Gandhi then

¹ The Deccan Sabha, held a meeting of the citizens in Kirloskar Theatre to protest against the Transvaal legislation. In the absence of the President of the Sabha, Hormusjee Wadia, Rao Bahadur Khopkar, retired Deputy collector and Vice-President, presided.

² *Vide* "Appeal for Funds", 3-2-1897

referred to the encomiums paid to India for her sacrifices in war by Gen. Smuts, on leaving for South Africa, and said that Gen. Smuts recommended in effect that India should be accorded a treatment of equality, and still it was the Union Government, of which he was a member, that was passing the obnoxious legislation. The Indians in South Africa were not, Mr. Gandhi emphasized, asking for political rights from the Union Government, nor were they demanding the right to sit in the South African Parliament. There was, again, no fear of unrestricted immigration into the country. It was a thousand pities that the Transvaalers grudged the Indians even the simple rights to reside and trade, or the right to purchase land with money out of their own pockets. Did it become then to deprive Indians of their bare elementary right or snatching from the Indian's mouths their scanty morsel? Mr. Gandhi told the audience that the Indians there had now resolved¹ to reply by asking for full civil rights and to resort to civil resistance until those rights were granted. The Transvaalers sought by the new legislation to rob the Indians of rights of trading in the gold area that were expressly given them by a Supreme Court decision. They maintained that the new legislation did recognize vested rights and even attributed to the speaker his having tacitly given his consent to the legislation. It was, said Mrs. Gandhi, a downright lie. But they did not rest satisfied with that legislation. Some of them, said Mr. Gandhi, were then striving for excluding the Indians altogether, by asking them to restrict their trade and business to their own locations which the speaker likened to *Maharwadas* and *Bhanganwadas*² in Indian villages i.e., by asking them to trade among themselves! In conclusion, Mrs. Gandhi said that the time had come for Indians in South Africa to resort to the civil resistance that they resorted to some years ago, and which was approved of and blessed by the late Mrs. Gokhale.³ While the Indians there were on the threshold of such a crisis, it behoved them here to understand the question thoroughly it behoved the Maharashtra people, more than others, as they were noted for their learning and studiousness, to give their serious study to the situation in South Africa and to strive by body, speech and mind to bring about a solution of the question. The resolution was supported by Prof. Kale⁴, Mr. Bhopatkar⁵, Mr. Deodhar⁶, and unanimously carried.

Young India, 13-8-1919

¹ According to a report in the Bombay Secret Abstracts, Gandhiji referred to a meeting of Indians in South Africa held on August 4.

² Areas, generally on the outskirts of a town or village, where the untouchables, working as scavengers, were compelled to reside.

³ The reference is to the passive resistance campaign of 1913-14.

⁴ Prof. V. G. Kale; economist and author, founder editor of *Artha*, a Marathi Weekly

⁵ L. B. Bhopatkar; editor of *Bhala*, *Lokasangraha* and *Lokamanas*; Lawyer and politician

⁶ G. K. Deodhar (1879-1935); member, Servants of India Society

211. SPEECH AT GUJARATI BANDHU SABHA, POONA

[August 8, 1919]

These days the theme of my addresses is swadeshi. I save time from other activities and give all of it to swadeshi. It is through swadeshi that we shall get swaraj. When I spoke on “Swadeshi and Swaraj” at Surat,¹ it occurred to me that I should explain to the people how swadeshi would cover all that I had at heart. At the present time, I want to propagate this idea and it is my hope that, in a few days or maybe months, everyone in India, from the Viceroy down to this sweeper, will realize that swadeshi can bring swaraj.

To this end, it is imperative that the ideal of swadeshi should be kept pure; it is so great a thing that it should not be debased.

India is suffering at present from afflictions of three kinds:

1. DISEASE : At no time in the past were the people of India afflicted with so many diseases as at present. The number of people rotting with disease in this country is greater than that in all the rest of the world.

2. HUNGER : The simple fact borne out by experience during the past few years is that a large section of the Indian people do not have enough to eat. Sir William Wilson Hunter said categorically forty years ago that three crores in India got only one meal a day, and that too consisting of no more than plain bread and salt. More than this, they got no ghee, oil or chillies. This was our misfortune forty years ago. Every official has been obliged to admit in the blue books that India's poverty is increasing day by day, and the cultivator's lot, especially, is the worst, as they alone know who move in villages. If you inquire of the people in Gujarat, you will know what great difficulty they experience in getting milk. They are hard put to it to get milk even for an infant six months old. Whenever I questioned the people in the villages around Ahmedabad, I was told that, let alone themselves, even their children could get no milk. You will see from this that our present plight is much worse than it was forty years ago.

¹ Vide “Speech at inauguration of swadeshi store, surat”, 28-7-1919

3. INSUFFICIENT COVERING FOR THE BODY : At present India is also afflicted with a cloth famine. According to Sir Dinshaw Wacha's¹ estimate, four years ago people in India got 13 yards of cloth per head, whereas now they get only 9. That is, there has been a reduction of four yards per head and to that extent our poverty has increased.

When I was working in Champaran two yeras ago, I had personal experience of women protesting to me, without mincing words, that they did not have even a piece of cloth with which to cover their bare limbs; how, then, [they asked,] could they bathe and wash to keep themselves clean? My heart bled to see our pure-hearted sisters in such a pitiable condition.

A land afflicted with this triple disease loses the qualities of courage, fortitude and truthfulness. The people of such a country have no dharma in them and I would even employ the term "unmanly" to describe them. Here in India, too, we have been using this term these days.

When, with this idea in mind, I questioned people, one reply I got was that dharma should be restored. No doubt we have lost our dharma, but, in the present circumstances, restoring it is quite a difficult job, for it is extraordinarily difficult for a man in utter misery to follow dharma. Only a rare soul can do so. I call such persons yogis. Not all people, however, can become yogis. And thus, for the purity of the atman, purity of the body is also essential. "A pure atman can dwell only in a pure body." In order to revive the qualities of courage, and so on, this triple affliction should be got rid of. A man who follows dharma in the midst of such suffering I would call a yogi.

For curing the disease, a bold effort, requiring knowledge, is called for. We shall have to sacrifice our time to save people afflicted with such diseases. We should first ascertain whether people go hungry because of their lethargy or because of want. Of food, there is plenty in India; the hungry should have it. But they need money with which to buy it, and it is for want of money that India is poor.

Swadeshi is needed to fight this state of affairs. By swadeshi we mean protecting our cotton and silk. This is my restricted definition of swadeshi in the circumstances which obtain today. Last year, we

¹ Sir Dinshaw Edulji Wacha (1844-1936); prominent Indian Parsi politician; President, the Indian National Congress, 1901

paid to foreign countries 56 crores of rupees for cotton goods and four for silk goods. The revered Dadabhai Naoroji used to say that India was being drained of the funds. It is true that a good deal of this money is spent on the military department and in paying pensions; personally, however, I would say that in no other way is so much money drained as on account of the absence of swadeshi. Eighteen crores were paid last year for sugar. There is much drain in other ways which I do not care to mention at the moment. I want to get hold of the trunk and once that is done the drain in other ways will stop by itself. Our first duty then, in the present circumstances, is to follow swadeshi in its restricted meaning; to this end, the three vows which I have given should be kept. Get control of the trade in yarn and you will get the rest easily enough. We are unable today to produce sufficient cloth to meet our needs. Our mills cannot supply as much. We should take steps so that India is enabled to produce things which she does not do at present; this is one problem. I am at present discussing this problem with mill-owners and, in the course of our conversation, Sir Fazalbai Karimbhai told me that it would take fifty years still before the mills could supply cloth in the required quantity. Should we then wait for fifty years? We see from the report of the Industrial Commission that in the country one-third the quantity of cloth can be produced through hand-weaving and that, if this industry is developed, things will become easier for us. Mills require machinery and for this we are dependent on others. Foreign countries do not have all that machinery to spare. Some say that it takes a mill one year to obtain one machine and installing it presents much difficulty. Having regard to all these obstacles, hand-weaving seems very easy, for it does not require all this effort. A man of average ability can learn the work in six month's time and one with some intelligence can pick it up in three months. The method of making yarn is altogether simple. I took not more than 15 days to learn it.

A hundred and fifty years ago, we ourselves produced [our cloth]. Every mother in India did the work for the love of God. Traces of this age-old desire of the Indian woman for spinning are still visible. When recently, I went to Vijapur and Kalol, I met nearly 20,000 men and women. In the talks we had, the women told me that this was a good experiment, and an easy one. If they were provided with a spinning-wheel [they said] they too would work. At present, a hundred and fifty women in Vijapur spin half a maund of cotton daily and, if supplied with cotton, four hundred women are ready to

work. The women at Kalol give the same reply. My dear friend Mr. Chettiar came to see me from Madras. When I saw that Mrs. Chettiar had also come, I told Mrs. Chettiar that I would detain her for eight days, for it would be quite a good thing if she learned spinning before she left. She accepted my suggestion immediately and left after she had learnt the work. She accepted it not because of her regard for me personally but because she loved the work. This shows that spinning is a hereditary activity with us. Those who read Darwin understand the theory of heredity. If we refuse to take up this work, we shall lose this inheritance. I appeal to you not to give up faith. If we but try, a favourable environment will be created and we shall get back the inheritance we have disowned. Principal Paranjapye¹ said that we would fail in the competition with the rest of the world. But there is no question of competition in this. This is a question, rather, of the economic freedom of peasants and of the poor. The farmer is the father of the world. Take the example of America or Japan. They help the cultivator there. Our Governor, too, is anxious [to know] how the cultivator may be helped. The problem can be solved in accordance with the principle of economics.

It is my advice to young people to take up this work. It is easy enough and requires no special effort, nor does it require much intelligence. All that is necessary is some experience. One enjoys greater freedom through this work. The man who spins earns three annas daily, but the man who weaves earns eight annas. Talking to the weavers of Madanwadi in Bombay, I came to know that many of them earned as much as one rupee, even two rupees, daily. This industry is useful to us. It should be widely popularized. Even the educated class should learn a little of the craft. In the same way as every boy in England knows some naval work, we should all learn this work.

If, thus, India understands this *mantra*² and starts working as a matter of religious duty, the country's economic condition will improve and hunger and disease will disappear from our midst. Since you understand the idea, it is my prayer that you will put it into practice.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 10-10-1919

¹ R. P. Paranjapye, Principal, Fergusson College, Poona

² Magic formula, but here "message"

212. THE ROWLATT ACT

Mr. Montagu has spoken. He “believes that the powers given to the executive by the Rowaltt Act are necessary”. And many friends ask whether, in view of this statement, the Act will be repealed. My answer is that the Rowlatt Act will be repealed in the same manner as Mrs. Morley’s “Settled fact”—the Bengal Partition¹—was unsettled. General Smuts had emphatically declared more than once that the Asiatic Registration Act² would never be repealed. It had to go in the year 1914. Whilst, therefore, I am certain that the Rowlatt Act will go because of my belief in the power of suffering, i.e., civil resistance, to overcome mountains, I cannot help feeling sad that even Mr. Montagu should have to support what is clearly insupportable, alike from the view of the evil in it and for the reason that public opinion has condemned it in unmeasured terms. Mrs. Montagu has to resort to bad logic and distortion of facts to sustain his position. Surely the powers given to the executive are not necessary at present, for the simple reason that the Defence of India Act is still in operation and will be for some months to come. And if the powers are really necessary, they can be given in another and less offensive and more restricted manner. Mr. Montagu is the joint author with Lord Chelmsford of the reforms scheme such as it is. It lies ill in his mouth to defend a measure which can only neutralize what good the reforms may be intended to produce.

But the purpose of writing this is not to argue about the untenability of the position taken up by Mrs. Montagu. My purpose is to show that if the Rowaltt Act is to be persisted in, the Government must prepare for civil resistance which shall be perfectly respectful but which shall be unbending. The issue is remarkably simple : *Is the will of the people to prevail or that of the Government?* I venture to urge that a government, be it ever so powerful and autocratic, is bound to yield to unanimous public opinion. It is a bad outlook before us if truth and justice have to surrender to mere physical force, whether it is wielded by an individual or a government. My purpose in life is to demonstrate that the strongest physical force bends before moral

¹ Bengal was partitioned in 1905. Intense public agitation, involving boycott of British goods, ultimately led to the annulment of the Bengal Partition in 1911.

² *Vide* Appendix “Asiatics Registration Amendment Act (1908).”

force when it is used in defence of truth. If violence had not been offered by the people in April, notwithstanding provocation, the Rowlatt Act would have been withdrawn by now, as certainly as that I am penning these remarks. I still hope that Mr. Montagu, Lord Chelmsford and those who have the power, will perceive that true prestige lies in doing justice and respecting public opinion. But it may happen that they will think otherwise. In that event, I would like those who are interested in the speedy success of civil resistance to prepare the atmosphere for its smooth working. It will be a great trial of strength if we must engage in it. But the result is a certainty. That is the matchless beauty of civil resistance. A people that has no remedy in the last resort for securing redress perishes. The surest and the safest remedy is civil resistance. Europe furnishes a living warning against the method of violence. Peace has brought no rest to that continent. Wherever you look, there are strikes, there is violence and looting. England, the greatest perhaps of all the victors, is not free from turmoil. Victory has brought no satisfaction to the great mass of the people. India has her choice between the broken reed of violence and the unbreakable, peaceful and elevating weapon of civil resistance, i.e., resistance by self-suffering.

Young India, 9-8-1919

213. LETTER TO G.A. NATESAN

BOMBAY,

August 9, [1919]

DEAR MR. NATESAN,

May I thank you for looking after Devdas¹ during his illness and will you please convey my thanks to Dr. Krishnasamy for his great attention to Devdas.

You will not hesitate to criticize my writings and doings when you feel the necessity.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostate of the original in Gandhiji's hand : G. N. 2931

¹ Devdas Gandhi had been staying in Madras since 1918, carrying on work for spread of Hind.

214. LETTER TO MOHANLAL PANDYA

ASHRAM,
Tuesday [August 12, 1919]¹

BHAISHRI MOHANAL PANDYA²,

I am so busy that I get no free time at all and so could not write to you. The figure for cotton was left out merely through oversight. I am now writing to Bombay. You must have seen that it is not necessary for anyone to go to the Punjab. How are things going on there? I cannot be happy unless we have swaraj in Kathlul. Swaraj for Kathlul means that it should meet its own needs in food, clothing and other things. We have lost our way because we did not follow this course. We can achieve such swaraj by our own efforts. You and Shankarlal should dedicate yourselves wholly to that end. You have the capacity and the will, and there are people to help you. I am leaving for Godhra on Thursday. From there I shall leave for Bombay on Friday.

I hope shortly to be able to give a Gujarati paper to the people.

Vandemataram from

MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand : G.N. 2172

215. NOTE ON LALA LAJPAT RAI'S LETTER³

[Before August 13, 1919]

This letter⁴, though it is clearly from Lala Lajpat Rai and meant for publication, in presumably by an oversight unsigned. In spite of the oversight, I allow it to be published for its intrinsic merit.

M. K. G.

Young India, 13-8-1919; also from a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand : S. N. 6669

¹ The letter was evidently written shortly before Gandhiji started *Navajivan* in September 1919. During the year, Gandhiji was in Godhra on August 14, which fell on a Thursday.

² A co-worker during Kheda satyagraha; *vide* "Speech at Nadiad", 8-6-1918.

³ This note scribbled by Gandhiji on Lala Lajpat Rai's letter appeared below it in *Young India*. The photostat bears, at the top of the letter, the following lines in Gandhiji's hand: "Lala Rai's creed. The following has been received.

⁴ *Vide* Appendix "Letter from Lala Lajpat Rai", 20-6-1919.

216. LETTER TO THE PRESS¹

[POONA,
August 13, 1919]

I have just received the following cablegram from Mr. Ibrahim Ismail Aswat, Chairman of the British Indian Association, Johannesburg :

Bill assented 23rd June, promulgated 3rd instant. Restricts compaines acquiring further fixed properties and holding bonds as prior to company law. Reaffirms Gold and Townships Acts operating on new licences after 1st May and restricting present traders and successors to particular townships. Deputation waiting His Excellency urging withhold assent on ground class legislation. Government promised another commission during recess investigate Indian question throughout Union as concession (to) the detractors in Parliament. Fear futher restrictive legislation. Community request you appeal Viceroy propose Royal Commission India representing Union (local) Indian (interests). Convened Union Indian Conference 4th August, great success. Decided united action. Many of (the) associations pledged resist any cost. . . Aswat.

The words in parentheses have been added by me to make the meaning clear. The cablegram bears out what I have said in my letter to Sir George Barnes and what I have said in my letter to Sir George Barnes and what I said at the recent meeting at Poona.² The restrictions are clear: (1) no further holding of landed property in the Transvaal; (2) no new trade licences within the area affected by the Gold Law and the Townships Act; (3) the present holders and their successors in title to be restricted as to trade to the townships in which they are now trading.

As I have already remarked, this means virtual ruin of the Indian settlers in the Transvaal. The only means of livelihood to the largest number is trade, and the largest number of Indians is to be found probably within the gold area. If the Act stands, they must die out in the natural course.

¹ This was published also in *The Bombay Chronicle*, 14-8-1919, and *The Indian Review*, August 1919.

² *Vide* "Speech at Deccan Sabha, Poona", 8-8-1919.

In the cablegram, the word “assent” occurs twice. It says the Bill has been assented to and it refers to a deputation that is to wait on H. E. the Governor-General of South Africa requesting him to withhold assent. The second use of the word “assent” refers probably to a clause in the Letters Patent providing for the vetoing of class legislation. The clause is undoubtedly to be used under exceptional circumstances. No one can deny that the Asiatics Act constitutes a very exceptional circumstance warranting the exercise of the Royal veto.

The most important part of the cablegram, however, is the fact that the commission promised by the Union Government is to be appointed as a “concession” to “the detractors” of Indians in the Union Parliament. Unless, therefore, the Government of India take care, there is every likelihood of the commission, like the committee of the South African Assembly, proving to the British Indians a curse instead of a blessing. It is, therefore, not unnatural that the British Indian Association urges that H. E. the Viceroy should propose a Royal Commission upon which both the Union and the Indian interests are represented. Nothing can be fairer than the proposal made by Mr. Aswat. I say so because, as a matter of right, no commission is really needed to decide that Indian settlers are entitled to trade in South Africa where they like and hold landed property on the same terms as the European settlers. This is the minimum they can claim. But under the complex constitution of this great Empire, justice is and has often to be done in a round-about manner. A wise captain, instead of sailing against a headwind, tacks and yet reaches his destination sooner than he otherwise would have. Even so, Mr. Aswat wisely accepts the principle of a commission on a matter that is self-evident, but equally wisely wants a commission that would not prove abortive and that will dare to tell the ruling race in South Africa that, as members in an Empire which has more Coloured people than white, they may not treat their Indian fellow-subjects as helots. Whether the above proposal is accepted or some other is adopted by the Imperial Government, it must be made clear to them that public opinion in India will not tolerate confiscation of the primary rights of the British Indian settlers in South Africa.

M. K. GANDHI

Young India, 16-8-1919

217. LETTER TO THE PRESS¹

August 14, 1919

Following close on the heels of the cable² from South Africa comes one from Fiji which reads as follows :

Indian Imperial Association regrets Government postpone cancellation Indian Indentures. Association strongly protests prays immediate abolition indenture.

I thought, after the Viceregal pronouncement³ about Fiji, that we had seen the last of Fiji indentures with which Messrs Andrews and Pearson have made us so familiar. It is evident from the cablegram that the Government in Fiji Islands had decided upon immediate cancellation, and that they have now altered their decision and intend postponing the cancellation. It is to be hoped that the Government of India would throw some light on this change of programme. The public are entitled to view with strongest suspicious any postponement of the cancellation of indentures.

The Bombay Chronicle, 15-8-1919

218. SPEECH AT SWADESHI BHANDAR GODHRA

August 14, 1919

Before the interview⁴ was performed the opening ceremony of the store [Swadeshi Bhandar]. A silver lock and key locally made were presented to Mr. Gandhi. The owners, who have taken up the enterprises purely from a public standpoint, asked Mr. Gandhi to announce that they would not charge more than 7 p.c. on the cost price of the goods in Godhra, i.e., the price in Bombay and the railage and packing. This applies only to the articles required for the Swadeshi Vows. The store was opened before a large audience. Mr. Gandhi said the enterprise depended for its success on the integrity of the managers and the patriotism of the Godhra public.

Young India, 20-8-1919

¹ This was also published as a note in *Young India*, 16-8-1919, and *The Indian Review* August 1919.

² *Vide* the preceding item.

³ On April 12, 1917 the Viceroy had put a ban on emigration of labour to Fiji for the duration of the War.

⁴ This was given at Godhra by Clayton, the Collector, to local leaders on the question of forced labour.

219. SPEECH AT WOMEN'S MEETING, GODHRA

August 14, 1919

The women's meeting came off at 4 p.m. Over one thousand women must have been present at the meeting. Mrs. Jerbanu Merwanji Kothawala, the accomplished wife of Khan Saheb Kothawala, presided. The following is the precis of Mr. Gandhi's address to the ladies :

Mr. Gandhi said he was grateful to Mrs. Clayton for her presence at the gathering and he was sure he had his audience with him in expressing the sentiment. After briefly introducing Mrs. Clayton to the ladies present, the speaker said swadeshi was that spirit in them which required them to serve their immediate neighbours before others and to use things produced in their neighbourhood in preference to those more remote. So doing, they served humanity to the best of their capacity. They could not serve humanity neglecting their neighbours. Similarly with their wants. They were bound to supply them through the agency of their neighbours and therefore preferred their labour and wares to those of others. India abandoned swadeshi a hundred years ago and had consequently become comparatively poor and helpless. They were well able to supply all their cloth and to supply the world's market to a certain extent when they were observing the law of swadeshi. During that period, the majority of the women of India spun yarn as a national duty and the men wove the yarn so spun. Now the 21 crore peasants of India had at least four months out of the year thrown on their hands. They did not shirk work. They had none to occupy their time and to supplement their earnings from cultivation. Swadeshi therefore was a question of finding a subsidiary industry for their farmers. No country in the world could prosper that had one-third of time of the vast majority of its inhabitants lying unutilized. Moreover, there were other men and women who had many hours in the day at their disposal. If these idle hours of the nation were fully occupied in producing yarn and weaving it, they could manufacture the whole of their cloth and thus save crores of rupees going out of the country every year. The condition of success was that cultured men and women took up spinning and weaving. The poorer people would follow their example. Lady Dorab Tata, Lady Petit and Mrs. Jayji Petit had promised to learn the art of spinning and introduce it to their sisters. Mrs. Ramabai Ranade proposed to introduce the music of the spinning-wheel in her Seva Sadan. Mrs. Banker worked six hours a day and produced fine yarn and made of it a gift to the nation. They could expect no less from the sisters of Godhra. Mr. Gandhi did not hesitate to recommend it to his European friends. One such sister had already undertaken to work. He hoped that those who did not need pecuniary assistance would make it a point of honour to give at least one hour a day to the nation for producing

yarn. As an encouragement in this direction, he called upon his hearers to pledge themselves henceforth not to buy foreign cloth. Every village of Indian would thus become self-supporting and self-producing, so far as the two main wants of life...food and clothing...were concerned.

The chairwoman exhorted the ladies present to help the movement in the direction Mr. Gandhi indicated. Mrs. Clayton said she was glad she was able to be present at the meeting. She always was in favour of home industries.

Young India, 20-8-1919

220. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, GODHRA

August 14, 1919

The women's meeting¹ was followed by a brief recess.

The Vanita Vishram was visited at 6.30 p.m. The public meeting came off at 9.15 p.m. There was a very large audience. It was held in open air. Mr. Gandhi's address dealt with the religious and the economic aspect.

At the outset, he said he was deeply grateful to Mrs. Clayton for president at the meeting. He knew and appreciated the condition under which he had accepted the invitation of the organizers. And he would endeavour faithfully to carry out the compact. To him the economic and the religious aspects of swadeshi were far more attractive than the political, and as it was his dream that all, from the Viceroy down to the sweeper, should accept swadeshi, he was desirous of conducting swadeshi propaganda from the economic and religious standpoints. He was thankful too that Mrs. Clayton had permitted the officials to be present at the meeting. To him the religious aspect was all sufficient. That elementary religion which was common to mankind taught him to be kind and attentive to their neighbours. An individual's service to his country and humanity consisted in serving his neighbours. If that was true, it was their religious duty to support their farmers, their artisans, such as weavers, carpenters, etc. And so long as the Godhra farmers and weavers could supply the wants of the Godhra citizens, the latter had no right to go outside Godhra and support even (say) the Bombay farmers and weavers. He could not starve his neighbour and claim to serve his distant cousin in the North Pole. This was the basic principle of all religions and they would find it was also of true and humane economics. India was suffering from a triple curse, the curse of disease...disease not of a normal but of an abnormal kind, the curse of want of food, and, lastly, that of want of clothing. All proceeded largely from the same cause...poverty, and poverty was due largely to the economic drain. They gave to the producers outside India in

¹ *Vide* the preceding item.

1917-18 the enormous sum of sixty crores of rupees. And they had not in any measure worthy of consideration provided the millions of our spinners and weavers with any other occupation. The whole of the labour thus unwillingly set free was running to waste like a mightily torrent of water. The evil could only be corrected by their reversion to swadeshi and by rehabilitating their spinners and weavers in their former honourable occupation. He sought, in this gigantic task, the help of the officials, the millionaires and the other leaders of society. It was the most urgent need of the country. They had twenty-one crore farmers. His own experience and the experience of authoritative writers showed that they had nearly four months of the year lying idle on their hands. This was a huge economic waste. No wonder that they were poor. Swadeshi therefore was the problem of inducing and enabling the farmers to take up the supplementary industry of spinning and weaving. Their shastras and the history of spinning and weaving throughout the world showed that the queens down to their maids considered it an honour to spin cotton. Weaving was largely specialized. In those halcyon days when their mothers spun for the nation, they were able to produce the finest muslin. They could still regain the lost art and with it the lost prosperity. But one thing was needful for the people: to insist on getting only swadeshi cloth and on producing it themselves, as far as possible. In the Punjab, thousands of women of high birth spun their own yarn and got it woven by professional weavers. The swadeshi vows were designed to create a taste for swadeshi. They must not be ashamed of coarse cloth. As a matter of fact, there was more art about hand-spun and hand-woven cloth, however coarse, than about machine-made cloth, however fine. But art apart, they were bound by every tie of honour, every consideration of prudence and economics, to wear what cloth every village could produce and be satisfied with it, till their skill, industry and enterprise could produce a better quality.

At the close of the proceedings, the chairman said he was glad to be able to preside at the meeting. He thanked Mr. Gandhi for his instructive address and exhorted the audience to support home manufacture. A vote of thanks to their chair brought the meeting to a close.

Young India, 20-8-1919

221. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, GODHRA

August 15, 1919

Mr. Gandhi then addressed a crowded meeting of the public on the situation in the Punjab. He briefly reviewed the events of April last and said that it would be a blot upon British justice if the sentences and convictions, many of which he believed were bad, were not reversed. It would be a greater blot on their patriotism if they did not insist upon an impartial investigation of the whole of the proceedings in the Punjab.

The speaker did not doubt that such a committee would be appointed in the near future. He asked his hearers too to subscribe to the fund opened for the relief of the sufferers in the Punjab. A resolution was then passed calling upon the Government to appoint an independent committee to inquire into the cause of discontent and to review the convictions and sentences and asking the public to support the Punjab fund.

Young India, 20-8-1919

222. SIR SANKARAN NAIR AND GOVERNMENT

It is difficult to understand what possessed his fellow member of the Viceregal Executive Council to attempt a refutation of Sir Sankaran Nair's irrefutable notes on Kaira and Champaran. They have exposed nothing but their own incapacity to understand or appreciate their colleague's view-point. By their reply to Sir Sankaran's notes, they have demonstrated the "wooden" nature of the bureaucratic system. In trying to discredit Sir Sankaran Nair, they have evoked from him crushing rejoinders and still further discredited themselves. If I have understood him rightly, Sir Sankaran Nair successfully endeavoured to prove the inelasticity of the present system and to answer the charge that the Congress or the educated Indians did not represent or care for the interests of the masses.

Let me take the Kaira affair. I propose to deal with the note¹ from the Bombay Government.

The Governor-in-Council considers that the account given by Sir C. Sankaran Nair is so misleading that some authoritative correction of the views therein conveyed is essential before communication to the Secretary of State or Parliament.

They set about the work by sympathizing with Sir Sankaran over the difficulties of dealing with "so complex and specialized a subject" as the Land Revenue system. I respectfully submit that this is a highly misleading statement. There is nothing complex and specialized about the Land Revenue system except in so far as the administrators have made it so. Sir Sankaran has left 'the complexity and specialization' to the specialists and merely dealt with the main principles which even a layman can easily understand. I had to undergo the torture of going through the bewildering Revenue Rules and their amendments made from time to time, which, I would full grant, can only be remembered and recalled, as occasion may require,

¹ *Vide* Appendix "Note on the Kaira Case", 12-8-1919

by specialists. But those rules are really devised not for the relief of distress but for ensuring a scientific, rigorous and regular collection of land-tax levied almost to the highest margin. And I would freely admit further that it will tax even the great ability of Sir Sankaran Nair if he had to find out how best to collect revenue from cultivators who can ill afford to pay. But not much ability was required to understand the simple problem whether there was failure of crops in Kaira in the year 1917, and whether the damage done by the excessive rains was such as to entitle the ryots to relief by way of suspension. The Bombay Government's note frightens the laymen . . . and in this category must be classed the Secretary of State and the Parliament by authoritatively saying that the resolution submitted to the Legislative Council and referred to by Sir Sankaran was "thoroughly impracticable". The impracticability consisted in the Hon'ble Mr. Kamat proposing that "the expert agency of the agricultural department" should find the anna valuation. The Government ask the reader on their mere *ipse dixit* to consider this very practicable suggestion as thoroughly impracticable. The Hon'ble Mr. Kamat suggested a comparatively independent—though still Government—agency, to do the work instead of an interested Government agency, viz., the circle inspectors, and other officials in the lower ranks whose very promotion depends upon their ability to make full collection of the revenue even by "coercive" measures. In further proof of Sir Sankaran Nair's "misconception of fact and policy", the Government criticize his acceptance of my testimony "based on the mere statement of interested cultivators". As the framers of the note claim to be specialists having an intimate knowledge of the Revenue Department, I find it difficult to characterize this passage. I can only say that they have been ill-served by their subordinates. If the cultivators, whose statements I accepted, were interested in one way, the circle inspectors, as I have already shown, were far more interested the opposite way. The note omits, however, to mention that I did not rely upon the evidence of interested cultivators but checked their statements, in some cases, where it was possible, with my own eyes, in all cases with the evidence of disinterested and respectable men who were not concerned for their own sake in securing a suspension of the revenue collection. I thus applied a threefold test and I venture to say that, when the same evidence was given in thousands of cases by thousands of men and women, it was impossible to question that testimony, and the Government, in order to support the interested

statements of their officials and in order also to be able to collect the revenue which they wanted, were obliged to discredit not only the testimony of the villagers concerned but that of practically the whole of the Kaira population. Any authority, in any shape or form responsible to the people, would have recoiled from any such imputation. Under our system, however, the word of the Government has come to be regarded with superstitious awe and it has to be accepted as the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth even though large masses of people require to be damned for that purpose. The Government summarily reject Sir Sankaran Nair's appreciation of the past economic situation of the tract. I challenge the framers of the note to go through the villages of the district, and find out for themselves from the dumb testimony of the dilapidated buildings in the villages and say, with hands on their hearts, what evidence those buildings bespeak. The Government then take delight in being able to say that the agitation in Kaira did not have "any considerable effects on the measures of relief actually sanctioned", and that the result was not to "leave the decision as regards payment of the Government demand to the *raiya*s themselves". I can only say so much the worse for the Government and the broken word of their accredited officers, one of whom, in the presence of nearly two hundred people including myself, said that suspension would be granted in cases of poor cultivators and that the question of inability on the ground of poverty would be decided in consultation with the leading men of villages.¹ This was confirmed by the Collector of the District. That suspension was confined to the fewest cultivators possible, that the orders of suspension were suppressed from the public for over a month and that they were only discovered when the department was at its wit's end as to what to do, even after having sold the cattle of absentee cultivators, attached and removed their jewellery, imposed chothai fines, attached valuable crops worth a few thousand rupees for a paltry balance and after the statement of the Commissioners that he did not need, like his ignorant audience, the binding effect of a vow to make good his threat, that he would sell their crops, confiscate their holdings and never restore the names of the contumacious holders, is a tale too thoroughly discreditable to require any further elaboration, and I feel sorry that the new Governor, who has given evidence of his anxiety to hear both sides and to be as impartial as he can, has been, no doubt

¹ *Vide* "Speech at Uttarsanda", 3-6-1918

unconsciously, made a vehicle for passing to the Imperial Parliament a note that is brimful of misleading statements, and innuendoes. I never took advantage of this so-called concession, meaning the orders discovered in June. I merely made use of the knowledge gained at Uttersanda, and, as befits a satyagrahi, stopped the struggle. Had I prolonged it, I would have been guilty of contumacy, incivility to the Government and indifference to the distress of those whom I had the privilege of guiding. In the note¹ informing the people of the result, my colleague and I thus described the whole settlement:

The Mamlatdar of Nadiad at Uttersanda, on the 3rd day of June issued such orders, whereupon the people of Uttersanda, who could afford, were advised to pay up. Payments have already commenced there.

On the foregoing order having been passed at Uttersanda a letter was addressed to the Collector stating that, if orders like the one in Uttersanda were passed everywhere, the struggle would come to an end, and it would be possible to inform His Excellency the Governor on the 10th instant, the day of the sitting of the Provincial War Conference, that the domestic difference in Kaira was settled. The Governor has replied to the effect that the order like the one in Uttersanda is applicable to the whole district. Thus the people's prayer has at last been granted. The Collector has also stated in reply to a query about *chothai* orders that the orders will not be enforced against those who may voluntarily pay up. Our thanks are due to the Collector for this concession.

We are obliged to say with sorrow that although the struggle has come to an end, it is an end without grace. It lacks dignity. The above orders have not been passed either with generosity or with the heart in them. It very much looks as if the order have been passed with the greatest reluctance. The Collector says : "Orders were issued to all Mamlatdars on the 25th April tht no pressure should be put on those unable to pay. Their attention was again drawn to these order in a proper circular issued by me on the 22nd of May, and to ensure that proper effect was given to them, the Mamlatdars were advised to divide the defaulters in each village into two classes those who could pay and those who were unable to pay on account of poverty."

If this was so, why were these orders not published to the people? Had they known them on the 25th April, what suffering would they not have been saved from? The expenses that were unnecessarily incurred by the Government in engaging the officials of the district in effecting executions would have been saved. Wherever the assessment was uncollected the people lived with

¹ Vide "Letter to People of Kheda", 6-6-1918

their lives in their hands. They have lived away from their homes to avoid attachments. They have not had even enough food. The women have suffered what they ought not to have. At times they have been obliged to put up with insults from insolent circle inspectors, and to helplessly watch their milch buffaloes being taken away from them. They have paid chothai fines. Had they known the foregoing orders, they would have been saved all the miseries. The officials knew that this relief of the poor was the crux of the struggle. The Commissioner would not even look at this difficulty. Many letter were addressed to him, but he remained unbending. He said, "Individual relief cannot be granted, it is not the law." Now the Collector says : "The orders of April 25, so far as they related to putting pressure on those who were really unable to pay on account of poverty were merely a re-statement of what are publicly known to be the standing orders of Government on the subject."

If this is really true, the people have suffered deliberately and through sheer obstinacy! At the time of going to Delhi, Mr. Gandhi wrote to the Commissioner requesting him to issue orders to the above effect, so that the good news could be given to His Excellency the Viceroy. The Commissioner gave no heed to the request.

"We are moved by the sufferings of the people, we perceive our mistake and in order to placate the people we are now prepared to grant individual relief" — the officials could have generously said all this and endeared themselves to the people, but they have obstinately avoided this method (of winning them over). And even now relief has been granted in a niggardly manner, involuntarily and without admission of mistake. It is even claimed that what has now been granted is nothing new. And hence we say there is little grace in the settlement.

The officials have failed to be popular because of their obstinacy, because of their mistaken belief that they should never admit being in the wrong and because of their having made it a fetish that it should never be said of them that they had yielded to anything like popular agitation. It grieves us to offer this criticism. But we have permitted ourselves to do so as their friends.

Thus, if the end was without grace, the Government, in their persistence in their self-congratulation upon the manner in which they succeeded in drawing all but the last drop, turn their action into a criminal blunder. Their note leaves untouched the contention of Sir Sankaran Nair that the tendency of the present system of Government is too scientific to be human and therefore tyrannical, and that justice has been generally wrung from an unwilling bureaucracy by

persistent agitation carried on by the much-maligned educated class mainly through their annual assembly and its offshoots.

I must refer to Champaran in another issue,¹ reluctant as I am to revive memories of painful events. But the extraordinary attitude taken by the Government makes it incumbent upon me as the only person, barring my colleagues, capable of placing the facts before the public, to do so.

Young India, 16-8-1919

223. WHAT TO DO?

That the Rowlatt Act must not stand in the face of the opposition of the whole country is or should be clear to everyone who has any regard for national honour. As I have said so often, to secure its repeal is more important than the passing of the Reforms Bill. It will be an object lesson in self-government without a parliamentary statute. We must obtain the repeal by orderly agitation. What is an orderly agitation? If it is meetings, resolutions and memorials, it will be said, we have already had these in abundance. The argument will not be without force. But governments have short memories. If there are no meeting and no resolutions, there will be officials enough to say that the people do not desire repeal of the Rowlatt Act nor do they bother about it. Though it was well known that the silence over Mr. Horniman's deportation was deliberately brought about to restore quiet and equilibrium, there were not wanting responsible people to infer that the absence of noise over the deportation was due to the people's acquiescence in the 'violence' of the authorities.

It is moreover certain that the Act is not going to be repealed without serious and sustained effort. My implicit belief in the certainty of repeal is based upon the equal certainty of serious and very powerful agitation going on in the country. The belief is also based upon my conviction that the Act is harmful to the free growth of the people. I would even contemplate with comparative equanimity isolated revolutionary crime rather than see a whole people living under the terror of an Act like the Rowlatt Act. It deals with effects, leaving the cause severely alone. It arms the police and the executive with arbitrary and demoralizing powers. An executive that asks for extraordinary powers is as a rule to be distrusted. Extraordinary

¹ *Vide* "Sir Sankaran Nair and Champaran", 27-8-1919.

powers are asked by those who wish to cover their inefficiency or inability to cope with an evil. It is like an unskilled surgeon wanting to use the knife where a lancet in a skilled hand would do equally well. Often extraordinary powers are taken to cover wrongs done by authority, as I fear was done by the Punjab Government in April. History would have been written differently if the Central Government had asked the Punjab Government to deal with the situation in the ordinary manner. It is said that in two places at least the Governor told the police that the latter would be held responsible if any disturbance took place in their jurisdiction. Believing then, as I do, that the Rowlatt Act is bad in every respect and that nothing bad can outlast honest effort, I entertain no misgivings about the Act being repealed long before the expiry of the time limit. But that honest effort during the suspension period consists in meetings, memorials and resolutions. I respectfully appeal to the leaders who have advised me to suspend civil resistance to do their duty. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar even said that method other than civil resistance were open to the people. Will he and the other leaders give the lead? In addition to their work, I suggest a memorial, after the style of the Congress-League Scheme Memorial¹, to be signed by thousands of people. Such memorial, as the late Mr. Ranade used to say, have an educative value and are quite useful for the purpose of focussing public opinion. Moreover, when civil resistance was started, I was told that it was premature, we had not exhausted all the other means at our disposal. I ventured to say we had. Adoption of the programme suggested by me avoids the possibility of a repetition of the charge of premature resumption of civil resistance, if unfortunately it has to be resumed. From every point of view, therefore, I feel that we should for the time being revert to the old method of agitation and education of public opinion, always insisting on speakers confining themselves to facts, avoiding declamation or inflammatory language. A proper explanation of the Rowlatt Act is itself its severest condemnation.

Young India, 16-8-1919

¹ *Vide Appendix Congress-League Address*", 26-11-1917

224. LETTER TO V.S. SUNDARAM

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
August 17, 1919

MY DEAR SUNDARAM,

Please write legibly. It is better to write a clerical hand than a fashionable hand.

You must recite some hymn, Sanskrit or Telugu, to send you to sleep. You must be ashamed to own a weak body.

When are you going to Miss Faering? I had a brief note from her. Tell her I am not writing in reply.

Have your people commenced to learn spinning?

I had your wire about Devdas. You may contribute articles to *The Hindu*, *Swadesh Mitran*, etc., on the progress of swadeshi and spinning as you saw it here. Do not write laudatory articles but mere facts. They are more eloquent than anything else.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand : S.N. 3199

225. LETTER TO C. ROBERTS

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
AHMEDABAD,
August 17, 1919

DEAR MR. ROBERTS¹,

I write this to you rather than to Mr. Montagu because I do not wish to worry him when he is already over-weighted with other worries and because I do not enjoy the privilege of knowing him so well as I have of knowing you.

When I was about to renew civil resistance, I felt I ought to send Mr. Montagu a personal cable² which I did. I have written to him too

¹ Charles Roberts, Under-Secretary of State for India; *vide* "Letter to C. Roberts", 24-8-1914

² *Vide* "Cable to E.S. Montagu", 24-6-1919

on the subject.¹ He sent a confidential reply to the cablegram through the Governor of Bombay. The reply strongly dissuaded me from resuming civil resistance and said that, if it was a mistake for me to have embarked upon it, it would be a crime to resume it. It added that I ought to know that the Act would not be repealed or withdrawn. So far as the “crime” is concerned I must commit it, if I am driven to it, and take the consequences. For I must frankly say that I remain unrepentant. It is my firm belief that nothing but civil resistance can replace criminal resistance. And it is surprising that Mr. Montagu, with his very fine imagination, should not have seen the simple beauty of the absolute efficacy and the necessity of civil resistance. However, time will do its work and show that it was not civil resistance that was responsible for the circumscribed violence of the people in April. In the Punjab, the people were goaded into violence. In Ahmedabad, they went mad to think that one who had served them was arrested without reason. All the other parts of India remained perfectly calm. My admission of my mistake is limited to the underrating of the forces of evil pervading both the Government and the people.

What however pained me most was Mr. Montagu’s message that I must know that Rowlatt Act was not going to be repealed. I know nothing of this absoluteness about the non-repeal of the Act. I know that I shall give all I have towards securing its repeal. It was conceived in unworthy distrust of the people; it was brought forth amid the universal opposition of Indian opinion and it was nurtured in repression. This is enough to condemn it. Does Mr. Montagu propose to inaugurate reforms in the midst of a people whose pride has been deeply wounded, whose opinion flouted and many of whom have been wrong[ly] tried and convicted? Is that a fit prelude to liberal reforms? Should they not be heralded by repeal of the Act?

And what is the Rowlatt Act? It is an Act from start to finish designed to rob the subject of his liberty without the slightest necessity for it. Revolutionary crime is (or was) admittedly confined to such a small area that it is an insult to the people to fling in their face a repressive measure like the Rowlatt Act.

I would therefore like to paraphrase Mr. Montagu’s warning and say that, if it was folly to have passed the Rowlatt Act in the face

¹ *Vide* “Cable to E.S. Montagu”, 24-6-1919

of Indian opposition, it is a crime to continue it, notwithstanding the persistence of such opposition.

Will you please read this letter to [Mr.] Montagu when you find he has leisure to listen to it?

