1919.

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

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

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

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

PASSIVE RESISTANCE AGAINST THE BLACK BILLS.

Mr. Gandhi Leads the Movement.

Pledge to disobey laws.

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

Mr. Gandhi’s Manifesto,

To the Editor of the Chronicle.

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

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

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

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

It will be now easy to see why I consider the Bills to be an unmistakable symptom of a deep-seated disease in the Governing body. It needs therefore to be drastically treated. Subterranean violence will be the remedy applied by impetuous hot-headed youths who will have grown impatient of the spirit underlying the Bills and the circumstances attending their introduction. The Bills must intensify