Pray remember me to Lady Cecilia Roberts and tell her that both Mrs. Gandhi and I often think with gratefulness of her overwhelming kindness to us both during my sever illness in 1914.¹

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat of the copy in Gandhiji's hand : S.N. 6806

226. LETTER TO H.S.L. POLAK

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
August 17, 1919

MY DEAR HENRY,

I have your letter. You are unnecessarily reserved. I should know the whole situation. If they do not like your policy there need be no intrigue. They have a right to ask you to resign. If they did not mind your policy but wanted to put someone in by way of favouritism, it was despicable. I should like to know the truth. I do not want your invaluable services to be lost sight of. You and I belong to no party, we can but serve and follow truth as we know it. The two letters received from you do not clear the position. Thinking in these terms I would like you to remain on the British Committee so long as it is understood that you are not considered as belonging to one party or the other. Who is the lady to be the joint editor with Kelkar? You will see that I am saying nothing in *Young India* until I can firmly handle the subject. As it is I do not know the facts.

I share your joy that you are free from the heavy responsibility. Will you now find time to give me an occasional if not a regular contribution to *Young India*? You can be paid, if the briefs do not pour in as they ought [to] by this time. You have most of the poor sisters there.

¹ This was when Gandhiji spent a few months in London on his way home to India.

There is nothing new politically to report. You will read all my thought in my letters to Arundale and Abdul Aziz.¹

With love to you both,

Yours,
BHAI

From the original: Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy: National Archives of India

227. *LETTER TO INDRA VIDYALANKAR*²

BOMBAY,
Shravan Vad 6 [August 17, 1919]

DEAR INDRA,

I am cleaning up my office and I see there is a letter from you. I think I have replied to it. In case, however, you have not received the reply, please let me know and I shall try to write to you.

MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a photostat of the Hindi original in Gandhiji's hand : C.W. 4856.
Courtesy : Chandragupta Vidyalankar

228. *LETTER TO "THE TIMES OF INDIA"*³

BOMBAY,
August 18, 1919

THE EDITOR
THE TIMES OF INDIA

[BOMBAY]

SIR,

No possible exception can be taken to the impartial manner in which your South African correspondent has given a summary of the Indian position in the Transvaal in your issue of the 18th instant. He has put as fairly as it was possible for him to do both sides of the question.

¹ Vide "Letter to G.S. Arundale", 4-8-1919 and "Letter to Abdul Aziz", 8-8-1919

² This item should be read after item 25

³ This was reproduced in *Young India*, 20-8-1919, *The Hindu* and *New India*, dated 22-8-1919.

It is not the additional “brown burden on the top of the black one” which agitates the European Colonists in South Africa, but the crux of the whole question is, as your correspondent puts it, “that South Africa cannot be run economically with the Indian in it, and the white people who have made the country, cannot be expected to commit race suicide”. This is not the problem that presents itself to the Boer living on the Veldt to whom the Indian trader is a blessing, nor to the European housewife in the big towns of the Transvaal who depends solely upon the Indian vegetable-vendor for the the vegetables brought to her door. But the problem presents itself in the manner put by your correspondent to the petty European trader who finds in the thrifty and resourceful Indian a formidable rival, and with his vote, which counts a great deal, and with his influence as a member of the ruling race, he has succeeded in making his own economic problem a race problem for South Africa. In reality, the problem is whether the petty trader for his selfish end is to be allowed to override every consideration of justice, fair play, Imperial policy and all that goes to make a nation good and great.

In support of the gradual but certain squeezing-out process, what has been called the Smuts-Gandhi agreement has been pressed into service. Now that agreement is embodied in two letters and two only of the 30th June, 1914:¹ the first one addressed to me on behalf of General Smuts by Mr. Gorges, Secretary for the Interior, and the second my acknowledgment of it bearing the same date. The agreement, as the letters conclusively show, is an agreement on questions which were the subject of civil—in the correspondence described as passive—resistance. The settlement stipulates only for an extension—never a restriction—of existing rights, and, as it was intended only to cover questions arising out of civil resistance, it left open all the other questions. Hence the reservation in my letter of the 30th June, viz:

As the Minister is aware, some of my countrymen have wished me to go further. They are dissatisfied that trade licences, laws of the different Provinces, the Transvaal Gold Law, the Transvaal Law 3 of 1885, have not been altered so as to give them full rights of residence, trade and ownership of land. Some of them are dissatisfied that full interprovincial migration is not permitted, and some are dissatisfied that, on the marriage question, the Relief

¹ *Vide* “Letter to E.M. Gorges”, 30-6-1914 and Appendix Letter from E.M. Gorges”, 30-6-1914.

Bill goes no further than it does.

In this correspondence, there is not a word about the Indian settlers not getting trade licences or [not] holding fixed property in the mining or any other area. And the Indians had a perfect right to apply for and get as many trade licences as they could secure and as much fixed property as they could hold, whether through forming registered companies or through mortgages. After a strenuous fight for eight years, it was not likely that I would give away any legal rights, and if I did, the community I had the honour to represent would naturally and quite properly have dismissed me as an unworthy, if not a traitorous, representative.

But there is a third letter, totally irrelevant considered as part of the agreement, which has been used for the curtailment of trade rights. It is my letter of the 7th July addressed to Mr. Gorges.¹ The whole tone of it shows that it is purely a personal letter, setting forth only my individual views about “vested rights in connection with the Gold Law and Township Amendment Act”. I have therein stated definitely that I do not wish to restrict the future action of my countrymen and I have simply recorded the definition of “vested rights” I discussed with Sir Benjamin Robertson on the 4th March, 1914, saying that by “vested rights I understand the right of an Indian and his successors to live and trade in the township in which he was living and trading, no matter how often he shifts his residence or business from place to place in the same township”.² This is the definition on which the whole of the theory of evasion of law and breach of faith has been based. Apart from the question of irrelevance of the letter, I claim that it could not be used, even if it could be admitted as part of the agreement, in the manner it has been. As I have already stated on previous occasions, there was a prospect of an adverse interpretation of the Gold Law as to trade licences, and there was the tangible difficulty in getting land or leases of buildings and it was by the most strenuous efforts that Indians were able within Gold Areas to retain their foothold. I was anxious to protect the existing traders and their successors *even though the legal interpretation of the law might be adverse to the Indian claim*. The vested right, therefore, referred to in

¹ *Vide* “Letter to E.M. Gorges”, 7-7-1914

² *Vide* “Letter to Sir Benjamin Robertson”, 4-3-1914

my letter of the 7th July was a right created in spite of the law. And it was this right that had to be protected in the administration of the then existing laws. Even if, therefore, my said letter can be incorporated in the agreement, by no canon of interpretation that I know can it be said to prevent the Indians *morally* (for that is the meaning of the charge of breach of faith) from getting new trade licences in virtue of the law of the land. Indians openly and in a fair fight gained in their favour a legal decision to the effect that they could obtain trade licences against tender of the licence fee even within the Gold Area. To this they were perfectly morally entitled. There cannot be any question of a legal breach. Their trade rivals would long ago have made short work of any legal breach. Lastly, supposing that the law was adverse to the Indian claim, my definition could not be pleaded to bar any agitation for amendment of the law, for the whole of the settlement, in the nature of it, was of a temporary character; and the Indians, as definitely stated in my letter of the 30th June, "could not be expected to rest content until full civic rights had been conceded". The whole of the plea, therefore, of breach of faith is, I venture to submit, an utterly dishonest and shameless piece of tactics, which ought not to be allowed to interfere with a proper adjustment of the question.

M.K. GANDHI

The Times of India, 19-8-1919

229. LETTER TO P.S. TO GOVERNOR, BOMBAY

LABURNUM ROAD,
GAMDEVI,
BOMBAY,
August 19, 1919

DEAR MR. COWIE¹,

I see from the papers that His Excellency will be in Bombay tomorrow. When I last had the pleasure of waiting on him, he told me that he would grant me another interview, this time for the discussion of swadeshi. This is, therefore, merely to serve as a reminder to His Excellency. I am in Bombay till Friday next and I want to be absent

¹ Private Secretary to Sir George Lloyod, Governor of Bombay

practically the whole of next week if I can. Naturally, however, I shall suit myself to His Excellency's convenience. If, therefore, I can secure the appointment before I leave Bombay, I should feel very grateful.¹

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat of a handwritten copy : S.N. 6815

230. ANOTHER SCANDAL

It is my unpleasant duty to present another batch of cases to the reader from the Punjab which reveal a state of things that is utterly unbearable. It is to be wished that H.E. the Viceroy will end the growing anxiety by appointing the promised Committee of Inquiry without delay. Mr. Montagu has said from his place in the House of Commons that at least two out of the three judges of the Punjab Special Tribunals were judges of the High Court of three years, standing. The public have been recently informed that, where the members were not High Court judges, they were eligible for that high post. The poignancy of the sorrow that the atrocious injustices, such as I have had the painful duty of exposing, have caused is increased by the knowledge that the perpetrators of these injustices are judges in whose judgments the people have been accustomed to put the utmost trust. This unevenness of temperament can only be accounted for by the supposition that the trained judicial intellect of the judges must have suffered temporary aberration by the events of the Punjab. The desire to secure for Englishmen almost absolute immunity from physical harm from the "natives", by inflicting exemplary punishments on someone or other, appears to have been the master passion overruling discretion, wisdom and justice. It is not possible for me to understand the judgements that have come under my notice on any other hypothesis. These reflections are caused by a perusal of the judgement and the evidence in the Hafizabad case. The full text of the judgement and the evidence material to the case to be examined will be found printed elsewhere in this issue. During the whole course of my practice of law, by no means inconsiderable, extending over an unbroken period of nearly twenty years, I have never come across cases in which capital punishment has been so lightly pronounced on

¹ Cowie replied on August 22, stating that the Governor was preoccupied with a conference on housing but would see Gandhiji before leaving Bombay, if possible.

the flimsiest evidence taken down in a most perfunctory manner, as appears to me to have been done in the Hafizabad case.

The case has been sent to me in regard to only one of the nineteen accused tried, viz., Karamchand, the 19th accused, a student of the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College. But I have no hesitation in saying that there was no evidence before the Court to warrant a conviction against any of the accused for waging war. The judges had a choice of offences for conviction. The accused were charged under Sections 121, 147, 307, 486 (?), 149 of the Indian Penal Code. Section 147 relates to rioting, carrying with it a maximum penalty of two years' imprisonment. Section 149 renders members of an unlawful assembly liable to the same penalty as any other member thereof. Section 307 relates to attempts to murder, carrying the maximum penalty of ten years. Section 486 appears to be an erroneous copy; it has no relevance to the evidence led before the court. It was thus easy enough to convict on any of the milder sections if the judges had so chosen. They however "scented" war in every act of the crowd during those three or four days of April.

Whilst therefore it is clear to me, as I hope it will be clear to every impartial student of the case, that the charge of "waging war against the King" is unsustainable in the absence of the specific evidence against the other accused, it is difficult to form a conclusive opinion as to their cases on the minor charges. I cannot however conceal from myself or the reader the very strong suspicion that the full text of the evidence¹ will not disclose any ground for the statement of the judges to the effect that "the orators had incited the crowd to take immediate and vigorous steps to overthrow the Government by raising as much opposition to it as possible". Nowhere have I seen any attempt during those days of April to "overthrow the Government".

But I must confine myself to the case of Karamchand. These are the full remarks in the judgment about him:

Karamchand, No. 19, was peculiarly guilty. He brought down the news of the Lahore riots. He gave a most garbled account of it. And by representing that the Lahore crowd had succeeded in beating the military, he gave the Hafizabad crowd reason to believe that their insurrection would be successful.

¹ The report of evidence in the case Gandhi had received from Karamchand's father; vide "Letter to Ishardas Khanna", 20-8-1919.

“We think,” the judges proceed, “that these four men deserve the extreme penalty.” The three men who are bracketed together with him for capital punishment are supposed to have been among the active assailants of Lieutenant Tatam. Not so Karamchand, as is clear from the passage from the judgment just quoted.

Let us look at the evidence against the accused. Two of the prosecution witnesses who were on the train that carried Lieutenant Tatam have given only identifying evidence. They are unable to say that Karamchand himself did anything at all. Prosecution witness No. 5 first identified Karamchand 18 or 20 days after the 14th April. Witness No. 6 identified him 10 or 18 days after the said date. Both the witnesses, it is admitted, were utter strangers to Karamchand. The gravamen of the charge against Karamchand is, not that he did anything on the 14th, but that he brought some news from Lahore on the 11th. This is the exclusive evidence about Karamchand given by the Head Master of the D.B. School:

Karamchand is a student of the D.A.V. College, Lahore. I saw him on 11th evening. He was talking about the riots of Lahore that the people are being fired upon with a machine-gun at Lahori Gate are not retreating.

(I have taken the sentence exactly as it occurs in the original copy before me).

He was going to say more but I stopped him. I advised him that it is not good to say such things at Hafizabad. He was my old pupil. 6 or 7 people were present. This was outside the town on footpath. He was excited. I left on the 12th.

Cross-examination . . . Accused does not belong to Hafizabad. He went away when I warned him. I had not asked him what had happened at Lahore.

Prosecution witness 27 gave evidence corroborating that of the Head Master. This is all the evidence against Karamchand. It stands out clear as daylight that Karamchand’s alleged talk about the Lahore riots took place on the 11th, that he spoke outside the town on a footpath in the presence of 6 or 7 people and that he stopped as soon as his old schoolmaster advised him to do so and went away; and that he does not belong to Hafizabad. I hold that the judges’ paraphrase of the above evidence is totally unwarranted. There is nothing in all the evidence about Karamchand to show that the crowd near the railway station on the 14th was the same as the 6 or 7 people before whom he talked outside the town on the 11th about the Lahore riots. One fails to see what peculiarity the judges found in Karamchand’s

case. Let me note here that the Head Master and the corroborating witness give us no information regarding Karamchand's doing or whereabouts on the 14th April. Even if, therefore, Karamchand was present on the 14th April at the station, so far as the evidence enables one to see, he was a silent spectator of the cowardly conduct of the mob. But Karamchand says he was not there. He says he went to his village on the 12th. He produced four witnesses to prove that he was in his village, Udhoki, on the 14th April. I venture to suggest that there is just as much probability of Karamchand and his witnesses having told the truth as there is of the two witnesses for the prosecution being mistaken about the identity of Karamchand, regard being had to the fact that they had never seen him before, that they were taken to the jail to identify him 10 or 18 days after the event and especially when they never saw Karamchand doing anything active. Add to this the fact that the prosecution witnesses were only for a few minutes in the midst of the crowd and whilst, according to the evidence of the Crown, stones were being thrown at the first-class compartment. It is not justice to sentence a man to be hanged on the very inconclusive testimony as to identity. Karamchand's father gives me further details to prove that the former was at his village on the 14th April. Naturally I am unable to make use of this...extraneous, though important...evidence to prove his innocence. The father says in his letter that Karamchand's sentence has been commuted to 10 years' rigorous imprisonment.¹ He is naturally not satisfied with it. I hope that His Honour the Lieut-Governor of the Punjab will study the case personally and, if he does, I doubt not that Karamchand will be discharged. I hope, too, that his co-accused who were sentenced to be hanged are at least alive, so that their case may be reviewed by the forthcoming Committee of Inquiry.

We, who are living in this Presidency, cannot but contrast the Punjab proceedings with those at present going on in Ahmedabad. Nothing that was done in Hafizabad could surpass the wicked and wanton cruelty of the mad mob at Viramgam. And yet this tribunal, I am thankful to be able to note, has carried on the enquiry with judicial calmness, giving every opportunity to the counsel for the defence to bring every fact to light and have not found it in their hearts to impose the capital punishment on a single person in that case. So far as I know, its judgments have not provoked much hostile criticism,

¹ The term was later reduced to one year; *vide* "Letter to P.S. to Lt. Governor, Punjab", 22-8-1919.

whereas almost every judgment of the Punjab tribunals that has come to light has been subjected to the severest comment. Only the promised Committee of Inquiry can solve the discrepancy. Meanwhile, I hope the public will demand full and unconditional discharge in cases of palpable injustice like that of poor Karamchand.

Young India, 20-8-1919

231. LETTER TO “THE TIMES OF INDIA”¹

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
August 20, 1919

THE EDITOR

THE TIMES OF INDIA

SIR,

You will perhaps permit me to reply to “Pennsylvanian”’s well-meant advice to me. I am aware that many Englishmen honestly hold the opinion “Pennsylvanian” does, and I thank him for providing me with an opportunity for removing some of the misunderstanding that exists about satyagraha.

“Pennsylvanian” has commended to me the example of his illustrious countryman, Abraham Lincoln. I have endeavoured to the best of my ability to translate into my life one of his sayings, namely,

Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith, let us, to the end, dare to do our duty as we understand it.²

“Pennsylvanian” rightly insists on a “moral revolution”. Now, satyagraha is that and nothing else. Civil resistance is but a part, though a necessary part, of it. Its root meaning is “insistence on truth at all cost”. Life-satyagrahis are under the pledge of absolute adherence to truth, non-violence, poverty and chastity. An institution is at present in existence at which practically the whole of the programme sketched by “Pennsylvanian” is being carried out.³

¹ This letter, also published in *Young India* And *New India* of 23-8-1919, was written in reply to an open letter in *The Times of India*, a Few days earlier, in which the writer, “Pennsylvanian”, had appealed to Gandhiji to concentrate his efforts on the improvement of soc ety by a ceaseless propaganda for social education and revenue reform. For the text, *vide* Appendix “Letter from “Pennsylvanian”, 13-8-1919

² These are the concluding words of Licoln’s address at Cooper Institute, New York City on February 27, 1860.

³ The reference is obviously to the Satyagraha Ashram founded by Gandhiji at Sabarmati in 1917.

English and American friends have visited it. I invite “Pennsylvanian” to visit it and report upon it to the public. He will find there that men and women belonging to all stations in life are living on terms of perfect equality, that the unlettered receive literary education in so far as the daily toil permits it, and that the lettered members do not hesitate to take up the pickaxe and the shovel. He will find there that, besides agriculture, the inmates are under the obligation to learn the art of spinning and weaving. By exploring the records of its past, he will discover that its members helped with medicine the people of the surrounding villages during the influenza epidemic, that they helped the famine committee to distribute grain among the poor, that they distributed again for the same agency several thousand rupees against manufacture by the needy weavers and thus added to the production in the country, that through their labour several women, who were but the other day earning nothing, are able, by spinning cotton during their leisure hours, to earn a few coppers daily. In short, he will find that [some] of the items in the comprehensive programme sketched by “Pennsylvanian” are being worked there to the utmost extent of the capacity of the satyagrahis. This is the silent moral revolution going on in our midst. It suffers by advertisement and it is not without some hesitation that I have placed before the public the constructive work that is being done by life-satyagrahis.

Let me add further that the advent of satyagraha has, to my knowledge, weaned many an anarchist from his blood-thirsty doctrine. He has found that secret societies and methods of secret murder have brought nothing but a military and economic burden on this unhappy land, that it has tightened the coil of the Criminal Investigation Department, and that it has demoralized and wrecked the lives of hundreds of youths who have been led astray by it. Satyagraha has presented the rising generation with a new hope, an open road and an infallible remedy for most ills of life. It has armed that generation with an indestructible and matchless force which anyone may wield with impunity. Satyagraha tells the Youth of India, self-suffering is the only sure road to salvation . . . economic, political and spiritual.

For the most part, satyagraha *is* “evil resistance” and “civil assistance”. But sometimes it *has* to be “civil resistance”. Here I must call to my assistance another illustrious countryman of “Pennsylvanian”, Henry Thoreau. He asks,

Must the citizen ever for a moment, or in the least degree, resign his conscience to the legislators?

He answers,

I think that we should be men first and subjects afterwards. It is not desirable to cultivate a respect for the law so much as for the right.

I think that the position taken up by Thoreau is unassailable. The only question is that of the remedy to be applied for vindicating the rights of conscience. The remedy in vogue is that of inflicting violence on those who wish to wound your conscience. Thoreau in his immortal essay shows that civil disobedience, not violence, is the true remedy. In civil disobedience, the resister suffers the consequences of disobedience. This was what Daniel did when he disobeyed the law of the Medes and Persians. That is what John Bunyan did and that is what the raiyats have done in India from time immemorial. It is the law of our being. Violence is the law of the best in us. Self-suffering, i.e., civil resistance, is the law of the man in us. It is rarely that the occasion for civil resistance arises in a well-ordered State. But when it does, it becomes a duty that cannot be shirked by one who counts his honour, i.e., conscience, above everything. Rowlatt Act is legislation that affects the conscience of thousands of us, and I respectfully suggest that an appeal should be addressed by Englishmen to the Government that they withdraw an Act that hurts the self-respect of the nation and that has roused such unanimous opposition, rather than that I should be asked to refrain from civil resistance in respect of it.

I am, etc.,

M. K. GANDHI

The Times of India, 22-8-1919

232. LETTER TO ISHARDAS KHANNA

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
August 20, 1919

DEAR SIR,

I have your letter with the judgment and the evidence in the case of your son Karamchand. Please let me have copy of the petition submitted to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor. Why did you not give evidence in the case to support the statement that your son was not in Hafizabad on the 14th April? Please send me also copy of the full text of evidence. Please let me know also what happened to the three other who were sentenced to be hanged.

Yours sincerely,

From the typewritten office copy : S.N. 6814

233. LETTER TO LALA LAJPAT RAI

August 20, 1919

DEAR LALA LAJPAT RAI,

I was delighted to receive your letter. I considered it to be so valuable that I have published it. It has served to remove misconceptions about your views. The letter was unsigned. I considered that it was an oversight. I would like you, if you will, to develop your views and give me a detailed letter for publication.³ It is to me intolerable that one like you should have to remain outside India at the present moment.⁴ In my opinion, the place of every true Indian is in India. The doctrine of satyagraha, i.e., resistance without violence, requires as much strength as it can receive. In my opinion, it will not only solve India's problems but it will solve the world's problems.

I take it that you get *Young India* regularly.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary Courtesy : Narayan Desai

234. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

[BOMBAY,]

Shravan Vad 9 [August 20, 1919]

Why should anyone take offence at the publication of Lala Lajpat Rai's letter?³ It was written to be published. The letter adds to his stature. We, on our part, should patiently listen to any criticism that may be made.

Lalaji's letter was really meant to be published. What it says about Hardayal is public knowledge. Men have grown so timid that they fear even their shadows. I think, by publishing the letter, I have opened the door a little for Lalaji's return to India. In a very short time, satyagraha will have ceased to be a purely Gujarati word.

[From Gujarati]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. V

235. *LETTER TO LALLUBHAI SAMALDAS MEHTA,*

LABURNUM ROAD,
GAMDEVI,
BOMBAY,

Shravan Vad 10, 1975 [August 20, 1919]

DEAR FRIEND,

I have not troubled you any time, but today I cannot help it. Perhaps you are not altogether a stranger to the case of Manilal Jadavji Vyas. He is a subject of the Rajkot State. He had a business in Karachi. He signed the satyagraha pledge in March or April. In May, the Commissioner at Karachi deported him from British India under the Act of 1864. The man wrote to me and appealed to the Bombay Government. The latter has confirmed the order. You will find this action of the Government commented upon in *Young India*. I take it that you read it. If you don't get a copy, let me know and I shall see to it that you do. If you choose, you can do much in this matter. I should like you to.

From a handwritten copy of the Gujarati original : S. N. 6810

236. *LETTER TO C. VIJAYARAGHAVACHARIAR,*

LABURNUM ROAD,
GAMDEVI,
BOMBAY,

August 21 [1919]

DEAR DEWAN BAHADUR,

During the suspension of civil resistance, I feel that there should be sustained agitation to remove the Rowlatt Act. I suggest that reasoned memorial may be sent by leaders either to the Viceroy or to Mr. Montagu. I am moving the leaders here. But some of them think that even to send a memorial may jeopardize reforms! Will Madras lead?

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy : Narayan Desai

237. *LETTER TO LADY TATA*

LABURNUM ROAD,
[BOMBAY,]

August 21, 1919

DEAR LADY TATA,

No apology was necessary regarding the spinning-wheel. I am sorry you remained without one so long. If you would send your car about noon (Friday), I shall send one machine and some dressed cotton with Govind Baboo who will be able to give you a few tips about spinning and keeping the machine in order, if you could give him a little time.

I shall treasure that story about the Governor. It is too good to be hawked about. You need not therefore fear publicity. God willing, your prophecy shall come true.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy : Narayan Desai

238. *LETTER TO DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION,
BOMBAY*

BOMBAY,
August 21, 1919

DEAR SIR,

I had occasion to visit Godhra last week and, during my stay there, to visit the Stewart Library. I found that several newspapers were regarded as undesirable for being placed on the library table. I venture to suggest that the list of undesirable newspapers is quite arbitrary. I find, for instance, that *Young India* is prohibited. Now, that paper is today being published under my close supervision and I make bold [to] say that it is a journal which could be placed in the hands of a child. It was prohibited on the 19th June, 1917. Since that day it has undergone many vicissitudes. There is *The Mahratta*, also under the ban. It is one of the oldest established English weeklies largely read in Indian circles. The *Gujarati* again is one of the oldest Gujarati papers. One may not agree with the policy of these journals,

but I cannot help saying that it is a serious matter to withhold a journal from a public library for its policy. I have simply chosen a few examples from the list. So far as I know, not one of the newspapers, listed can be objected to on any defensible ground. In my opinion, assuming that there should be censorship as to the periodicals, the matter should be placed in the hands of a Library Committee chosen by the local residents, of which your local representative may be an ex-officio member, with the strict understanding that a newspaper or a book may be excluded only if, in the opinion of the Committee, it offends public morals.

I trust that you will give this very important matter your earnest and early consideration.

I am,

Yours faithfully,
M. K. GANDHI

Young India, 17-9-1919

239. LETTER TO P.S. TO LT.-GOVERNOR, PUNJAB

LABURNUM ROAD,
GAMDEVI,
BOMBAY,
August 22, 1919

TO

THE PRIVATE SECRETARY TO
HIS HONOUR THE LIEUT.-GOVERNOR OF THE PUNJAB
LAHORE

DEAR SIR,

It is my painful duty to bring to His Honour's notice another case of patent failure of justice. I refer to the case of Karamchand, one of the accused in the Hafizabad batch. I understand that His Honour was pleased to commute the death sentence to ten years' imprisonment and subsequently ten years to one year, but in a case where there is not a tittle of supportable evidence against the accused, it would be agreed that nothing but full discharge can meet the ends of justice. I therefore venture to commend this case for further attention and trust that His Honour will be pleased to order young Karamchand's discharge. I enclose herewith copy of *Young India*

containing my analysis of the judgment, together with the full text of it and the evidence bearing on Karamchand's case. I understand that young Karamchand has been recently married and that his father is broken-hearted over his son's unmerited incarceration.

Yours faithfully,
M.K. GANDHI

Encl. : 1, (Copy of *Young India*)

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 6819

240. LETTER TO P.S. TO LORD WILLINGDON

LABURNUM ROAD,
GAMDEVI,
BOMBAY,
August 22, 1919

DEAR SIR,

I write this for submission to His Excellency on a somewhat personal matter of urgency.

Probably the name of Miss Esther Faering, of Danish extraction and, up to recently, if not still, working as Superintendent of a Girls' School belonging to the mission in Tirucoilur, has been brought to His Excellency's notice. It was probably two years ago that she, along with another Danish lady, visited my Ashram at Ahmedabad. Both the ladies took a special fancy for the Ashram and its ideals. Miss Faering has since then met me three or four times and she has visited the Ashram, I believe, once after her first visit. She has been a fairly regular correspondent and I believe she is attached to me like a child to its father, simply because, in her opinion, I represent in action the ideals she would fain enforce in her own life and is ever trying to. She loves India as her own motherland and I know it would be a terrible wrench to her if she is ever banished from India, as she dreads she might. Latterly, it seems she has been a suspect, very much shadowed. It was her intention some time ago to leave the Danish mission, if she could. I think I succeeded in weaning her from the desire. I told her that it was her duty to fulfil her contract with the mission, so long as she was permitted to do so. I have just heard that she is no longer in the mission. If this is true and if she is permitted, I would be pleased to take her into the Ashram where she would be associated with me in

my non-political work. I believe her to be as truthful and straight a person as is to be found anywhere. She ever lives in the fear of God and does her best to live a Christian life. As her desire is to pass her life mostly in the midst of the people of India, I advised her to become naturalized. I know she took steps in the direction and I revised for her the petition for naturalization. But I do not know whether she has sent it. I can only hope that His Excellency will meet her and form the same opinion about her that I have. If any undertaking is required about her, it can be easily given. If an assurance is necessary, I wish to assure His Excellency that I have not the slightest desire to avail myself of her services in the political field. As probably Lord Willingdon is aware, the largest part of my work is social and moral or religious. My most intimate associates take hardly any part in my political work. The inmates of the Ashram are engaged in agricultural, industrial and educational work, and if Miss Faering comes to the Ashram, she will take part in these activities, and if need be, I will undertake, in no other.

Miss Faering knows nothing about this letter but I am sending her a copy for the consolation that I am not unmindful of my duty to her as a privileged friend, as also for her endorsement of the undertaking I am promising herein.

I tender my apology for troubling His Excellency on a matter of a partly personal nature.

Yours faithfully,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of a copy : S. N. 6823

241. LETTER TO C.F. ANDREWS

LABURNUM ROAD,
GAMDEVI,
BOMBAY

August 22, 1919

MY DEAR CHARLIE,

I have most disquieting news about Miss Faering from Sundaram. I asked him specially to go and see her. He has been there and he tells me she is no longer in the Danish mission and that she is in distress lest she might have to leave India. It would be almost death

to her if she is forced to do so. Here is a copy of my letter to Lord Willingdon. I feel most keenly about her. Will you not immediately go to Madras and do what you can to prevent her banishment?

I am more and more becoming convinced of the correctness of the non-violence doctrine. The greater the possession of brute force, the greater coward does the possessor become. Fancy moving the contemptible machinery of the C.I.D. to watch over the doings of one of the most harmless persons living. I would be riddled by bullets a hundred times rather than, in trying to be bullet-proof, be party to injuring innocent people, whether in body or mind.

Today our Government stops at nothing. It does not require a philosopher to understand the utter futility of physical force. But you may not agree with my conclusions or inferences. I do want you to agree with me that it is just as important to do our best to protect Miss Faering from harm as it is for me to resist the Rowlatt Act with my life and for you to be at Shantiniketan.

Yours,

M. K. GANDHI

Enclo : 1

From a photostat of a typewritten copy : S. N. 6822

242. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
August 24, 1919

MY DEAR CHILD,

Sundaram's letter about you had made me very gloomy. My heart goes out to you in your sorrow. But I know that if we trust in God when we are weakest, somehow He makes us strong. Deep down in me therefore there is the feeling that all would be well with you no matter what happens to you. I could not, however, restrain myself from writing to the Governor. Here is a copy of my letter to him. If you are free, you would come down at once to the Ashram. I want to write to Mr. Bittmann but I shall await reply to this. You will know the rest from my letter to the Governor. If it does not represent the situation correctly in any way, you will please let me know. You will

be an unworthy child if you will not let me know your pecuniary wants.

With love,

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat of the original in N.A.I.; also my Dear Child, p. 37

243. LETTER TO P.S. TO GOVERNOR, BOMBAY

AS AT LABURNUM ROAD,
GAMEDVI,
BOMBAY
August 25, 1919

DEAR MR. COWIE,

I see that I may not get an interview with H.E. for some time. I am however anxious to get some pronouncement on swadeshi from H.E. as early as possible. I, therefore, propose to present for H. E.'s consideration my conception of and arguments on swadeshi. I do hope he will make time for reading it and, if possible, be pleased to comply with my request made at the end of the argument.

SWADESHI

Swadeshi as conceived by me consists in producing cloth enough for the wants of India and in distributing it; and for the purpose of stimulating home production, it consists in inducing people to pledge themselves to the use of swadeshi cloth only, the right being retained where necessary to continue the use of foreign cloth at present in possession of the pledgee/votary. The swadeshi is conceived only as a religious and an economic necessity; and although it is fraught with political consequences of a lofty, moral type in order that all may take part in it, the swadeshi propaganda is restricted to the religious and economic aspects only.

Swadeshi goods can be produced either through spinning and weaving mills or by hand-spinning and hand-weaving. At the present moment, we are concentrating on hand-spinning and hand-weaving.

ARGUMENT

We are so doing because the need of the peasantry, i.e., 73 p.c. of the population, is an industry supplementary to agriculture. This population has nearly four months in the year paractically idle on its

hands. A hundred years ago, the majority of the women of India spun yarn either for profit or for pleasure and thousands upon thousands of professional weavers wove cloth enough for home consumption. Whether the same can be done today, or not, it is unnecessary to inquire. It is beyond question that if these millions of peasants can be induced to take to spinning and weaving, it will materially decrease the economic drain and enable them to supplement their earnings. My own experience in several centres and among hundreds of women tells me that they are glad enough to revive the occupation of spinning and to get a few coppers. I know that they were a blessing to many poor women of Vijapur during the late famine. About 150 women, in that village alone, are today spinning about half a maund of yarn per day and getting on an average three pice each, enough for them to buy milk for their children. I consider hand-spinning and hand-weaving as an automatic famine insurance. Only last Friday I was surprised to find Miss Latham of East Khandesh telling me that the women of that district were pining for some home occupation that would enable them to turn a few honest coppers. All that is necessary is to provide them with cheap spinning-wheels and with dressed cotton. Arrangements have already been made on a limited scale to supply both these things. Both men and women are taking up the idea eagerly, but the thing can move far more rapidly if the movement receives patronage from high places.

REQUEST

I, therefore, request as follows :

1. H. E. may be pleased to give us a letter for publication approving of the swadeshi movement and especially of the introduction of hand-spinning and hand-weaving.

2. The Registrar of Co-operative Societies may be authorized to encourage hand-spinning and hand-weaving and devise means therefor.

3. Collectors and other officials may be advised to encourage the movement and especially to encourage the cultivators to take up hand-spinning and hand-weaving.

4. And if it is not a presumption, I would respectfully ask H.E. on my behalf to secure Lady George Lloyd's patronage for my spinning classes. Several titled ladies are, with a view to encouraging the industry among the poor classes, taking spinning lessons. I would

consider it an honour to be allowed to present a spinning-wheel to Her Excellency and to send her a lady teacher or to give her the lessons myself. I may mention that the art of spinning is incredibly simple to learn.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat of the typewritten copy : S.N. 6826

244. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING

[*After August 25, 1919*]

MY DEAR CHILD,

You have been writing fairly regularly but I have been unable to do so. You know the reason why.

The pain I suffered was really nothing. Chhotalal made more of it than was deserved. I am taking all reasonable care of the body.

I take it that there is no hurry about your giving a final answer to the Board or Mr. Bittmann. Yours is a difficult case. I am most anxious that you should be absolutely true and faithful to the Board and that they should not in any way feel that you had done anything unworthy. Shall I write to Mr. Bittmann (am I spelling his name correctly? I have not your letter by me) even as I wrote to the Governor? Your service to India should be rendered as a true Dane and a Christian. You are serving because your Christianity prompts you to do so. And it is not enough that you feel so, it is necessary that your people should realize it through your love, humility and nobility. I do not know how best it can be done. Anyway your letters to them should be gentle, true and charitable . . . never harsh, bitter or reproachful. After all, yours in a way is a rebellion and it can only be justified by success in the religious sense of the term, even as Daniel's and Bunyan's were justified.

I am glad you are keeping well. Are you comfortable? You will be a bad child if you fail to express your wants to me. If you are in need of money, you will not hesitate to tell me so.

It is a strange phenomenon—everybody wanting to learn English. You should satisfy their desire within bounds. Do tell me a little more fully as to who wants it.

With love,

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat of the original in N.A.I.; also *My Dear Child*, pp. 38-9

245. SIR SANKARAN NAIR AND CHAMPARAN

The argument on either side . . . his colleagues on the one and Sir Sankaran himself on the other . . . is the same as for Kaira. Sir Sankaran has argued that the bureaucracy took action only when it was moved by the driving force of the Congress, in other words, educated Indians. His colleagues have argued that the bureaucracy has been ever vigilant of the interests of the masses whom educated Indians have never represented and for whom they have cared little. Further, the case for bureaucracy, so far as Kaira is concerned, is that, in the first place, they did nothing at all for the cultivators because they did not believe in their grievance, and secondly, if it be argued that something was done, it was done not because the Hon'ble Gokuldas and other educated Indians, and in the last stages, Mr. Gandhi intervened, but because it was what they would have done without any such intervention. In the Champaran case, the grievance is admitted, but it is stated on behalf of bureaucracy that Mr. Gandhi's intervention did not in any way affect the course of action. Sir Sankaran Nair's contention in both the cases is that whatever was done by the bureaucracy was wrung from them by the strenuous effort of educated Indians who have ever held the interests of the masses dear to their hearts.

I hope I have been able to show clearly that the grievance of the Kaira cultivators was real, and that whatever was given was after a very tough fight, and that the smallness of the relief granted was evidence of the smallness of the bureaucratic mind. In Kaira, again, the grievance was not of long standing and there was callous indifference even at the fountainhead. Lord Willingdon, well-intentioned himself, allowed himself to be ruled by his unbending councillors who were immediately concerned with the Kaira affair. My task, therefore, in dealing with Kaira was easy enough. In Champaran, the grievance was old. The contest was three-cornered, in which tremendous interests were arrayed against the *raiyat*. But I am happy to be able to bear testimony to the fact that the head of the Government, Sir Edward Gait, was a strong man, who ruled instead of being ruled by his councillors and who did not hesitate to use his strength on behalf of the *raiyats* to the best of his ability. Had there been any other or less sympathetic or less strong ruler, the course of history would have taken a different, and a tragic, turn. The consequences would have been disastrous. It is

therefore, painful for me to criticize the Bihar Government Note on Champaran in answer to Sir Sankaran Nair's minute of dissent. They do not deny the grievance, but they claim that they were waiting in order to be able to redress the grievance for the result of the settlement operations they had undertaken and that my intervention was practically of no consequence. My position in dealing with the matter is rendered difficult by reason of my having been a member of the Committee of Inquiry. I may not make use of records which were placed before the Committee by the Government, but which naturally have not been published as part of the Committee's report. I must confine myself, therefore, to the published reports only. The Bihar Note makes much of the settlement operations. I venture to submit that the settlement operations had little to do with the very large issues involved. According to the Bengal Tenancy Act, which is applicable to Bihar, these operations automatically take place at stated intervals with a view to regulating the enhancement of rent payable by each individual tenant to the permanent holder. The permanent settlement of Bengal has brought little permanence to the *raiyyats* amongst whom the vast permanent holdings are parcelled out. In Champaran, the majority of permanent holders are European planters. They are like Rajas; although they are not clothed by law with any civil or criminal jurisdiction over the *raiyyats*—their tenants—they succeed in exercising practically both jurisdictions over the objectly helpless tenantry of Champaran. In this, they differ in no wise from Indian permanent holders. But, as I said in one of my earliest notes, submitted to the Government, in the course of my independent investigation, "whilst there can be no doubt that the latter (meaning the planters) have inherited a vicious system, they with their trained minds and superior position have reduced it to an exact science." These landlords have been given by the Bengal Tenancy Act the right, under stated circumstances, to enhance rents, with an equal right to the tenant to seek reduction under certain other circumstances. as might be well imagined, reduction would be a rare thing. Enhancement is an actuality haunting the tenant throughout his life. And the settlement officer's chief business is to revise these rents, re-survey the plots occupied by each tenant and to investigate some of the disputes between landlord and tenants incidental to the tenancy. Beyond this, the settlement officer cannot go. He had no jurisdiction to investigate or decide upon any of the most important issues that were before the Champaran Committee for decision. My own investigation was

confined only to grievances that were common to the majority of the Champaran *raiya*s regarding which no settlement operations were necessary, because no individual investigation was required or called for. These grievances forced themselves on my notice as soon as I set my foot in Champaran, and I was not there many weeks before I had overwhelming evidence to prove them. The chiefest of them was practically of a hundred years' standing. It had reduced the *raiya*s to the position of mere serfs. This was the indigo grievance. It was called the system of *Tinkathia* cultivation of indigo under which the *raiya*s were obliged to set apart a certain portion of their holding chosen by the landlord on which he had to grow indigo and later any other crop that the landlord required him to grow, and this he had to sell to his landlord at a price which hardly paid him for his labour. Let the report of the Committee speak upon it :

The conditions under which indigo is grown by the tenants for the factories has in the past been the cause of disputes on several occasions, and though we do not consider it necessary to enter into the history of these disputes, we cannot explain the causes of the present unrest without giving some account of the system. In essentials, it does not appear to have varied during the last 100 years.

During these hundred years, whenever the grievance became unbearable, the *raiya*s sought relief by open violence. Each time there was rioting, there was only a patchwork done. The violence made their position, as a matter of fact, much worse than before. The planters were able to bring the armed authority of law to their aid to quell it and the grievance which gave rise to violence was almost totally forgotten. Sometimes punitive police was imposed upon the *raiya*s, and the only consolation that the latter were able to take for their madness was a little rise in the price they received for indigo. But the forced growing of indigo and all the misery that it meant, continued without abatement, and the hold of the planters upon the *raiya*s grew tighter. And when they found that violence was useless, they tried to resort to law courts with as little success as attended their efforts at rioting. Sometimes they would get an equitable ruling, but in the unequal struggle they were bound to be worsted. With the unlimited resources of the planters, the slender purse of the *raiya*s had a poor chance. The records of the law courts of Champaran are there any day to support my statement. The settlement officer could see or say nothing regarding this double failure. I state with all the emphasis that I can command that the story of the last hundred years

of the Champaran *raiylats* is also the story of the failure of the authorities either to understand the inwardness of the situation or to grapple with it. Every *raiylat* gave them a terrible warning, but to no purpose. They tampered with the problem, never went to the heart of it. And had it not been for my appearance in Champaran, had I not insisted on my right to remain there in the face of tremendous difficulties, and had I not brushed aside the advice of some friends to obtain a solution through law courts, and, what is more, had I not gone to the *raiylats* themselves to find out what they wanted, I make bold to say that the great relief that the Bihar Government gave would never have been given. They would never have had the courage to bolt out the curse of forced indigo. They knew that it was a curse, they knew that although the *raiylats* could not express it in words, it was the *Tinkathia* that ate into the very vitals of the community, and sapped their moral and material strength. The Bihar Government are not ashamed to say that the majority of the Bihar Legislative Council, as ignorant as themselves, rejected the resolution brought forward by the only councillor who knew what he was talking— I mean, Babu Brijkishore Prasad—one of the truest men of Bihar. The Government ought to have known then that the settlement officer could throw little light on this burning question. Indeed, had there been no settlement operations, there would probably have been no *Sarahbeshi*—enhancement of rent in lieu of indigo. I admit that the settlement officer himself was a courteous and sympathetic officer desirous of doing his duty; I admit also that because of his impartiality he succeeded in giving justice to the *raiylats*, when other officers would have failed; but he could throw no more light, because he was a settlement officer, than he otherwise would have done on the many question that the Committee had to decide. It was not his province. The comprehensive recommendations of the Committee are based, not upon the evidence of the settlement officer, but upon the records that were in possession of the Government, most of them bearing a date prior even to the date on which the settlement officer began his operation. All the vices of forced indigo, which the Committee has brought to light, were already known to the Government. The opposite question, therefore, arises: why did they not abolish the system before? There were several settlement operations before the last one; why did they not avail themselves of these operations to redress the grievances dealt with by the Committee? I do not wish to burden the reader with a detailed list of

the grievances found by the Committee to exist. I content myself with saying that the Committee could have dealt with every one of them without the settlement, and what is more to the point, on the question of *Sarahbeshi* and *Tawan*, if the Government had listened to Babu Brijkishore's voice in the wilderness, the *raiya*t would have been saved the robbery in the shape of *Tawan*, and the veiled robbery in the shape of *Sarahbeshi*. I must explain these two terms for the edification of reader outside Bihar. *Tawan* was the so-called damages taken by the lease-holding planter from his tenants for commutation of the indigo obligation *at a time when the planter did not need indigo*. *Sarahbeshi* was an increase in rent taken by permanent holders *under the same circumstance*. So *Tawan* and *Sarahbeshi* are the same as if a party to a supposed contract, finding it to be burdensome, releases himself from the burden, and takes damages in [to] the bargain from the other party for his own release. Under ordinary conditions, he who wants a release pays for it. That the *raiya*t also wanted it is beside the point. They were helpless. The Bihar Government almost give away their case when they say:

the position was further complicated by the fact that the system was based on contracts between the planters and the *raiya*t, and interference in an elaborate system of contractual relations is obviously a matter of extreme delicacy, and no Government could venture on such interference except on the clearest proofs of necessity. Mr. Gandhi's intervention, by bringing the discontent of the *raiya*t to a head and thus threatening the district with an outburst of lawlessness, compelled the Government to anticipate the programme which it had mapped out, but by that time the information which the local Government had always insisted on as being essential had been collected by the settlement staff, and it was only because they had this information at their disposal that the Committee were able to bring their labours to so speedy a conclusion.

It is true that my presence in Champaran brought the discontent of the *raiya*t to a head; had they not been granted relief, they would certainly have ceased to labour for the planters, which they were in no way bound to. But I deny that my intervention threatened the district with an outbreak of lawlessness,—if by lawlessness is meant that of *raiya*t; for my presence, I say without hesitation, was the greatest restraining force against any such outbreak. My condition with the *raiya*t was that I would leave them the moment they resorted to violence. I mixed with thousands of them, and I do not know a single instance in which my presence had any but the most sobering effect

upon the *raiya*ts. I deny also that it was “because the Committee had the information contained in the Settlement Records that they were able to bring their labours to so speedy a conclusion”. As a matter of fact, the planters never ceased to agitate for my expulsion during my stay in Champaran. I make no complaint about it—I made none then. But in declining to remove myself or my Bihar friends from Champaran, I had often to address the Government and myself the question whether, since it was their duty to deal justly by every subject, they would not of themselves redress the grievances of Champaran *raiya*ts; and this is what I said, on the 31st^h May, in one of my letter to a Government official:

Cannot the Government secure that freedom? This is a natural exclamation. My answer is that they cannot, in cases like this, without such assistance as is afforded to them by my mission. The Government machinery is designedly slow. It moves, must move, along the line of least resistance. Reformers like myself who have no other axe to grind but that of the reform they are handing for the time being, specialize and create a force which the Government must reckon with. Reformers may go wrong by being overzealous, indiscreet or indolent and ignorant. The Government may go wrong by being impatient of them or over-confident of their ability to do without them. I hope, in this case, neither catastrophe will take place and the grievances, which I have already submitted and which are mostly admitted, will be effectively redressed. Then the planters will have no cause to fear or suspect the mission of which I have the honour to be in charge, and they will gladly accept the assistance of volunteers who will carry on the work of education and sanitation among the villagers and act as links between them and the *raiya*ts.

It is not without great grief that I have felt compelled to criticize the Bihar Government note, but I cannot help feeling sad that, in their anxiety to sustain a bad cause, they should have belittled a mission that was in no sense political—a mission that was undertaken solely in the cause of humanity, and a mission that included not merely the removal of the grievances of the *raiya*ts, but which included the devising of methods for their education, their sanitation, and their general uplift, whether with or without the help of the Government and the planters. That constructive programme, although other activities have claimed my attention, has not yet stopped. Here and there, volunteers are still conducting their schools among the *raiya*ts in face of heavy odds. The local Government know this, and they know also that I had endeavoured to keep the mission outside the

political arena. I kept its doings as much from the public press as was possible for me to do; and I would not still yield to the temptation of publishing the many letters I had the privilege of writing to the local Government on behalf of the *raiya*s. The Government of India very much resemble a man cutting the very branch on which he is sitting. Sir Sankaran Nair has stated the obvious truth. In support of it he brought forward two most telling illustrations. It would have been graceful and dignified if they had at least remained silent, if they could not have acknowledged it.

Young India, 27-8-1919

246. EXTRACT FROM LETTER TO ABDUL BARI

ON THE TRAIN,
EN ROUTE TO BOMBAY,
August 27, 1919

I fear that it is not yet time for asking for the [Ali] Brothers' release. We have to be satisfied with the orders for maintenance money. I do not think our efforts will succeed until the Turkish peace terms are disclosed.

In my message, I sent you my thoughts in the matter. I fear that the matter is already settled; if the reports contained in the English newspapers are true, I believe that there will be international control over Constantinople and partition of Thrace. I am already in communication with His Excellency the Viceroy. I know what the Mohammedans feel, but I have no status to voice specially their feelings. The time for joint and firm action on our part is now. There will be deep disappointment and resentment after. But it will be to no purpose; everything is possible now, nothing *after* the publication of the terms. I feel most keenly the awful position and I feel deeply humiliated that we are seen to be so careless and negligent. Violence now or after is no remedy. I know you are ever preaching against it. But much greater activity on the part of many is necessary. Satyagraha is the only remedy that cannot be taken after all is done, when we do nothing while the tragedy is being enacted before us. Satyagraha is a matter of soul and the soul never sleeps, never rests and acts when it must, come what may. In the dignity of Satyagraha in action lies the future of Islam, the future of India and parenthetically, the future of the Ali Brothers.

N.A. I. : Home, Political-A, October 1919, Nos. 426-440

247. LETTER TO G.E. CHATFIELD

LABURANUM ROAD,
GAMDEVI,
BOMBAY,
August 28, 1919

DEAR MR. CHATFIELD,

In view of H.E. the Governor's pronouncement that he would like by every means in his power to encourage decent house building on behalf of the mill-hands and such other workers, Anasuyabehn has thought of a suggestion which she thinks I should place before you. There is a certain survey number being Govt. property situated outside Delhi Darwaja on the Dudheshwar Road in the limits of Dariapur Kazipur. This number is Revenue Survey No. 441. If it can be given on a long lease, she will be prepared, in conjunction with some of the labourers, to build suitable lodgings for them and a school for their children. The idea is to locate the school and the houses on the same piece of ground. I understand that several mill-hands are ready to put up their savings for the promotion of the scheme. You may not know that she is already conducting one or two co-operative societies in conjunction with Mr. Ewbank, Registrar of such societies. Her societies having achieved a fair measure of success, she is anxious to proceed a step further and make with your help the experiment above described. If the proposal commends itself to you, as I hope it will, and if you wish to discuss the matter further with Anasuyabehn, you have but to drop her a note and she tells me she would see you. If, on the other hand, you would far rather discuss it with her and me jointly, rather than carry on a correspondence, on hearing from you I shall give you the exact date of my coming to Ahmedabad.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. G.

[PS.]

I reach Ahmedabad on Monday next.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 6827

248. LETTER TO MRS. CLAYTON

LABURNUM ROAD,
GAMDEVI,
BOMBAY,
August 28, 1919

DEAR MRS. CLAYTON¹

I hope you received the *precis* of my address in Godhra as I had promised. A lady teacher has been sent to Godhra to open a spinning class. Will you not encourage the class by taking up spinning yourself? The lady, Mrs. Desai, who is at present in Godhra, has been teaching Lady Dinshaw Petit. I do not want you to give much time to spinning, but even if you spun for half an hour a day, it would be your free offering to the poor and the needy.

Will you please remember me to Mr. Clayton and tell him how much I appreciate his prompt issue of notice regarding *veth*² .

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 6828

249. LETTER TO DR. SATYAPAL

LABURNUM ROAD,
GAMDEVI,
BOMBAY,
August 28, 1919

DEAR MR. SATYAPAL³ ,

I was delighted to see your letter. I shall certainly attend to the matter as fast as I can. Will you please convey to all the leaders that at the present moment the situation in the Punjab occupies a predominant position in my thoughts and actions, and assure them, especially the ladies whose husbands are at present undergoing unmerited incarceration, that I shall leave no stone unturned to secure

¹ Wife of the Collector of the Panch Mahais District in Gujarat

² Forced unpaid labour

³ Congress leader of the Punjab; took an active part in the Rowlatt Act agitation

justice. It is no joke for me to be outside the prison walls when so many leaders of the Punjab are suffering imprisonment for no fault save that of daring to serve their country to the best of their ability.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostate of the typewritten office copy : S.N. 6829

250. LETTER TO "THE TIMES OF INDIA"

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
August 29, 1919

SIR,

I know that it can only be by patient efforts that one can hope to remove the ignorance that must necessarily attach to all questions arising a few thousand miles from us. "Eureka" 's letter published in your issue of the 28th instant is a case in point. He has raised many issues. I propose to confine myself only to the South African. The question before the public today is not one of emigration but that of the livelihood and status of those who have legally settled in South Africa, and neither Lord Sinha nor H.H. the Maharaja of Bikaner could give away inherent rights of citizens of the Empire, nor did they do any such thing. Indians have settled in South Africa for over 50 years; they are not known to have lowered the standard of living. Will "Eureka" please remember that the first Indian settlers were imported by the Europeans of South Africa? I refer to the introduction of indentured Indians. I said in 1894, as I repeat now, that it was a criminal blunder on the part of the greedy Europeans of Natal to have imported indentured labour from India at miserably low wages when they had 400,000 stalwart Zulus in their midst who would gladly have worked if the employers had not wanted to make enormous profits. Can South Africa, with any right on its side, starve the descendants of the original settlers and the brethren out of existence?

It is purposeless for me to go into the question how and by whom South Africa was won; but let me correct "Eureka" by informing him that it was aid sent from India under the late Sir

¹ "Eureka" had written advising Gandhiji not to agitate about British Indian rights in South Africa and argued that Indians had practically nothing to complain of as only Europeans had fought for and retained South Africa.

George White which saves Ladysmith and which probably turned the fortunes of war. Let me further inform "Eureka" that the 10,000 troops that Sir George White took with him included many Indian followers who were just as indispensable for the military operations as any soldier. Nor is this all. When the fate of Ladysmith trembled in the balance, when the late Lieut. Roberts, fighting against heavy odds, lost his guns at the battle of Colenso, I had the honour to be in charge of the ambulance corps of nearly 1,200 Indians, free and indentured, literate and illiterate, drawn from all classes.¹ Some of the men who are now in peril of losing the means of their livelihood had the privilege of bearing the stretcher that carried the dying Lieutenant. The corps served too at the reverse of Spionkop. We were engaged to work without the range of fire, not because we had objected but because the authorities would not risk our lives, as we were not trained for military operations. But Col. Gallway sent the message that, whilst we were not obliged to work under fire, General Buller would be glad if we could remove the wounded that were lying at the Field Hospital at the base of the hill. There was danger of the Boers descending from the hill. Without the slightest hesitation and indeed with gladness for the opportunity, every one of the men with me responded to the call and removed the wounded to the base hospital at Frere Comp, a distance of 24 miles. The wounded included the late General Woodgate and the brave officers under him. The English newspapers and the politicians were so enthusiastic about this purely voluntary work of the Indians that even laudatory verses were composed, whose refrain was "We are sons of the Empire after all". Are these Indians of whom these verses were written now to sing "We are helots of the Empire after all", for that is what Indian settlers in south Africa would be totally reduced to if the English and the Indian public of India do not make a great effort to ward off the impending calamity. In my opinion, the case for the European traders of South Africa is so hopelessly bad that it has only to be persistently, truthfully and calmly exposed to the whole of the Empire and it must fall to pieces.

I am, etc.,

M. K. GANDHI

Young India, 3-9-1919

¹ *Vide* "Indian Ambulance Corps in Natal", 14-3-1900 & "Indian Ambulance Corps", 18-4-1900.

251. "AUDI ALTERAM PARTEM"

The public have recently received many a shock from the Punjab and I had hoped that we shall be spared rude shocks regarding the events of April from any other quarter. But the papers received from Nadiad and published elsewhere provide disillusionment. On the 21st of April last, the Collector of Kaira wrote to the Nadiad Municipality as follows:

I have the honour to address the Municipal Board of Nadiad as representative of the people of the town, and in the first place to convey to them through the Board my appreciation of the very general respect for law and order which they maintained during the period of strain and excitement which is now happily passed away; special thanks are due to those of the leaders who used their influence in the direction of moderation.

It is on these people, the readers will be surprised, an additional police is to be imposed in connection with the very incidents on which they have been congratulated. And the expenses are to be collected from the *Patidars* and the *Banias* of Nadiad and landowners of Barejadi. To my knowledge, the Collector, who was during the period of disturbance stationed at Nadiad, was in close touch with the leaders who were acting in co-operation with him and who were no less successful than the Collector himself in preventing any disturbance whatsoever in Nadiad. Nobody can be more sorry than I for the derailment. I have in the strongest language possible criticized before a large Nadian audience the dastrdly act and the cowardice of the actors in hiding themselves. I have spoken freely to them about the miscarriage of justice, in this instance on account of the perpetrators themselves, by reason of the absence of evidence. There is no doubt about a conspiracy of silence on the part of the actors. But it is one thing to condemn offences, it is a totally different thing to punish men who cannot be proved to have had any connection with the guilt, I know that some of these *Patidars* and *Banias* have strained every nerve to get hold of the real offenders and to induce them to confess. And the Collector knows this too. Why should they be fined for assistance they have given? Out of a population of 31,483 in Nadiad, 6,093 men are *Patidars*, 3,652 are *Banias*. Should these men be punished because a few ruffians in a fit of madness go to the station and pull down the rails? There is absolutely no connection

established between the *Patidars* and the *Banias*, and the perpetrators of the crime. The very instructive papers I am able to publish show the real reason. The Inspector-General of Police, without a tittle of evidence, has the audacity to say regarding the various crimes:

In so far as the investigations have proceeded, it appears that each was a separate manifestation of the spirit of lawlessness that has been diffused in the Kara and Ahmedabad districts by the teachings of Mr. M.K. Gandhi and his followers.

This is on a par with the argument that because a crow sat upon a branch and the branch fell, it was the crow that did it. My teaching has been before the country for the last four years and the only pity is that I am without much following. If I had a staunch band of followers in appreciable numbers, I would make lawlessness impossible, and the Inspector-General of Police would have little work left for him to do. My teaching is, "Follow truth at any cost and never do violence to person or property." There was no lawlessness whilst my teaching was being actively enforced in Kaira or amid the thousands of mill-hands in Ahmedabad. They did not hurt a fly. The recklessness running through the Collector's letter out-rivals that of the Inspector-General of Police. One of his grounds for advising imposition of the additional police and communal responsibility is:

The derailment was undoubtedly caused by Nadiad people who will shortly be placed before the special tribunal. They are mostly *Patidars*.

The letter from which this is taken is dated the 26th May when the men arrested were not even tried and yet, with amazing self-assurance, he states that the derailment was caused by Nadiad people, mostly *Patidars*. There was no necessity for this indecent haste. In one breath as the record shows, he himself suggests:

I will deprecate any appearance of haste in arriving at a conclusion as cases are pending before the special tribunal in respect of all the offences and the results of these trials may affect the issue. If, for example, in any particular case, the ringleaders are convicted and adequately punished, it may be a question whether it is necessary or desirable to impose any additional police at all.

And in the next paragraph but one he recommends communal responsibility before the trial. The other ground given by him is really the crux. The Collector says:

This offence is clearly the direct outcome of the persistent agitation against Government which has been going on among the people of Nadiad for some years and, to my personal knowledge, since the beginning of 1918. Nadiad is

the centre of the agitation in the district. It was the headquarters of Mr. M.K. Gandhi last year during the passive resistance movement—a movement of opposition to the payment of Government dues—and thus directly calculated to undermine, as it did in fact undermine, all respect for the officers of Government and for Government itself.

This is a misleading statement. I deny that respect for the officers of the Government, or for the Government itself, was at all undermined by the movement I had the privilege of leading, unless the Collector means to convey that the people ceased to fear the *Ravaniyas*, the *Talatis* and the *Mukhis*.¹ When I went to Kaira, I found that many people were in constant terror of these petty officials and I am glad to be able to testify that these very men now no longer fear them or even the higher officials. I advised them to distinguish between respect and fear, and I would challenge the Collector to show that any of the men who took part in the movement, whilst they ceased to fear, showed the slightest disrespect to authority. I submit that it is wrong to punish people unheard. The people of Nadiad, and specially the *Patidars* and the *Banias*, who are the parties concerned, and the landowners of Barejadi ought at least in decency to be called upon to show why they should not be fined Rs. 22,000, because that is what the order amounts to. Moreover, it is dishonest to fasten the guilt of a dozen drunkards of a big town on a whole population when the real cause of punishment is not the crime but the political activity of the people.

The paragraph regarding *Banias* is too amusing to cause indignation. But I cannot help pitying the Collector of Nadiad for his ignorance of the true situation; for I know Mr. Ker well enough to understand that he does not wish to do wilful injustice. I have no doubt he believes that I, being a *Bania*, leagued with Messrs Talati and Shah to mislead the *Patidars* into offering civil resistance. The fact, however, is that it was only a month ago that I understood Mr. Shah was a *Bania* and it was the Collector's letter under discussion which enables me to find that Mr. Talati is also a *Bania*. Up to the present moment, I had taken him to be a *Patidar*. I have not gone about the world preaching satyagraha because I am a *Bania*. My life companions in the development of satyagraha are Europeans and Indians drawn from all the corners of India. Satyagraha is a soldierly instinct, and *Banias* are largely associated with money-making rather

¹ Various revenue officials

than with fighting for a cause. Hence I have had the fewest co-workers from among fellow *Banias*. My purpose, however, in dealing with the personal matter is to show how cruelly isolated the officials remain from us and thus deprive themselves of opportunity of knowing the people and, therefore, of serving them truly. I hope that His Excellency the Governor will with his usual application personally investigate the matter. In my humble opinion, no additional police is required in Nadiad, but if it is considered by the Government that it is required for public safety, I claim that no case has been made out for making the *Patidars* and *Banias* of Nadiad and the landowners of Barejadi pay for it. It is not the payment that wounds, but the unmerited slur cast upon men without being heard.

Young India, 30-8-1919

252. LETTER TO THE PRESS

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY
August 30, 1919

SIR,

It has been my misfortune from time to time to report to the public deaths of Indians who have worked for and served India in far-off South Africa. One of the ablest of them, a cable from Mr. Rustomjee tells me, has just departed this life. His name was Dawood Mahomed. Mr. Dawood Mahomed rose from the ranks. He never received any English education. I am not sure that he passed through more than two standards in a vernacular school in India. But his versatile ability and perseverance gave him such a wonderful grasp over languages without any book-learning whatsoever, that I have known him hold discourse with people in Tamil, Hindi, Creole, French, Dutch and English, besides his mother tongue, Gujarati. His native wit made him a popular speaker. He was as keen a politician as he was a merchant. And when the critical moment for decision came, he threw in his lot with the South African civil resisters, crossed the border and together with other merchants of note presented himself for arrest for crossing the sacred border of the Transvaal.¹ Having carried on an extensive business with European business houses, he

¹ *Vide* "The Late Mr. Hoosen Dawad", 24-9-1913

was well known to many Europeans and, owing to his great ability, commanded their respect. And I am happy to be able to testify that for him, who was used to a luxurious life and who was at the time 50 years old, to have risked imprisonment for the sake of conscience was an act which raised him still further in the estimation of his many European friends rather than otherwise. It was a privilege for me to find men in South Africa drawn from the commercial class giving freely of their time, their money and even voluntarily risking loss of personal freedom, by undergoing imprisonment, and property. Mr. Dawood Mohomed was one of the best among these. He was President of the Natal Indian Congress for a number of years and known to Indians all over South Africa. In my humble opinion, though India knew him not, she has every reason to be proud of having produced Dawood Mahomed. Indians in South Africa badly needed his service at the present moment. They are the poorer for Mr. Dawood Mahomed's death and, may I add, poorer also for the death of that brave statesman, General Botha¹. The duty of India is, therefore, all the greater to see that the interests of her sons struggling for freedom are fully protected.

I am, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

The Bombay Chronicle, 1-9-1919

253. SPEECH AT WOMEN'S MEETING, DOHAD²

August 31, 1919

In the afternoon, Mr. Gandhi addressed a meeting of women on swadeshi and the importance of hand-spinning. Hundreds of women attended the meeting. The following is the gist of Mr. Gandhi's address:

The protection of dharma is in the hands of women as men, being too much engrossed in worldly cares, often forget it and sometimes neglect it. It is for the women to protect it as dearly as their children. Hence, I have ever believed that the salvation of India lies in the elevation of her women. Swadeshi is a great dharma which has been forsaken by most of the women of Gujarat. None who neglects a neighbour can serve a distant man. He who serves his neighbour

¹ Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa (1910-19) he passed away on August 28.

² One of the principal towns of the Panch Mahals, a district in Gujarat.

serves the world. It is irreligious to neglect our own artisans and encourage the foreign ones. For a century we have been guilty of that sin through the stress of various circumstances. As a result, we have deprived our own artisans of crores of rupees and transferred them into foreign hands. And hence it is that India is suffering from starvation. Our greatest needs are only two, viz., food and clothing. Fortunately, the food we eat is produced in our own country. But the cloth that we wear comes mostly from foreign countries. As a result, we sent away sixty crores of rupees last year to foreign countries. This is a matter of great shame. It is our duty to be free from this position and the easiest way to do so is to do exactly as we did a hundred years ago. Women should mainly take to spinning, while men must weave. I have met hundreds of women since the launching of the swadeshi movement, and some of them have told me that they used to spin cotton, or that their mothers did so. My own mother used to spin yarn and wear coarse cloth, though she could afford to purchase finer cloth and she did so simply out of love of it. Spinning was not then regarded as a mean occupation. Even queens in royal families used to spin out of pure love of it or out of fellow-feeling. It behoves our sisters in Dohad to revive that ancient and holy art. I do not ask that a poor woman should give up her own present honest calling and take to spinning. What I say is that as spinning is a simple and beautiful art and can be learnt easily, it can be taken up and left off at will. If our poor sisters do a little spinning in their leisure hours, they can have a little income of their own, and give an impetus to a most essential indigenous handicraft. In order to spread widely the gospel of swadeshi, women's earnestness is very essential. Everyone of you should decide henceforth to wear swadeshi clothes. To spin daily some quantity of yarn at least for the sake of your country must be your net resolve. If the women of Dohad would but make up their minds, all their clothing could be obtained from Dohad itself. Not only that the people of Dohad will be free from the trouble of importing cloth from abroad but most of the money they spend on cloth will flow into the pockets of the women and weavers of Dohad. It requires some little sacrifice to bring about this result. We shall have, for the time being at least, to rest content with coarse cloth woven by our people and be thankful to God, and banishing all idleness, should work the wheel in our moments of leisure. I hope that every woman will be interested in this work.

At the close of the meeting, many women expressed a desire to begin

spinning immediately and some who knew that art volunteered to teach it to the new aspirants.

Young India, 10-9-1919

254. SPEECH AT WEAVERS' MEETING, DOHAD¹

August 31, 1919

I am much pained to see [some]² *Antyaja*³ brothers [standing away from others]. I have studied Hindu religion [according] to my lights and I try to carry out its principles so far as I can. I believe that no nation can really progress without religion. But I cannot believe that there is any religion in regarding it a sin to touch any particular community. To me even to *think* that it is pollution to touch any creation of God is sinful. To me it is the height of irreligion to look upon every custom as part and parcel of religion. Customs may be good or bad. I think it to be a bad custom not to touch the *Antyajas*. A little thinking would show that it is improper not to touch them on the score of their occupation. If their occupation is dishonourable, ask them to leave it off. If it is a sin to sweep our latrines, have done with it, and imagine the plight of your town under that circumstance. Every mother removes the excreta of her child, she does it with pleasure and thinks it to be her duty. And all of us bow to our mothers. I do not use the language of exaggeration when I say that the *Bhangis* are a dirty people, that they eat meat and drink, I may say that we touch many who do such things, and that we do not refuse to associate with men and women who are dirtier than the *Antyajas*. I do not want to put the prejudice of untouchability on a level with food and marriage regulations based on caste distinctions. The latter is a matter admitting of differences of opinion. For it is a question of choice. We are not bound to subscribe to promiscuous inter-dining and intermarriage. But to regard any of God's creatures as untouchable appears to me to be a sin. I wish that the Hindus of Dohad may be free from this sin.

¹ In the afternoon, Gandhiji addressed a meeting of weavers who had come from Mewar and settled there. The audience included a number of Mohammedans and *Antyajas*.

² Words in square brackets are supplied from the report of the speech in *Navavivan*, 7-9-1919.

³ Literally the "last-born", the "untouchables"

I see also some Mussulman brethren before me. Both of us (meaning Hindus and Mohammedans) are one. We have common joys and common sorrows. There can be no cause for strife amongst us. Hindus cannot do without Mussulmans nor can Mussulmans do without Hindus. That is our experience. If a feeling of only serving one another is created, the feeling of bitterness between the two communities will automatically vanish. Hindus should respect the feelings of Mussulmans and Mussulmans, of the Hindus. That is what we owe to ourselves. Both the questions—that of the suppressed classes and of Hindu-Moslem unity—come under swadeshi which says, “Thou shalt serve thy neighbours first.

But really speaking, I have made digression, though advisedly. At present, my main work lies in the propagation of swadeshi as regards cloth. We are never going to be economically independent without accepting swadeshim in its fulness. The old craft has not yet vanished from Dohad. It can still boast of clever men and women and skilful artisans. You can prepare the cloth that you want with a little labour and I hope you will do it. I have held conversation with the weavers. They have already pledged themselves to weave hand-spun yarn and I am sure that they will make good their pledge. What can be nobler than that the weavers of Dohad should weave the yarn spun by the women of Dohad and the people of Dohad should put on that swadeshi cloth?

Young India, 10-9-1919

255. SPEECH AT MEETING OF ANTYAJAS, DOHAD

August 31, 1919

The words of Mr. Gandhi on the matter of untouchability went deep into the hearts of the people. Brahmins, Vaisyas and Mussulmans all filled up the *Antyaja* quarters before. Mr. Gandhi reached there and were sitting cheek by jowl. All the cloth woven by the *Antyajas* was exhibited in a picturesque manner. The following is the substance of the address delivered at the *Antyaja* quarters.

I am immensely pleased whenever I come in contact with an *Antyaja* member or get an opportunity of visiting them in their own place. It has been my custom to practise what I believe. Hence to come in contact with and touch the *Antyajas* is with me an object lesson. It is my request to the *Antyajas* to keep patience. The Hindu atmosphere is changing, though slowly but steadily. Even the

orthodox Hindus have begun to realize the sin of untouchability, and it is very probable that this sin will not last long. I also wish that the *Antyajas* should make great efforts to remedy their own shortcomings. When I was at Godhra last year, many *Antyajas* decided to give up their habit of drinking. I also wish the *Antyajas* of this place will follow suit. It is my hope that all of you will evince great enthusiasm for weaving and act as you have promised me. There are difficulties in the way of weaving hand-spun yarn, but if you go on weaving with patience undismayed by failures, I feel sure that you will improve your own condition as well as that of your country. Mr. K. N. Desai, the well-known merchant of your place, has consented to supply you with hand-spun yarn. He will buy up the cloth woven by you at a reasonable price.

Young India, 10-9-1919

256. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

*Monday, Bhadarva Sud 7 [September 1, 1919]*¹

CHI. MATHURADAS,

I am sending herewith a postcard. Do the needful about it. I am enclosing Shuklaji's letter. Please send him *Young India*. Write to him that it is being sent at my behest. Ask him if he would like to be a subscriber. Write the letter only in Hindi. Have the Hindi corrected.

The meeting at Dahod² was wonderful. Why should Taramati not go out to teach as Durgabehn does? It is greatly desirable that women should engage themselves in such altruistic activities. If you take up the idea, gradually Taramati too will accept it mentally.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

The man from the Swadeshi Store has not yet sent the amount in balance. Go there and check. Nearly Rs. 2,000 is due.

From the Gujarati original: Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

¹ From the contents. Monday after August 31 fell on September 1.

² On August 31, 1919; *vide* "Speech at Women's Meeting, Dohad", 31-8-1919

257. VICTIMS, NOT GUILTY

The readers will recall our Lahore correspondent's remarks about the Ramnager cases. I have a file of papers in these cases, but I was unprepared to discuss them until I got at least the text of the judgement. This is not before the readers. The able petition on behalf of Lala Karamchand...not the same as the lad Karamchand who was sentenced to be hanged...presented by his old mother Ganga Devi shows in the graphic language of his son Devidas's letter that the accused in the case are 'victims, not guilty'. If the simple narrative of Lala Karamchand's son be true, and I think there is no reason to doubt its accuracy, the whole proceedings were a farce. They constituted not a legal trial but a mockery of it. The accused, twenty-eight in number, were all tried together, the trial was finished in one day during which altogether 150 defence witnesses were examined, the accused were not informed of the charge against them except through the mouths of the prosecution witnesses. How the judge could examine so many witnesses in a day passes comprehension. In spite of repeated applications copy of notes of evidence or of the statements of the accused is not furnished. The only inference is that no notes were kept.

Why were these cases rushed so? The accused were arrested eight days after the alleged offence. Order was completely restored throughout the Punjab by that time. The trial took place on the 22nd May, five weeks after the alleged offence. There was no occasion, then, for indecently rushing through the trial.

On the 17th April, a police officer notes in his diary that all was quiet, save that there was a partial hartal. It is rightly suggested in the papers that mention would surely have been made in the diary of any serious offence. The offence alleged is not such as could be committed in secret. It is stated to have been openly committed. Here at least there is enough to throw doubt on the prosecution story. But the Judge had no doubt about it!

The story of the prosecution is varied from time to time. Five maunds of fuel said to have been required for burning His Majesty's effigy became reduced to a few straws!

At best all but one of the accused appear to have been mere spectators.

These facts are common to all the accused. I have been supplied also with the papers regarding Lala Daulatram. The facts therein set forth tally with those furnished in Lala Karamchand's case. I am convinced that twenty-eight innocent men have been ignorantly condemned. They should be set free.

Lala Karamchand is an old retired servant. He has never taken part in politics. For years past, he has been passing his time between Ramnagar and Hardwar, devoting it to religious pursuits. Lala Daulatram is the son of one who has rendered meritorious service to the Government for a long period. In fact, the whole family seems to belong to the official class. It is cruel to think that such men should have been so shamelessly punished.

The judgement is self-condemned. It breathes vindictiveness and anger. The rejection of the defence evidence, the explaining away of the weak points in the prosecution, the punishment of solitary confinement, the heavy fines point unmistakably to loss of balance and unfitness to judge. The cases are now before His Excellency the Viceroy. Let him do unto these humble men even as he would wish to be done unto himself, if he were in their place.

Young India, 3-9-1919

258. DR. SATYAPAL'S CASE

Dr. Satyapal's statement, which is published in another column, shows what a gross injustice has been done in his case as in that of Dr. Kitchlew¹. They had to be absolved from any participation in the violence that occurred after their arrest. What violence there ever was in Amritsar took place after they were arrested. They were, therefore, accused of all sorts of things which they had never done, of speeches they had never made. Dr. Satyapal's clear, emphatic and courageous statement is a categorical denial of the whole string of charge against him. He shows clearly that the speeches he made were incorrectly reported by the C.I.D. officials, and that every time he spoke, he preached the gospel of truth and non-violence, and unceasingly warned the people against losing their temper and going in for any excesses.

¹ Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew (1887-1963); Barrister and Congress leader of the Punjab

I have purposely refrained from printing a spirited letter addressed to me by Dr. Satyapal's father in which he gives his own impressions of the case. I cannot, however, resist the temptation of quoting some of the facts stated in it. For instance, he says :

At first, it was not the intention of the Government to prosecute Drs. Kitchlew and Satyapal who had been deported on the 10th April and, therefore, his (the approver's) confessional statement before the Magistrate of Amritsar did not incriminate them. But as soon as there was a change in the intention of the Government, an additional statement by way of an 'improvement' was obtained which implicated both of these gentlemen.

If this allegation is true, it is a severe reflection on the methods of [the] prosecution and it vitiates the whole of the proceedings. Again, this letter says :

Dr. Satyapal was restricted from public speaking, etc., on the 29th March. The Commissioners have sentenced him to transportation for life on the ground that he was a member of conspiracy formed for disseminating sedition. But it is curious to the highest degree that he did not even attend the meeting of the 30th March not to say of his having addressed the meeting as held by the judges, and it is the meeting in which sedition has been said to have been disseminated in pursuance of that conspiracy.

It is true that Dr. Satyapal signed the handbill convening the meeting that was held on 30th March. That was on the 28th March. But if there was any conspiracy, it became one not on the 28th but on the 30th. A platform ticket agitation carried on by Dr. Satyapal in January and February last was shamelessly brought into the trial to prejudice him, an agitation that was entirely harmless and successful, and about which Dr. Satyapal even received thanks from the station authorities.

The letter concludes :

For your information I may mention that Dr. Satyapal offered himself for military service in 1915 and was granted a temporary commission as a lieutenant, I.M.S. He was posted at Aden where, under very trying circumstances, he worked for one year to the satisfaction of his superior officers who gave him eulogizing testimonials at the time of his departure. In 1918 he again volunteered for service but the arrangement fell through. During the influenza and malaria epidemics he did his level best in his humble way to mitigate the suffering of his fellow-townsmen, and was awarded non-official sanads. It is indeed a befitting sequel to be convicted under section 124A after such a record of services to the Government and public both.

As I have already observed, the Lahore and Amritsar cases are not cases in which a commutation can carry any merit or give satisfaction. It is not mercy that the distinguished accused ask for. It is justice that they seek and on which public must insist. Reduction in the sentences is a blind, however unintended it may be. It must not be allowed to lull the public to sleep. There can be no contentment unless there is a complete and honourable discharge for the leaders of Lahore and Amritsar.

Young India, 3-9-1919

259. *LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI*

*Bhadrapad Sud 9 [September 3, 1919]*¹

CHI. MATHURADAS,

I have your letter. I wish you would make it a habit to go for walks both morning and evening. Drag Mahadev also along with you.

What you write about Taramati is exaggerated. Even so, if we constantly nurse the idea, it may bear fruit some day. Ignorance too is darkness. It is a kind of untruth. Hence, it cannot persist in the face of knowledge and truth. Because of your persevering care Anand² took to spinning and Taramati is spinning beautifully. I have only advanced some suggestions. You should only act upon those that are practicable.

Anandanand has not come even today. It is most bewildering.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

¹ From *Bapuni Prasadi*

² Addressee's mother

260. INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Mr. Montagu's reply to the deputations¹ that waited on him on the South African question is reassuring so far as it goes. It is a matter for great satisfaction that he will secure Indian representation upon the Commission, provided, of course, that that representation is equal to that of the anti-Asiatic party and provided further that the Commission has no power to diminish the existing rights of British Indians, and provided further that the Asiatic Bill just passed remains in abeyance and that the Commission is given the power to recommend its withdrawal. The resolution of the managing committee of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association published in another column runs along the lines suggested by us.

Past promises, considerations of equity and justice, the exemplary conduct of the Indian settlers of South Africa, their contribution to the late South Africa war, at the time of the Zulu rebellion and the European war, make an overwhelming case against any diminution of existing rights. The Commission, in order to be just and effective, can only contemplate the relaxation, if not total removal, of the present restrictions for which the justification is the strong prejudice only against Indians on the part of the European traders. But such unreasoning prejudice may be pleaded as a cause is a system of government that is inefficient and corrupt. The Imperial Government to be truly Imperial must have, under certain circumstances, be they ever so rare, powers of effective intervention for the protection of weaker interests. It is therefore not possible for Indian public opinion to accept Mr. Montagu's dictum that an exercise of the veto is politically unfeasible. The veto is not merely a moral check but, in exceptional cases, it must prove a very material and tangible check upon excesses and upon injustice. The Empire to hold together must have some basic principles from which no member dare depart. If Mr. Montagu is convinced, as he apparently is, of the injustice of the Asiatic Act and of its controverting the principles of the British Constitution, where is the difficulty about vetoing the Act? The utmost that can happen is that South Africa may secede from the Imperial partnership. Surely it were a thousand times better that South

¹ This was led by Surendranath Banerjea, on August 28; *vide* also "Indians in South Africa", 7-9-1919.

Africa should cease to be a member of the Empire than that it should corrupt and undermine the whole of the Imperial fabric. It is infinitely better that the Empire has fewer partners than there are, but all working together in the same upward direction than that it should, by coquetting with legalized confiscations and such other immoralities, sow the seeds of its own disruption. And, after all, selfishness, greed and injustice are handmaids of cowardice. There is no reason to fear that a wholesome and timely exercise of the Royal veto will create any great stir in South Africa. The late Sir Henry Parkes, if my recollection serves me right, did issue a threat of secession or some such thing when the late Mr. Chamberlain dared to veto the Australian Immigration Restriction Act containing a racial bar.

But I am free to confess that so long as milder measures are available, the extreme remedy of vetoing ought not to be applied. It is undoubtedly like a strong blister causing great though momentary pain, and, therefore, to be sparingly used. The proposed Commission, if there is a strong Indian representation upon it, should prove effective enough for the purpose to be attained. The thing, therefore, for the time being is to concentrate public opinion upon a strong Commission and a proper safeguarding reference under which it should act.

It was a great relief to find Mr. Montagu not falling into the Reciprocity trap prepared by Sir William Meyer, let me hope, in a hasty moment. I am sorry Mr. Banerjea so easily fell into it. It is murdering the language to use so good a word as reciprocity for so bad a cause as the one under notice. If we must go in for a bad thing, we must at least recognize it by its correct name which is retaliation. Personally, I do not believe in retaliation at all. It always in the end returns with redoubled force on the retaliator. But as *The Times of India*, which is rendering signal service to the cause of our countrymen in South Africa, very rightly points out, retaliation miscalled reciprocity can serve no earthly purpose in the present case. "Its main objection is its utter futility," and if we ever embark upon this very unpractical method, it will be hailed with satisfaction by the anti-Asiatic party in South Africa, and we shall be cursed by the hundred and fifty thousand Indians whose very existence is at stake. One may retaliate when the stake is good. It is terrible to think of it when it is men and women who constitute the stake. What comfort can it be to our countrymen in South Africa for India to be able to send to South Africa a few tons of coal and to shut the gates of India in the

face of a stray South African tourist as against the banishment—for that is virtually the goal of the anti-Asiatic party—of a hundred and fifty thousand Indian settlers, or at least their reduction to helotry. The issue was stated by the late Sir William Wilson Hunter in clear and unmistakable language in 1896 or '95. Writing on this very question of British Indians in South Africa, he said, are they or not to enjoy the full status of British citizens in His Majesty's Dominions? It cannot be solved by the make-shift of retaliation or reciprocity by whatever term it is recognized. It can only be solved by correct statesmanship and correct conduct on our part.

Young India, 6-9-1919

261. LETTER TO THE PRESS

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
September 6, 1919

THE EDITOR
THE BOMBAY CHRONICLE

SIR,

I had the privilege of being a guest of Maulana Abdul Bari Saheb of Firangi Mahal some time ago. We on this side of India, barring the Mohammedans, know little of this great and good man. He is one of the foremost religious preceptors in Islam and has thousands of followers all over India. His unassuming and truthful nature turns his opponents into friends when they begin to understand him. He and I discussed many problems of mutual interest, in the course of which I told him that so far as I could interpret Hindu opinion, I had no doubt that it would be solidly for the Mohammedans in the very difficult task of securing justice on the Turkish claims, difficult because the question was burdened with so many European complications that the Allied Powers might in a weak moment fail to decide it on grounds of justice alone. He said to me with calm deliberation, but without any hesitation, "If we do not help you and do justice to you, Hindus, I for one cannot claim nor even take for my fellow-religionists your active help." I said, "Surely, you do not for one moment consider that I have spoken in any spirit of bargaining. The question that is behind the thought you have just now expressed, viz., that of cow-killing, can be decided on its own merits

and can await solution, for the ripening of true friendship between us and for an impartial discussion.” He immediately intervened as soon as I had finished the sentence and said, “Please excuse me. I know you want to help, because our cause is just and because we are children of the same soil, and not because you want any *quid pro quo*. But do we not owe a duty to ourselves? Islam will fall to pieces if it ever takes and never gives. It must be faithful above all. The nobility of our creed (he used the expression *khandani*) requires us to be strictly just to our neighbours. Here it is a question of taking service. The Hindus will judge our faith, and rightly, by our conduct towards them. That is why I say: if we take from you, we must give to you.” I have only given the tiniest bit of the wonderful conversation I had with a priest who combines in him learning, true wisdom and humility. The Maulana has been true to his word. I know ever since this conversation, he has been preaching amongst his followers and friends the necessity of abstention from cow-killing and today of all days, one of the most sacred of Islam, he has thought of the Hindus and sent me the following telegram :

In celebration of Hindu-Muslim unity no cow sacrifices in Firangi Mahal this Bakrid—Abdul Bari.

To which I have sent the following reply:

Delighted with your great act of renunciation. Pray, accept Id Mubarak.

Would to God that all of us, Hindus, Mohmmedans, Christians, Parsis, Jews, belonging to all races, have the same virtue of charity, justness and breadth of vision. The world will surely be the better for it.

Your, etc.,

M. K. GANDHI

The Bombay Chronicle, 9-9-1919

262. TELEGRAM TO P.S. TO VICEROY

BOMBAY,
September 6, 1919

DOES REFERENCE DISTURBANCES COMMISSIONERS INCLUDE
POWER INVESTIGATE JUDGMENT AND RECOMMEND
CANCELLATION OR REVISION OF SENTANCES.¹

GANDHI

Bombay Government Records

263. OUR AIM

When I undertook to supervise the editing of *Young India*, it occurred to my friends and me whether it would not be more proper for me to run a Gujarati newspaper than to spend my time on writing English articles, revising them, thinking over them and summarizing them. A more important question, however, was...how could I serve India best?

I saw then that it was clearly my duty to continue *Young India*. I know I can use my knowledge of English for the service of the people. But my friends felt, and so did I, that it was necessary for me to run a Gujarati paper as well. Favourable circumstances presented themselves. I have owned a press. I ran *Indian Opinion* for a long time,² though I did not allow myself to be known as its editor. This is the first occasion when I appear in public as an editor. I have welcomed it, but I am nervous. I am fully aware of the responsibility I am undertaking. This is not South Africa. There I used to manage things somehow. But here? There is no lack of newspapers. Of writers there are many. My command of the language is severely limited. Having stayed out of India for twenty years, my information about Indian problems is bound to be inadequate. This is no mere language of modesty but a vivid picture of my condition.

¹ The Assistant Private Secretary, in his letter of September 7, quoting Gandhiji's above telegram, informed him that it had been transferred to the Home department of the Government of India for disposal.

² From 1903 to 1914; H.S.L. Polak was the declared editor.

Despite these limitations of mine, I clearly see that I have something to give to India which no one else has in equal measure. With much striving I have formulated some principles for my life and put them into practice. The happiness I have found that way, I think, I have not seen in others. Many a friend has testified to this. It is my sincere aspiration to place these principles before India and share my happiness with her. A newspaper is one means to that end.

For me, satyagraha is not a mere copy-book maxim : it is my very life. To me nothing but truth has any interest. I am convinced that the country can never benefit by untruth. In any case, I am firmly of the view that, even if untruth should seem profitable for the time being, we must not abandon truth.

I have been a seeker of this truth ever since I began to understand things. I have been trying to practise it for 40 years. Even so, I know that I have not attained perfect harmony in thought, word and deed.

What does it matter, though? The more we strive to realize an ideal, the farther it recedes. To pursue it the more vigorously is the only object worthy of endeavour. We may stumble and fall, but shall rise again; it should be enough if we did not run away from the battle.

In the course of my seeking I have come by innumerable gems, which I want to place before India. *Navajivan* is intended to be a sort of advertisement for them.

I saw, during my pursuit of truth, that it was our duty to give willing obedience to laws. But I also saw, while doing this duty, that it was equally a duty to disobey a law if it fostered untruth. What form should such disobedience take? We should suffer the penalty for the breach of law involved in acting according to the truth. This is known as civil disobedience. Who is qualified for such disobedience and which law should be considered as fostering untruth cannot be decided by laying down definite rules. Experience alone will help one to decide. For that we need both time and means. Let *Navajivan* be the means.

Even when fighting in circumstances none too favourable to them, the satyagrahis were able to maintain amicable relations with the officials, for in satyagraha there is no room for anger or ill will. Truth has its effect on the other party, with the result that he harbours no distrust. This ensures mutual respect and amicable relations between the two parties though they fight. *Navajivan* will show with facts and

arguments that, in India too, though fighting in regard to matters on which we differ from the officials, we may still co-operate with them on others.

But satyagraha is not limited to the relationship between the rulers and the ruled. For social reform, too, it is a priceless weapon, one without a parallel. The condition of women, our many evil customs, the difficulties which arise between Hindus and Muslims, the hardships of the “untouchables”—a great many of such problems can be solved in this way. *Navajivan* will therefore discuss these matters whenever occasion arises.

The agitation against the Rowlatt Act was an object lesson in satyagraha. Hence *Navajivan* will keep it alive before the public. I have no doubt that the Act will be repealed before its time, for I have full faith in truth and in the strength of the satyagrahis.

It is my conviction that India’s economic regeneration lies only through swadeshi. Swadeshi promotes dharma. No country has ever prospered, or ever will, by turning its back on dharma. *Navajivan* will, therefore, work strenuously to propagate the idea of swadeshi.

If anyone asks why, if I wished to serve India, I should not pour out my soul through English, I would say in reply that, being a Gujarati by birth and way of life, I can serve India best only by identifying myself completely with the life of Gujarat. Even from a business point of view, I think I can put my gifts to the best use if I take Gujarat as the main field of my activities. Moreover, to whom should I address my message in English? *Navajivan* will take every possible occasion to show that it is in vain that we are so infatuated with English. I do not mean to say that English has no place at all in our studies or in our life. I only insist that our present use of English is indiscriminate.

India lives in farmers’ huts. The weavers’ skill is a reminder of India’s glory, and so I feel proud in describing myself as a farmer and weaver. I wish to see *Navajivan* reach the farmers and weavers in their huts and dwelling. I want it to be in their language. Hence *Navajivan* will always describe the joys and sorrows of the farmers and the others in their language. If the farmers continue to live in fear, buried under heavy debt, if they are diseased in body, I see nothing but ruin in store for India.

I will always pray to God that in every home women read *Navajivan*. Who will preserve dharma, if not women? What would be

the fate of the future generation if the women remain in a state of ignorance and darkness and know nothing about India's plight? *Navajivan* will, therefore, arouse the women and will try to awaken the men to a sense of their duty towards them.

These are but a few of my aspirations. To summarize what I have said, I shall state that *Navajivan* will be so run as to see that the animosity between the ruler and the ruled is replaced by friendship and the distrust between them by trust, that there is unity of heart between Hindus and Muslims, that India achieves economic freedom and that, all over the country, there is nothing but love. The universe exists in love. Even destruction is a preparation for creation.

This is a rather ambitious programme. Maybe. I shall however cling to the assurance in the scripture that no effort in this direction is ever wasted.¹ A pessimist may ask : can a message of this nature be ever delivered to an illiterate India, especially when there are repressive Press laws in force? Who does not know from experience that love can break the chains of ignorance? Why should love—truth—ear the Act? The manager, the editor, the assistant editor, and the other members of the *Navajivan* set-up have pledged to tell the truth exactly as they see it without fear of the Press Act. *Navajivan* will never hesitate to say what needs to be said for fear of forfeiting security or exposing its staff to personal risks. But in telling the truth, it will not depart from courtesy. *Navajivan* will contain no careless statement, no unnecessary adjective. In fact, truth needs no embellishment by way of adjectives. The art which lies in a plain statement of facts is not to be found in facts disfigured by superfluous adjectives.

I pray to God that the mothers and the learned men of Gujarat welcome and bless *Navajivan* and that *Navajivan* may deserve their blessings!

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 7-9-1919

¹ *Vide Bhagavad Gita*, II, 40.

264. STORY OF KHEDA

To the many services to his credit, the Hon'ble Mr. Gokuldas Kahandas Parekh¹ has added one more by writing a note on the Bombay Government's reply to Sir Sankaran Nair's minute². The note is a long one; we shall therefore content ourselves with giving the main points made by the Hon'ble Mr. Parekh. Sir Sankaran Nair had said that it was the educated classes and their organ, the Congress, which had been responsible for whatever reforms there had been and the relief that the people had succeeded in obtaining from the Government. Officials have always accused the educated classes of being indifferent to the condition of the masses and argued that they could not be accepted as the leaders of the people. Replying to this charge, Sir Sankaran Nair has mentioned the two convincing instances of Champaran and Kheda agitations, showing that in both these places people's rights had been defended by the educated and that relief had been obtained from officials with the utmost difficulty. Replying to the points about Kheda, the Government stated that whatever relief it gave it did on its own, advancing several arguments in proof. The Hon'ble Mr. Parekh's note is in reply to this. The reader will now be able to follow the summary below.

1. In all the districts of Gujarat, except the Panch Mahals, land revenue collection has been ordered at the maximum rate, that is, the Government is collecting twenty per cent of the average annual produce.

2. Before 1907, the Government never remitted land revenue or deferred its collection even in bad years. It was after the second of the two Famine Commissions which were appointed, that is after the Commission of 1901, that the Government framed rules for this purpose. Even this measure of justice was offered after agitation by the people.

3. During the 1899 famine, there had been many complaints against the tyranny of officials in Broach and Surat districts. The question was also raised by members in the Bombay Legislature. The

¹ Member, Bombay Legislative Council. Along with Vithalbhai Patel, he took interest in moving the Government to adopt a considerate stand on the question of kheda farmers.

² *Vide* Appendix "Note on the Kaira Case", 12-8-1919.

Government had declared the complaints to be unfounded. In the end, one of the gentlemen who had made the complaints toured these districts and conducted a private inquiry and collected and published evidence. This obliged the Government to order an inquiry. Mr. Maconochie was appointed the inquiry officer and he found most of the complaints justified. Ultimately the Government was obliged to notify rules for remission and suspension in 1907.

4. The Bombay Government has stated that no failure of crops was known to have occurred in the years preceding the Kheda agitation. Citing instances from the Government reports, the Hon'ble Mr. Parekh has shown conclusively that cultivators in Kheda district had been suffering losses all along from 1911 to 1916. With the help of the same reports, he shows that the Government had to resort to increasing pressure on the people, such as the auctioning of their cattle and household chattels, to realize land-revenue dues.

5. Failure of crops was not all that the people of Kheda district had to bear; the plague and other similar diseases were also endemic among the cultivators.

6. In 1917, excessive rains had damaged the *bajra* crop as also the *bavta* and *kodra* crops. Subsidiary crops had also been damaged by rats and, at some places, paddy as well.

7. The Hon'ble Mr. Parekh has argued from this that revenue officers, from the highest to the lowest, take no account of people's sufferings and do not stop revenue collection even if people have to incur debts or sell their cattle in consequence.

8. There are no rules for determining the percentage of the crop-yield; only rough estimates are made.

9. Because members of the Home Rule League chose to describe the Government as the servant of the people, they incurred the displeasure of the officials and the latter discounted the genuine grievances of the people of Kheda, saying that these had been magnified by outsiders.

10. The Government note makes it appear that Mr. Parekh himself and the Hon'ble Mr. Patel had approached the Collector in a legal capacity. The fact is that both of them, being residents of Kheda, had gone in their capacity as leaders and without fees, to show that they shared the people's suffering.

11. The Government's charges against the Gujarat Sabha were unfounded. The members of the Sabha are respectable gentlemen and

they are fully entitled to work in Kheda. Its sphere of activities is the whole of Gujarat.

12. The view that the Government does a favour every time it suspends land revenue collection is not correct. The basic principles of such suspension were laid down by the Central Government. Rules have been framed in keeping with these principles and it is not open to officials to disregard them at will.

13. It was incumbent on the Bombay Government to have appointed a committee following the inquiry by the Hon'ble Mr. Parekh, the Hon'ble Mr. Patel, the Servants of India Society and Mr. Gandhi. Its failure to do so is nothing but sheer injustice; had the Central Government not intervened, the people of Kheda would not have had even the relief they got.

Mr. Parekh has thus, with unanswerable arguments, lent strong support to Sir Sankaran Nair's minute and exposed the fallacies of the Bombay Government. What is surprising is that, despite the weakness of its case, the Government should have clung to it so desperately. Much like a coir rope that will not be untwisted even when burnt,¹ the Government, though in the wrong, is not prepared to admit its error, increasing by this refusal the distance between the ruler and the ruled.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 7-9-1919

265. FINE ON NADIAD AND BAREJADI

The *Patidars* and *Banias* of Nadiad and the landowners of Barejadi are in trouble. A Government Resolution has been published ordering the stationing of additional police, under section 25 of the District Police Act, at Nadiad and Barejadi for a period of one year, and the recovery of the expenditure on this account in Nadiad from the *Patidars* and *Banias* of that town and, in Barejadi, from the landowners of Barejadi and Nandej. The expenditure in Nadiad has been estimated by the Government at Rs. 15,556 and that in Barejadi at Rs. 6,028. The general rule is that the person to be punished should be informed beforehand and given an opportunity to explain why he should not be punished. Still more just, the accused should be duly prosecuted and a court's judgment obtained. But the Government did

¹ Gujarati saying

neither. Orders of fines have been passed against the accused without any prior intimation to them. Even this information about the fines has come out because papers were sent to the Nadiad Municipality for effecting recovery of fines.

Let us now go into the genesis of the fine.

It originated with the letter, dated June 7, from Mr. Robertson, the Inspector-General of Police, and the letters of May 16 and 26 from Mr. Ker, the Collector of Kheda. Prior to this, on April 21, in a letter addressed to Shri Gokuldas, the President of the Nadiad Municipality, Mr. Ker had congratulated the people of Nadiad in the following words on their preserving peace:

“I have the honour to convey my appreciation of the respect for law and order which the people of Nadiad showed during the period of strain and excitement, now happily over.”¹ We are entitled to assume that, since the Collector chose to convey his views through Shri Gokuldas Talati², he, too, was included among the people complimented. But the ship changed course on May 16. Between April 21 and May 16, consultations had taken place between the Collector, Mr. Robertson and Mr. Pratt, the Commissioner of Northern Division. At the instance of Mr. Robertson, the Collector supplied the number of additional police required and, on May 26, addressed a long letter to the Commissioner suggesting that the expenditure on account of the additional police force should be recovered from *Patidars* and *Banias* of Nadiad. The principles which he accepts in paragraph 2, he violates in paragraph 3. In paragraph 2 he states :

I will deprecate any appearance of haste in arriving at a conclusion as cases are pending before the special tribunal in respect of all the offences and the results of these trials may affect the issue.

Nevertheless, in paragraph 3, he says that it had been decided to impose a fine on Nadiad. The Nadiad cases had not concluded by the 26th. They had not even been heard. The Court pronounced judgment on them on August 12. And yet the decision to impose a fine on Nadiad was reached on May 16. In paragraph 4 of his letter³ the Collector gives five reasons for imposing the fine:

1. The derailment was undoubtedly caused by Nadiad people. They are mostly

¹ *Vide “Audi Alteram Partem”*, 30-8-1919.

² He later gave evidence before the Disorders Inquiry Committee.

³ The letter was published in *Young India*, 30-8-1919.

Patidars.

2. This offence is clearly the direct outcome of the persistent agitation against Government which has been going on among the people of Nadiad for some years. Nadiad was the headquarters of Mr. Gandhi last year during the passive resistance movement, a movement directly calculated to undermine, as it did in fact undermine, all respect for the officers of Government and for Government itself.

3. The *Patidars* of Kaira district affect to despise the *Banias* as their clerks, but the agitation against the payment of land revenue, organized by the latter, became popular with the *Patidars* as it held out to them the prospect of some advantage. When things came to a head the active part was naturally taken by the more enterprising *Patidars*, while the *Banias* remained in the background. Mr. Gandhi, Mr. Gokuldas Talati and Mr. Fulchand Shah are all *Banias*.

4. The people of Nadiad were given an opportunity of assisting in bringing the offenders to justice. Except for the perfunctory offer of a reward of Rs. 500, they have done nothing; no leader of the Nadiad public has given me any information worth having. It is clear, thus, that they have not taken the opportunity which was offered to them, and that they have done nothing to absolve themselves of responsibility.

5. Special blame attaches to *Banias* for two reasons : first because the leaders who created the spirit of opposition to Government belong to that community and secondly because by closing their shops all the shopkeepers, who are mostly *Banias*, gave the signal for commotion and excitement to the unruly elements. In Nadiad the first hartal took place on April 6 without any reason whatever and thus prepared the way for the disturbances of the 11th.

One thing which stands out from the reasons given above is that the great crime of Nadiad was to have harboured Mr. Gandhi and allowed itself to be made the headquarters of the satyagraha campaign. As regards the first reason, the Collector has usurped the functions of a judge, for, before the Court which was entrusted with the Nadiad cases had pronounced judgment on them, he decided, himself, that the people of Nadiad were guilty, especially the *Patidars*, but, according to paragraph 2 of his letter, this was not sufficient reason to justify a fine on them. The third reason has been advanced specially to victimize the *Patidars* and the *Banias*. If the former had merely been duped by the latter, the penalty should have been imposed exclusively on the latter. The fact of the matter is that neither the revenue agitation nor the political movement was carried on by any one community, but all communities had a hand in it.

We see that, throughout India, Hindus and Muslims took equal part in the strike. Mr. Gandhi has made it clear in an article in *Young India* that he had not entered this and other similar movements as a *Bania*. It was from Mr. Ker's letter that he first discovered that Mr. Gokuldas Talati was a *Bania* and only a month ago he came to know of Mr. Fulchand being one. In holding the *Banias* and *Patidars* guilty, the Collector has done injustice to himself, to them and to the other communities. We are sure that, instead of being pleased that the *Patidars* and the *Banias* had been singled out for the fine, the other communities must have felt insulted, for how can those who have taken equal part in public work with these two communities tolerate the charge that they have not? Finally, while considering this reason, we should state that, if Mr. Gandhi's movement was the cause of the crimes in Nadiad, he alone deserved the fine of Rs. 15,000 and other punishments. A well-known Calcutta newspaper, *Englishman*, expressed itself to this same effect, and rightly, while commenting on Mr. Horniman's deportation. The fourth reason given by the Collector reflects on his sense of justice. It simply means that the people of Nadiad were held responsible because they refused to do the work of the C.I.D. According to the principle followed in it, at any place where a crime has been committed, if the criminal is not apprehended or, after being apprehended, is acquitted and if the people have not helped to apprehend him or, having tried, have failed in their efforts, the people themselves should be fined. The fifth reason has been advanced to prove the responsibility of the *Banias*. A part of it is covered in the third reason; the remaining part is to the effect that, though there was no reason for doing so, the *Banias* closed their shops and the others had, therefore, to follow suit. Both the premises are false. It is an undeniable fact that people all over India had joined in closing their shops. In saying that the shops were closed when there was no reason for doing so, the Collector has been incredibly blind; for, at the suggestion of Mr. Gandhi, shops were closed everywhere and a fast kept to mark the commencement of satyagraha, and he seems to have forgotten altogether that, had the Government not committed the serious blunders it did between April 6 and 11, the events which shook India between April 10 and 15¹ would not have occurred. The Government had no reason whatever to

¹ The reference is to the widespread disturbances in the Punjab, Ahmedabad, Nadiad and Bombay.

arrest Mr. Gandhi while he was proceeding to help in preserving peace. The people could not tolerate it that, notwithstanding this, he was arrested; strikes followed everywhere, and even excesses. What court shall sit in judgment over the acts of the Government? Even so, the Collector could have expressed his view; in failing to do this he has done injustice to the people of his district when he should have exonerated them.

It now only remains to be considered what the people of Nadiad and Barejadi should do. We fail to see any need for stationing additional police at either place. The excesses committed by the people at these two places and elsewhere cannot be condemned strongly enough. They only betrayed the people's madness. Instead of gaining anything, the people as a whole suffered. Their money went up in flames. They were made to pay a fine and satyagraha was brought into disrepute. The repeal of the Rowlatt Act, which was in sight, will need still more efforts. It is also a matter of shame for us that the guilty in Nadiad have remained undiscovered. It is, however, one thing to admit that in Nadiad we have done wrong things as the Government has in the Punjab, and quite another to submit to punishment inflicted without regard for justice. The principle that no one who has not been proved guilty should be punished must remain inviolate. Keeping it so is to the advantage and benefit of both the ruler and the ruled. We find English books on law again and again quoting judges to the effect that it is better that a hundred guilty persons escape than that even one innocent man should suffer. This is truth. We must cling to this principle. Accordingly, we strongly advise the people of Nadiad to make unremitting efforts to see that they don't have to pay the fine, to draw up petitions stating the facts and send them on to the Government. No separate argument is necessary for Barejadi. Its case is even stronger than that of Nadiad. If the landowners of Barejadi are to be held responsible for what happened at the station, why should they not be held responsible also for the incidents at the Ahmedabad and Viramgam stations? Until it has been established that they were in fact connected with the incidents at the station, they certainly cannot be held responsible. They, too, should send a petition. We hope that the two places will get full help from other parts of Gujarat in this matter, and we entreat the Government to withdraw the unjust orders it has passed against Nadiad and Barejadi.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 7-9-1919

266 THE PUNJAB SITUATION

The thundering clouds have burst at last. The much-disussed Punjab Commission has now been appointed. It consists of Lord Hunter, Mr. Rankin, Mr. Rice, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Sahibzada Sultan Ahmed and Sir George Burrow. The Commission will inquire into the causes of the disturbances which broke out in April in the Punjab and other places, and into the steps which were taken to control them and will make recommendations. The Commission will commence its sessions next month. We gather this from the speech of His Excellency the Viceroy at the opening of the Legislative Assembly. Lord Hunter was Solicitor General of Scotland in 1910-11. Mr. Rankin is a Judge of the Calcutta High Court. All Gujaratis know Sir Chimanlal Setalvad. Sahibzada Sultan Ahmed is a brother of Sahibzada Aftab Ahmed Khan, a member of the India Council. He was in the Justice Department of the Gwalior State for a long time; Mr. Rice is a member of the Services and was for several year Chief Secretary in Burma. Sir George Burrow is a Major-General. Thus we find persons from all fields appointed on the Commission as members. It must be said that a good balance has been maintained. Only experience will show whether the members prove themselves independent. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad is a friend and pupil of that able leader, the late Sir Pherozeshah¹; hence we may take it that he will remain impartial and independent. What we know about Sahibzada Sultan Ahmed is not much and the same can be said about the other members. As Lord Hunter comes from an outside atmosphere, we may hope that he will display the qualities of firmness and impartiality which a chairman ought to possess. That the work of the Committee will be generally open to the public will go a long way in ensuring justice. Whether or no we get justice will, ultimately, depend largely on ourselves. There is no doubt that members of the Commission cannot but do justice if everywhere experienced men give evidence before it. If the people fearlessly present the facts as they know them, we are confident that the truth about the atrocities perpetrated in the Punjab will fully come out. From the published speech of the Viceroy, it can be inferred that the terms of reference of the Commission include a

¹ Sir Pherozeshah Mehta (1845-1915); President, Indian National Congress, 1890, 1909

review of the sentences already passed. But the position will be known more definitely by and by.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 7-9-1919

267. UNHAPPY PUNJAB

On one side, we hear of injustice in case after case in the Punjab; on the other, stories of the people's sufferings reach us from Swami Shraddhanandji. A young student named Karamchand was sentenced to be hanged, without any evidence, as has been shown in *Young India* by an analysis of the published record of the case. Fortunately, the young man was not hanged, and now he has been given one year's imprisonment. But, in such cases, the reduction of a sentence cannot be taken as evidence that justice has been done. Where no offence has been committed and a guiltless person is declared guilty, to show mercy by reducing the sentence is like plundering someone's property and then returning a part of it to him by way of kindness. The nation returning a part of it to him by way of kindness. The nation asks, or rather those guiltless persons who are undergoing prison terms ask, not for kindness but for justice. If they are in fact guilty, in the case of crimes such as those alleged against them, we have no right to ask for mercy nor is the Government bound to show any. Let us take the case of Dr. Satyapal himself. The information his father has given in his letter to Mr. Gandhi is so painful that it makes a man's hair stand on end. Dr. Satyapal served the Government well during the War. At the time of the alleged conspiracy, both Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew and Dr. Satyapal were under restraint orders prohibiting them from speaking in public. Moreover, Dr. Satyapal was not even present when the conspiracy is supposed to have been hatched on March 30. Before he was arrested, no violent incidents had taken place in Amritsar. Even the report of Dr. Satyapal's speeches produced before the Court was false. Thus, without any substantial evidence, sentences have been passed on able leaders. In these circumstances, it is certain that the people will get no justice without an independent inquiry and will not be satisfied without one. The nation cannot tolerate such injustices. We hope that the Government will soon

appoint an Inquiry Committee and end the discontent prevailing among the people.

Even if this is done, it will still be necessary to provide relief to those whose dear ones have been hanged or are suffering imprisonment. With the help of volunteers, the Sannyasi Swami [Shraddhanand] is active, sharing with the afflicted families in their sufferings. Plenty of money is needed for this work. Already about a lakh of rupees has been offered in Calcutta and one lakh in Bombay. According to Swamiji's calculations, yet more money will be needed. The accounts given by him have been published in the papers. We hope that all Gujaratis will contribute their mite to this meritorious cause. We trust everyone will give as much as he can.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 7-9-1919

268. TURKEY

The Turkish question concerns eight crores of Indian Muslims; and a question that concerns nearly one-fourth of the nation must concern the whole of India. It is impossible that one of the four limbs of the nation be wounded and the rest of the nation remain unconcerned. We cannot be called one nation, we cannot be a single body, if such a wound has no effect on us. Hence it is the duty of all, Hindus and Muslims alike, to understand the main points of the Turkish question. It is Turkey's demand and the demand of our Muslim brethren in India that the territory of Turkey as it was at the start of the War in August 1914 must remain inviolate, and this demand has been forcefully presented by leading Muslims in England. Quoting the words of the Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George, they have shown that he, too, had agreed to respect this sentiment. President Wilson also gave expression to similar views. His fourteen principles and five points also imply this. The other nations involved in the War have had their rights preserved to a large extent. What is Turkey's fault then? The issue still remains to be settled but there are hints in the British Press which create doubt in the mind of every Muslim. They fear that Turkey, that is the Muslim world, will not get justice from the Allies, and that the Turkish Empire will be dismembered.

This is no ordinary problem. The problem of the Turkish Empire involve a serious issue for Islam. Islam makes no distinction between the secular and the religious. The Turkish Sultan is himself

the holy Khalifa of Islam; and, if the Sultanate disappears, then according to the Muslim faith the Khalifate will lose all meaning, so strict are the injunctions of the Koran. Hence this has become a serious religious issue for all the Muslim nations.

As he set foot in Bombay, the Maharaja of Bikaner¹ said that Mr. Montagu and Lord Sinha² were giving full attention to this question. They say even Lord Chelmsford³ kept writing strongly about it to Mr. Lloyd George. But merely writing in strong language is not likely to do any good. We believe that Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford owe it, as a duty, to see that the Muslims get the justice to which they are entitled, or, as a mark of protest against the injustice, to give up their posts as Secretary of State for India and as the Crown's Representative [in India].

It is the duty of Muslims to present their case before the world peacefully but firmly and stick to it unflinchingly. There should be no exaggeration in it; nor should it be so presented as to leave room for bargaining. They should demand only that without which, it may be said and proved, the Islamic way of life would lose its meaning. Where it is a question of ethics, that is, of religion, where the deeper emotions are concerned, there can be no scope for compromise, give and take or bargaining. Truth can be only one, and ultimately all see it as such. Turkey's case has justice on its side, the pledge of a British Minister and President Wilson's promise. If the Allies' claim that they fought to protect the right of small States against injustice has any substance in it, then neither Turkey nor the Muslims nor any of us have reason to feel suspicious. But he alone can shake off suspicion who works on tirelessly. Like the Muslims, the Hindus and the other communities also have their duty to do. If they regard the Muslims as their respected neighbours and brethren, they should extend their full support to the latter's demand which concerns their religion. All those born in India have to live and die together. No community can rise at the cost of another, or preserve its rights if it permits those of others to be sacrificed.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 7-9-1919

¹ Indian representative at the Peace Conference

² Lord Satyendra Prasanno Sinha (1864-1928); lawyer and statesman; Under-Secretary of State for India, 1919-20; Governor of Bihar and Orissa, 1920-21; first Indian member of Viceroy's Executive Council

³ Viceroy and Governor-General of India, 1916-21

269. INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

The outcome of the deputation which the Hon'ble Surendranath Banerjea led to the Secretary of State for India on the South African [question] may be regarded on the whole as successful and we can now hope that our fellow-countrymen in that far away land will get justice without having to resort to satyagraha by way of civil disobedience. Mr. Montagu has admitted that our case is perfectly just and assured us that the Commission to be appointed in South Africa will have Indian representatives. If the representatives appointed are in truth representatives and if the four conditions laid down by the Imperial Citizenship Association are fulfilled, we shall have no need to worry over the outcome of the Commission. The conditions are: (1) that there should be an equal number of Indian and white representatives, (2) that the Commission should have no power to reduce the existing rights, (3) that the Commission should have the power to recommend the withdrawal of the law just passed for depriving [Indians] of land and trade rights and (4) that this law should remain in abeyance pending the recommendations of the Commission. The conditions are as necessary as they are reasonable. Our countrymen fear that the Commission has not been appointed to ensure them justice by granting them further rights but to eliminate them from the whole of South Africa, or permit them to stay on only as helots, as has happened in the Transvaal. The best form which popular agitation on this issue can take at present is to secure Indian representation [on the Commission] on these conditions.

We are sorry that Mr. Surendranath Banerjea walked into the trap laid by Sir William Meyer. It was good that Mr. Montagu did not do so too. We trust that Sir William Meyer laid the trap of "reciprocity" in a hasty moment and unintentionally. What it amounts to is that, if in the end our countrymen in South Africa fail to secure justice, we should punish the whites of South Africa. That is, if ever a white tourist happens to come this way, he should be refused entry into India and should be debarred from acquiring land here and the export of a ton or two of coal, if even that much, from India to South Africa should be stopped. Even from a practical point of view, this suggestion serves no purpose. If there is no discourtesy in saying so, acting on it would be like the barking of dogs at an elephant from behind. The whites of South Africa will welcome it, of course. South Africa's trade with India is so insignificant and South African whites

settled in India are so few that this kind of retaliation by us will be pointless. We shall not only make ourselves ridiculous by advancing such a suggestion but also invite upon ourselves the curses of our countrymen. A hundred and fifty thousand children of India settled there will have to come away, leaving their property behind, or live on merely as helots. What comfort can it be to them that the export of a few tons of coal to South Africa will have been stopped or that a stray white from there will be denied entry into India? *The Times of India*, which has been ably advocating this cause, has also ridiculed Sir William Meyer's suggestion.

If we go deeper, we shall see that any act of retaliation, even if severe enough in comparison with the original wrong, only recoils upon the person who resorts to it. What the hand does but hurts one's own heart.¹ An injustice can never be cured by another in return. Injustice cannot remove injustice. Even if a hundred and fifty thousand whites were settled in India and we could pass against them, and did in fact pass, the same kind of laws as obtained in South Africa, how would that prevent the ruin of the hundred and fifty thousand Indians? The principle of tit for tat is based on the assumption that the other party is deterred from doing injustice when we have the ability and the will to pay him back in his own coin. This does indeed happen sometimes. It is well known, however, that the total result does not advance the cause of justice; for, countless men have acted on the age-old principle of a tooth for a tooth and an eye for an eye, but injustice has not yet disappeared. Besides, far-sighted writers in the West, too, have been saying that, despite the great advance of science in Europe and the opportunities for education which exist there, hatred and injustice have not diminished. We have direct evidence of this before our very eyes. But we have strayed from the subject. That we can see no meaning in Sir William Meyer's suggestion even from a practical point of view as a means of retaliation is sufficient to show that it deserves to be rejected.

Mr. Montagu has stated that an exercise of the veto is politically unfeasible. "Veto" signifies the power retained by the King to disallow a law passed in any Dominion of the British Empire. Mr. Montagu's statement amounts in effect to saying that the Dominion of south Africa is so strong and enjoys such freedom that, if the King's Ministers advised him to disallow the law passed by it and if the King accepted such advice, there would perhaps be a commotion in the Dominion. This means merely that a partner in the British

¹ Gujarati saying

Empire would secede from the partnership. In this Empire even the weakest person should be protected from injustice and if, in the process, any of the partners secede, the result should be wholly welcome. The British Empire cannot no Empire can endure if it holds even its weakest subjects as slaves for ever, as mere hewers of wood and drawers of water. An Empire that would last has therefore no choice but to abandon those parts of it that always act in opposition to its aims. As a matter of fact, there is no strong reason to believe that the whites of South Africa will raise an outcry if the veto is used. Injustice, immorality and the like are always cowardly and timid. To start with, such fanatics make a great show of strength and finally yield before the force of justice. The anti-Indian movement in South Africa is based on such rank injustice that, if the Imperial Government were to display even a little strength, it cannot survive. To ensure that the Imperial government displays such strength, only one thing needs to be done. If we raise a dignified but powerful protest and act likewise with strength on behalf of our countrymen overseas living their lives in difficult conditions, we shall strengthen the hands of the Imperial Government and enable it to secure justice for them.

Though we have shown that the Royal veto can be used effectively, we must confess that it is a weapon which must be used sparingly. We believe, as Mr. Montagu does, that a Royal Commission will secure justice. At the present time, therefore, we must concentrate on efforts to see that everything goes well with the Commission.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 7-9-1919

270. SIGNIFICANCE OF FIJI STRUGGLE

A number of issues are involved in the Fiji problem but, for educating public opinion at present, it is essential to know only one thing. Indentured labourers emigrated from India to Fiji in 1877. To speak plainly, indentured labour means a state of semi-slavery. This meaning is not given by us; it is a phrase used by the late Sir William Wilson Hunter to describe Indian indentured labourers. From that day to this, the outrages committed on the womenfolk of the Indian labourers have been possible simply because of our lethargy or, may be, our ignorance. We have before us the testimony of the good

Mr. Andrews that each woman has to serve three males.¹ These three are indentured labourers; there may be others occasionally. We have translated Mr. Andrews' language, but the readers will easily guess the meaning of the word "serve". A telegram to Mr. Gandhi from Fiji demands that this monstrous outrage should stop. The Fiji Indians say in the telegram that it seems the hope that the Fiji Government will end the present system of indenture will be belied. They fear that the Government has given up the idea of abolishing indenture. If it isabolished, our helpless sisters will be saved from dishonour or, at any rate, we shall be free of the responsibility. It is plainly our duty to see this done. So long as we are ignorant of the snake under our bed, we can sleep in peace, but only till then. The moment we become aware of the presence of the venomous companion, we get alarmed; we should react in similar fashion to indenture in Fiji. So long as we were ignorant of the horrible conditions of our sisters living in Fiji, we could rest and sleep in peace. But now? It is a sin to keep quiet even for a moment. When the whole of India understands this, the immorality in Fiji will not go on for an hour longer. There are lawyers who ask how we can end lawful contracts of indenture, how we can put pressure on the Fiji whites. There can be only one answer to this. A law contrary to morality, a law which upholds immorality, is no law. To respect such a law is to be a partner in immorality. How did it ever happen that a law which served as an instrument of immorality continued to this day? This is a pertinent question. We hope an appeal will reach the Government immediately from every village and town of Gujarat, demanding that the system of indenture in Fiji be abolished forthwith. Mr. Andrews has fixed December 31 as the final date for its abolition. He does not have the power of a government in his hands; but he has greater power than that: the solemn voice of his grief-stricken soul. We wish every man and every woman hears this voice and does his or her duty.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 7-9-1919

¹ Andrews had waited on the Secretary of State for India, Edwin Montagu, when the latter was in India during March 1918, and placed before him the official medical report of the Fiji Government. " 'When one indentured Indian woman,' ran the damning admission, 'has to serve three indentured men as well as various outsiders, the result as regards syphilis and gonorrhoea cannot be in doubt.' 'That settles it,' said Montagu. 'Ask what you like.' On January 1, 1920, the last indentured labourer was free." *Charles Freer Andrews*.

271. NOTES

SECURITY FROM “NAVAJIVAN”

The monthly *Navajivan*, it may be said, was looked upon with kindness, but the weekly *Navajivan* has not succeeded in remaining worthy of the same kindness. Every newspaper, when changing the frequency of publication or the press, etc., has to make a new declaration and, on that occasion, indeed at any time, the magistrate is authorized to demand security or, if a security has already been taken, even to increase its amount. The *Navajivan* having become a weekly, a declaration had to be made, and the magistrate sent the following order.¹

Has the *Navajivan* lost its freedom because Mr. Gandhi has accepted its editorship?

FORCED LABOUR IN THE PANCH MAHALS

We often hear it said that the evil of forced labour is more prevalent in the Panch Mahals than in any other district. The matter even went to the Court once. The thing came in for a good deal of discussion at the political conference in Godhra.² Now the issue has been settled, so far as the Panch Mahals is concerned. Congratulations are due to Mr. Clayton, Collector of the Panch Mahals, for the circular he has issued, as also to the office-bearers of the Godhra Home Rule League. It was, indeed, very good of Mr. Clayton to have announced his decision soon after his discussion with the local Home Rule Committee. He has made it clear in his order that no one is bound to serve an official at anything less than the prevailing rate of payment and that, if any official brings pressure on the people or harasses them, he will render himself liable to disciplinary action. What has happened is an illustration of how the officials and the people can, by joint discussion, solve such a complicated problem as that of forced labour. We hope complaints of forced labour in the Panch Mahals will now disappear and that the officials will fully respect Mr. Clayton's orders. We would also suggest, at the same time, that people should render proper services to the officials when paid for at the market rate.

¹ This is not reproduced here. It demanded a security of Rs. 500.

² *Vide* “Speech at Gujarat Political Conference—I”, 3-11-1917 & “Speech at Gujarat Political Conference—II”, 4-11-1917.

It is our duty to help Government officers and make things easy for them when they are out touring. The officers' duty is not to commandeer services from the people but secure them by polite request and against full payment. Flattery, servility and fear should for ever be shunned; but impudence and rudeness are to be shunned as much.

THE LATE SHETH DAWOOD MAHOMED

Everyone must have read the life sketch of the well-known South African leader, Sheth Dawood-Mahomed, which Mr. Gandhi wrote for the papers.¹ There is no doubt that his death is a great loss to the Indians of South Africa. It is not surprising that the whole of Gujarat should be proud of him, considering that he was born in a village near Surat. His shrewdness and his ability in affairs were such that, had he been born in Europe, he would have become a famous figure. India barely knows him. One who, though illiterate, rose from an ordinary condition and handled business of lakhs, who trained any number of men for business and spent his old age in the service of the people, gave a good education to his son and, by his ability, gained control over thousands of people what more could he have done to become famous? Many a famous man has acquired fame without deserving it, and many who never acquired fame have served the people and lived for God. We send our condolences to the family of Sheth Dawood Mahomed and to the Indians of South Africa.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 7-9-1919

272. *SPEECH ON SWADESHI, BOMBAY*²

September 7, 1919

Some people have been saying that the cry of swadeshi has been taken up all over India, but I don't believe this. I get letters from many places telling me that, if I went to open stores there, the people would start using swadeshi cloth. That, however, does not happen. It will come about only if people first make up their mind firmly to do so. One gentleman said that we should manufacture cloth finer than English or Japanese cloth and sell it cheaper. But this is not possible.

¹ *Vide* "Letter to the Press", 30-8-1919.

² The occasion was the opening of the Gujarat Swadeshi Store.

If we want to spread the movement for the swadeshi vow, we should put up with the hardships which follow for the time being. No cloth anywhere in the world can stand comparison with what I am wearing. Surely, the *Bhagavad Gita* doesn't say that we should dress ourselves in delicate Japanese fabrics. Every shastra says that only our own dharma can save us, and it is our dharma, in our country, to wear cloth made by our workers in their homes, singing hymns as they work. We should accept what our mother gives us, be it plain bread and no more, and to offer thanks to her. This is our first duty. It is undeniable that we don't have enough cloth for all. We should so work as to start a spinning class in every home; we should then have a mill in each home. We shall need no money for this; we need incur no expenditure. If you all want India to prosper, this is the best way. I don't believe that there is anyone who will give up fine dresses straightway and take to wearing khadi. If the young people take up [this work], we shall gradually succeed in improving our condition. We should think before embarking on anything. I place before you this idea which has come to me, hoping that all of you will take it up. The Government, however, has clipped my wings and confined me to Bombay Presidency.¹ If the men and women of this Presidency alone take up the work, they will be able to meet the needs of the whole of India. If the swadeshi movement were flourishing in India as we want it to flourish, we would have swaraj this very day. But, friends, it is not. I am indebted to you for your having listened to what I had to say. In the end, I only pray that God should prosper the enterprise of these friends.

[From Gujarati]

Gujarat Mitra ane Gujarat Darpan, 14-9-1919

¹ An order was served on Gandhiji on April 9, prohibiting his entry into the Punjab; *vide* "Teleegram to O.S. Ghaté", 9-4-1919

273. TELEGRAM TO HOME SECRETARY

SATYAGRHA ASHRAM,
SABARAMTI,
[After September 7, 1919]

TO
THE SECRETARY
HOME DEPARTMENT
SIMLA

COULD YOU PLEASE WIRE REPLY MY ENQUIRY ADDRESSED
P.V.S.¹ AND TRANSFERRED BY HIM TO YOU, REGARDING
INTERPRETATION REFERENCE LORD HUNTER'S COMMITTEE.²

GANDHI

From a photostat of the handwritten draft : S. N. 6866

274. THE VICEROY'S SPEECH : INQUIRY COMMITTEE

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the time of the opening³ of the session of the Imperial Legislative Council is naturally a very important pronouncement, coming as it does after very troublous times through which we have just passed and from whose effects we have hardly emerged. The fact of the actual appointment of the Commission gives relief, though I observe that the Indian Press is not over-enthusiastic upon the personnel or upon the fact that it is not a Royal Commission, but it is one that is to report to Delhi. In my humble opinion, a commission appointed from Delhi can be just as effective as a Royal Commission. And Royal Commissions have been known in our own times to have been perfectly abortive. Lord Morley, when he was in active service, used to say that his experience of them was so unhappy that he did not believe in them at all. He became an unwilling party to them because it was an English weakness. In a case, however, like that of the Punjab, an inquiry is the necessary sequel. We need not, therefore, complain of the inquiry not being a Royal

¹ *Vide* "Telegram to P. S. to Viceroy", 6-9-1919.

² Gandhiji received on September 16 a telegram from the Deputy Secretary, Government of India, saying that "the intentions of Government will very shortly be made public. The Government of India cannot intimate them to you in advance."

³ This was on September 3, at Simla.

Commission, but we have every right to examine its personnel and, though Lord Hunter does not enjoy a world-wide reputation, it need not be doubted that he has a reputation to lose. After all, he must be pre-eminently Mr. Montagu's choice and I would hesitate to distrust his choice or his intentions even though he has quite unjustly and unwarrantedly put in an energetic defence of some of the measures adopted or approved by the Government of India. Nor may one cavil at the appointment of the other members. We in Bombay, however, can derive the greatest satisfaction from the appointment of Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, not because he is a Bombay man but because he is an able advocate and what is more, because he is a pupil and an ardent follower of the late Sir Pherozeshah Mehta. We may trust him to act as fearlessly and as impartially as the late Sir Pherozeshah Mehta and to hold his own against odds. His appointment, moreover, furnishes perhaps an indication of the desire of the Government of India to secure impartial men who have not formed, or rather expressed, opinions one way or other. We have a right to expect Sahebzada Sultan Mehomed Khan to do no less. And I would take leave to add, too, that where Englishmen have not formed preconceived notions or where they have not gone, as all of us sometimes do go, mad over some things, they dispense fearless justice and expose wrong even though the perpetrators may be their own people. I would, therefore, respectfully suggest suspension of judgment over the personnel of the Commission. Trust it and respond to the Viceregal appeal for a calm atmosphere.

I derive, however, much greater satisfaction from the knowledge that, after all, the securing of a proper finding by the Commission is in the largest measure dependent upon our countrymen in the Punjab. If those who know the facts will come forward fearlessly to tell the truth and if there are no degraded beings in the Punjab ready enough to sell themselves for the sake of personal gain, we need have no misgivings. Our case is so excellent, the injustices that have been already brought to light are so glaring that we need not fear an abortion if the people of the Punjab will but do their duty. Why was there justice done in the case of Champaran? It was primarily and principally because the poor, ground-down ryots of Champaran dared to tell the truth. Will the free people of the Punjab do less? There can be but one answer. But we must help them and we shall best do so, not by spilling ink over showing the weakness of the personnel of the Committee or over its not being a Royal Commission, but by

concentrating ourselves upon seeing that there is no espionage either on the one side or the other, that the people of the Punjab are permitted to have a free atmosphere to work in, and there is comfort in the thought that the ever-vigilant and ubiquitous Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviyaji is there, assisted by Sannyasi Swami Shri Shraddhanandji and the indomitable Pandit Motilal Nehru. We need not fear the consequences.

It is noteworthy that the Committee is to investigate not only the affairs in the Punjab, but also in this Presidency. There should be no difficulty in our being able to show the real causes of the discontent as also the happy distinction, on the whole, between the aftermath here and the Punjab. There is one more thing about the Committee before it can be dismissed from consideration. What is the meaning of the reference to the Committee? It seems to me broad enough to cover an examination of the judgments of the Punjab Special Tribunals, whether the Special Commissions or the Martial Law Courts, and to include the power for the Committee to recommend total or partial remission of sentences. But we may not leave anything understood on a matter so vital as this. We must therefore have this point satisfactorily cleared up some way or other.

As regards the Indemnity Bill, though I think that it would have been graceful, even tactful, on the part of the Viceroy not to have mentioned the Indemnity Bill in the same breath as [the] Commission, I submit it is well to suspend judgment till we have seen the full text of the Bill proposed to be introduced by the Government.

ROWLATT ACT AND AFTER

I now come to the debatable part of the Viceregal speech on the events of April. These are H. E.'s words :

Last session certain hon'ble members during the passage of the Rowlatt Bill gave me warnings of an almost minatory character that if that Bill passed into law there would be agitation of a serious nature. I think the hon'ble members will realize that no Government could deviate from a policy which it regarded as essential on account of any threat of agitation. However, there were those who thought that it was necessary to make good this threat, and as a consequence, the deplorable events occurred which are to be the subject of an enquiry. It is not my intention to discuss these events but I would point out this that it is easy to minimize their gravity. After the disorders have been put down no one who had the responsibility of dealing with them is likely to forget the issue which they had to face. Murders and arson were

committed, telegraph wires were cut, railway lines were torn up and for some days my only sure communication with the Government of the Punjab was by means of the wireless. Ocular proof of the gravity of the situation with which we were then faced and of the damage done is still manifest in many of the districts which suffered, and to anyone who would attempt to minimize the trouble I would say : ‘Go into these districts and see for yourself the vestiges of senseless destruction which are still there.’

What does the Viceroy mean by “the minatory character” of the warnings given by the Indian Councillors? Is a warning ‘minatory’ when it is actually carried into effect? Is His Excellency not going too far in prejudging the issue that is to be submitted to the Commission of his own creation? The warning was that of friends. It was open to the members to make good their warnings by creating an agitation in the country that could tell upon the Government and it would have done so already, had the Government hastily and foolishly not precipitated complications. Why does His Excellency tack the violence after the 10th of April on to the orderly, religious and clear agitation that culminated in the day of humiliation and prayer on the 6th of April? Is it not permissible to us to retort that the Government found that their pet Act was slipping out of their hands, that they went mad and, setting aside their own previous knowledge and canons of propriety, resorted to disorderly acts which brought about the regrettable violence and consequent loss of innocent lives, both European and Indian? It is for the Commission to judge the issue whether the Rowlatt agitation brought about the mob violence or whether the Government incensed the mob to violence. I respectfully suggest that inasmuch as he of his own showing gave the Punjab Government a blank card and even issued orders on their recommendation, His Excellency stands in the same box as the Punjab Government to be judged by the Commission.

His Excellency has done gross injustice to me by tearing from their context words of mine and applying them to a different situation altogether. His Excellency has not read the whole of my speech before the Ahmedabad audience on the 14th of April in which the passage quoted by him occurred.¹ It was due from him to the public and me to have sent for the speech and read it. He would then have seen that my speech applied only to the events in Ahmedabad which I

¹ For the text of this speech: *vide* “Speech at Mass Meeting, Ahmedabad”, 14-4-1919.

was able to investigate personally. That speech would have shown to him, as it would show to him now, that my remarks refer to Ahmedabad and Ahmedabad alone, not even to Viramgam or Kaira, for of these I knew nothing then. I wish wholly to dissociate myself from holding the view imputed to me by His Excellency the Viceroy. I still know nothing definite at first hand of the Punjab and of “educated or clever men” in that province.¹ Whilst, therefore, I alter nothing of my speech in Ahmedabad, I form no judgment about the Punjab. I have, however, received sufficient evidence from the Punjab to show me that the Punjab Government have resorted to measures that nothing can condone.

CLEMENCY

The talk of clemency comes with ill grace, and comes upon a public that asks for no clemency, no mercy, but asks for simple justice. If there has been a plot really to wage war against the King or to overthrow the Government, let those who are found guilty by a properly constituted court be hanged. I have certainly no desire that Lala Harkishen Lal, Pandit Rambhuj Dutt Choudhri, Dr. Kitchlew, Dr. Satyapal and some other men of ripe years, being well-known public men, should be saved from the gallows if they have incited directly or indirectly the mob to violence and plotted against constituted authority. Let the Commission decide, and there will be time enough to talk of clemency, if there is to be any. If the Government of India are sincerely desirous of doing justice, let them set all the political offenders free, save those men who were caught red-handed in the act of violence and have unquestionably been found guilty of the offence they might have committed. If His Excellency wishes really to see justice done, and nothing more, but nothing less, let him follow what was done by the Government of South Africa.² When, as a result of the Satyagraha struggle in South Africa a Commission was appointed

¹ The Viceroy had said in the course of his speech: “It is my desire now and it is that of His Honour the Lt.-Governor of the Punjab to exercise clemency towards the unfortunate misguided men who were led away, by some ‘educated and clever man or men’, to use Mr. Gandhi’s words, to commit outrages.” *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, quoting this in its issue of 6-9-1919, took exception to the statement and asked that Gandhiji should, if he believed in this assertion, disclose the source of his information or else contradict the Viceroy.

² The reference is to the appointment of the Solomon Commission by the Union Government of South Africa in December 1913; *vide* “Speech at Johannesburg”, 18-12-1913.

there, some of my fellow-prisoners and I were discharged from prison on the advice of the Commissioners, with the deliberate intention that they and I might be able to help the Commission to a right judgment by leading evidence on behalf of those whom we represented. I hope that if His Excellency cannot see his [way] to follow the South African prece[dent] of his own accord, the Commission will strongly advise him to do so.

SOUTH AFRICAN SITUATION

It is now my pleasant duty to come to those portions of the Viceregal speech which are not open to exception. His Excellency's pronouncement on the South African question is satisfactory so far as it goes. Sir Benjamin Robertson who is already personally known to General Smuts can, in many respects, by his tact and diplomacy, smooth the way for a just and honourable settlement. I take it naturally that whilst Sir Benjamin Robertson will go as a representative of the Government of India to put their case before the South African Government and generally to assist the Commission to be appointed, Mr. Montagu's announcement that two representatives on behalf of the Indian interest will be appointed on the Commission stands intact, and that we shall soon have the names of proper representatives announced. I venture entirely to associate myself with the sentiments expressed by H. E. the Viceroy that "it behoves us to see that our words and actions are not such as may embitter the existing sentiment and make a settlement more difficult."

FIJI INDENTURES

The announcement about Fiji, too, is unexceptionable, indeed highly satisfactory, and we are entitled to hope that before long, and certainly before the year is out, we shall see the last of the indentures in Fiji.

But we may sleep neither over the South African nor the Fiji question. We must agitate, until the degrading immorality of Fiji is wiped out and the impending destruction of Indians in South Africa is averted beyond doubt.

Young India, 10-9-1919

275. LALA LABHU RAM

Bad as are the cases from the Punjab which it has been my misfortune to examine from time to time, that of Lala Labhu Ram is no better. Isolated cases of injustice will happen [in] the best regulated society and [under] a model Government. But when injustice becomes the order of the day, it is time for honest men not merely to protest against it but to withdraw their support from a system of Government under which such organized injustice is possible, unless that system is changed and systematic injustice becomes an impossibility. I have no desire to exaggerate the picture. Nothing can be further from my intention than to exacerbate the relations between the two races. And if I could prevent exacerbation by remaining silent, I should do so with the greatest gladness. But I should fail in my duty if I did not draw the attention of the Government to injustices as they come under my notice. They are like poison corrupting the whole system. The poison must be expelled or the body perishes.

What is this case of Lala Labhu Ram then? The reader had the facts of the case last week. The evidence for the defence does not appear to be complete and yet it seems to be the whole of the evidence received by Lala Labhu Ram's solicitors. It is quite possible that that evidence was not recorded, for does not the judgment of the Court commence with the pregnant sentence: "The evidence for the defence is worthless"? In one place the notes of evidence contain the remark: "Cross-examination for accused No. 9. Nothing relevant"! The judges might have considered the defence evidence too as irrelevant. Fortunately, one has the exhaustive petition of Mrs. Labhu Ram to fall back upon. It must be accepted as a correct statement of the evidence in the absence of contradiction.

Mr. Labhu Ram is not a poor student lad like Karamchand or a petty trader like Jagannath. He is a Civil Engineer; he belongs, says Malandevi, "to a very respectable and loyal family of Lahore. Several relations of his occupy responsible positions in the service of Government." He finished his studies in Glasgow. He returned from England in 1912. He was for some time State Engineer in the Poonch State,

where he not only discharged his professional duties to the entire satisfaction of his superiors but materially helped the authorities in recruiting work. He

was not a member of any political society or of any Samaj or Sabha nor did he even take part in any propaganda of any kind whatsoever. He was not in the habit of attending any lectures even. He took no part whatever in the recent hartal.

I have dealt with Mr. Labhu Ram's position in society somewhat fully, because the case at the worst turns upon the credibility of witnesses. Several of the accused, of whom Lala Labhu Ram was one, pleaded an alibi and, as I have had to remark in connection with one case, courts always look upon the defence of alibi with considerable distrust. It is, therefore, necessary to dispose of the case at its worst and give the Court credit for fairness in weighing evidence. I submit then that unless the Court has overwhelming and unimpeachable testimony against that of Lala Labhu Ram, who said he was not present at the Badshahi Mosque meeting and who was respectably supported, the Court was bound to accept his evidence and grant him an honourable discharge. In such cases the status of the accused is a material consideration in coming to a decision, and I claim that Lala Labhu Ram enjoyed a status in society which should have stood him in good stead.

But the reader may dismiss the plea of respectability from his mind. It would not be perhaps an unfair reasoning on the part of the opponents the upholders of the Punjab proceedings to say that, when the very best of men in the Punjab were under severe suspicion and were drawn into the turmoil of April last, the question of respectability should be ruled out of account. But the Punjab Commissions have gone infinitely further and in many cases, as the reader of these pages has by this time seen, ruled out practically the whole of the defence. Mr. Labhu Ram was arrested on the 20th April, i.e., eight days after the day of the alleged offence. He is supposed to have been one of the hundred men who were charged with a simultaneous assault on one of the police officer. He was not known to this officer before, nor was there a single prosecution witness who had known the accused at all intimately before. Identification is difficult at best of times. It is most difficult, if not almost impossible, when it is a matter of picking out men from an excited crowd of several thousands. Mr. Labhu Ram's name does not occur in the police diary in which the names of the assaulters were noted down. Out of 11 prosecution witnesses 6 had nothing to say about the accused Mr. Labhu Ram. "Witnesses," says Mrs. Labhu Ram,

who identified the petitioner's husband are police employees or interested in them. Most of them have appeared as prosecution witnesses in other Martial Law cases also.

This is a most damaging statement, if it is true. It means that they were professional witnesses. One would think that, as the accused was arrested eight days after the event, there would be some explanation given by the prosecution of the delay. This is what the petitioner says about it :

The name of the petitioner's husband not having been entered in the diary of the complainant, it is not stated how and when the Police came to know of his complicity.

This is a sample of the case for the prosecution. The case for the defence is overwhelming.

Dr. Bodhraj, a well-known physician of Lahore, Dr. Bholaram and his compounder gave evidence that Labhu Ram was busy with them in connection with the treatment of his ailing son at the time of the alleged assault.

The reader will be shocked to know that Mr. Labhu Ram's sentence of transportation, with forfeiture of property has been commuted to 14 years. Though I can appreciate and fully share a wife's sorrow and agony over an unmerited separation from her husband and, therefore, while I understand Mrs. Labhu Ram's position in asking for a commutation, if a complete discharge might not be possible, I am unable to derive the slightest satisfaction from the fact of the commutation. Mr. Labhu Ram is not a child. He is a man of the world, of culture and fully aware of his responsibility. If he took part in a cowardly assault on an inoffensive man who was but doing his duty, he deserves stern justice and no mercy. For to the crime of an assault he has added that of deliberate perjury. If, therefore, his case is not true, it is not one for mercy, and if it is true, justice would be hardly satisfied when he is discharged.

I do not deal with the monstrous method of the Court in taking judicial notice of a "state of rebellion". It is really an abuse of legal terms to consider the state of Lahore on the 12th of April as one of rebellion and a martial proclamation of the Government to be a document for judicial notice in the manner it has been. The evidence before the Court does not sustain a charge of waging war against the King. Only recently the people of Liverpool went much further than the Badshahi Mosque meeting. But the long-expected Commission has now been appointed, and if the reference includes the power to

revise the sentences, the members of the Commission will have an opportunity of pronouncing upon cases like Mr. Labhu Ram's. But I submit to the Punjab Government as also to the Government of India that, in cases where the recorded evidence itself shows a patent miscarriage of justice, they are bound in honour to discharge the accused without hiding themselves behind the Commission.

Young India, 10-9-1919

276. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

Friday [September 10, 1919]¹

CHI. MATHURADAS,

Abiding by your letter and that of Mahadev, I have abandoned the idea of coming. It is a pity that the meeting about Padhiar² is also on Sunday. Please be present at the meeting, Apologize to Bhai Mavji Govindji. But let the meeting be held. I would even ask that the meeting about the Satyagraha should also be held. I would consider it enough if such a meeting was held and you attended it.

You must not worry about my health. I do take such care of it as is necessary, even greater care where I can. I have made certain changes right away. I work only as much as I must.

I do not mind what you have written. Love can only make you write as you do.

I am writing this letter for both you and Mahadev assuming that he will now be there.

For the sake of my health do this much: Meet Umar and ask him to permit the printing of *Young India* at Ahmedabad.³ If that is not possible then I shall detain Mahadev here. The matter can be sent there and Bhai Nandlal and Bhai Yadvadkar can take up the responsibility of reading proofs, etc. Sending the matter there is quite a strain for me.

¹ The addressee received this letter on September 12, 1919. Friday prior to that date was September 10.

² Amritlal Sunderji Padhiar who died on July 18, 1919

³ The syndicate controlling *Young India* was managed by Umar Sobhani and Shankerlal Banker.

You have fully understood the work of the Swadeshi Sabha. I think it is necessary to carry on that work through the Sabha. In my view, the Sabha should be made to do a lot of work. You must so improve your health that I can entrust you with jobs without any hesitation.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

What has happened to Govind Babu?

From the Gujarati original: Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

277. SATYAGRAHA

[September 11, 1919]¹

I notice so much misunderstanding still prevailing about satyagraha, both among ourselves and the British, that, though I have written and spoken at great length about it, I think it necessary to say something more even at the risk of repeating myself.

The word “satyagraha” was coined in South Africa to describe a certain mode of action. The great fight in which our brethren there were engaged was at first known, even in Gujarati, as “passive resistance”. I once spoke about this struggle to a British audience;² the English chairman on the occasion observed that the helpless Indians, without a vote and without arms, had no alternative to “passive resistance”. The chairman was a friend of mine. He stated his view in all sincerity of heart, but I felt humiliated. I knew for a fact that the struggle carried on by the Indian people in South Africa was no expression of their weakness. The community there had deliberately chosen that particular form of struggle. When it was my turn to speak, I corrected my friend’s idea and explained that a struggle such as was carried on by the South African Indians could never be carried on by the weak and that I saw greater courage in that way of fighting than what the soldier needed.

¹ The article first appeared in the Pateti (Parsi New Year) Number of *Sanj Vartaman*, a Gujarati evening newspaper of Bombay. In 1919, Pateti fell on September 11.

² Vide “Speech at Germiston”, 7-6-1909.

When I was in England in connection with that very struggle, I saw that the suffragettes would set buildings on fire or assault officers with whips, and this sort of struggle, too, they described as passive resistance, and the public knew it by that name. In the struggle carried on in South Africa, there was no room at all for such assaults. Hence I felt that there was a great danger in describing the struggle in South Africa as passive resistance. In South Africa itself, I could not think of an English word which could become current. At the meeting of Englishmen mentioned before, I used the expression "soul force" to describe our struggle; but I had not the courage to use it always to denote our struggle. Intelligent English friends also realized the inadequacy of the expression "passive resistance", but they could not give me another expression. "Civil resistance" describes the struggle perfectly. The phrase occurred to me by chance only a few days ago and I have been using it in English. "Civil resistance" is wider in meaning than "civil disobedience", though it suggests less than "satyagraha".

Moreover, I saw in South Africa that our struggle had pure truth and justice in it and the force we employed was not brute force but soul-force. In however small a measure it may have been, it was yet soul-force. We do not find such force employed by animals. Besides, there is always some energy of the soul flowing through truth and so we started describing the struggle in South Africa as satyagraha.

Thus, there is no exaggeration in asserting that the term satyagraha had its origin in the idea of purity. We shall be able to understand now that satyagraha does not consist merely in a civil disobedience of law; often, it may consist in not committing such disobedience. When we feel it to be our duty to commit civil disobedience, when we feel that not to do so would be a blot on our manliness and a degradation of the soul, saytagraha can consist only in such disobedience. Such satyagraha may be employed not only against the Government but also against society; it can be employed as between husband and wife, father and son, friend and friend; in short, this valuable weapon may be used for almost any reform in any sphere. It is a weapon which sanctifies both him who wields it and him against whom it is employed. Its rightful use can never have an untoward result. It is invariably attended with success. If people employ *duragraha* in the name of satyagraha and unpleasant consequences follow, the latter is certainly not to blame.

Such satyagraha is often resorted to in families, whether people know it or not; that is, if a son feels that his father has been unjust, he does not give in to the injustice but cheerfully bears the punishment the father may mete out to him and, in this way, he ultimately succeeds in winning over the father, even if he were a formidable one, and securing justice from him. But, slaves of inertia that we are, we hesitate to apply this law outside the domestic sphere. Hence it is that I have considered satyagraha in social and political matters a new experiment. The late Tolstoy¹ was the first to draw my attention, in a letter of his to me, to its being such.

It is the belief of many that satyagraha can be used only in matters concerning religion. My wide experience proves just the contrary. By employing it in other spheres, we introduce religion into them and by doing so we succeed the sooner in fact and save ourselves from no end of hypocrisy.

It is my firm conviction that some of the most imperceptible laws of economics are at work in satyagraha. In this sense I believe satyagraha to be a practical method. Maybe it will take some time before people accept it as such, since, being a new method in the sense indicated above, they may not understand it. Is it any wonder, besides, that, when we are working for the best results, the thing should take some time? When satyagraha has become an accepted method in India, political and social reforms, which at present take such a long time to bring about, will be effected in a much shorter period; the distance between the rulers and the ruled and their distrust of each other will disappear and in their place will grow love and trust. It will be the same, we may be sure, as between the different sections of society.

Only one thing is necessary to ensure that the method spreads widely among the people. I feel convinced that, if the leaders understand it in its purity and place it before the people, the latter will respond readily. In order to understand it rightly, one must have faith in truth and non-violence. There is no need to define truth; of non-violence. I do not demand any very exacting interpretation in this context. We should bear no ill will towards those from whom we wish to obtain justice; we should not seek our end by using violence against them or causing them any injury, but through courtesy, though

¹ For the correspondence between Gandhiji and him, *vide* "Letter to Leo Tolstoy", 1-10-1909 & Appendix "Tolstoy's Letter to Gandhiji", 7-10-1909.

remaining unshaken in our resolve; this is all I mean by non-violence here and only so much of it is necessary for bringing about reforms of this kind.

All our activities will take on a new form when the people have accepted satyagraha. We shall spare ourselves much fuss, all too many pompous speeches, petitions and resolutions and much scheming. Personally, the social, economic and political progress of the nation, which I see in satyagraha, I can see in nothing else.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 14-9-1919

278. SWADESHI IN A NUTSHELL

[September 11, 1919]

WHAT IS SWADESHI?

Mr. Gandhi puts his position regarding “swadeshi” in a nutshell in the Pateti number of the *Sanj Vartaman*:

Swadeshi restricts all Indians to the exclusive use of articles made in India. It contains our economic independence; swadeshi therefore means fiscal autonomy. Without fiscal autonomy swaraj has no meaning; swadeshi therefore may be called swaraj also.

But India is in such a ruined condition that we are not in a position to produce all our necessaries. It is, therefore, open to us to restrict swadeshi only to the most pressing of our necessaries.

The most pressing of our necessaries is clothing, and hence swadeshi consists, at present, in restricting ourselves to the use of cloth produced in India.

This swadeshi is a religion and it is not only for the Hindus or for Bombay; it is for all India and for all residents of India, Hindus, Mussulmans, Parsis, Christians, Europeans or Asiatics [men and women]¹.

HOW TO PROMOTE SWADESHI?

1. By taking a vow to use exclusively swadeshi cloth.
2. By helping in and increasing the production of cloth, as we do not at present produce cloth sufficient for our needs.

¹ The words in square brackets have been taken from *Navajivan*, 14-9-1919.

3. It is the duty of every one of us to help in the production of cloth, be we rich or poor. The rich may do by means of mills, but for the poor there should be means suitable to themselves wherewith they may help in this great work. These means are our old spinning-wheels and handlooms.

If every woman understands it to be her duty to devote all her spare hours to spinning cotton, we can have yarn at the price of cotton. If every man devotes all his spare hours to weaving hand-spun yarn, we can have cloth at the price of cotton.

Every man and woman can learn both these arts. Spinning takes a week to learn; weaving eight weeks.

A spinning-wheel costs 4 rupees. A handloom cost from 25 to 40 rupees. Both these can be easily made by our carpenters.

Those who cannot spin cotton gratis can get 3 annas for spinning a lb. of yarn. Those who cannot weave yarn gratis can get one anna at least for weaving a yard of cloth 24 inches broad.

I wish no one will raise the question of despair, viz., when and how can the whole country engage itself in spinning and weaving?

If every reader determines to spin and weave himself, he will give to the country at least the yarn that he has spun and woven.

And why should we not expect others also to muster the same courage and patriotism that is in us. [If we are good, the whole world is good; likewise, if we are industrious, the whole world will be so.]

As a result of the present movement about 2,000 wheels are working and about 200 weavers have begun to weave afresh.

Lady Tata, Lady Petit, Mrs. Jaiji Petit and other ladies have already begun or are to begin spinning. So many of our Hindu sisters have learnt the art that it would be invidious to mention names.

I ask every reader to bethink himself of his duty.

Young India, 13-9-1919

279. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

Thursday [September 11, 1919]¹

BHAISHRI MAHADEV,

I have your letter and your comments. Your arguments about Indemnity² were considered and answered while we were in the train. It does not matter if the paragraph, nevertheless, has been omitted. We can write about it again if we think it necessary.

Polak's letter is ominous. If the Princes are not to be examined, what use will a Commission be? This important issue has been deliberately ignored.

I was also not happy with "gouri" after "Durga". Anyway that is what I wrote and noticed the thing only when I saw the issue. I wrote "gouri" after "Mani" but crossed it out. Durga Mahadev didn't sound well. But we cannot, I think, be concerned with how things look or sound. Some of the other mistakes to which you have drawn attention could have been avoided. I showed all of them to Indulal.

I am a little better than I was yesterday.

I hope you are all right.

I shall arrive there on Saturday.

Vandemataram from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati original: S. N. 11405

280. LETTER TO J. CRERAR

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,

SABARMATI,

September 12, 1919

DEAR MR. CRERAR,

Your letter has followed me to the Ashram. I was wondering why I was not receiving a reply, but I felt that you must have mis-read

¹ The articles by Durgagouri and Mani, references to which occur in this item, were published in the first issue of *Navajivan*, 7-9-1919. The letter appears to have been written on the following Thursday, i.e., September 11.

² *Vide* "Viceroy's Speech", 14-9-1919 and "The Indemnity Bill", 20-9-1919.

the letter¹. I thank you, however, for your reply². In view of your letter, I certainly refrained from publishing the article in question. I may, however, state that I saw it reproduced, I believe *in toto*, in some newspaper or other.³ The document too, quoted by Mr. Pickthall, I observe, was reproduced in the English Press.

Yours sincerely,

J. CRERAR, ESQ.
SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT
JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT
POONA

From a photostat of the handwritten office copy : S. N. 6850

281. GUJARATIMAL'S CASE

Gujaratimal is a lad eighteen years old, having received no more than Middle School education. At the age of sixteen he got himself appointed as a dresser in the Military Department. After working for about a year in Multan Cantonment, he went to Egypt and spent one year there, also on service. He subsequently returned to the Punjab, taking one month's leave. He reached Madhranwala, his native village five miles from Hafizabad, on the 8th April. He remained at his village getting his shop repaired. But

to our astonishment some policemen came there on the 16th with warrants issued against him, and prosecuted him accordingly, leaving us in utter amazement, for we could not understand what the matter was.

Thus writes the seventy years old father of Gujaratimal. This is not one of those cases in which a stranger can arrive at a firm decision merely on reading the evidence, which was reproduced in the last issue of *Young India*. It will be remembered that the case of Gujaratimal is

¹ It referred to the Government's ban on the publication, of any matter relating to the terms of peace with Turkey which was likely to cause excitement in India. For the text of the letter, *vide* Addenda.

² Crerar had written: "I am not in possession of the document, but his statement at the end of his article that there was any disposition on the part of the Conference to ridicule arguments based on Muslim sentiments is opposed to all known facts of the case and its publication in India would be calculated to produce a totally erroneous impression."

³ Marmaduke Pickthall's article on Turkey was published in the *New Age*, 10-7-1919.

one out of nineteen tried together. I had occasion to analyse the judgment in the case in connection with that of Karamchand,¹ and all I have said about that judgment naturally applies in this case, as in that of the lad Karamchand. But upon reading the evidence, it is not possible to come to a positive conclusion that the defence of alibi was completely established. The whole of the evidence, as the reader must have observed, has been taken in such a scrappy manner that one is unable to know what has been omitted. It is also clear from the evidence that the prosecution witnesses are mostly policemen or connected with the police, and that the accused were not arrested red-handed, but most of them were arrested some time after the affair. Certainly Gujaratimal, who is said to have been the principal speaker and one of the assailants, was not arrested red-handed, but two days after the date of the alleged assault. Gujaratimal was sentenced to be hanged. His sentence was subsequently commuted to transportation, and still more subsequently, according to what his father has heard, to seven years' rigorous imprisonment. It is a serious matter to sentence a lad of eighteen years, who denies his guilt, who denies having been present at the scene itself and who has only lately rendered service to the Crown, to be hanged on the strength of the very questionable evidence of identification by witnesses of no standing.

To these observations I would add a summary of the facts supplied by the father of Gujaratimal, and respectfully submit that if the facts supplied by the father be true, he is entitled to a complete discharge without further investigation. And even without those, the whole case requires a thorough investigation. The father says :

on the 23rd May, i.e., five weeks after the event, the Deputy Commissioner of the District ordered all the residents to assemble in one place to be identified by the prosecution witnesses, and Lieutenant Tatam.

Gujaratimal was also among the crowd. Now comes the most material part of the father's statement.

At this occasion none of the prosecution witnesses Nos. 3,4,7,8,9,15,16,18,19, who afterwards gave evidence against him could identify him, nor even Lieutenant Tatam.

If this is true, Gujaratimal has certainly been wrongly convicted. And what shall we say of the value of all the identification evidence when

¹ *Vide* "Victims, Not Guilty", 3-9-1919.

we read such a shocking deposition as this of prosecution witness No. 13 :

Mr. Tatam identified Karam Singh, Jiwan Kishen, Mul Chand. Mr. Tatam even pointed me out as one of the assailants, and when the Deputy Commissioner said that I was Tehsildar, Mr. Tatam said that the man he remembered was fatter than I.

If this is true and the prosecution surely cannot question its truth this is a circumstance which must raise gravest doubts about the value of the identification evidence led by the prosecution. The father adds that prosecution witness No. 3 says that Gujaratimal delivered an oration at the station, whereas P.W. No. 16 says that it was Gian Singh who delivered it. This discrepancy can be proved from the recorded evidence. Again the father says, prosecution witness No. 15, who could not identify Gujaratimal on the 3rd May, said at the trial that Gujaratimal carried a flag, etc. The father has submitted already several petitions to the authorities. He is a man of poor circumstances. The accused is an insignificant lad. In my opinion, therefore, the case becomes all the stronger for a searching inquiry. His Excellency the Viceroy was pleased to say in his speech :

For those cases which have come before the Government of India, I have no hesitation in claiming that they received the most careful consideration, and that orders were passed with the greatest possible dispatch.

The letter before me says that the father has petitioned His Excellency also. It is not impertinent to inquire what was the result of the “most careful consideration” given to the most damaging statements made in the father’s petition. If his statements were considered to be worthless, he was, and still is, entitled to know on what ground the decision was based.

Young India, 13-9-1919

282. A SHAMEFUL SIN

[*September 14, 1919*]¹

TO MY SISTERS :

I want to talk to you on a matter simple and yet of very great importance, a matter on which depends, and without which is impossible, the salvation of India. Man in his stupidity may forget his

¹ The Gujarati original was published in *Navajivan*, 14-9-1919.

duty towards woman, but should that prevent woman from doing her duty towards her sisters?

I have received a letter from Dohad giving news which is shameful to us all. The correspondent writes that the women of the *Dhed* community there who cannot procure work which may be done at home go out for labour, which they procure at the price of their chastity. The male members of these women's families craven creatures know this fact, but are sleeping over it. I have used the word *Dhed* for this community, but they are weavers. I do not know why some weavers are known as *Dheds*. But if we always keep in mind the sad fact that, in spite of their clean calling, these people are regarded as untouchables, some of us are sure some day to be free from the sin of untouchability. As women for want of other work have to go out for labour, so also have men. Hence, when they saw that I was ready to supply them with yarn, they pledged themselves to do no other work than weaving, provided I guaranteed to them a regular daily supply of a maund of yarn. My correspondent further informs me that the chief reason why they took this pledge was their knowledge of the immorality I have referred to. You may rest assured Dohad is not a solitary sink of this iniquity. When I was in Umreth, I was told that most of the women there added to their little income by winnowing pulses for merchants. They have to go to them to receive and return the pulses and there they have to put up with all sorts of indecent jokes and abuse. It has been my misfortune to hear this tale of woe at numerous places during the course of my four years' wanderings throughout India. It seems to me that a hundred years ago, when millions of our mothers used to spin cotton, such things must not have been happening. I therefore beg to request my wealthy and educated sisters that, if they are anxious to protect the chastity of their poor sisters, they must take a prominent part in the movement for handspinning and handweaving. I do not desire at this place to repeat all the arguments why I prefer these occupations to any other. Suffice it to say that spinning has been regarded as an ancient, noble calling which even queens made their own. It is very easy to learn spinning. Any ordinary carpenter can make a spinning-wheel. If millions of our sisters work the wheel, all the yarn they may produce can be consumed in India alone. And that being almost as useful as food-stuffs, spinning cannot be regarded as a temporary occupation. It does not require great physical labour and it can be left off and taken up at will and hence it is an occupation to fill our leisure hours with. If

some good women were to take up this work, they would be able to put an end to the enormities I have mentioned above. They will thereby be ensuring for some of our sisters suitable work for want of which they may have to seek other work in which their chastity is jeopardized.

Sister reader, even if you be rolling in wealth, you are bound to protect the chastity of your poor sisters. I have pointed you out the royal road. I hope you will think over it this week : I hope to show next week the various ways in which every woman can help in this work.

Young India, 17-9-1919

283. HOW TO REMOVE THE BLOT

[September 14, 1919]¹

TO MY SISTERS :

Last time I showed by some illustrations how, on account of our negligence, idleness or indifference, our poor sisters fall an easy prey to temptation for want of some independent work.

It is quite proper that we are horrified at the plight of thousands of our sisters in far off Fiji. For that we are accusing the Government of Fiji and asking the Government of India to make strenuous efforts to put a stop to the indentures which breed immorality in Fiji. To do so is our clear duty. But what are we doing for the women, more numerous than in Fiji, suffering before our very eyes?

For removing the blot nearer home we do not need to pass resolutions demanding justice from Government. For that we ourselves have to work to the utmost of our capacity. Every one of you, sisters, has to find out a remedy to end this evil. It is the object of this paper to help you in thinking out the remedies.

As we found last week, the best protection for the chastity of our poor women, and to tell the truth, of all women, is the spinning [-wheel]. Perhaps you will say, "we can understand that for poor women, but what have other women to do with the spinning-wheel?" There is a proverb among us, a very good proverb, that, "an idle man ruins himself and his country". I can say from my own experience that idleness feeds our passions. If our monied sisters were to devote

¹ This is in continuation of the preceding item.

their leisure to some useful work instead of gossiping or some other needless activity, they would engage their mind, hands and feet in a fruitful manner and [if] they were to take to spinning, they would serve a double purpose. A sister became a widow only a few days ago. She came to know of the work of spinning. As she cannot go out of her house for at least one year, belonging as she does to a good family, she has taken up the work of hand-spinning. Within six days she has been able to send half a pound of fine spun yarn. It is her devout wish that she might be able to spin enough yarn for her family before she leaves the widow's corner.

But I have digressed. We are considering how to help poor women who go astray on account of force of circumstances. If you are able to devote all your time to the work of reclamation, you would go to the villages, find out what your poor sisters are doing there, teach them, if they do not know, how to spin, supply them dressed cotton, paying them the labour [charges] for spinning it into yarn. The Bombay Swadeshi Sabha has undertaken the work of supplying cotton and, in a short time, many places will be selected for that purpose. The local Sabha also has opened such a branch and provides facilities for supplying such cotton. I do confess that all cannot give all their time for such work. Those who can devote only [a few] hours and are not in a position to [leave] their own native village or city [may] well take care of their own locality. Large-hearted women cannot be satisfied with merely taking care of themselves. They must infect others with their purity. Hence, such sisters will try to understand and better the lot of their neighbours. They may open a club for spinning in their own locality, supporting and instructing their less fortunate sisters.

If you cannot do that much, if you do not believe in your capacity for persuading your other sisters or have no heart for it, you can at least learn spinning for yourself and, by doing that work for a fixed period every day, you can set an example to your other sisters and, if you spin your yarn free of charge, you can to the extent help your poor sisters by making it possible to pay them a higher rate. You will see in *Navajivan* from time to time examples of sisters who have already begun such work. It is my hope that you would all take part in such a movement according to your capacity a movement which nourishes the life of the nation, which helps its poor, which protects the chastity of its women and which is calculated to bring economic independence to India in a simple and easy manner.

Young India, 1-10-1919

284. ADVERTISEMENTS

[September 14, 1919]¹

We have reproduced this letter because the criticism Shri Khandwala makes is also made by other friends. Shri Khandwala's fear is unnecessary. Labouring under the false belief that advertisement can be secured by money alone, the correspondent believes that swadeshi articles will not get support from *Navajivan*, which accepts no advertisements. Money is not at all required to spread information as to the place of getting a thing when it is needed by the country. When the scope of *Navajivan* is properly known and its workers organized, it will be our endeavour to bring to light the obscure industries of our country in these columns even at some expense to the proprietor, if necessary. When advertisements are inserted by payment, it is well-nigh impossible to control their matter or language. Of the various advertisements that have come under our notice, ninety-nine per cent are totally useless. The advertisements that are most paying relate to medicine and it is our belief that the deceitfulness and obscenity that are often found in such advertisements are harmful to the country. We know many friends who have contracted disease by using advertised medicines. Who has not been deceived by advertisements regarding other things? It is our mistaken belief that we get newspapers cheap because they take advertisements. It is forgotten that the things that are advertised are bought by the readers and it is the readers who have ultimately to pay for the advertisement charges. The price of medicine does not lie in the drug so much as in the bottle, the cork and most of all in the advertisement. Hence, sometimes, we pay one rupee for a medicine worth a pice only. If there were no system of advertisements, we are sure to save at least half the price.

Young India, 24-9-1919

¹ The first two sentences of this and the following item have been taken from *Navajivan*, 14-9-1919, in which they originally appeared in Gujarati.

285. SWADESHI V. MACHINERY?

[September 14, 1919]

In reply to a correspondent, Mr. Gandhi expresses his views about the compatibility or otherwise of machinery with swadeshi :

I have observed that this doubt is felt by many people, and accordingly I have given the reply too. Pure swadeshi is not at all opposed to machinery. The swadeshi movement is meant only against the use of foreign cloth. There is no objection to weaving mill-made cloth. But I do not myself wear mill-made cloth and in the explanations to the swadeshi vow I have certainly suggested that it should be the ideal of every Indian to wear hand-spun and hand-woven cloth. If, fortunately for India, crores of people happen to translate this ideal into practice, the mills may perhaps have to suffer some loss. But if the whole of India makes that pure resolve, I am sure that even our mill-owners would welcome that resolve, respect its purity and associate themselves with it. But it takes long to outgrow inveterate habits. There is thus room in the country for both the mill industry and the handlooms weaving. So let mills increase as also spinning-wheels and handlooms. And I should think that these latter are no doubt machines. The handloom is a miniature weaving mill. The spinning-wheel is a miniature spinning-mill. I would wish to see such beautiful little mills in every home. But the country is fully in need of the hand-spinning and hand-weaving industry. Agriculturists in no country can live without some industry to supplement agriculture. And in India, which is entirely dependent on favourable monsoons, the spinning-wheel and the handloom are like *Kamadhenu*¹. This movement is thus intended in the interests of 21 crore peasants of India. Even if we have sufficient mills in the country to produce cloth enough for the whole country, we are bound to provide our peasantry, daily being more and more impoverished, with some supplementary industry, and that which can be suitable to crores of people is hand-spinning and hand-weaving. Opposition to mills or machinery is not the point. What suits our country most is the point. I am not opposed to the movement of manufacturing machines in the country, nor to making improvements in machinery. I am only concerned with what these machines are meant for. I may ask, in the

¹ Kamadhenu is the mythical cow which bestowed anything one wished for.

words of Ruskin, whether these machines will be such as would blow off a million men in a minute or they will be such as would turn waste lands into arable and fertile land. And if legislation were in my hands, I would penalize the manufacture of [labour-saving]¹ machines and protect the industry which manufactures nice ploughs which can be handled by every man.

Young India, 17-9-1919

286. TELEGRAM TO SIR GEORGE BARNES

AHMEDABAD,
September 14, 1919

SIR GEORGE BARNES

SIMLA

MANY FRIENDS QUESTION MY INTERPRETATION VICEREGAL
PROGRAMME MERIT REGARDING SIR BENJAMIN ROBERTSON
PROCEEDING SOUTH AFRICA. DOES SIR BENJAMIN'S
APPOINTMENT REPLACE MR. MONTAGU'S STATEMENT ABOUT
TWO REPRESENTATIVES ON FORTHCOMING SOUTH AFRICAN
COMMISSION OR ARE THEY STILL TO BE APPOINTED.
IF SO CAN YOU GIVE INDICATION THEIR NAMES.
PRAY REPLY.

GANDHI

From the original pencil draft in Gandhiji's hand : S. N. 6484(b)

287. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Sunday [September 14, 1919]²

DEAR MATHURADAS,

I have your letter. It is not good that your health is not improving. If you forget Anand and come here for some time you are bound to get better. And if you do not there is nothing to prevent you

¹ The source is damaged. These words are taken from the Gujarati version.

² From the reference to raisins in the postscript, it appears that the letter was written before the one dated September 16, 1919. Sunday before September 16 was September 14.

from going back. Minor illnesses grow into serious illnesses. Hence I wish you would not take your health lightly.

I am sure that Bombay is not the place for you. I am always having attacks of migraine. But I am taking good care. It appears that I shall have to come there on Friday in connection with the South African issue.

I am returning herewith Shraddhanandji's letter. Get copies made of the list of names contained in the letter and send them to the newspapers, with a note saying that the names on the list are as given in Shraddhanandji's letter. Do not mention the telegram, but say something to the effect that the demand has been made by those who have paid money. What matters is that the names should be published. If anyone raises the question why the names have not been published in *Navajivan*, say that the demand is to have them published in the daily newspapers. When the names are published send cuttings to Krishnadas and Swamiji.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

If Bhai Anandanand starts out for here tomorrow, send with him 5 seers of raisins.

From the Gujarati original: Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

288. VICEROY'S SPEECH

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the time of the opening of the session of the Legislative Council deserves attention. Generally, such speeches have something to tell us. But in this speech there is more to think over and act upon than to learn. From among the many points covered in the speech, for the present I wish to draw the people's attention only to the following: (1) the problem of Turkey, (2) the problem of the Punjab and, incidentally, that of the Commission and of Indemnity, (3) the problem of South Africa and (4) that of Fiji.

PROBLEM OF TURKEY

I am sorry to say that the most disappointing part of the entire speech of the Viceroy is that which refers to the problem of Turkey.

In reporting the speech telegraphically, newspaper correspondents say that out of the 55 minutes which the Viceroy took to read out his speech, he took hardly a minute over the sentences which referred to Turkey. I should admit that even in a minute the speaker can say much, that is, can make an important point. But in these sentences which the Viceroy took a minute to read out, I find nothing but disappointment. His Excellency has stated that he had done his best to see that the fullest possible expression was given to the feelings of Muslims, that not only had the Government of India made strong representations to the Imperial Government, urging the views of the Indian Muslims, but that these views had also been presented directly to the Peace Conference by our representatives. Moreover, lest sufficient weight might be not attached to their words, three prominent Muslims, selected to accompany these representatives of ours to the Peace Conference, had also been associated with them. Indian Muslims [he said] might rest assured that their feelings had been fully conveyed. His Excellency has in this way evaded an important question. What comfort can it be to the Muslims that he did his best to convey their feelings? It is not only the Muslims who feel on this issue, but the Hindus too, their blood-brothers. Let us hope that the Viceroy conveyed their feelings as well. Even if he has, what does it profit us? What one would like to know is whether the British statesmen have made this question their own. That they have advocated the cause of the Muslims does not mean much. Do they feel in the matter as the Muslims feel? And if they do, the question is, what stand are they going to take before the Peace Conference? To give a hungry man full opportunity to say that he is hungry is like branding a man who has sustained burns. Muslims do not want vakils to express their feelings. They want water to quench the fire of their suffering. And the Viceroy has provided no reply to the important question whether the British statesmen are ready to give them this water or whether the Muslims will get it. It is the duty of the people and of the leaders, as also of the Maharaja of Bikaner, to have this matter clarified.

THE PUNJAB

In his reference to this issue, the Viceroy has taken no account of the people's feelings. Just as, at the time of the passing of the Rowlatt Act, popular feeling were brushed aside as so much rubbish, so now His Excellency has dismissed the agitation which followed in

much the same manner, and has laid down a principle which I very much hope the people will fight. That principle is this : “The members of this Council will agree that no Government should deviate from a policy which it regards as essential, on account of any threat of agitation.” The right principle, as against this, one which recognizes public opinion and exalts both the rulers and the ruled, is this : “All governments must abandon a policy against which people carry on a sustained agitation.” That is why I have been saying all along that, so long as the Rowlatt Act exists on the Statute Book, that is to say, so long as the Government stubbornly persists in its opinion in opposition to public opinion, even the best Reforms imported from England are worthless. It is, therefore, essential that the people make Herculean efforts to demolish the fearful principle laid down by the Viceroy. Even history is against His Excellency. I need not go far into the past for instances. The reductions in the sentences against Babu Kalinath Roy, Lala Radhakishan and others, held in high respect in the Punjab, are due to popular agitation. We have no reason to doubt that the policy considered essential by the Government was to pass heavy sentences and to uphold them. Had Lala Goverdhandas not come from the Punjab, had we not known about Kalinath Roy and others and had public resentment not been expressed with one voice throughout the country, I am sure there would have been no reduction in these sentences. But the Viceroy seems to think it humiliating to submit to public opinion. In the West the officials have to submit to public opinion, whether they like it or not, as we learn in our schools and read in the papers. If the Viceroy believes that in India submitting to popular opinion is a humiliation for the Government, we can easily show to him that this is his delusion. Poets have sung praises of Ramachandra for abandoning Sita in deference to public opinion,¹ not publicly expressed, and that is what has made him a revered figure right to this day. Unless and until respect for public opinion is revived in India, the people will not be contented and happy. If the principle laid down by the Viceroy is not only his personal view but that of his Government as well, the latter ought to change it and the people will see to it that it does.

¹ According to the last book of Valmiki’s *Ramayana*, believed by modern scholars to be a later addition, Rama, when he was king of Ayodhya, came to know that some of his subjects thought ill of Sita for having lived in the custody of Ravana, her abductor. On his orders, she was taken to the forest and abandoned on the banks of the Ganga, where she found shelter in Valmiki’s hermitage.

But His Excellency did not stop with laying down this principle. He said that those who had held out threats of agitation thought it necessary to carry out their threats and unhappy results followed. In saying this, His Excellency has acted as judge, though he himself has appointed a Commission to see that justice is done. It is the Commission which will decide whether the violence was the result of the agitation or of the serious mistakes of the Government. It is surprising that, in the face of this, the Viceroy should assert that the painful events which occurred were the result of the agitation.

“EDUCATED AND CLEVER MEN”

I must also say that the Viceroy has done me an injustice. In my speech in April about the incidents in Ahmedabad, I had said that those incidents would not have occurred if some educated and clever men had not had a hand in them. Everyone who reads the speech will see that my words did not apply to any other place. I still adhere to what I said, but the Viceroy had no right to apply my words to any place other than Ahmedabad. He did apply them to the Punjab, however. I still know nothing about the Punjab at first hand. From my study of some cases there which have come to my knowledge, it is clear to me that, despite incitement by any number of educated and clever men, the violence which broke out would never have broken out were it not for the serious errors of Sir Michael O’Dwyer, whether he did all that he did deliberately or otherwise. When, on April 6, people all over India, in cities and in small villages, fasted and observed a hartal, we witnessed a peaceful and solemn demonstration such as we have never known in the country at any time in the past. Hundreds of thousands of men and women proved to the world that we are one nation, that we suffer with one another and that we are swayed by the same emotions. Till this date, however, people had done nothing particularly reprehensible. The demonstration on the 6th incensed the Punjab Government and Sir Michael O’Dwyer committed a series of inexcusable blunders. This provoked the people and they too made mistakes. The Commission will judge these incidents, not by the standard of satyagraha but by standards which are universally accepted in the West in these days and, instead of deciding whether or not people made mistakes, will decide who committed the first mistake.

COMMISSION

His Excellency the Viceroy has informed us in his speech that a Commission has been appointed for the purpose. I have seen criticism regretting that this is a Committee and not a Royal Commission, and that some injustice has been done by the refusal to appoint a Royal Commission. It seems to me that there is no great difference between a Royal Commission and a Committee appointed by the Viceroy. The appointment of a Royal Commission is notified in England and the Commission submits its report to the Imperial Government. In the present case the appointment of the Committee is notified by the Government of India and it will submit its report to the Viceroy. Even so, the members of the Commission appointed in India cannot be nominated without the consent of the Secretary of State of India. We have had experience of Royal Commissions having been appointed, which proved unavailing, and of local Committees having been appointed and of justice done by them. To me, therefore, there seems to be no great difference between a Royal Commission and a Committee appointed by the local Government. The outcome of the Committee's labours depends in some measure on the members who constitute it. Examining these names, we see that, though we cannot be enthusiastic over all the names, we cannot say, on the whole, that the members are biased men or that they are not men of independent judgment. The Chairman is Lord Hunter. He is not a man of Imperial standing, but he was Solicitor-General of Scotland and we have, therefore, no reason to fear that he will hesitate to express independent views. As for the other members, we have a standard of reference by which to judge them, and that is Sir Chimanlal Setalvad. We have no reason to criticize his appointment; on the contrary, we would enthusiastically welcome the Committee if all the other members were of the same calibre. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad is an advocate of established reputation and, what is more, takes part in public life. He was also a follower, a supporter and a friend of an able man and lover of freedom like Sir Pherozeshah Mehta. We may, therefore, trust to his acting impartially and fearlessly in doing justice and carrying others with him as well. If, thus, from Bombay they have selected an independent-minded and capable leader, we may assume that in selecting others too a like standard has been followed more or less. Sahibzada Sultan Ahmed is a brother of Sahibzada Aftab Ahmed Khan, a member of the India Council. However, what the Committee's report is will depend on us, that is, on our brethren in the Punjab. If

they come forward to tell the truth without fear and if no Indian comes to give us false evidence to further his own base interests, we need have no fear about the Committee's report. Though the Committee can hold secret sessions for reasons which may appear sufficient to it, it will generally take evidence in public. It will have, thus, to base its report only on this evidence. In some of the cases in the Punjab, the injustice has been so patent that even an illiterate person can see it. What other opinion can the Committee express about them? I should admit that I entertain no fear about what its report will be. The only fear is about our ability to lead evidence properly. Personally, I do not have this fear either, and want the reader, too, not to have it. The Hon'ble Madan Mohan Malaviya, Sannyasi Swami Shri Shraddhanand and the brave Pandit Motilal Nehru have taken upon themselves to collect evidence and there is no reason, therefore, to fear that evidence would not be presented properly. Thus, instead of concerning ourselves with what kind of a Committee it is, we should really direct our attention to how we can place all the facts before it. It is also for us to see that the question whether the Committee's terms of reference include a review of the judgements already pronounced and the sentences already passed is clarified beyond doubt. Though the Viceroy's words seem to imply as much, any doubt on an important issue like this must be removed. The reader will remember that the Committee is not only for the Punjab, but that Bombay province is also included in the scope of its inquiry. We shall, therefore, have to prepare for it. To me it seems that we need to give our main attention to obtaining an unambiguous statement of the Committee's terms of reference and preparing ourselves for presenting our case to it.

“INDEMNITY”

And now remains the question of “indemnity”. Indemnity means the immunity of officers against civil or criminal proceedings for their actions. The Viceroy has said that they intend to introduce in the present session a Bill granting such immunity and there has been a good deal of protest against this. Even telegrams have been sent to the Viceroy on behalf of certain public bodies to say that such an Indemnity Bill ought not be passed before the Committee's report is published. I wish to place before readers my understanding of a law of this nature. The officers should not be held personally responsible for their actions under Martial Law. Even apart from Martial Law,

officers are not liable to criminal or civil proceedings for any orders passed by them under the ordinary law, even if those orders are subsequently proved to be wrong or to have been passed out of prejudice or malice. The Government may, however, hold a departmental inquiry and can dismiss them, but they cannot be made answerable in any court of law. Acts under Martial Law are always protected through special legislation and everyone accepts this as a general principle. That is why I say that we need have no fear if the Government wants to pass an Indemnity Act right now. We should allow the Bill to be passed if its provisions are unobjectionable. We do not want to send to the gallows the officers who gave or issued wrong orders and the judges who wrongly passed death sentences. Even if we ask for such power, we shall not get it. They will remain immune against such punishment. Every State needs such protection. Even when we come to enjoy swaraj, the State will retain this power. The officers will then too commit grave mistakes and the public will get excited; even under swaraj the people will resort to violence; if the spirit of pure satyagraha has not come to prevail in India by then, there will be Martial Law and firing, followed by appointment of Commissions. Even under swaraj Indemnity Acts will be passed to protect the authority of the State. But then, as now, the actual provisions will need to be looked into. About this Bill, too, I would therefore say that, rather than complain that it has been brought in prematurely, we had better have a careful look at its provisions. For instance, we may not object to a clause providing that the officers who issued orders for firing would not be liable to prosecution for murder or that they could not be sued for damages. But we should strenuously oppose any provision making such officers immune against departmental inquiry or dismissal for misconduct or incompetence. We should also oppose a provision to the effect that all sentences and orders, whether just or unjust, would remain and could not be modified. These are only some illustrations. Thus, my humble view is that we are only justified in opposing undesirable provisions in the Bill.

SOUTH AFRICA

His Excellency's pronouncement on this question will not be considered unsatisfactory. The decision to send Sir Benjamin Robertson to present our case is a welcome one. His presence there cannot but have a powerful effect on the whites of South Africa. The

cables we have received from that country suggest that the white traders there are still bent on mischief and complain that the new law is not being properly administered. In these circumstances, the presence of a representative of the Indian Government will prove useful on issues of this kind. According to my understanding of His Excellency the Viceroy's pronouncement, the representatives referred to in Mr. Montagu's announcement will also be appointed. If these representatives are strong and independent men, I have no doubt that they can be very effective and the injustices from which our countrymen suffer will be very much mitigated.

FIJI

The Viceroy's announcement about Fiji is entirely satisfactory and we can now hope that, before the year is out, the conditions in which our sisters suffer outrage will have disappeared, and the indentured labourers will have been set free from their bondage. We need not believe, of course, that with the ending of the system of indenture, the immorality which has taken root will disappear forthwith. The ending of the system will absolve the Government and the people from the ever-increasing blame which is being laid at their door. For the past, of course, our shame remains.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 14-9-1919

289. A DIALOGUE.

We publish here a dialogue exactly as it took place only a few days ago. To make it interesting to the readers, some of the sentences have been broken up and the picture of Hind Devi has been touched up a little. Except for these changes, the questions and answers are reproduced exactly as they occurred. The value of the dialogue lies in the fact that it actually took place. The names of the speakers have been purposely left out.

A : Jai Sachchidananda. I wonder if you recognize me?

B : You did not have this ochre robe on then!

A : True, father, I was initiated into this dress by a certain mahatma.

B : Did you not give any thought to the matter?

A : I had faith in the mahatma. I used to reflect a little on religion, and so I knew that what the mahatma advised could be done.

- B : Do people reverence you when they see you in this dress?
 A : Yes, father, they do, to be sure.
 B : Are you worthy of such reverence?
 A : Oh, no ! How can I claim that I am? I am full of attachments and aversions.
 B : You beg for alms, no doubt?
 A : Yes, I do.
 B : Do you say anything when receiving the alms?
 A : Not much, but occasionally I do preach.
 B : Have you done any study?
 A : Only a little. I have read a few shastras in Prakrit.
 B : Are you happy leading such a life?
 A : I wish I were! This is an idle quest in which I am engaged. I would certainly do what is good for me. Can you show me the way?
 B : I should very much like to ask you to discard this dress, and that is easily done. But now it is better to think how best you may live so as to be worthy of it.
 A : Indeed, that would be best.
 B : I know well enough that you are a devotee of Hind Devi.
 A : That certainly is my ambition.
 B : Have you beheld the Goddess?
 A : I do not catch the point.
 B : Do you have a mental picture of Hind Devi?
 A : I have not thought about the matter.
 B : I fancy that the Goddess wears a sari made in Japan. The sleeves of her satin blouse made in Paris are bordered with Parisian lace. On her forehead is a small vermilion mark made with imported stuff. On her wrists are English bangles. In her right hand are spikes of *bajri*, glittering like gold and of *jowar* with grains like pearls. In her left hand is a bit of rotten, dusty cotton thread. The Devi has the colour of the wheat near by; her face is downcast; she looks as if she had been crying. Around her, her children, evidently famished, are with painful slowness working in the fields. On the left are spinning-wheels covered with white ants; the cotton-strings round the wheels have snapped, the spindle-holders are about to drop down; around her are seated our womenfolk, dozing. A few weavers are engaged in weaving bits of cloth.
 A : Yes, that is a faithful picture of the Goddess.

- B : Do you understand, then, what the Goddess is saying to both you and me?
- A : To be sure, that we must work.
- B : Yes, of course, it is that. He who performs no *yajna*, does no physical work, is a thief. That is what the *Gita* says.¹ But don't you think the Goddess is telling us something more than that?
- A : Oh, do tell me, yourself.
- B : From her looks, the Goddess seems to appeal to us that we should help her to be rid of those foreign garments, to clean the spinning-wheels for those sleepy women and set them spinning again.
- A : What you say sounds as true as gold.
- B : Well then, we shall succeed in determining what you should do, so that you may live as befits your ochre robe. Many a sadhu dishonours his robe. These are a burden on the nation; you will surely admit as much!
- A : No one can deny it.
- B : Then, you should learn spinning and weaving, teach them to others and so ensure their and your regeneration. Your spinning-wheel will preach for you.
- A : Indeed, I feel I have been rather hasty in donning this robe. My intention was good, but now I shall lose no time to pick up spinning and weaving.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 14-9-1919

290. NOTES

THE TRANSVAAL ASIATICS

The news received last week from the Transvaal adds fat to the fire. At a Congress of the representatives of municipalities in the Transvaal, merchants associations, trade unions and other institutions, a resolution was passed to the effect that the administration of the anti-Asiatic laws was slack and needed tightening up. The Congress has protested against giving citizenship rights to Asiatics. It has, moreover, decided to establish a South Africans' league, in other words, an

¹ III, 12

association of the whites of South Africa. The object of this association will be to acquire the immovable property at present owned by Asiatics after paying them reasonable compensation and to take all possible measures to eliminate skilfully the Asiatics living and doing business in the Transvaal.

Another telegram received from Pretoria is also suggestive of the feelings of the whites. Representatives of municipalities, merchants' associations and other institutions gathered at a mammoth meeting, where the question of the Transvaal Asiatics was discussed. The chairman painted a dark future for South Africa if the problem remained unsolved. The meeting passed a resolution moved by Mr. Munnik, to the effect that the ever-increasing influence of Asiatics held a serious threat to the economic and social life of the Transvaal whites. Hence immediate legislation to solve the problem was advocated.

The Cape Times, severely criticizing Mr. Montagu's reply to the deputation which waited on him under the leadership of Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, says that the Secretary of State for India was not well-informed about the difficult and delicate problem in the Transvaal. The paper reminds him that the Government had cast all its weight against the amendment moved by Mr. Collins to the law recently passed in the Transvaal in which he sought to prevent Indians from carrying on trade in any part of the Transvaal. Mr. Montagu should have made it clearer to the deputation that the Union Parliament had very much appreciated India's help to the Empire and should have detailed with greater understanding the difficulties experienced by the Government of South Africa in solving the Indian problem.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 14-9-1919

291. TELEGRAM TO MAHADEV DESAI

AHMEDABAD,
September 15, 1919

MAHADEV DESAI
CARE DR. JIVRAJ
BHATWADI
BOMBAY
PRINT CORRESPONDENCE RE LIBRARIES.

GANDHI

From a copy of the original: S. N. 6877

292. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

Monday [September 15, 1919]¹

BHAISHRI MAHADEV,

I have your letter. We do not get the *Social Reformer* and so I do not read the criticism in it. Write to Natarajan and tell him that he should arrange, without fail, to send a copy to the Ashram. This time, please send the copy yourself.

Herewith the Director's note. I have sent a telegram about publishing the letters. You ought to have sent the criticism on *Navajivan*. You should send the comments which appear in every issue. Whether I am ill or well, so long as I busy myself with *Navajivan's* editorship, I cannot do otherwise, can I, than ask to see comments on it.

We can get *Young India* printed here in some other press. I feel every moment how necessary it is to bring out both paper from the same place. I am trying to see if this can be done.

You should translate Gomati's article. I think it is wonderful. "A Dialogue" is on a lower level, but it is an important piece. It is a salutary thing for sadhus. Goddess India's picture especially, simply refuses to disappear from before my eyes. The printing errors are so

¹ The letter seems to have been written on the Monday following the appearance of "A Dialogue" in *Navajivan*, 14-9-1919; vide "A Dialogue", 14-9-1919

insignificant as to be readily pardoned. The workers did not have an hour's rest.

Take care of your health. Nanalal's¹ article applies to you. His ideas also deserve to be presented in English.

Nanalal has not understood me at all. He simply does not comprehend satyagraha. My *tapascharya*² has been inordinately praised and my *brahmacharya*³ extolled to the skies. I myself feel that both are imperfect. One who started sex gratification with his wife at the age of 15 and continued to indulge in it fairly often for 30 years, what praise does such a one's *brahmacharya* merit? It is like the cat which, after having killed several hundreds of mice, decided to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca. It is Devdas, rather, who seems to be observing *brahmacharya* worth speaking of. I set no great store at all by my *tapascharya*. It seems to come easily to me. My truthfulness, I feel, is peculiarly my own. My ahimsa⁴ is an intense feeling and the satyagraha born of a blending of the two is indeed indescribable. How can Nanalal understand it? You have been trying to understand it. Both these things in me are growing stronger every day. I do not know how far they will take me. Nanalal's poem gives no idea of this at all. It shines with his love, but gives no evidence of spiritual understanding. *Tapascharya*, *brahmacharya* and so on are the means and satyagraha is the end. Truth is the same thing as *moksha*⁵. Anyone who does not display *agraha*⁶ for *moksha* is no man; he is only a brute.

You have had more than you bargained for and so let us stop here.

Blessings from

BAPU

¹ Eminent Gujarati poet (1877-1946). The reference is to the article "Decay and Renewal in National Life", which was serialized in *Navajivan*, starting with its first issue dated September 7. The article stressed the need for fulness of joy in national life.

² Self-suffering accepted as moral discipline

³ Purity of mind and body in regard to sex

⁴ Concern for all life and refraining from injuring any of its manifestations. The term is usually translated as "non-violence".

⁵ Deliverance from phenomenal existence, regarded as the supreme end of life

⁶ Literally, firm insistence. Gandhiji has in mind the second element in *Satyagraha*, the first, *satya*, meaning truth.

[PS.]

I am in agony without Sorabji's will. Kindly free me from it. Where can it be? There is another telegram from Rustomjee Sheth.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11406

293. *LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI*

ASHRAM,

*Monday, Bhadarva Vad 6 [September 15, 1919]*¹

CHI. MATHURADAS,

I have your letter. Inquire at the Karnatak Press, etc., and find out the maximum number of copies of *Navajivan* that can be printed there. It seems to me that there is every chance that we may have to go up to 50,000 copies.

Saw the comment of *Gujarati*—what does it know about Satyagraha?

Blessings from

MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original: Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

294. *TELEGRAM TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI*

AHMEDABAD,

September 16, 1919

MATHURADAS

247 BAZAR GATE ST.

BOMBAY

TELL MAHADEV POSTED ARTICLE DIRECTOR'S LETTER.
COMMENT INDEMNITY BILL NEXT ISSUE.²

GANDHI

From the Gujarati original: Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

¹ From the reference to increasing the number of *Navajivan* copies being printed, it is clear that the letter was written in 1919; *vide* "To the Public Outside Gujarat", 24-9-1919.

² *Vide* "The indemnity Bill", 20-9-1919

295. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

ASHRAM,

SABARMATI,

Bhadarva Vad 7 [September 16, 1919]¹

CHI. MATHURADAS,

I have your letter. If you have not sent the raisins do not send them by post. I shall take them when I go there. I am afraid I shall have to return on Friday night itself. Right now *Navajivan* takes up the whole of my time. I am sure I shall be able to regain my health. Bhai Shankerlal fully endorses the idea of bringing out *Young India* from here. You must learn the trick of improving your health.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

296. LABH SINGH⁴

No mere reduction of sentence, it is most humbly submitted, can be a consolation to Your Excellency's memorialist or in an adequate measure will right the wrong that has been done him or meet the ends of justice.

This is an extract from the latest petition of Mr. Labh Singh, Barrister-at-Law. I am sure this petition will not fail to evoke from the reader both sympathy and admiration; sympathy because of the wrong that has been done him and admiration because the jail has not broken the spirit of the young Barrister. He asks for no mercy; he pleads for justice, if he can secure it. But in spite of H. E. the Viceroy's remarks to the contrary, the spirit of justice is moving so slow and there seems to be such a disinclination even in the high quarters to do real justice that one almost despairs of getting it. Look at Sir Edward Maclagan's speech in reply to the Hon'ble Pandit Malaviyaji's resolution for the appointment of a Commission. He

¹ It appears from the contents that this letter was written about the same time as the letter to the addressee dated "Before September 21, 1919".

² The title in the original carries the suffix: "M.A., L.L.B. (Cantab), Barrister-at-Law."

recalls the warning of the Viceroy against the temptation “to minimize the events of last April.” “I do not think”, His Honour proceeds, “that even while the disorders were in progress, people outside the Punjab fully realized the extreme gravity of the situation.” He adds,

Had it not been for the rapidity with which the disturbances were made, had they been allowed to proceed but a little further than they did, the lives and property of all classes of people would have been in the most imminent danger.

This is merely begging the question and anticipating the verdict of the Committee of Enquiry. Regarding the sentences, His Honour again begs the question by saying that the findings of the Special Courts should be accepted because “they represent the unanimous conclusions, in each case, of three experienced officers”. But the unanimity and experience are beside the point when behind them lies a temporary aberration of the intellect. His Honour, however, attempts to silence his critics by saying,

Although I have examined many cases, I have not found one in which I felt justified in impugning the substantial correctness of the finding of the Court.

In the face of this emphatic opinion I despair of securing or expecting justice either for Mr. Labh Singh or for any of the great Punjab leaders, who are at present adorning the Punjab jails. I do however feel tempted to say, with due deference to the Lieut.-Governor of the Punjab that, if he has not found a single case for challenging the correctness of the findings of the Special Courts, of all the many cases that have come before the public, it has not been my good fortune to find many judgments to inspire confidence in their correctness. Let me illustrate my point by taking this very case of Mr. Labh Singh. He is not a man of straw. This is the full text of the Judges’ remarks in his case :

Labh Singh, accused 4, took an active part in the inception of the agitation against the Rowlatt Act and was present at meetings of the 12th and the 13th. On the latter date, he is said to have at first opposed the commission of acts of violence, but finally agreed. He was seen in several places with the mob on the 14th but appears to have rendered assistance to the authorities on that date. We find him guilty under section 121, I.P.C.

The whole of this judgment, the reader will find reproduced in the issue of *Young India*, July 30th. I ask where is, in the above remarks, anything but good, said even by the Judges about Mr. Labh

Singh, except the expression “but finally agreed”? On the Judges’ own showing there was nothing indictable in the acts prior to the 12th April. The whole of the conviction is based upon the uncorroborated testimony of an approver, notwithstanding the fact that there was incontestable evidence to show that he “endeavoured to render assistance to the authorities” (I am quoting the Judges’ words) after the supposed approval by him of acts of violence. But, in order to accept the approver’s testimony, the Court says at the end of the judgment, “Labh Singh evidently repented of his action.” Let the reader remember that this is the same judgment in which poor Jagannath was sentenced in the face of a clearly established alibi, and even before replies to the interrogatories issued by the Commissioner had been received. No wonder Mr. Labh Singh says,

The order of the Lieut.-Governor, it is humbly submitted, goes only to confirm and perpetuate what is a great and serious miscarriage of justice.

It is admitted that, beyond signing the notice for the 5th April, Mr. Labh Singh neither convened nor addressed a public meeting “at Gujranwala or elsewhere at any time within 12 to 15 months preceding the occurrence of the 14th April”. Mr. Labh Singh further says,

The court proceeded to the judgment with inordinate haste and without waiting for the answers to the interrogatories issued to some of the witnesses for the defence.

I do not wish to burden these notes with more quotations from the very able and convincing statements of Mr. Labh Singh and his two petitions, but I would ask every lover of India and every public man to carefully study these three documents together with the judgment in the case. I think that we owe a very plain duty to Mr. Labh Singh and his co-prisoners. According to Sir Edward Maclagan, they are all clearly guilty. According to the evidence before the public, they are all clearly innocent. We may not allow young men of brilliant ability and moral worth to have their careers blasted for life by our indifference. Posterity will judge us by our ability to secure justice in the cases such as I have had the painful duty of placing before the public. For me, justice for the individual, be he the humblest, is everything. All else comes after. And I hope that the public will take the same view. If the convictions stand, it will not be because we are unable to secure justice but because we are unwilling and incompetent, for I feel that even the Government of India and the

Punjab Government will find it hard to withstand a unanimously expressed public opinion based on facts and couched in the language of moderation.

Young India, 17-9-1919

297. TELEGRAM TO KHILAFAT COMMITTEE

[SABARMATI,]

September 17, 1919

THANKS WIRE¹ LEAVING TODAY. PLEASE MEET ME
THURSDAY MORNING LABURNUM ROAD.

From a copy of the original in Gandhiji's hand : S. N. 6881

298. TELEGRAM TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

AHMEDABAD,

September 17, 1919

MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

247 BAZAR GATE ST.

BOMBAY

LEAVING TODAY MEET MUSLIM FRIENDS REGARDING
KHILAFAT. INFORM MANIBHUVAN MAHADEV AND SHIVLAL
VARDHMAN PUBLISH PRESS. I SHALL BE BOMBAY
THURSDAY FRIDAY.

GANDHI

From the original: Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

¹ This was as follows: "The President and Members of the Khilafat Committee of Bombay request the pleasure of the presence of Mahatma M.K. Gandhi at a public meeting of the Mussulmans of Bombay which will be held on Thursday the 18th September, 1919, at 8.30 p.m. Bombay time at the Masan Shah Tank, Bellasis Road, to further consider over the question of Khilafat and the holy places of Islam and the present Islamic situation . . . Please reply."

299. LETTER TO CHHOTALAL TEJPAL

ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,

Wednesday [September 17, 1919]¹

BHAISHRI CHHOTALAL,

I have your letter. If you send me a factual statement which will take up one column in *Navajivan*, I will publish it. What you have sent is too long.² I have no time at present to shorten it.

MOHANDAS GANDHI

CHHOTALAL TEJPAL

ARTIST

RAJKOT

From a photostat of the postcard in Gujarati in Gandhiji's hand : S. N. 2588

300. SPEECH ON KHILAFAT, BOMBAY³

September 18, 1919

I am glad to be able to be present at this gathering and I thank you for inviting me. The question we have met to discuss this evening is not new to me. Ever since my arrival, I have been mixing among Mohammedans of all shades of opinion and I know that it is a question among questions. On a right solution of it depends the future peace of this land. It therefore affects not only the Mohammedans of India but it affects the Hindus and other as well. It is a great Empire question. I was therefore pained to see that H.E. the Viceroy had only one minute out of fifty-five of his speech to the Legislative Council to devote to this question. He might usefully and legitimately have reversed the order. I have publicly and respectfully warned His Excellency of the gravity of this question. With it is bound up all that is most sacred in Islam. I can enter into your feelings for I know that Hindus would feel if their religious honour was at stake. I know that

¹ The date is derived from the postal cancellation mark.

² *Vide* "Notes", 5-10-1919.

³ Gandhiji addressed a predominantly Muslim meeting on a resolution on the threatened dismemberment of Turkey. Miya Mahomed Haji Jan Mahomed Chhotani, J. P., presided.

with you Khilafat is all in all today. I am sure therefore that you have the whole of the Hindus with you in this your just struggle. I have pleaded with His Excellency in a recent writing¹ of mine that it is not enough that he has represented your case, that he secured representation before the Peace Conference. This is good but not enough. He has to feel with you. He has to make your cause his own. I respectfully suggest that both His Excellency and Mr. Montagu, if they know your feelings properly, should tell His Majesty that they should be relieved of the charge entrusted to them if this great question is not solved to your satisfaction. His Majesty's ministers are bound, representing as they do a great Mohammedan interest, to secure a proper adjustment of the case. We are on the eve of obtaining a measure of responsibility. It will be wholly inconsistent with a disregard of the Mohammedan sentiment. But I confess I do not fear the ministerial neglect of duty so much as I fear yours the leaders' on the platform and this vast audience. If you and I do not do our duty today, we shall rightly deserve the curses of the millions of Mohammedans who are hoping that somehow things will come out right. Deep will be the disappointment if and when they find that things have not come right. The British rulers are shrewd and sagacious. And they take no time to find out whether we are serious or at play. I want therefore to ask you to ask yourselves whether you are serious about this very serious matter. Believe me that, if you are, nothing is yet lost. Our best thanks are due to those noble men like Lord Ampthill² and others who are championing your case. You have only seen one letter from that good Englishman, Mr. Andrews. Let me assure you that it is the least of his ceaseless effort on your behalf. But his services and those of the Englishman whom I have just mentioned will be of no avail, if you do not feel about it. You have opened with a prayer and you will close with a prayer. We cannot deceive Him, the ever wakeful and omnipresent witness. He will surely answer the prayers of the just. Your cause, all the best opinion of the world has borne witness, is just. Are you just? Are you sincere? The test is simple. A sincere and a true man is ready to sacrifice himself for a cause. Are you ready to sacrifice yourself for a cause? Are you ready to sacrifice your case, comfort, commerce and even your life? Then

¹ *Vide* "Viceroy's Speech", 14-9-1919.

² *Vide* "Interview to "Cape Times", 23-6-1909 & "Letter to Lord Ampthill", 30-10-1909.

you are satyagrahis and you will win. Hindus and Mohammedans sometimes come and ask whether secret violence may not sometimes be satyagraha. I have answered, violence whether secret or open is the very reverse of satyagraha. Absolute calmness and a [firm]¹ resolve allied to a just cause always [brings]² victory. To die for a cause is the law of man, to kill is that of the beast.

Young India, 20-9-1919

301. RESOLUTION AT KHILAFAT MEETING

[BOMBAY,

September 18, 1919]

This meeting of Mohammedans, gathered in the Juma Musjid of Bombay, expresses the greatest anxiety over the threatened dismemberment of Turkey and removal of the Holy places of Islam from the Caliph's control and trusts that His Majesty's Ministers will secure fulfilment of the pledged word of the Rt. Hon'ble Lloyd George regarding Turkey and thereby restore the confidence of the Mohammedan subjects of His Majesty.

From a photostat of the draft in Gandhiji's hand : S. N. 6952.

302. THE INDEMNITY BILL

The much talked of Indemnity Bill is now before the public. I observe that the fact of the Bill being now brought forward is still being attacked. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, with his great legal knowledge, has joined the attacking army in fine form. He considers that constitutional law and precedent alike require that an Indemnity Bill can be properly passed only by the Imperial Parliament and not by the local legislation, and that the former can only do so after a Royal Commission has reported to it. He is able to quote in support of his contention Dicey's opinion. It is not therefore without a deep sense of humility that I express a different opinion. I hold strong views about parliamentary interference. No doubt, at times, that interference becomes a blessing, but I contemplate a time, not far distant, when we shall have a legislature wholly responsible to the

¹ The source is damaged.

² *ibid*

people in all that is of vital importance to them. Parliamentary interference then, would be as intolerable to us as it is to Australia, Canada or South Africa. When we have regained full national consciousness, we shall not hang on to the leading string even of "the mother of parliaments". We shall wade, if necessary, as others have done, to purity and peace through strife, passion and prejudice. I am quite prepared for rude shocks, when properly elected popular representatives meet for the first time untrammelled by official frown and untempted by official favour. That being my view, I am able to contemplate with equanimity the passage of an Indemnity Bill even through the present legislature, which has only a shadow of popular representation and control. Moreover, to take a practical view of the question, I imagine we shall find it fairly tough work to set up a precedent in India and secure the passage of an Indemnity Bill through the Imperial Parliament.

I must respectfully dissent also from the view that such a Bill can only be properly passed after a Commission has reported. I venture to submit that the Bill as published is almost harmless and it is a Bill we should be bound to pass as it is even after the Commission has reported. I do not for a moment doubt that the officer who ordered the inhuman floggings did so under the *bonafide* belief that he was saving the Empire. I would not have us as individuals to exercise the right of suing that officer for damages. I would have him dismissed, if I had the power, for incompetence, and this right of administrative action is preserved intact by the Bill. After all, we do not wish to be vindictive or to make scapegoats of subordinate officers. Popular imagination and belief hold the Punjab Government and the Government of India to be the real offenders. I believe that they have not protected themselves under the Bill. The Viceroy cannot get a certificate of good faith from his Secretary nor Sir Michael O'Dwyer from his. They would therefore be obliged to discharge the burden of proving that they adopted extraordinary powers for a good and sufficient cause. Lastly, in my humble opinion, we shall but unnecessarily irritate our English friends by seeming, as we would seem to them, to oppose an indemnity being granted to subordinate officers. They would appreciate our fight against the Punjab satrap and the Viceroy. They will not understand even our delay in granting protection to under-officers against actions at law.

And we have so many good fights to fight that I would reserve all our powder and shot for a fight which we must fight. We must hold

the honour of innocent victims from Lala Harkishan Lal down to the young lad Karamchand, as a sacred trust. The Privy Council may, for technical reasons, throw out the appeals that are now pending. All, again, may not be able to appeal. And the Government may prove unyielding and grant relief only in the cases actually disposed of by the Privy Council. We dare not rest satisfied with that. We must, therefore, see to it that we obtain a full, public and impartial investigation of all the cases in which we believe that palpable injustice has been done. The question therefore to consider is : Has Lord Hunter's Committee the ample power of entering upon such an investigation? If it has not, I would unhesitatingly tender the advice I did in South Africa, namely, that of abstaining from any participation in giving evidence before the Committee. Secondly, I would agitate for the release of the political offenders so called, such as Lala Harkishan Lal, Lala Goverdhan Das, Dr. Satyapal, Dr. Kitchlew and others. They must be able to give their evidence with the same freedom and the same dignity as the viceroy and Sir Michael O'Dwyer if the latter will condescend, as they ought, to give evidence before the Committee. Thirdly, we should concentrate our energy upon collecting, marshalling and sifting evidence of the witnesses in the Punjab and elsewhere. This work requires a sustained effort, organizing ability, harnessing of the best talent of the country and absolute fearlessness and integrity in presenting the case before the Committee. And if we can prove but a fourth of the charges that are suggested by the formidable list of questions framed by the ever-watchful Panditji, we shall have vindicated the position that we have taken up all along the line. Punishment of the erring officers is not our goal. An honourable discharge of the men whom we hold to be innocent and whom we believe to be wrongly convicted is our deliberate aim.

Young India, 20-9-1919

303. LETTER TO G.S. ARUNDALE

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
September 20, 1919

DEAR MR. ARUNDALE,

Regarding your request¹ for something from me on the Punjab Week, I can only say that it is our clear duty to secure full justice and expose the wrong we fell has been done to the people of that unhappy province.

There are three ways of doing it :

(1) To contribute towards the expenses.

(2) To study the facts as they gradually percolate to us and to publish them.

(3) To hold meeting in every street and corner to pass resolutions demanding an open and impartial inquiry into the affairs of April and the aftermath.

I observe that Lord Hunter's Committee will not investigate individual cases and that two judges will be appointed for the purpose. We must see to it that the judges are judges whom we can trust and that they have ample powers including the power to take fresh evidence. And in order that both the investigations are properly conducted, we must demand the release, on parole, if need be, of political prisoners.

In my humble opinion, all reform will be worthless if we cannot secure the needed redress and the repeal of an Act to keep which, as I believe, justice has been flung to the winds.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

New India, 26-9-1919

¹ This was made on September 13 in connection with the organizing of a "Punjab Distress Week" from September 28 to October 5, for raising funds to relieve distress and carry on a vigorous Press campaign. Arundale had observed: "A message from you would not merely stimulate our own Presidency, but would be a clarion call as well to the whole of India."

304. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

ASHRAM,
[Before September 21, 1919]¹

DEAR MATHURADAS,

You must give thought to your health. Help *Young India* as long as you are there. I am trying to shift *Young India* here soon. I have sent some matter to Bhai Nandlal only today.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

305. NOTES

NATIONAL EDUCATION

We draw the reader's attention to the article² on the ancient educational centres of India. So long as education in the country is not imparted by persons of integrity and conditions are not created in which the highest knowledge will be available to the poorest of Indians, so long as a perfect confluence of education and dharma has not taken place and education has not been brought into relation with conditions in India, so long as the intolerable burden imposed on the minds of the young by imparting education through a foreign medium has not been lifted, so long will there be no upsurge of national life; there is no denying this.

Purely national education should be imparted in the regional language. The teachers must be of a high calibre. The school should be situated in surroundings where the student has fresh air and water, where he enjoys peace, where the building and the adjoining land are object lessons in healthful living; and the educational pattern must

¹ The addressee received this letter on September 21, 1919.

² This was written by Mavji Damji Shah, and published in *Navajivan*, 21-9-1919. It purported to be a translation of a Marathi original.

beone which will instruct [the pupil] in the main professions and religions of India. A friend has expressed his willingness to bear all the expenses of such a school. He desires that in this school free primary education should be provided to children in Ahmedabad. He wants that there should be not one but many such schools in Ahmedabad. We think land will be available near Ahmedabad and a building can be put up, but we know that it will be difficult to find well-educated teachers possessing good character. We submit to the educated classes of Gujarat that they would do well to turn their eyes in this direction. In Gujarat, these classes do not make one-fourth the self-sacrifice they do in Maharashtra. It is not suggested at all in our friend's scheme that no salaries should be paid. It provides for the teacher's livelihood, but a teacher who cannot fix a limit for his income cannot identify himself completely with the school. If anyone from the educated classes of Gujarat wish to devote their life to such education, they should write to the Secretary, the National Education Section. If we get teachers of the right kind, we shall shortly see in Ahmedabad such a school imparting national education. The children attending this school will live in their homes; they will attend school only during school hours. The same may be understood for the teachers. The National School running as part of the Satyagraha Ashram will have no connection with our friend's scheme save that the same educational pattern will obtain in both. In the Satyagraha Ashram school, the aim is to obtain complete control of the pupils and train teachers from among them. The object of the school now under consideration will be merely to impart primary education to children in Ahmedabad.

BUSINESS MEN'S DUTY TO THEIR ASSISTANTS

We draw the attention of the business community to the letter from a correspondent writing under the pseudonym of "Sarvodaya". Our correspondent is himself a respectable business man of Bombay. We have often heard painful complaints from assistants in Bombay. They are made to work from early morning till ten at night, with the result that they find no time for devotions, or for reading, nor can they attend to their health. This pitiable condition of those who serve the people argues a deficiency in national life. The relationship between a business man and his servant must be one of mutual regard and loyalty, like that between father and son. Such regard and loyalty should prompt the assistant to give up his dear life for his master, if

need be. He should ever remain honest towards his master. The master's loyalty lies in being kind to the assistant while taking work from him, in being mindful of his health and in improving his lot. Wherever there is a realization of this mutual obligation, we shall observe that results are excellent. In this respect, we would do well to emulate the British. Generally, the assistant has fixed hours of work, short enough to leave him time for his household work, for exercise, and for devotions if he is religiously inclined. The work that an English master can get from his assistant in eight hours, the employers among us, sometimes, cannot exact even in sixteen hours.

We would place before the masters their own interests. In exacting work from the assistants for eight or twelve or fourteen hours, they have to keep working themselves. We are not in this world that we may think of our business the whole day. Business is a means; when it comes to be an end and dominates all our thoughts, we become its slaves. It is the duty of the business man to emancipate himself from such a state in time.

The problem Kavi Nanlal is trying to solve in his valuable articles has a close bearing on this subject. We have already grasped the general trend of his articles that a nation without the time or the means for innocent joy in its life will have its vitality slowly drained away. Just as man needs sleep, so also he needs to be free from anxiety, such as that which attends on business, etc., to have innocent, childlike fun and be light-hearted. If this comes about, the nation will be born anew every day and just as the daily rising of the sun appears ever fresh to us, so where the people have the means and the time for innocent joy the national life will ever be found radiant and full-blown, not lack-lustre and faded. We present this idea with our compliments to the business men, appeal to them to think over the matter and advise them to implement the suggestions of "Sarvodya" in some way or other.

OF TEMPORARY AND PERMANENT VALUE

People are busy with two kinds of activities in this world. One kind is of temporary value, and aims only at momentary happiness. Good people eschew such activity or work but slightly towards this end. The other is of permanent value and is eschewed by the cowardly because it requires continuous effort.

Today in India, too, there are these two kinds of activities going on. We see the people too much occupied with thoughts of the minor injustices and oppressions of the Government. We find this interesting because we have occasion to employ or hear spicy words. By keeping itself too absorbed in such activity a nation does not rise, but falls rather. This does not mean that one need not so fight oppression that it will never happen again. All that is meant here is that we should not make oppression the main concern of public life. This will have no interest for the millions either. Of course, where oppression is the main thing, the people are for ever occupied with defending themselves and, in such circumstances, to talk to the people about any other activity is like singing before one suffering the pangs of hunger.

In India we have not yet reached that stage. The policy of the British Government is a mixed affair; it has both justice and injustice. In its conception the policy must be admitted to be just, but those who carry it out make mistakes time and again and injustice results; the people have to work to get these mistakes rectified. It is but their duty to do so.

It is, however, the duty of newspapers to find out which activity will conduce to the enduring happiness of the people and to help them to carry it on and to guide them. It is our emphatic view that among all such activities of enduring value, the swadeshi movement is the chief. It is their duty, likewise, to discover the way of providing the best education to the people, the means whereby the peasants' life of want may be made worth while and to ascertain the causes of, and seek remedies for, the innumerable diseases which afflict the people. All these activities tend towards the uplift of the people. Hence the reader will see by and by that we employ *Navajivan* more especially to further these activities of enduring value. So long as all the aspects of the nation's life are not developed, its real uplift will be impossible. Only if the people take up such activities will they achieve and enjoy pure swaraj.

Therefore, though we shall vigorously oppose injustice wherever we find it and point out the way which seems best to us, we shall employ the pages of *Navajivan* to consider how the activities of enduring value may be promoted and we hope readers will welcome this decision of ours.

“NAVAJIVAN” CLUB

If we are to realize the aims of *Navajivan*, it is not enough that we go on merely writing articles or dispatching copies to subscribers. We would never feel that we were doing our work well until the message of *Navajivan* reached all the men and women of Gujarat, educated and uneducated. This great task cannot be accomplished by the contributors and the managers of *Navajivan*, all by themselves. It needs the fullest co-operation of the readers and subscribers of *Navajivan*. We want that they do not rest satisfied with reading the copy themselves but read it aloud to the uneducated members of their family. Our suggestion goes even further than this. We know that there are many persons who cannot afford even an anna a week. There are many more who, though they can read, have no desire to know what developments are taking place in the country, do not want to read newspapers and, if they read at all, they read things which do not cost them the least effort. Those of our readers who are fired with enthusiasm and who approve of the aims of *Navajivan* can carry its message to both these classes. We suggest to such readers that they start *Navajivan* clubs or associations, keeping before them a limited object. The members of such a club should meet on a fixed day, at a fixed hour, at a fixed place, read an issue of *Navajivan* from the beginning to the end and have a discussion over it. The thing is easily done, but grand results may be obtained from it. Every reader would be able to evaluate these at the end of the year if he kept a diary. Pure thoughts, pure actions and pure sentiments have a profound effect on the people. Were we to make pure ideals our daily companion, we could tread with ease the difficult path of this world. It will be our constant endeavour to see that *Navajivan* does not become the means of conveying a single unworthy or low sentiment or incorrect news or of indulging in rude language, and we charge the reader with keeping watch over us lest we stray from this. We take our readers' relation with us to be not a commercial but an intimate and normal one.

WELL DONE

Recently, when Mr. Gandhi visited Godhra, it came to his knowledge that certain newspapers were not allowed in registered reading-rooms; and these included some popular ones. This matter was discussed in *Young India* and Mr. Gandhi had correspondence about it with the director of Public Instruction. This correspondence is now published in *Young India* and it shows that the ban on

newspapers in registered reading-rooms has been removed. We congratulate the Director of Public Instruction on this wise decision. No doubt it is desirable that only harmless literature is placed before the people. It is also desirable that the people keep away from poisonous writings. Such reforms, however, cannot be brought about by compulsion. What people read depends on their education; that is, the taste of the people cannot be cultivated by severe restrictions on their reading of newspapers and books, nor is this the right education in loyalty. People who always get justice and whose minds are nourished by knowledge will remain loyal as a matter of course. The quality of loyalty, unlike truthfulness and such other virtues, is not self-sustained. Loyalty cannot survive without support. Mr. Covernton's¹, therefore, is in every way a commendable step. In fact, if the Government always took such wise steps, there would be no room at all for disloyalty.

SACRIFICE TO GODDESS

We have received four or five poems from a Bhil gentleman in which he humbly but earnestly requests members of his community and other Hindus to desist from the cruel slaughter of goats before the Mother on the sacred eighth day in *Navaratri*², the day of sacrifice, and on the auspicious Dashera day. We are unable to publish these poems themselves, but we must take note of his commendable effort. We believe it to be the duty of every Hindu to stop, as early as possible, this violence which some Hindus, believers in the duty of compassion, commit on the pretext of offering a sacrifice to the Goddess. If we appeal to our Muslim brethren to stop cow-slaughter, we on our part must stop this violence.

SPINNING-WHEEL IN VIJAPUR³

When I requested the ladies concerned for articles on the spinning movement in Vijapur and other related activities, they felt embarrassed and asked me how I could wish their names to be made public. Till now, I allowed their work to remain unknown. I, too, felt a little embarrassed in bringing work such as this to public notice, but I

¹ Director of Public Instruction, Bombay Presidency

² The first nine days of the bright half of *Ashvin*, roughly corresponding to October-November

³ The comments which follow were appended to an article by Mrs. Gangabehn Majumdar, who helped Gandhiji to organize the spinning-wheel movement. It described how she came to take up the work and the progress made till then.

feel it is necessary for the people to know that the spinning programme can prosper, that it is popular, that it is profitable economically and in other ways and that ladies of respectable families have also been working in it. Even if I had not had the medium of *Navajivan*, I had decided to bring the work of these ladies to public notice. This was why I published, with their permission, the names of Lady Tata, Lady Petit and Mrs. Jaiji Petit in the *Pateti* issue of *Sanj Vartaman*.¹ In my humble opinion, the work of Mrs. Gangabehn is of the highest importance and the nation ought to know about it. She has dedicated her all to this work. Only when, having invested some of her own money, she had achieved a measure of success in the movement did she ask for, and receive, monetary help from others to further it. The fact such a spinning programme can flourish on so large a scale in a small place like Vijapur suggests that, if the work is done properly, in a short while every village will start spinning and the weavers who have been deprived of their vocation will be standing on their feet again. I hope that Gangabehn's example will be followed by all women who can spare some time.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 21-9-1919

¹ *Vide* "Swadeshi in a Nutshell", 11-9-1919.

306. DISAPPOINTMENT

Those who read papers will have guessed whose views these are.¹ As the people need to understand them fully, we have translated almost every word and every sentence. Only a few sentences, those which have no bearing on the rest and in leaving out which no injustice is done to the speaker, have been omitted so as not to take up space unnecessarily. These are the views of Sir Edward Maclagan, the Lieut. Governor of the Punjab, and they were stated as a rejoinder to a resolution tabled by the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.

These views go to prove that the new Governor proposes fully to stand by the action of Sir Michael O'Dwyer. The worthy officer believes that the sentence which have been inflicted are just and also that the judgments pronounced are correct. Reductions in the sentences have been made by way of mercy and with a view to bringing about amicable relations between the Government and the people. I must say that in these reductions I see no mercy, nor any justice, nor in the views reproduced above do I see any change in the Government's attitude. I see a great mental distance between the ruler and the ruled. I can bear the officials being absolved of blame. I can acquiesce in the Commission as appointed. But the kind of attitude these sentiments reflect I find intolerable and I wish that it should be equally so to the people, for in this attitude I see the ruin of both, and a widening of the distrust and division between them.

If the Government is convinced that it has done no wrong, that all the fault lies with the people, where, then, was the need for a Commission? What will it inquire into? Two worthies have already given their judgment in favour of the Government and against the people His Excellency the Viceroy and the Governor of the Punjab. If it is the view of the Government that the Commission's function simply is to whitewash the actions of the officials, the Commission had better be left alone by us. The people's case is this: that Sir Michael O'Dwyer proved himself unfit as Governor. The disturbances in the Punjab had their origin in his previous record. If he had not issued

¹ The comments were preceded by a Gujarati translation of part of a speech by the Lieut.-Governor of the Punjab on Madan Mohan Malaviya's motion in the Legislative Council for a commission consisting of persons unconnected with the Indian administration. The speech was published in *Young India*, 17-9-1919.

repressive orders against Drs. Kitchlew and Satyapal, if he had not prevented me from going to Delhi, the disturbances would not have taken such a violent turn. Even afterwards, if there had been no shooting, the people would never have committed the mistakes they did. The orders of Sir Michael O'Dwyer were evidently instrumental in arousing the worst passions of the people.

I do not say that this case of the people is right. Maybe it is overstated, maybe it is totally wrong. Even so, the Government, which is in the defendant's box, which stands charged with all this, cannot get away by simply denying the charges. It is the chief duty of the Commission to decide on these charges. Public opinion is not happy with the Commission as it is constituted. If, now, the Government has made up its mind about its actions, there is no need whatever for a commission. Or, again, how is it that, having appointed a Commission, they are trying to prejudice it right from now by making speeches condemning the people? The Government's duty is to refrain from commenting on the events of April, to present whatever evidence it has and to help the people to present their evidence and so facilitate the work of the Commission.

Sir Edward Maclagan, by his speech, has only sought to prove that Babu Kalinath Roy, Lala Harkishan Lal, Dr. Satyapal and others were in fact guilty. By saying this, he has hurt the people's feelings, poured oil on fire as it were and, claiming to pacify the people, has only succeeded in angering them.

The people do not want mercy. If Lala Harkishan Lal and others have committed any crime, they deserve no mercy but only punishment. If they have in fact committed no crime, they should get pure justice.

The people's duty is clear. If the people do not have it in them to secure justice, they do not deserve to obtain responsible government. If the people want to be strong enough to secure justice, they should act without being provoked, calmly but firmly. Those from whom the people seek justice should be ready to grant it. Our case, in my humble view, is so sound that it requires little adorning with adjectives. If it is spoilt, it will be so only through our anger or our apathy. Anger clouds one's perception, this obscures the memory, from that comes loss of reason and, reason lost, one is utterly

destroyed.¹ I should like the people to keep in mind this truth enunciated in the scripture.

What are the things we can peacefully do? We may hold meetings at all places and express our resentment at the Viceroy's speech and at the speeches on behalf of the Punjab Government. If the Government does not act with a sense of justice, we may even desist from giving evidence before the Commission. We may, from now on at any rate, avoid the errors we committed in the Punjab and elsewhere. The Government, by its actions, will still give us many more grounds for provocation. We would be invincible if, instead of being provoked, we were to think earnestly and refuse to help the Government in doing injustice. Swaraj lies in the truthfulness of the people, in their firmness and their fortitude. Our ability to secure justice is the measure of our capacity to enjoy freedom. If the people show this strength in them, rays of hope will shine from out of the disappointment which the speeches of Sir Edward Maclagan and the Viceroy are likely to produce.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 21-9-1919

307. TELEGRAM TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

AHMEDABAD,
September 22, 1919

MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI
247 BAZAR GATE
BOMBAY

HAVE TELEGRAPHED HON'BLE GOKULDAS PAREKH ACCEPT
NOMINATION PRESIDENT FORTHCOMING GUJARAT CONFERENCE.²
PLEASE SEE HIM. WIRE RESULT. IF ANY DIFFICULTY
SECURE INTERVENTION UTTAMLAL TRIVEDI. IF PAREKH NOT
THERE ASK HIS PEOPLE REWIRE MY WIRE.

GANDHI

From the original: Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

¹ *Bhagavad Gita*, II, 63

² Gujarat Political Conference

308. MORE PUNJAB TRAGEDIES

It is my misfortune to have to present two more cases from the land of sorrow to the reader of *Young India*. I call Punjab the land of sorrow because I find, on the one hand, a series of cases in which, if the records of cases are to be believed, a manifest injustice has been done and, on the other, an apparent determination on the part of the Punjab Government not to undo the wrong. For, as I have already said in these columns, a mere reduction of sentences without admission of at least an error of judgment is no comfort to the men who protest their innocence or to the people at large who believe in their innocence and wish to see justice done. I must confess that I am uninterested in reduction of sentences if the prisoners are guilty and it is a crime to keep them in duress if they are innocent. The reader will see the petitions on behalf of Mr. Gurdial Singh and Dr. Mahomed Bashir. Both are high-spirited men...one a Sikh of culture, the other a Mohammedan doctor having before him a life full of promise. If they have waged war, if they have incited to murder, there can be no question of remission of the sentences passed against them. Therefore the fact that Dr. Bashir's sentence of death has been commuted, whilst it must be a matter of some feeble consolation to Mrs. Bashir, can be none to Dr. Bashir or to the public.

Let us glance at Mr. Gurdial Singh's case. His brother has sent me a long letter asking me even to publish it. As the main facts are contained in the petition, I refrain from publishing the letter for fear of tiring the reader, but I will make use of such statements from it as may be necessary to demonstrate the enormity of the injustice done in the case. Says the brother,

He only attended the constitutional and the orderly meeting of the 6th April. He was on the 14th and 15th confined to bed. The local sub-assistant surgeon (Government employee) attended on him, gave his prescription, which I am sending to you in the original along with the papers.

I have seen this prescription.

Seriously sick with appendicitis, my brother could not join the so-called unruly mob in breaking the glass panes of the Tehsil windows. As regards prosecution witnesses against my brother, I have only to add that my brother was not informed of the names of such persons. He knew them by seeing them in the Court. . . . My brother was, as a matter of fact, not informed of the

charge against him except through the mouth of the prosecution witnesses.

I hold that if this statement is correct, it is enough to ensure Mr. Gurdial Singh's discharge. No accused could thus be taken by surprise and expected where and when to plead. Surely he was entitled to see the charge, and not gather it through the prosecution witnesses. The letter in my possession then analyses the antecedents of the witnesses for the prosecution and shows the animus they had against the accused. Naturally the public cannot be expected to judge the credibility of witnesses upon *ex parte* statements made by or on behalf of the accused, but these statements show, if they are true, that an immense amount of perjury must have taken place on the part of the prosecution witnesses. I admit that this case is not as clearly established on behalf of the prisoner as many others I have examined, for I have not the whole of the papers for presentation to the public. But assuming the truth of the statements made authentically on behalf of the prisoner, it is clear that the case requires looking into.

Dr. Mahomed Bashir's is another such case. The pathetic petition by his wife and Dr. Bashir's statement itself before the Court, which sentenced him to death, if true, show that the court's judgement had been completely warped. Dr. Bashir may or may not have lied but the Court had most decidedly nothing before it to warrant the remark that the defence evidence was worthless; for Dr. Bashir, as will be seen from the statement published in another column, categorically denied many of the statements and facts imputed to him. I do not intend to burden this criticism with any extracts from the very brief and business-like statement presented to the Court by Dr. Bashir, but I would commend it to the careful attention of the reader. He cannot help the conclusion that the statement deserved a better fate than a contemptuous dismissal from the Court.

Young India, 24-9-1919

309. TO THE PUBLIC OUTSIDE GUJARAT

Unexpected interest is being taken in *Navajivan* by the Gujarati-speaking population. It is not possible to cope with the demand made upon it. So far as I can see, twenty thousand copies are not enough to supply the want. But we were able to print only twelve thousand copies. The printers we are able to get in Ahmedabad can hardly print 10,000 copies. Those who can, being afraid of the Press Act, will not

print *Navajivan*. But on the top of this comes a demand for a Hindi edition of *Navajivan*. Indeed, I am myself hatching schemes to enable me to publish Hindi, Urdu, Marathi and, finally, Tamil editions. But there is a dearth of real workers. If I can possibly secure suitable Hindi, Marathi, Urdu and Tamil helpers, nothing would please me better than to be able to deliver my message to those who speak these tongues. I need hardly say that English is no medium save for reaching a microscopic minority. My ambition is to reach the masses. This one can do only through the vernaculars. I therefore appeal to self-sacrificing young men of ability to come forward with their assistance in the work if they are sufficiently interested in it.

M. K. GANDHI

Young India, 24-9-1919

310. SPEECH ON SWADESHI, RAJKOT¹

September 25, 1919

Mr. Gandhi then commenced this sermon, in the course of which he said that he had at present started the movement for the manufacture of swadeshi cloth. It was a matter of vital necessity to the people; next to food, clothing is a necessity of life and it should be supplied from the country itself. At present our dependence on other countries has made us helpless and poor. In the year 1917-18, the country had to send away 60 crores of rupees for foreign cloth only. This is in no way edifying to them and steps must be taken to arrest the drain. This can be done only with a sustained and energetic movement which will also demand a degree of sacrifice from them. He had discussed the question with eminent Indian experts who said that it would take a period of fifty years to supply swadeshi cloth to the whole country through mills. Under the circumstances, he had been urging the manufacture of cloth through handloom. The idea had become already extremely popular and high-class Indian ladies had taken zealously to spinning cotton and swadeshi Bhandars were being opened at different places. In Kathiawar, similar ways and means should be adopted for the spread of swadeshi. The movement was in no way harmful to any and therefore it should be carried on peacefully. Women should utilize their spare time and begin spinning. The native spinning-wheels can be had cheaply and if they wished their welfare they should without waste of time introduce into every house spinning-wheels and handlooms. It alone would ensure happiness and economic contentment.

Kathiawar Times, 28-9-1919

¹ Gandhiji was given a rousing reception on his arrival at Rajkot. After a few introductory remarks by D.B. Shukla, Gandhiji addressed the gathering

311. SPEECH AT WOMEN'S MEETING, RAJKOT¹

September 25, 1919

He told them that women as a rule had been using foreign cloth for fashion, etc., more widely. The women of India were intensely religious, but as illiteracy was prevalent among them, they were unaware of what was going on in the world of today. If they had been roused to a sense of their duty, he was sure that their women would not remain what they were. He would therefore tell them the fact that their dependence on foreign countries in the matter of cloth and other things was responsible for their present degradation. The Indian women should realize it in all its gravity. Their comparative poverty should stimulate them to work out their own destiny. The most efficacious remedy was that they should start spinning wheels, the harder sex [should take] to weaving. It would give honourable employment to women at their very homes and, at the same time, enable them to render a valuable service in the cause of country. He saw them on the present occasion clad in fancy and fine sarees. They should so set themselves to work that the spinning and weaving industry might reach that level in India. Nothing was impossible to a resolute will and persevering nature. He finally appealed to women assembled to translate their momentary zeal into continued action in the service of the motherland in the way he had indicated.

Kathiawar Times, 28-9-1919

312. SPEECH AT RAJKOT MEETING²

[September 25, 1919]³

Mr. Gandhi said he was pleased to find Major Moss in the chair. It was good for both that Englishmen and Indians should meet on a common platform on all non-contentious and non-political matters. Such meetings lessened the acerbities of political life and promoted harmony between the two races.

The speaker congratulated the Sahayya Mandal for their splendid work during the influenza epidemic and the late famine. He however ventured to suggest that true and lasting social service lay in organizing preventive measures. Whilst it was good to relieve suffering in times of the plague or famine, it was better to band together in

¹ In the afternoon, Gandhiji addressed a meeting of about 500 women at Banik Bhojanshala.

² In the evening Gandhiji spoke at a meeting held in Connaught Hall. Major Moss, Political Agent, Halar, presided.

³ *Young India* reported this speech as dated September 24, which appears to be a slip. The date given here is as reported in *Kathiawar Times*, 28-9-1919.

order to prevent a recurrence of plague or famine. He is a wise and philanthropic doctor or lawyer who prevents diseases or quarrels. Social servants ought not to wait for influenza or famine for giving their service to the nation.

Truer service of the constructive and preventive type could be rendered in the villages. And if we succeeded in keeping our villages pure, clean, healthy and prosperous, the big cities would take care of themselves. He therefore suggested to Mr. Nanalal Kavi, who was the head and the heart of the movement in Rajkot, to go to some villages and, by living among and like them, to study their wants and their habits. Then he would discover the best method of rendering social service.

The speaker at one time thought that social service was best known and organized in Europe. Experience had taught him otherwise. He was of opinion that nowhere was social service treated so much a religious duty as in India. He instanced the marvellous manner in which the Kumbh at Hardwar was organized. The Himalayas were a standing testimony to our organizing ability and our instinct for social service. Thousands of pilgrims who ascended the Himalayas up to Jamnotri were catered for without difficulty in a spirit of service and not of commercial gain. The matchless caste organization was an instance of vast social service organization. The late Sir W.W. Hunter used to say that India was remarkable for the absence of any need of Poor Law. Castes regulated service in the event of disease, death and poverty. He did not wish to glorify caste. He recognized its defects and its excesses as it at present existed. He merely mentioned it as an illustration to prove his proposition that social service was recognized in India as a duty. Unfortunately most of our old institutions had petrified. His point was that the old institutions and methods should be studied, revived and reorganized in so far as it may be necessary to suit new conditions. We were likely to go wrong if we rejected the old without due examination.

Young India, 8-10-1919

313. HOW NOT TO DO IT

At the very earnest request of Mayadevi, 16-year-old wife of Kesar Mal, I reproduce elsewhere her picturesque petition praying for the release of her young husband, 21 years old. The case presented seems to be unanswerable, but a good cause has been spoiled by a bad advocate. Though the petition is that of Mayadevi, it is quite clear that it is the handiwork of a draughts-man who has written in a fit of rage against what he has, undoubtedly and with good cause, believed to be a monstrous injustice. But anger is short madness and noblest causes have been damaged by advocates affected with temporary lunacy. The petition is overlaid with useless adjectives and declamation. Whilst it

has been a pleasure to me to dissect the many business like petitions that have come from that land of sorrow, in the present instance I have been obliged to labour through violent language to what I consider to be a right conclusion. I do not happen to know the draughtsman of the petition. Mayadevi, who has sent a covering letter equally violently worded, gives me no information about the draughtsman. But I do wish as a practised draughtsman to warn writers of petitions, whether they be pleaders or otherwise, to think of the cause they may be espousing for the time being. I assure them that a bare statement of facts unembellished with adjectives is far more eloquent and effective than a narrative glowing with exuberant language. Petition writers must understand that they address busy men, not necessarily sympathetic, sometimes prejudiced, and almost invariably prone to sustain the decisions of their subordinates. In the case of the Punjab, they approach a Viceroy and a Lieutenant-Governor who have preconceived ideas. Petitions have to be read and analysed by public workers and journalists who have none too much time at their disposal. I know to my cost how difficult it is for me to do full justice to the value of the papers that pour in upon me week to week from the Punjab. I make a present of my valuable experience to young patriots who wish to try the art of advocating public causes by writing petitions or otherwise. I had the privilege of serving under the late Mr. Gokhale and, for a time, under the G.O.M. of India. Both told me that if I wanted to be heard I must be brief, I must write to the point and adhere to facts, and never travel beyond the cause under notice, and I must be most sparing in my adjectives. And if some success has attended my effort, it is due to my acceptance of the golden advice given to me by the two illustrious deceased. With this preface and warning, I proceed to the analysis of the case of young Kesar Mal.

I am anxious that the excellent case of young Kesar Mal might not be overlooked by reason of bad draughtsmanship of the petition. The wonder to me is that so many petitions have been written with a marked ability and amazing self-restraint. But when a badly drawn [up] document comes their way, it is the business of public workers to sift the grain from the chaff and present the former to the public.

Let it be remembered that this is one of the Hafizabad cases arising out of the tumult that took place at Hafizabad station during which Lieut. Tatam is alleged to have been the object of the mischievous attention of the crowd that had gathered at that station. Kesar Mal was sentenced to be hanged, the sentence being

subsequently commuted to ten years' imprisonment. The wife's petition says, "It is justice which Your Excellency's petitioner most humbly seeks and on justice Your Excellency's petitioner insists." And on that account she asks for the release of her young husband. The grounds as can be collected from the petition are:

- (1) The prosecution evidence is inconsistent with itself.
- (2) The charge against Kesar Mal is that he was trying to snatch Lieut. Tatam's child from him; but according to the petition, the police produced Kesar Mal a dozen times before the Lieutenant, but "Mr. Tatam would as many times nod his head meaning positive and complete nay and added each time 'none tried to snatch the child from me'".
- (3) Lieut. Tatam did not identify Kesar Mal even as one of the men concerned in assaulting him.
- (4) Identification parade was held some time after the occurrence.
- (5) Lieut. Tatam is reported to have said, "Your Deputy Commissioner Lieut.-Col. O'Brien is a very strong man and he has unnecessarily compelled me to make too much of the case."
- (6) The petition charges the police with having given colour to the proceedings which they did not deserve.
- (7) The prosecution witnesses were nearly all Government servants, i.e., chaprasis, *moharrirs*, railway staff, police staff, and also pedlars, confectioners, etc., who are alleged to have been made to give evidence.
- (8) Prosecution witnesses against Kesar Mal were either prejudiced or themselves feared "implications" or expected favours.
- (9) Lieut. Tatam himself had nothing against Kesar Mal. Bashir Haiyat stated, "Only Kesar Mal was wounded by the glass of the window." Haveli Ram identified Kesar Mal but Commission remarked about him, "demeanour bad not to be trusted." Similar was the case with Wadhawa Mal. Kishan Dayal was another prosecution witness who is stated to have perjured himself and given evidence flatly in contradiction of Lt. Tatam's. Kishan Dayal appears to have been a boon companion of Kesar Mal and yet is said to have stated to the Court that he did not know Kesar Mal before. Chapter and verse are given in

the petition to prove Kishan Dayal's intimacy with Kesar Mal. Kishan Dayal is stated to have yielded to police influence and, it is said, he is now sorry "for his wrong and cruel statement".

(10) The defence evidence was entirely ignored although the defence witnesses were impartial men of position.

(11) Young Kesar Mal belongs to a family which rendered services to the Government.

If these allegations are true, it is clear that Kesar Mal has been wrongly convicted and is entitled to be discharged. Cases like this prove the great need there is for an impartial commission to investigate them. Sir William Vincent has sprung a surprise upon the community by stating that two judges would be appointed to investigate such cases and report upon them to the Government. One would have thought that Lord Hunter's Committee would be able to do this work. But I take it that the public would be satisfied with this separate committee provided that the judges to be appointed are strong, independent and able men. Sir William Vincent might have been more communicative than he was. He evidently does not realize the pain and the torture under which the relatives of men who, in their opinion, are wrongly convicted, are passing their days.

AN UNWORTHY DEFENCE

One almost despairs of getting justice when one reads the debates that have taken place in the Viceregal Council and the defence put forth for every vile and vindictive act done in the Punjab in the name of prestige, law and order. Even the "hands and knees" order has been sought to be justified by Lieut.-General Sir Havelock Hudson. The action of the crowd against an innocent lady doctor cannot be condemned too strongly or too vehemently. I do not know whether all the facts stated by the gallant General are true, but for the purpose of my argument, I shall assume them to be true. I venture to submit, however, that no act on the part of an infuriated mob can possibly be held to justify the issuing of a barbarous order in cold blood requiring that "those who wished to pass the scene of the assault on Miss Sherwood should be made to crawl on their hands and knees". The scene of assault was not an out-of-the-way corner which nobody need visit or which people could avoid if they chose. There was therefore no question of people's 'wishing' to pass the scene of the assault. It was one of *being obliged* to pass the scene. Why should people who had no hand in the act of violence have "to crawl on their

hands and knees” in passing the scene of the assault? The General proceeds thus to justify the order:

I think that the Council will agree that it is not surprising that the officer in command at Amritsar took the view that some unusual measures were necessary to bring home to the mob that such acts of violence directed against defenceless women could not be tolerated. Something was required to strike the imagination and impress on all the determination of the military authorities to protect European women.

The whole of the speech is worth reading as an example of bad taste. It is speeches such as Sir Havelock Hudson’s which create bad blood and give unbridled licence to the soldiery. I was totally unprepared for this defence from high quarters of acts of vengeance, unworthy of true soldiers. Surely there are nobler methods of ensuring protection for European women. Have their lives been in such danger in India as to require any special protection? Why should the life of a European woman be held more sacred than that of an Indian woman? Has she not the same sense of honour, the same feelings? What is the British flag worth if a British soldier, wearing the King’s uniform, rise from his seat in the Viceregal Council and insults the people of India by language such as Lieut.-General Sir Havelock Hudson has used? I still do not share the cry against the Indemnity Bill. I think with due deference to the great experienced leaders of opinion in India that, to put it at its worst, it was bad tactics to have opposed the Indemnity Bill, but the speech of General Hudson, if it reflects, as I fear it does, the sentiments of the English members of the Council, must cause the gravest misgivings as to the ultimate result of Lord Hunter’s Committee and its offshoot.

Young India, 27-9-1919

314. LETTER OF THANKS

[September 28, 1919]¹

DEAR BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

I have received numerous telegrams, letters and postcards congratulating me upon my 51st birthday. How shall I requite all this love? In what words should I express my gratefulness? There is no doubt that I appreciate discriminating and wise affection and that I

¹ The Gujarati original of this appeared in *Navajivan*, 28-9-1919.

shun blind affection. It has, therefore, given me much pleasure to find that the affection has in many places taken a partical and beneficent form. I have such a vivid experience of India's deep proverty that, whenever money is uselessly spent, it seems to me that so much has been taken away from the poor. If all the money that has been spent over sending me telegrams had been devoted towards purchasingswadeshi khadi and therewith clothing the deserving naked or towards feeding the helpless, would not they have blessed the donors? The course of the poor has destroyed nations, has deprived kings of their crowns and the rich of their riches. Retributive justice is inexorable. The blessings of the poor have made kingdoms flourish.

The true method of bestowing affection on me is to copy such actions of mine as may seem to be worthy of imitation. No higher compliment can be paid to a man than to follow him. Many took the swadeshi vow on my birthday. Many sisters have sent many parcels containing yarn spun by themselves. Many took the vow of serving the suppressed classes. The Ahmedabad Swadeshi Store managers broke through the many difficulties that faced them and decided that day to lower their prices. The managers of the Swadeshi Bhandar in Surat have done likewise. Such methods of celebrating birthdays are a sign of enlightened affection and one would welcome such birthdays for ever so as to enable men and women to take forward steps from day to day.

Bhagini Samaj has decided to present me with a purse. This places a heavy responsibility upon me. It requires me to solve the difficulty of making the best use of it. But this I am able to say without much forethought that I shall make use of it for some service of the women of India. I shall feel grateful to those sisters and brothers who will give me benefit of their advice as to the best way of utilizing the funds.

All have wished me long life. My desire is to close this life searching for truth, acting truth and thinking truth and that alone, and I request the blessings of the nation that desire of mine may be fulfilled.

I hope that those who have sent me telegrams and letters will excuse me for my inability to send them separate acknowledgments.

M. K. GANDHI

Young India, 4-10-1919

315. FINES IMPOSED ON NADIAD AND BAREJADI

The questions, regarding the posting of an additional police force, tabled by the Hon'ble Rao Bahadur Harilal Desai in the Bombay Legislative Assembly and the Government's reply to them are worth nothing. We can see from them how subordinate officers can mislead the Government. We can also see how one wrong leads to another. The first step of the Government was wrong. Misled by the Collector's report, the Government stationed additional police at Nadiad and Barejadi. It realized that this was a mistake, but was not prepared to admit as much. The Government thus found itself in a position in which it had no choice but to defend the mistake anyhow. Let us examine whether, in the process, the Government has had to do another wrong.

Among the questions asked by the Rao Bahadur, one was whether there were any disturbances in Nadiad on the 10th, 11th, 12th and 13th of April. This was a significant question and in asking it the Rao Bahadur's point was that there had been no disturbances in Nadiad on those dates and that, therefore, the Government had no justification for stationing additional police. How could the Government make such an admission? Hence it adopted a wrong line in its reply and said that a large crowd had assembled on the morning of the 11th with the object of compelling the Head Master of the English School, by show of criminal force, to close the school. There is no reason to believe the Government story simply because it is so positive about it. The Government has not come to this conclusion after a public inquiry of any nature. It gave this information in the Legislative Assembly on the basis of the one-sided police report it had received. Had it exercised its judgment, it would have used some kind of a qualifying expression and presented the information less positively. The Government is all too ready with its criticism if a one-sided case is presented on behalf of the people; what right has it, then, to come to any conclusion on the basis of a one-sided report? There are courts in existence to adjudicate between the Government and the people, and the principle of setting up an independent Commission of Inquiry¹ is also an accepted policy at present. I have made inquiries and have an altogether different account from prominent citizens of

¹ The Gujarati original of this appeared in *Navajivan*, 28-9-1919.

Nadiad. They say, on their side, that no crowd had collected on purpose to force the school to close. Other schools being closed on that day, the boys of the English School, too, were engaged in an argument with their Head Master and a few persons from the town had joined them, but no undue pressure was used.

Let us take the second reply of the Government. The latter asserts that one of the ring-leaders in the crowd was found, when arrested, to be in possession of a violently inflammatory pamphlet inciting to murder for which he has since been convicted. This information is likely to mislead the reader. The reader gets the impression that this ring-leader had that leaflet with him on the 11th itself and that he was arrested on that date. The fact as established and accepted by both sides is that this ring-leader was arrested not on the 11th but on the 17th and that the leaflet came into his possession on the latter date. So this second statement of the Government also turns out to be a misleading one.

Now let us examine the third statement. It has been said on behalf of the Government that a party had assembled on the 12th of April with the intention of attacking the Dairy in Nadiad, but that it was dispersed by the police. The report which I have received goes to show that a party did go there with a view to persuading the manager to close the Dairy. The crowd had dispersed at the mere request of prominent citizens of Nadiad. The police did not have to make the least effort to disperse it, nor was there any need for them to make any.

The fourth statement, to the effect that the railway track near Nadiad was removed on the 12th, is correct. This was a terrible and shameful act and it is all the more shameful that the guilty have not been discovered and arrested.

We now take the fifth statement that the railway track was damaged on the 13th and the telegraph wires were cut. This statement, being ambiguous, creates a false impression and, therefore, reflects on the integrity of the Government.

That on the 13th rails were damaged and wires were cut at some place is a fact. The Rao Bahadur's question was about Nadiad and so the reader may gather the impression that the incident on the 13th also took place within the limits of Nadiad. As a matter of fact, the track was damaged and wires were cut at a considerable distance from Nadiad. It has not even been hinted that any resident of Nadiad had a

hand in this misdeed, and it is a painful thing that, nevertheless, the Government mentions the incident of the 13th in reply to a question about Nadiad.

The Government commands great power. In answer to yet another of the questions asked by the Rao Bahadur, the Government gave him and the people a complete idea of what this power is. To show with what great sleekness the Government has replied to an innocent question, I give here a literal translation of the question and the reply :

Q : Whether the employment of additional police in Nadiad is not in fact a punitive rather than a preventive measure?

A : The Hon'ble member is referred to section 25(1) of the Bombay District Police Act, 1890, which specifies the grounds on which additional police may be employed.¹

If it is possible to be plain without being rude, this reply of the Government can be described as insolent. It betrays the arrogance of power. The reply is evasive and in the language of the rustic it means : "We did as we pleased; do your worst."

What can a poor Rao Bahadur do when faced with the potent might of the Government? It was the duty of the Government to give a plain reply to a plain question and, if it could not justify its action in a straightforward manner, it ought to have rectified its error. I submit that the power and dignity which lie in honestly rectifying an error are not to be found in irresponsible insolence and in evasion.

The people cannot leave the matter there. It is not merely that Nadiad or Barejadi has been fined. The issue here is one of justice and of Government policy. It is incumbent upon the Government to dispense pure justice and to follow irreproachable policies, and on the public to see that the Government does so. If it is Nadiad today, it may be Gujarat tomorrow and India the day after. A policy of this kind is like a disease and, as a disease, ought to be checked before it has progressed far, people should take steps to see that an immoral policy is immediately given up.

A great responsibility rests on the citizens of Nadiad and on the landowners in Barejadi. They should spare no effort to have this question discussed with the Government and in the public. Wherever they find inaccuracies in statements by the Government, they should

¹ The question and the answer are reproduced from *Young India*.

point them out. I am convinced that, if the people go to work patiently, with due courtesy and never over-stepping the limits but firmly and fearlessly all the same, the Government will admit its error. It is not a question of 20 or 25 thousand rupees, but of the blot that is cast on Nadiad and Barejadi. It is the duty of the citizens of Nadiad and of the landowners of Barejadi to remove that blot, and it is our duty to help them to do so.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 28-9-1919

316. THE PUNJAB COMMITTEE

Surprising changes keep taking place in the Punjab Committee. It seems the agitation about the Punjab has had some effect on the Government. What fruit the Committee will yield it is difficult to say. If our agitation had been still more powerful, there would have been no cause left for fear. We have felt grieved about the Punjab, but we are not equally well-informed about it; we have not tried to be. It is no small matter that, even then, as Sannyasi Shraddhanandji has observed, people all around are overflowing with sympathy for it. From every side we hear people saying, "The Punjab is ours, Punjabis are our brethren." This bespeaks a national spirit among us, our unity.

Sir William Vincent has announced, on behalf of the Government, that two additional members will be appointed on the Punjab Committee one Indian and one European. From one point of view this news is satisfying. It signifies that popular feeling has been respected to some extent. From another point of view it causes concern. What type of persons will be appointed as members? If they are honest, independent and intelligent, they will strengthen the Committee and we may have greater hope that justice will be done. If self-interest counts for more with them than honesty, if they care more for flattery of others than for independence, if they are of the kind who make up in cleverness what they lack in intelligence, we shall have fallen from the frying pan into the fire. We shall not have to remain long in doubt, as the names will be out soon enough.

Out of this Committee is to come into existence another. We have all along asked whether the Committee is empowered to go into the sentences awarded in the Punjab. The second Committee is in reply to this question. Sir William Vincent has announced that two

High Court Judges will be appointed to inquire into the sentences. One of these will be an Indian, the other an Englishman. The foregoing comments apply to this announcement as well. High Court Judges were appointed in the Punjab too. There were Indians on the Punjab Commission as well. A High Court Judge may allow himself to be guided by his personal feelings and do injustice, knowingly or unknowingly. We cannot claim that an Indian judge would always do justice. It is only after knowing the names of the judges that we shall know whether to be satisfied or to take this as an additional cause for anxiety.

One thing stands out as our duty. Whatever the nature and strength of the Committees appointed by the Government, what can they do if we are not able to lead proper evidence before them? If persons like Lala Harkishan Lal remain in prison, how can they come out with the facts? All those persons who are being held, not for any actual crimes but principally as political prisoners, should be released. There can be a proper inquiry on the Punjab incidents only if this is done.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 28-9-1919

317. REQUEST TO CONTRIBUTORS

So many writers send their articles to us. We congratulate them on their enthusiasm and on their love for *Navajivan*. We shall certainly find room for the kind of articles which, in our humble view, the people are eager to read. Since we cannot write to every contributor separately, we make a few suggestions here.

For the present, we are not inclined to give much space to essays. Whenever we are favoured with contributions by writers of established reputation, we shall include them. The principal need of the people is not good thoughts but good deeds. *Navajivan* could be stuffed with beautiful translations from the ancient classics if the purpose were to place the best thoughts before the people. The public seems to have had enough of such things. It is, therefore, our attempt, by presenting before the public concrete instances of ideas which have been put into practice, to win faith in them. Accordingly we propose to put before the people experiences which have something of use to

them. Thus reports of the activities of all those who have been doing some sincere work will find a place in *Navajivan*.

The contributors should have some pity for the editor and the poor compositors. It is therefore required of them that they write only on one side. It is also very necessary for them to write in as good a hand as they possibly can, for we cannot copy out the articles they send us. Some are under the impression that any kind of handwriting is good enough in Gujarati. This suggests want of patriotism on their part. We should take pride in writing a clear and beautiful hand in our own language and be ashamed of writing a slovenly hand. Especially when writing for publication, everyone should regard it as his sacred duty to be doubly careful.

We are reminded, in this context, of a poem by a veteran writer. It is to this effect : Never write anything without giving thought to it; having written something, go through it carefully and write it over again; in rewriting, cut it down to half its length; go through this once more, think again and reduce the half to a half again; read over yet again the one-fourth that now remains and, if you are the least in doubt cut out something still further. Even after all this, you will find the editor so merciless that he will have to cut out something more. This advice is for those learning to write, but veteran writers have profited a great deal from it. We importune every writer to try out this well-tested advice and note the results. The late Mr. Gokhale, when he wanted to write even a short letter, would first turn it over in his mind for five to ten minutes, think out the words and then write it out; he would cancel it to write out a second one, show it to friends, politely listen to their comments and only then would he take his letter to have been finalized. The result was that he acquired control over a foreign language which few have had. His writing was replete with courage, truth and such other qualities, and yet one found no sting in it anywhere. In a wall which a clever artisan builds, not a single brick will be seen to have been wrongly set; those who read the writings of this builder in language have the same experience with regard to the edifice of words he constructs. We should have greater love still for our mother tongue.

If our enthusiastic and kind contributors keep these suggestions in mind, their contributions will stand greater chance of being accepted; besides, writings so shaped under the hammer of thought will prove useful to the people.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 28-9-1919

318. FATHER OF THE WORLD [I]

“O farmer! You, indeed, are the father of the world.”

We learn this line in our primary schools. Shri Chandulal's article, published in this issue, reminds us of the significance of these worlds and of how little we honour this “father”.

Shri Chandulal has briefly but graphically described the condition of the agriculturist. He has written about the agriculturists of Kathiawar, but what applies to the Kathiawar farmer applies in one form or another to peasants all over India. So long as the educated classes refuse to give thought to the condition of farmers, no improvement in it is possible.

Our leaders have collected a certain amount of information regarding the conditions of our peasantry, have written a little about it and have also discussed the question in the Legislative Assembly. However, no substantial improvement has taken place because we have no direct experience of their condition.

Government officers are certainly aware of it, but these officers are in a truly pitiable state. They look at the farmer as officers, i.e., as men concerned with collection of revenue. He who can squeeze out the largest amount is promoted, honoured and regarded as a capable officer. A fact appears to us in a particular way depending upon how we look at it. Therefore, so long as no one examines the peasant's condition from the peasant's point of view, we cannot obtain a realistic picture of it.

We can, however, form at least a partial idea of his circumstances. India is a land of extreme poverty. Hundreds of thousands in India can get only one meal a day. This only means that Indian peasants are destitute and that a majority of them have only one meal a day. Who are these cultivators? The proprietor of thousands of acres is a cultivator; the man who owns only a *bigha*¹ is also a cultivator; he who does not own even a *bigha*, but earns his food by working on another's land, is also called a cultivator and, finally, in Champaran, I have observed thousands of cultivators who were virtually slaves both of the Sahibs and of our people and could never hope to free themselves from their bondage. We shall never

¹ A measure of land

know the real numbers of these different kinds of cultivators. There are particular ways of making a census report. If it is prepared for the purpose of discovering the real condition of the rural population, we would be amazed and ashmed by the information it would disclose. It is my experience that this condition, instead of showing improvement, is deteriorating from day to day. Even in the Kheda district, which is supposed to be prosperous, man who had in the past built a decent house for himself is now no longer in a position to keep it in good repair. There is no glow of hope on the people's faces. Their bodies are not as strong as they should be. Their children are rickety. The plague has reached villages and the inhabitants suffer from other infectious diseases as well. Big landowners are ground down under a burden of debt. One shudders as one enters a Madras village, though I have not as thorough an experience of Madras as of Kheda and Champaran. But judging from the villages I saw there, I could get a fairly clear idea of the stark poverty of the rural population of Madras.

This is India's biggest problem. How shall it be solved? How can the cultivators' lot be improved? These are questions we ought to ask ourselves at every step. India does not live in her towns. She lives in her villages. The aggregate of all the residents of Bombay, Calcutta, Madras and other small and big cities would come to less than one crore. If we count the number of big towns in the country, we shall find it is less than a hundred. On the other hand, the number of villages with a population of 100 to 1000 is countless. Consequently, even if we are able to improve the towns and make them prosperous, these efforts can have very little effect on the villages. Even if we improve the condition of a ditch or a pond, this does not remove the filth from an adjacent river, should it be dirty. So it is with the towns. But just as an improvement in the river automatically brings about an improvement in the ditches around it, so if the living conditions of the farmers are improved and their standards raised, all else will follow.

Navajivan will always concentrate on the cultivators' lot. We shall later consider how this can be improved, how young and old, all, can help in the task, and how, if we can form even a small band of volunteers who, clinging to truth, go on doing their duty, we can make quick progress.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 28-9-1919

319. NOTES

INTOLERANCE OF INJUSTICE

Mr. Mulshankar Mavji Yagnik reports from Bombay that on September 17 some whites forcibly took possession of a hackney carriage, ordered the removal of the luggage of the Bhatia gentleman who had hired it and gave the driver two or three strokes with a cane for protesting that the carriage had already been engaged. He adds that the crowd which had collected did not show even so much courage as to see that the poor driver and the Bhatia gentleman got justice. It is an important question how they could have done this. In any other country, such insolent conduct would have invited the intervention of the spectators and they would have put a stop to it. We do not know how to protect the victims of injustice, while remaining within our limits. As individuals, we have so little courage that no man will come forward alone to defend a helpless person at some risk to himself. In a situation like the one described above, we have three easy ways open to us. If the driver is a man with a sense of justice and some spirit, he should drive the whites straight to the police station and register a complaint on the spot; if he has courage enough, he should note the address of the whites and, having dropped them at their destination, go and lodge a complaint. The Bhatia gentleman, the victim of the injustice, can initiate either civil or criminal proceedings or both. And, thirdly, the spectators can also help both the driver and the Bhatia gentleman in lodging their complaints. If Mr. Mulshankar did not do his duty as a spectator and did not offer to help the driver and the Bhatia gentleman, we take it that, on another occasion of injustice, this is the least he will do. We have suggested this, looking at the matter from a general point of view. If we all cultivate intolerance of injustice and learn to take such trivial but appropriate and correct steps as the occasion may require, even that will assuredly stop such acts of injustice.

SWADESHI SUGAR

Mr. Papatlal Damodar Pujara has sent an article on the need for using swadeshi sugar. Though at present we do not give it space in *Navajivan*, we have no doubt about such need. If we have not included it, it is because we considered how much burden we could carry. Barring cloth, however, foreign sugar causes the heaviest

drain on our money, nearly 17 crores of rupees [annually]. One hope, an ambitious one, is that if we succeed in the great task of stopping the imports of foreign cloth into our country, this success and the energy resulting from the effort will certainly make us give up other foreign things of the kind we can produce in our own country. At present our condition is so pitiable that we just meet our needs. It is our firm conviction that this inability does not proceed from lack of resources, or even of money. It springs from lack of knowledge, spirit of enterprise, patriotism and zeal.

MORAL DILEMMA OVERCOME¹

I have allowed an article of this nature to appear in *Navajivan* because all of us find ourselves [some time or other] in the kind of moral dilemma which faced, and still faces, Santokbehn. One's manhood or womanhood lies in fighting one's way through such dilemmas successfully. I hope, moreover, that no one will understand this article to admit anywhere the indiscriminate mingling of classes. Moral energy has its ebb and flow in Hindu society. In the Satyagraha Ashram, everyone is subject to a definite way of living and a definite aim; to admit caste-distinctions in a place like this is, in my humble view, to fail to understand the meaning of Hinduism.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 28-9-1919

320. SPEECH AT KATHIAWAR PATIDAR CONFERENCE²

September 28, 1919

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

I hope you will all maintain perfect silence and listen to what I have to say. I hope everyone can hear me. I give my thanks to you all for inviting me to be the President.

I must not omit formalities. I first express my grief at the passing away of the Rani Saheba of Gondal. It was but proper that, in view of the mourning, you did not take out a procession in my honour. I do not approve of processions. I do not think they help us

¹ The comments which follow were appended to an article by Santokbehn, wife of Maganlal Gandhi.

² At Moti Marad, in the Gondal State in Saurashtra. Gandhiji presided over the conference.

in serving the nation. It was good that you showed the wisdom to cut out the procession. May God grant peace to the soul of the late Rani Saheba.

You need not applaud my words when they appeal to you, nor should you express your disapproval of what does not appeal to you. Follow the ancient tradition of India: approval or disapproval of the speaker's words should not be expressed by the clapping of hand or by mere gestures, but in action.

India has passed through the three Ages mentioned in the shastras and is now in the fourth Age. The modes of life attributed to *Satyayuga*¹, those of them which really obtained, were indeed the right ones. The present Age is a hard one, the very reverse of *Satyayuga*. To define *Satyayuga* or reveal its nature, it is necessary to point out that truth occupied the pride of place in that Age, that everyone spoke the truth. In the *Kaliyuga*², when truth is followed only by people who will not let things be, one needs to insist that truth must prevail, to offer satyagraha, that is. In the *Satyayuga*, where would be the need to insist on truth? There can be no excess of truth. However scrupulously one followed it, some imperfection would still remain. In the days of *Satyayuga* there was truth everywhere. Truth prevailed in all fields. Women could look at men with undisturbed eyes. They had no need to veil themselves. Men could look at women likewise and remain undisturbed. No man or woman can do so now, with the result that all have become sinful. With ever so much talk of pleasures, we lose our balance of mind and, in consequence, forget who we are. With memory, reason is lost and reason lost, one is utterly destroyed.

I see a kind of destruction overtaking India and the world; lust has increased, and my heart quakes as I see it. Man and woman are not born for the pleasures of the flesh. To develop and reveal the best in man and woman, we must restrain the desire for pleasure, must struggle and not give it free rein. Our condition today is bad. We are being enslaved by lust. When we have got out of this condition, it will be possible for all to be fearless. Today, men and women live in fear. If we can but exercise self-control and stop running after pleasure, there will be *Satyayuga* in India.

India is a land with a population of 30 crores. It has villages numbering seven and a half lakh, each with a population of 400 [on

¹ The Age of Truth

² The Age of Strife

an average]. Here it may be two and a half thousand and elsewhere five thousand. By and large, however, it is less than a thousand. At some places, it is just 50. One need not believe that places with such small populations are in a pitiable plight. Since generally every person pulls in a direction all his own, a thousand men in a village will be pulling in a thousand directions and this cannot but lead to ruin. One need not be sorry that a village is small. It is its condition which may make one sorry. If we think of the *Satyayuga*, Ayodhya was the best city in that Age. They did not have cities like Bombay then. Though we do not see what need there is for a civilization such as Bombay's, let us not mind its existence. India depends on her villages, in which the farmer is the man who counts; seventy three men in every hundred are farmers. If, therefore, the Indian farmer is unintelligent and poor, it means India is so. Whether India is rich or poor is measured not by reference to the income of the multi-millionaire but by that of the farmer; whether she is moral or otherwise is judged not from the prostitutes but by reference to the farmer's wife.

What must have been the condition of India's cities when it was a holy land? Men were sincere and frank of heart, and the homes in the country were pure and clean. The men who lived in these homes filled them with their sweet fragrance. What provides shelter to five men is a home and where 50 men live is a village. I saw rain water leaking through the roofs all over.¹ If we are so idle, we should at least arrange for the water leaking through to be collected. I found the lanes here full of dirt. Even when it has been raining, a farmer's house must be clean and the streets such as would not make walking in them quite a task. It should not happen that when it rains a little they become all slush. If the streets in a village are bad, it would be painful for the bullocks to walk on them. We are the Government in the village. We should not be lethargic and wooden. If the subjects are straightforward and truthful, the king cannot be otherwise. If the subjects are unjust and extravagant, the king is bound to be so. The king is the sky over the people. The control of affairs in your village ought to be in your hands. You should look after all the arrangements in your own village. The Government will not succeed in cleaning seven and a half lakh villages.

¹ The *Gujarati* report has been collated here with the one in *The Kathiawar Times*.

Marad belongs to the people who live here. If the mistress of the house does not keep it clean, she must be an indolent hussy; in like manner, if the inhabitants of the village do not keep it clean, they must be indolent louts. I am your guest. You have been showering your love on me. Despite Marad's being such a fine village, I have had to say all this about the cleanliness of its lanes. Marad is no different from other villages in this matter. Things are the same in all the seven and a half lakh villages of India. Conditions here are not worse than elsewhere. Since, however, you have put me in this chair, I owe it to you to tell you that others may go to hell, if they will, but you must start cleaning up the village this very day. We shall be judged by the state of our lanes. We look after our families, but we have not proceeded from the affairs of the family to those of the village or the town and, finally, of India.

A man like Shankaracharya toured all over the land from the extreme south to the extreme north. This shows that India has been one country right from ancient times. The roads were as good as one could desire. Villages were well managed. The cleanliness of the streets and lanes in those days is a part of our heritage which we are throwing away. We keep moving round and round like the bullock yoked to the oil-press. We ought to move forward in a straight line. I am sure we shall overcome our shortcomings. We ought to embrace what is good in others. We should be receptive to good things. Villages should be made self-reliant. To seek help from others is to be dependent on others. Do not depend on others and expect them to clean your village. Live a moral life. Run to the help of anyone who falls ill. If there is a death, go and help. Next, keep your homes and the roads and water clean. See that the wells do not have leaves falling into them. Whenever necessary, clean them. The water must be as clear as a pearl. Keep the temple clean. The priest should not be a blockhead either. He must be a man of wisdom. The musical instruments [for the puja] should be sweet to the ear. The image must be draped in pure khadi or *atlas*¹ and not in rags imported from Japan. I for one would not bow to an image so draped. If you expect Tulsidas to kneel, the image of Rama should hold a bow in its hands. I would judge the people by the state of the image in the temple.

¹ A kind of silk

The flag [over the temple] on one side, and the mosque, the garden and the Parsi temple on the other. Elsewhere people would not permit this, but in India religion breathes a liberal spirit. The attitude which prevailed was that one should be generous to a Parsi temple or a Christian church. We should make education available to everyone in the village. The teacher must be one born in the village. The *shastri*¹ must not be a man who teaches for money. His livelihood should be provided for by the village. We would be good servants if we look after the disabled and the poor in the village. The cattle should not look starved. All our needs should be produced in the village itself. If we got all our things from outside, we would not be loyal to the village.

Farmers have yet to learn how to use their savings. It is good to use them for providing education. What kind of a school should we have? Not such as others want us to have, but such as we ourselves would have. A school is no school [merely] because it teaches English or other worthless stuff. A true school is that in which we learn dharma. Just as people living on the coast-line should learn swimming, so people in India should learn agriculture and weaving, if nothing else. It requires no very great effort to manage them well. I have not found them difficult to manage; I have not failed. If there were four or five good men in a village, they could bring the rest together. Only, they should have the spirit of service in them.

If anything stands in the way, it is the fear in us. We keep ourselves miles away from officials. We should respect them duly, look upon them as our brothers and behave towards them with courtesy. But we should not, as we do at present, allow them to press us into any shape they like. We should not make ourselves an india-rubber ball, but a ball as hard as stone. He who has tried to kick a stone will know what happens when one strikes it with one's foot. The point is, an officer will try to put pressure on you if you are one who will yield to this pressure. This is not the former's fault. We can be fearless only if we have truth and compassion in us. How can we expect to be so in the absence of these? If we want the world to have compassion on us, we should first have it in ourselves. If 73 men, farmers, are cruel as monsters, they can reduce the remaining 27 to

¹ A learned Brahmin; in the villages, he officiated at religious ceremonies and also looked after the children's education.

nothing; and afterwards you will kill one another, as the Yadawas¹ did, and so be destroyed. Your strength is the land.

It certainly cannot happen that 27 per cent will drive out the 73 per cent and then cultivate the land themselves. As things are, they can be driven out only if they are willing to be driven out. There has been no king any time who has deprived you of your lands. Really speaking, it is you who are the king. How is it that you, king-makers, have become so abject? If you have lost your truthfulness and spirit of renunciation, your capacity for discriminating between right and wrong and your understanding of the higher things, regain them. That is not a school where the teacher takes Rs. 8 as pay and teaches the tables. The best school is that in which illiterate adults are taught to write. Even if my wife were not educated, I would entrust our children to her. A teacher from outside cannot inculcate truthfulness and right judgment as well as you can. If desired, you may provide education in the letters through paid teachers and, having given instruction in the alphabet, you need not do anything more in that way but simply go on with your duty; the children will then learn to think rightly. Keep the whole of India in your mind. Think of the 30 crores.

One last thing now, about swadeshi. A hundred years ago, the farmers used to wear cotton clothes made in India. Indian weavers could make cloth of the finest texture. Its beauty lay in this, that very fine though the Dacca muslin was, it served to cover one's limbs. That was the beauty of it; it did not reveal the limbs. If you would rather have that you looked uncovered though wearing clothes, use Japanese cloth.

Your mothers and sisters spend their free time in sleeping or quarrelling; how much better would it be, instead, to spend it in spinning, which is the purest and holiest dharma? I do not mind if you own gold ornaments. May you have more of them! But the beauty which will be yours if you spin you will never get from Japan or France or England. Think of the miserable plight to which we have been reduced, thanks to the ruin of this home industry. Remember these words of a man who has had wide experience. If you do not, you will be sorry afterwards. I have seen what you have not seen. No one dare cast glances at your mother. But do you know what is her

¹ Lord Krishna's kinsmen; with the advent of the *Kaliyuga*, they were possessed by the spirit of evil and, after an orgy of drinking, destroyed themselves by fighting against one another.

condition when she goes out to work? The many mothers and sisters who go out to work in the mills for want of an occupation in the home...the indignities men inflict on them everywhere, unafraid, are heart-rending. In Dohad, the overseers on the roads being lecherous and given to wicked ways, the sisters employed in building the roads have to pay with their honour. I do not ask you to kill such men. But you can lay down your own lives. You are there, brave men, to protect women's honour when they work in the fields, and yet you allow them to go out. Fie on that man who fails to protect the honour of his mother or sisters. If you cannot protect it, you had better kill yourselves!

[From Gujarati]

Gujarati, 12-10-1919

321. SPEECH AT KATHIAWAR PATIDAR CONFERENCE¹

[September 28, 1919]

Your duty does not end with the passing of resolutions. They must be put into practice and that with loss of time. You have seen tears in my eyes. Marad has not alone caused them, but the abject condition prevailing all over the country has done so. You may contribute your quota to wipe them, but India as a whole should come forward to wipe them out entirely and to quench the fire that is consuming me. Kathiawar is my birth-place and as such I have the greatest claim upon it. Be up, and take a vow that you and your women will spin your own cotton and weave your own cloth if you think it necessary. It gives me great pleasure to see so many men and women standing up to take the vow.

The work of the Conference has ended. I wish I were worthy of the love Kathiawar and India are showering upon me. My last message to you is to entreat you to read the paper I am editing. I wish I were in a position to give it free to the poor. A careful reading of it will help you to put your vow into practice. If learned men do not read my paper, I can overlook the omission; but its neglect by the cultivator and the artisan will sorely touch my heart. Procure a copy every week and hold a public reading thereof at your *chora*². Its annual

¹ This was Gandhiji's concluding speech at the Conference.

² *Chowk* or square

subscription is Rs. 3-8-0. A free supply of it can be arranged, and if you want it free, just ask for it through Mr. Chandulal. The object of starting this paper is not money. Its object is to do social service and help the progress of our dear motherland.

Once again I thank the members and the volunteers.

The Bombay Chronicle, 15-10-1919

322. LETTER TO RAMDAS GANDHI

[About *September 28, 1919*]¹

CHI. RAMDAS,

I have your fine letter concerning Moti Marad. I see that you examine everything very closely and also that you have started taking interest in them all. Did you know that I had gone to Moti Marad? Devchandbhai is an old man now. One cannot convince old people with arguments. They will learn only from experience, and that is as it should be. He will learn. . .² If you succeed in your work, that will be an object lesson to others. It would not be very easy to find a man of transparent sincerity like Devchandbhai. You may certainly tell him courteously what you think if it is necessary to tell him. Harilal had called on me. His affairs are getting worse. He goes about begging everywhere. He has even wired to Manilal for money. It was he who told me to write to the elderly aunt³. But now he is not at all willing to keep her with him. He says he has no money to do that. He does not like even Ba to be with him. He has called on me only once.⁴

From the Gujarati original : Mrs. Sumitra Kulkarni Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

¹As suggested in the source. It is also substantiated by reference to Gandhiji's visit to Moti Marad which he visited on September 27, 1919.

² The rest of the sentence is illegible.

³ Probably Gandhiji's elder sister, Raliyatbehn

⁴ The letter is incomplete.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

REV. M. WELLS BRANCH'S LETTER TO GANDHIJI

REV. M. WELLS BRANCH, MANAGER,
LUCKNOW CHRISTIAN SCHOOL OF COMMERCE,
LUCKNOW,
INDIA,

May 2, 1919

M. K. GANDHI, ESQ.,
BOMBAY

MY DEAR MR. GANDHI,

I have read with a great deal of interest your statements concerning the power of love and truth to bring about social and political transformations. This teaching is so eminently biblical and finds its embodiment so completely in the life and personality of Jesus Christ, that I have been induced to write you this letter and ask you the following questions:

1. What part do you think Christianity (not necessarily the Western form of it) will play in the future development of India?
2. Is the modern movement in India the result of Christian teaching, or does it emanate from other religions?
3. What is your personal attitude toward Jesus Christ as (1) a teacher, (2) an incarnation, (3) the world's Saviour?

I am not asking this information for the sake of publication but to gratify my own desire to know your real position on these questions. I love India and I love India's people and it is my personal opinion that India will yet show to the world the meaning of a real Christian faith as promulgated by our dear Saviour, Jesus Christ. It seems to me that the need of the present time is for His secret followers, of which there are thousands in India, to come out into the open and declare their allegiance to Him.

Your brother in Christ Jesus,

M. WELLS BRANCH

From a photostat: S.N. 6608

APPENDIX II

LETTER FROM G.S. ARUNDALE

2ND LINE BEACH,
MADRAS,
July 26, 1919

DEAR MR. GANDHI

Now that you have temporarily suspended Civil Disobedience, may I venture to urge with all the earnestness at my command that you should devote some of your attention and power towards strengthening the efforts being made by so many of our most eminent leaders in London to secure for India a substantial measure of political freedom?

I am well aware of the fact that the removal of the Rowlatt Act from the Statute Book is your first duty. I entirely agree that continuous agitation against it is of vital importance. I would add that of equally vital importance is agitation against the Press Act. But now that you have for the moment given up the Civil Disobedience method of constitutional agitation, do you not think that we might all join in one great common movement having as its objective:

- (1) The improvement of the Indian Reform Bill.
- (2) The abolition of the Rowlatt Act and the Press Act.

(3) The insistence on the safeguarding of the rights of the Indian citizen as set forth in the Declaration of Rights originally propounded at a Madras Provincial Conference, and adopted at the Bombay Special Sessions of the Indian National Congress and of the All-India Muslim League in August-September, 1918.

I do not suggest that the order in which I have placed the various aspects of this objective need necessarily be kept; but I would most earnestly urge that unity is India's need of needs, and that we are all bound to establish and maintain that unity by every means within our power.

At present, there are two roads of service the road of satyagrahis and the road of those who are concentrating their efforts on the Indian Reform Bill. Can we not join together for the time being, or at least for some common work?

I know well that some of your followers have no faith in any good coming out of the Indian Reform Bill. But is there not just a chance that it may be a useful stepping stone, and ought we not to support the many leaders in London who, representing India's National Assemblies and the movements, are striving hard to make the Bill worthy of the land it is intended to serve?

I am so eager in India's service, and so passionately anxious that even the

smallest chance should not be over looked, that I do not hesitate to place these considerations before you. How glorious a testimony of India's greatness were we able to make at this critical moment a united India working hard towards a common goal? I know it could be done with your help and guidance and inspiration. In a conversation the other day with Sir Sankaran Nair he told me of those essential improvements which would make the Indian Reform Bill really worth having, and which he thought could be gained. Mrs. Besant, after a long interview with Mr. Montagu, wrote to me that the outlook was distinctly hopeful. Could we in India not give our strength in this direction also? Could we not join hands and work together? Could there not, at least for a few months, be one great movement, with yourself as one of its principal leaders?

As one of the rank and file, let me say that we look with sadness upon the fact that there is so little union among our leaders. We desire united action with all our hearts. Ought it not to be given to us for India's sake, and could it not come on the basis of a combined agitation in favour of the abolition of the two obnoxious Acts, of the modification of the Reform Bill, and of the Declaration of Rights? A noble and inspiring programme this, to which, I believe, there is not a single patriotic Indian who would not adhere. Your temporary suspension of Civil Disobedience should make it possible for us all to work together without the slightest reservation; and I beg you to consider whether we could not, at least for the time being, go forward together.

With all respect,

Yours sincere admirer,

GEORGE ARUNDALE

P.S. You may, of course, make any use of this letter you think proper, giving it publicity if you desire.

Young India, 6-8-1919

APPENDIX III

LETTER FROM M. ABDUL AZIZ

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

During the last two months, several public men from different provinces of India, enjoying undoubted influence and esteem, have addressed you, both openly as well as by means of private letters, requesting you in the name of the country you love so much, and the people whom you consider to be the highest privilege of your life to serve, to abandon and finally relinquish the passive resistance idea. I had thought that these sincere and respectful protestations would weigh with you and ultimately compel you to give up once and for all the idea of resistance to laws

through personal suffering that you introduced for the first time in the political history of this country, since it came under the sway of Britain, as a weapon wherewith to combat the Rowlatt legislation. It appears, however, a general programme, you are, yet, bent upon setting an example by practising it yourself, forgetting altogether, that example is the mightiest and greatest factor to induce a general adoption of the principle for which, you yourself admit, the people are little fit. I am afraid that the "Himalayan Miscalculation" you so frankly acknowledged is still upon you, and that its effects have not completely left you. To me it is really inexplicable that you with your shrewd and penetrating judgement should still persevere in a course which has been productive of greatest private and public suffering within living memory in this country. You say that you don't want others to practise passive resistance, because they are not for it, but that you, as the only person fittest and best trained in the school, will practise it. What difference will this make with the man in the street? If anything, his frenzy will rise higher and the pitch of his excitement will grow stronger when he notices that his "rishi", his "guru", the object of his adoration and the centre of his affections, throws himself into the fire, while he stands out. Will he not leap into the burning "ghat", and will not the solitary fire, fed by the fuel of a frail body, blaze up in a general conflagration? I ask you, as a sincere patriot and a devoted worker to the cause of your motherland, to reflect on this, and after remembering all that has happened subsequent to the ill-fated 6th of April, to question yourself whether you will be a party again to that general upheaval, shaking society to its very foundations, which must inevitably follow the course you intend to adopt?

I will ask you also to consider another aspect of the matter. I belong to Peshawar, the capital of N.W. Frontier Province. I have seen with my own eyes the excitement that prevailed in the bazaars and by-lanes of that hitherto most peaceful and unagitating town. Would you believe me when I tell you that the people who organised this orgy of sheer lawlessness had not the remotest comprehension of the spiritual philosophy that you offer in the formula of passive resistance? Nor had they any the least idea or fear of the Rowlatt Act which was convulsing the rest of the country. My statement that the people of the Frontier Province had no idea or fear of the Rowlatt Act might cause bewildering surprise both to you and some of the readers of this letter, but I will justify my statement by a brief mention of the conditions of life prevailing Regulations, the provisions of which are inconceivably more drastic and draconian than the provisions of the Rowlatt Act in question. Obviously people who live subject to such laws, though quite peacefully I admit, can have no unctuous fears or constitutional scruples of a grave character in respect to a legislation comparatively much milder and incapable of application to them. Why, then, should they have thrown themselves into convulsions of frenzy over the Rowlatt legislation? To state the naked truth, there were not wanting people, selfish and

extremely unpatriotic, who to work out their own ends, took advantage of the uneasiness of the times and brought about a spurious agitation to throw dust into the eyes of others at a distance, unacquainted with the subtle and subterranean forces which had rendered this agitation possible in the Frontier Province. You will be surprised to hear from me that in the Frontier Province not a single meeting was ever held before the 6th of April to agitate on political matters. In fact, when the province itself was separated from the Punjab about 20 years ago, the people did not then raise and have not since raised their little finger by way of protest, while at the same time Bengal was writhing with indignation over its dismemberment. Even in the matter of the Rowlatt legislation no protest was ever uttered before the 6th of April in this calm and peaceful province. And yet all of a sudden it seemed on the 6th April that Peshawar was in the throes of a most violent agitation against a legislation which could not possibly touch its people. This state of lawlessness grew day by day [and] that lasted for one month without any hindrance. I will be treading on dangerous ground if I attempt to unmask the secret selfish forces that were working to this end, apparently with countenance, but I would ask you were working to this end, apparently with countenance, but I would ask you to draw a moral from this tale and recognize that passive resistance as you preach it, is incapable of being understood and appreciated by the people in any other sense than that of open unabashed violation of laws, the very laws that ensure us internal peace and safety and have rendered possible the dawn in India of that hopeful future, bright with the promise of freedom and leading to the partnership of this ancient country on terms of absolute equality with the autonomous nations that make up the Confederation of the League of Nations within the British Empire.

In conclusion I trust that you will fully ponder my respectful submission and will at an early date announce the complete and final abandonment of the passive resistance movement.

Yours truly,

M. ABDUL AZIZ

Barrister-at-Law of Peshawar

The Pioneer, 27-7-1919

APPENDIX IV

LETTER FROM LALA LAJPATRAI

TELEPHONE-GREELEY 6175,
1,400 BROADWAY,
NEW YORK,
June 20, 1919

DEAR MAHATMAJI,

Circumstances beyond my control have prevented my taking part in the great movement that you are leading for the uplift of our common motherland. I am, however, desirous of conveying to you my hearty admiration for your noble stand, and my unqualified appreciation of your high-souled patriotism.

During my absence from India, I have learnt and unlearned a great deal. This is no place to make a full confession of faith. But I want to say that, although I do not fully agree with your line of thought, I am in substantial agreement with your conclusions as to what we should do. Never before have I been more convinced of the futility of attempts to bring about a forcible revolution in India. Terrorism, too, in my judgment, is not only futile but sinful. Secret propaganda and secret societies may have some justification in the Government's desire to prohibit and penalize all kinds of open work, but in the long run this ends in the demoralization of those who take part in them. I believe that no nation deserves or will win freedom which is not prepared to suffer for it. When I say that, I mean the suffering in pursuit of freedom, and not for lack of it. In India we have plenty of the latter and not sufficient of the former. We have so far done precious little to deserve freedom and we have done still less to educate our people as to what constitutes real freedom. The sacrifices and sufferings we have so far undergone in our fight for freedom are too trivial to be crowned with success.

I am therefore in full sympathy with the general spirit of your propaganda. I may be unable to sign the full pledge of a satyagrahi but if and when I return to India I shall sign the "pure Swadeshi Vow".

You will be pleased to learn that most of the young Indians in this country have a deep sentiment of reverence for you. One of them, at one time a faithful follower of Hardayal, writes:

"What we need now are the leaders of the type of Mahatma Gandhi. We do not want armed resistance. We do not want passive resistance. What we want is something super, and that is what Mahatma is advocating. I have concluded that the methods which Hardayal advocated are not wise and sane for any part of the world. We

want to get away from murder, assassination, conflagration, and terrorism. The foundation in the past was laid upon bloodshed, and we have had enough of it, but now the foundation must be laid on justice and freedom to individuals, so that the same be palpable in the future. Hardayal has, by giving these ideas, degraded himself and I am afraid it may affect some of the young men who always followed him blindly. It is our misfortune that our leaders instead of going up are going down. The crying need of India is leaders of the type of Gandhi, staunch in their principles, which can be applied to almost every part of the world.”

How I wish I had been in India to share in full the misfortunes of my countrymen. My heart bleeds for them, but more for myself in having been deprived of the opportunity to serve and suffer.

Very sincerely,

Young India, 13-8-1919

APPENDIX V

NOTE ON THE KAIRA CASE

The Kaira agitation arose out of the land revenue demand for the year 1917-18. Prior to this the revenue condition of the district was excellent, revenue suspensions from previous years being nil in the three talukes to which the crop failure of 1917-18 was practically confined. In 1917 heavy late rains considerably damaged some of the *kharif* crops, especially, *bajri*, in parts of the district; while on the other hand, the rice and other later crops were unusually good. The Bombay rules relating to suspensions and remissions of land revenue, which were approved by the Government of India in 1907, proceed on the principles that in the case of general calamities circumstances being avoided in the interests of expeditious disposal, that in the first instance relief should invariably be given in the form of suspension and not of remission, and that suspensions should be granted on the following scale, viz., in full if the crop is one-third of a normal¹ crop or less, to the extent of one-half the demand if the crop is more than one-third, but less than one-half the demand if the crop is more than one-third, but less than one-half of a normal crop; and not at all in other cases. In accordance with these rules the Collector (himself an Indian) after local investigation granted varying degrees of suspension in 104 villages in three talukas, the amounts suspended being about 20 per cent of their total revenue demand and 7.4 per cent of the demand for the whole district. Shortly before he passed his formal orders, a deputation headed by two Bombay lawyers waited on him on

¹ Under the system of notation followed in the Bombay Presidency a normal crop is described as “12 annas”.

December 15, 1917, and alleging an almost entire failure of all crops, demanded immediate remission in the majority of cases, and suspension in full in others. The Collector pointed out that the former request was against the rules, but promised to consider the case for suspensions, as the result of which he passed the above orders. The matter was thereupon taken up by the Gujarat Sabha whose headquarters are at Ahmedabad, outside the Kaira district altogether. Its method of operations was to ignore the local officers, and to address petitions and telegrams direct to the local Government claiming an independent inquiry. About the beginning of January it issued a circular to the villagers of Kaira stating that, as no reply had been received from the Bombay Government, those whose crops had failed entirely or who had not got more than one-third of a normal crop should withhold payment of land revenue. On this the local Government issued its first Press Note of January 16, 1918, detailing the facts and warning the revenue assesseees against any attempt to refuse payment in the face of formal orders to pay.

2. Mr. Gandhi began to interest himself in the matter during the month of February, after the *Kharif* harvest in question had been reaped and removed from the field. He contended, however, that reliable results could be obtained by asking cultivators to say what crops they had obtained that year and what crops they expected to obtain in a normal year. He also took the view that *rabi* crops, even cotton crops, should not be taken into consideration in determining the average crop valuation of a village. These representations were personally discussed with the Commissioner and collector, and the latter re-examined the estimates of outturn in villages in the neighbourhood of Mr. Gandhi's own inquiries. Mr. Gandhi was invited to be present at this re-examination and in one case was present. It was decided that there was no ground for modification of the orders already passed and Mr. Gandhi was so informed on March 20, 1918.

3. On the following day the Gujarat Sabha, presided over by Mr. Gandhi, passed a resolution that resort should be had to passive resistance; and Mr. Gandhi proceeded to initiate the campaign on March 22, by advising a large meeting of agriculturists of the Kaira district that, if they really and honestly believed that their crops were less than one-third of a normal crop, they should resort to passive resistance by refusing to pay the revenue and allow Government to recover it in any manner it pleased. An undertaking to this effect is said to have been signed by some 200 agriculturists "small and big" at the meeting. The campaign was continued in March and April, and according to Press reports had attained its maximum of 2,337 signatories by April 21.

4. Meanwhile the collection of land revenue was being effected to a large extent in the district. In a speech at Nadiad on April 12, the Commissioner announced that not less than 80 per cent, had already been paid, while the Collector reported on

April 10, that some persons who had signed Mr. Gandhi's pledge were already beginning to pay up and that Mr. Gandhi appeared to be ready to make a compromise. On April 24th, the commissioner pointed out to the Collector that the position had been "to a great extent changed within the last few days by reason of the issue of the Viceroy's order that every effort should be made to sink domestic differences and to bring about the cessation of political propaganda at a time of national crisis" (the great German offensive was then at its height). In these circumstances he considered it the duty of Government to make any concession which does not involve a sacrifice of the essential rights of the State. The objective should be the early and complete collection of all arrears, and he directed in supersession of all previous orders that:

- (1) Recovery of arrears by means of forfeiture of the land under Section 150(b) of the Bombay Land Revenue Code should be dropped.
- (2) If full payment was tendered, payment of the "chothai" fine, i.e., the penalty, not exceeding one-fourth of the arrear, leviable under Section 148 of the Bombay Land Revenue Code, need not be insisted on.
- (3) In all cases recovery should be effected preferably by distraint of the defaulter's movable property (Section 150 (c) of the Code).
- (4) Lands already forfeited might be restored at any time during the current revenue year if the arrears were tendered.

He added that there need be no pressure on those who were really unable to pay, and that such arrears might be carried on to the next year's accounts.

5. The next day (April 25) the Bombay Government issued its second Press Note, pointing out that the bulk of the revenue had already been paid in, and that the outstandings were mainly due from those who could afford to pay, but had been induced to refuse payment, and stating that in these circumstances Government could not comply with Mr. Gandhi's request for an independent inquiry. They emphasised the fact that suspensions and remissions cannot be claimed as a matter of right, but are a measure of relief granted as matter of grace; and announced that all their estimates and calculations on which the revenue demand was based were open to inspection.

6. The Commissioner's orders were duly passed on by the Collector to the mamlatdars, but the latter appear to have had some hesitation in forbearing to put pressure on those who were really unable to pay; with the result that the Collector repeated the orders on May 22, 1918, by which time the revenue realised had risen to 93 per cent of the total demand. This reminder had its effect, and the mamlatdar of Nadiad after an interview with Mr. Gandhi issued an order on June 3 to the village officials of Uttersanda, directing them to inform the villagers that such of them as were able to pay should do so without delay, but that "against those who are really poor, and whose poverty is proved, no coercive measures will be used and their land

revenue will be suspended till the next year". The order was read out to the villagers and Mr. Gandhi then strongly urged the people to pay up. After this the agitation rapidly came to an end. There was still some correspondence between the Collector and Mr. Gandhi regarding the reformers' action in levying "Chothai" fine in the case of persons against whom forfeiture orders had already been passed; and regarding the question whether the arrears of persons finally declared to be too poor to pay during the year should be classed as "suspensions" or as "unauthorised arrears". On the latter point the Collector considered that there had been a genuine misunderstanding, and on his recommendation Government reluctantly agreed to concede the point and to class the arrears as suspensions. By the end of July, collections had risen to 98.5 per cent of the total demand.

7. To appreciate the question of justification for this agitation it is necessary to bear in mind that under British rule in India the system of fixed assessments over a series of years was deliberately adopted. The principle underlying these periodical assessments is that they have "been fixed so as to allow, so far as the assessing officers could judge, for ordinary variations of season during the period of settlement, and the demand ought in theory to be paid in bad years as well as in good" (para 5 of the Government of India, Revenue and Agricultural Department Resolution of March 25, 1905). While, therefore, recognising that in practice some elasticity in collection is required, the Government of India remarked that it was no part of their intentions that the system to which they gave their adherence in this resolution should authorise anything in the shape of laxity or carelessness in the collection of the fixed demand, nor did they contemplate that the system of suspensions and remissions should form, as had been proposed, "a regular feature of the revenue administration". It was to be recognised as a measure, purely of grace and not of right, to be exercised only in exceptional cases of calamity so severe as to justify and necessitate a relaxation of the settlement contract. They added that it was "wholesome and legitimate to expect him (the cultivator) to take the bad with the good in years of ordinary fluctuation". The above principles are repeated in the preface to the Bombay Rules. Rule 1 of these rules authorises (it does not, be it noted, direct) the Collector, when he has ascertained by local inquiries that, owing to a partial or total failure or destruction of the crops throughout any tract on account of drought or any other cause, it will be necessary to suspend the collection of revenue, to grant suspensions according to the scale indicated above (para 1) to all occupants alike without inquiry into the circumstances of individuals. The use to which these scales should be put is laid down in para 10 of the Government of India's Resolution of March 25, 1905. They deprecated anything in the shape of servile adherence to formula; but were of opinion that a standard scale of relief on an arithmetical basis should be prescribed for general guidance. The agitation in Kaira ignored these principles. Mr. Gandhi, it is true, early in May admitted that "suspension is granted as a matter of grace and not

as a matter of right enforceable by law"; but he shows no appreciation of the fact that this essential distinction is due, not to any arbitrary refusal on the part of Government to concede the legal right, but to the simple fact that under the present system of fixed assessments the assessee accepting the periodical settlement for a term of years undertakes to pay that assessment in bad years no less than in good. Thus he actually states the case for the agitation as follows: "Where there are, in matters of administrative orders, sharp differences of opinion between local officials and the ryots, the points of difference are and ought to be referred to an impartial committee of inquiry." He even goes so far as to say that it was the Commissioner's duty to please the people when he saw that they differed from him regarding the extent of relief required. This seems essentially a denial of his former admission that suspensions are a matter of grace. Again Mr. Gandhi is wrong in insisting on a rigid adherence to the scale of suspensions prescribed in the rules. In his letter of March 29, 1918, he writes : "Under the Revenue rules, if the crops are under four annas (i.e., one-third of a normal crop) the cultivators are entitled to full suspensions of the revenue assessment for the year." They are not "entitled to" anything; and the scale appealed to is not an absolute formula, but a general guide to the Collector . As the Government of India said in para 9 of their Resolution of March 25, 1905, "it does not necessarily follow that the failure of more than half a crop will always justify relief, as much depends upon the nature of the harvest immediately preceding and upon the importance of the harvest in question}-another point which the agitation consistently ignored. Apart from the question whether the assessee in certain circumstances have a claim to suspension, the Government could not accept the further contention of the agitators that the assessee have a right to challenge the Collector's estimate of crop failures on which his orders for suspensions are passed, and either to have those orders modified at their dictation or to demand an independent inquiry. The responsibility made as to justify organised protest, and a contrary inference may reasonably be drawn from the progress of actual collections during the revenue year and even while the passive resistance movement was at its height. The figures have been given already in paras 4 and 6 above.

8. It remains to consider how far the agitation was in fact successful. From the fact that the Gujarat Sabha found it necessary at its meeting of March 21, 1918, to repeat in the form of a resolution the advice it had already issued in circular form at the beginning of January, it may be inferred that in its earlier stages, at any rate prior to Mr. Gandhi's intervention, the agitation was not very effectual. Moreover, it was not until after his Excellency the Viceroy had issued his appeal to sink domestic differences that the local Government and its local officers relaxed in any way the firm attitude hitherto adopted by them. The extent of this relaxation is indicated in para 4 above. In the main it consisted of the substitution of the milder for the more rigorous of the recognised methods of revenue recovery and to this extent involved

no surrender to Mr. Gandhi's demands. The Commissioner's direction that no pressure should be put on those who were really unable to pay, while not covered by any specific provision in the rules for suspension in times of general calamity, was in accordance with the revenue practice of the presidency, and it was only the subsequent conversion of these outstanding from "unauthorised arrears" to "suspension" (*vide* para 6 above) which involved any unusual concession. This concession, however, formed only a small part of what the agitation was avowedly designed to obtain. Its main object was that either an independent inquiry into the extent of crop failure should be instituted, or Government should accept the ryots' own estimate of their crops as the basis on which suspensions should be granted. Neither of these demands was conceded. Even in the individual cases to which the above concession was extended, it was the Government officials alone who decided the question whether assessee was or was not, too poor to pay; and Mr. Gandhi agreed to abandon the agitation and took an active part to secure payment by the reculant minority before any steps had been taken to determine who were too poor to pay. It is true that even here Mr. Gandhi appears at first to have been under a misapprehension, as in his speech at Utersanda on June 3, which inaugurated the abandonment of the agitation, he is reported to have said to the villagers that "the Government had left it to them to decide who should not pay". But there was no authority for this statement, and the commissioner on July 1, 1918, stated definitely that "those who will receive the concession in question are the poorest holders, and they have been selected by the collector and his subordinate officers and not by any extraneous agency".

9. The above facts point to the conclusion that there was no valid ground for the Kaira agitation, and that it did not succeed in its object.

The Bombay Chronicle, 12-8-1919

APPENDIX VI

LETTER FROM "PENNSYLVANIAN"

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

Your work in the interests of the people at large has been observed by many persons of whom you know nothing. Nevertheless, all good work is appreciated. You have chosen some very high ideals, you have made some mistakes. These stand out all the more in contrast with the very praiseworthy in your work. Excuse me, Gandhiji, if I who am a son of the Great Republic where you have never been, offer to you for your kind and careful consideration, some of the thoughts I have been a-thinking. Your recent letter renouncing civil resistance for the present was timely. It was well advised indeed, but pardon me, that letter is full of fight against the Rowlatt Bills. No matter what else [is done], the Rowlatt Bills must be withdrawn! That's the

idea. Is it not?

Now, my dear Gandhiji, I have learned on general principles that when a man attacks a job like that in the way you are attacking it, that man defeats his own purpose. If you were Government, and any man put it up to you that he will concede every point but one, you would ask him to concede that one. If he then would say he will not, then you would say, he will! That is the way men are made, Gandhiji, you know that. Now if I may venture a suggestion you won't like, it is that you discontinue your effort against the Rowlatt Bills. You will make more progress in the end.

Let me tell you a story common in Christian circles. In an English country chapel an organ was brought in secretly by some of the congregation. Others of the congregation felt very badly about it very badly indeed. There was a feeling of awakening all round, interest in the contest over the organ. Presently, one of those who brought it in, said that he had no idea it would cause so much offence, therefore he was quite willing to have it taken out. In reply to which, the leading deacon of the opposition arose and said : "If that is the way you feel about it, I gladly withdraw my objections to having it remain."

The other day a friend asked me if the Great Republic would do so cruelly as is being done with the accused in the Punjab. I told him this : I have a friend in the States. He is a dentist by profession. He was talking too much on one occasion during the War, and was criticising Government. Well, he was called to appear before a court, when he was fined Rs. 3,000. He paid his fine, so far as I have learned, and since then has not been talking so much. And so far as I know, his friends feel that he acted wisely latterly.

Let me suggest, Gandhiji, that civil resistance is a very good thing, a very wise thing, and that it ought to be continued by you and your friends, but first, I beg to suggest that you revise it a bit. It is too good to drop. It is too potential for good to be quietly laid aside. But I would revise it. As it is, its potentialities for evil are too many. Revise it. Cut out the evil, increase the good. How would this please you? Make too great divisions, one positive, one negative. Beginning with the negative, which is always the most dramatic you know, let us consider.

1. EVIL RESISTANCE

(1) Oppose ever telling a lie. Get good men who never tell a lie to join up with satyagraha, thus inducing others to do so, all pledging themselves never to tell a lie under any circumstances. Teach that it is better to go to jail telling the truth than to enjoy freedom with their heads full of lies.

(2) Oppose all bribing. Get satyagrahis to pledge themselves to stand against it so definitely that they will feel bound to expose every rascal who takes or gives a

bribe. Teach that it is better to tell the fellow who compels a bribe before he will do his duty, even if the one who gave it, that is, who was forced to give it, has to go to jail. Those who give and those who take the bribe are alike guilty before the law. If satyagrahis by the score will report this sort of thing, there will be a moral revolution in the life-time of us all. You cannot be ignorant of the extent of this shameful evil.

(3) Oppose religious mendicantism. The idea of three millions of religious beggars eating up the food of the land, and giving nothing in return, is to me, Gandhiji, most abhorrent. You have been opposing it. Good for you. We are getting together. But they will beg as long as people give. Get satyagrahis to be liberal givers, but not to able-bodied men who refuse to do any sort of work. That will help the situation tremendously.

(4) Oppose slavery. If there is anyone in India who is now where he can shape public opinion, it is you Gandhiji. It would be a tremendously fine thing if you could lead men to feel the shame and disgrace of keeping in their employed men or women or children on such a pitiful low wage that they can never be else than in slavery to them. Have you ever heard of a young fellow borrowing fifty rupees from his employer to get married, giving a written promise on stamped paper to pay the debt by labour for which he receives his board and ten rupees per year credit on account? I have heard of many such, but not in my country. I call that slavery. No satyagrahi should be guilty of such a thing. If even the poor fellow is treated kindly, it is still a benevolent sort of slavery.

(5) Oppose the liquor traffic. This is much a nefarious business that good men can well afford to spend their time and money fighting the evil. My country has taken the lead in the fight. Gandhiji, do you know how that fight was won in America? Forty or fifty years ago, a lot of good people had determined to quit playing with the temperance question, and go to work. They held meetings, made speeches, got men and women and children to sign total abstinence pledges, got pictures of good-heart and liquor-heart into the school buildings, got lessons on temperance inserted in all the school readers, got temperance information in all the newspapers, Gandhiji, after a while these school children became men and women. They had convictions as to the immensity of the evil. It is these men who have driven the thing from my country. These men and women have cleansed the Great Republic of the infamous liquor traffic! But before this last act they were again and again defeated. However, because he was defeated no member of Congress ever resigned his seat. Not much. He stuck to it. And got ready for another shot. The idea of resigning and pouting and running away, because one has failed to get what he wanted, does not appeal to Americans as the proper way to play the game.

Civil resistance divided into positive and negative, gives us in the first place,

as I see it, evil resistance, as stated above, and

II. CIVIL RESISTANCE

(1) Home industries have already been suggested by you. It would be splendid if people were to weave much of their own cloth. It would be excellent if farmers were to gin their own cotton, even as they do now thresh out their own wheat. If this kind of thing were entered into whole-heartedly, there would be no need to cry out against foreign-made goods. Eighty per cent of the people will buy what is the cheapest. Produce it, and you have won the day. In Kaira, where you spent some time, how many villages have a carpenter in them? How many have a blacksmith? How many a *shimpi*? The village consists largely of farmers and servants of farmers.

(2) Good roads are essential to the progress of any country. But here again, shall we blame Government? I would not. Get the people to be satyagrahis, who stand for good roads and healthy villages. Get every farmer to be a satyagrahi, to carry a pick or hoe or axe with him in his cart every time he takes to the road, and to pledge himself to stop once on every trip and fix up the worst place he finds. Gentlemen in the towns I think would raise the money to buy such tools to give every farmer, who would take the pledge. Try something, Gandhiji. Just think of the country roads while it rains!

EDUCATION

(3) Go in for primary Universal Education, Gandhiji. But here it is again. People say, if Government would enact a law! Why bother Government like that? You are a man of the people, go after the people. Get students to pledge themselves that during vacation everyone will teach some ignorant soul how to read. Every student should cultivate a feeling of shame and confess a lack of interest in the general welfare of his country so long as there is in his father's house or employ, one person who cannot read! But servants who can't read, they say, are better servants? There you are, Sir. Lincoln says that a country cannot stand half slave and half free. I shout for Lincoln. I would have all free. I would have the treasures of the printed page unlocked for the meanest servant.

(4) Go in for higher education abroad. You know Japan is an ancient country. How many of her present leaders have been educated abroad? At the present time it is said there are 1,200 Japanese students in American institutions. China is an ancient country. Do you know, Gandhiji, that every year there are 50 high school Chinese graduates, the flower of that land, chosen by competitive examination, and sent (by the indemnity fund) to America for education, with the distinct understanding that they continue their studies there seven years and then return to China? The young men and women thus sent are given each one about Rs. 2,500 per year for all expenses, plus free passage both ways. It seems good to me. That means 750 Chinese students study in American institutions all the while, competing with American young men

and women for first place. They are welcome. They study what they wish, and return to China with the highest ideals which America can give them. Does that sound good to you, Gandhiji? I heard once that in the city of Surat there is a Bora fund of fifty lakhs of rupees without any special designation. There is lot of money lying thus unemployed in India. Suppose fifty lakhs at five per cent interest were set to work educating young men and women in foreign colleges. Giving them Rs. 2,500 per annum, a hundred such could be kept searching the secrets of the Universities of the world. Does it grip you Gandhiji? It pains me when I think about it, pains me that instead of this we have nothing, absolutely nothing to show for these crores of rupees which lie idle! And meanwhile our bright young men and women are often found struggling against fate to advance a little. A few things, would be essential to the success of such a proposition; that entrance be by competitive examination, that they be allowed to go where they choose and study what they like, provided they return to India.

(5) I hold my breath as I pen this paragraph, but Gandhiji, let me tell you a story of Abraham Lincoln. When he was admitted to the bar, he openly declared that he would not take a case until he had first satisfied himself that it was a true case. And Lincoln, There is no name of mortal man whose name is sweeter today to an American than the name of Lincoln never swerved from that original decision of his. This contains a suggestion to the Vakil-Sabha. Get them all to be satyagrahis, to feel that it is better to fight out a case honourably and lose, than to win a case in the German way. Lincoln said : "I am not bound to win, but I am bound to be true."

(6) When Booker Washington made his famous speech at Atlanta, he stood at the height of his popularity. He had a mixed audience, and both sides were doubtful as to the probable outcome. Among other things, he said : "In all things purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress," and that whole vast audience which filled the large exposition hall, aristocracy not excepted, rose to their feet and indulged in a delirium of applause. The editor of the *Atlanta Constitution* sitting by the side of the *New York World* correspondent, Mr. James Creelman, tuned to him and said: "That speech is the beginning of moral revolution," Gandhiji, there is the thing in a nutshell. If you spend your splendid energies in working for a moral revolution, you will have a chance of seeing both moral and political advances of a phenomenal nature. If you spend your strength on political revolution, you may see neither. Thus it appears to me.

(7) Include in satyagraha the idea of giving more than you take. This may be done for the love of country, or for the love of humanity, or for the love of God. For example, I considered the worthy professor in Fergusson College whose market value is Rs. 800 per month, and who takes but Rs. 150 as making long strides towards

leading a moral revolution. I personally know not less than 50 such gracious souls, who are taking pay at a rate far below their market value. They are sacrificing for the general good. Herein is a suggestion for spiritual leadership. This is different from the normal, quite different from the usual, which takes all it can get, and then asks for more. India can teach the world some points on spiritual life, some points on sacrifice for the good of others, but it won't be done through any system of civil resistance; it may be done through first, Evil Resistance, and second, Civil Assistance. This means moral revolution, which lacks the comouflage and publicity of civil resistance, but presents the greatest possible challenge to men of faith and vision. I take it, Gandhji, you are such a man, a man of faith and vision. Therefore, have I written.

Now I guess I have said enough; so I reckon I had better stop.

Yours very truly,
PENNSYLVANIAN

The Times of India, 13-8-1919

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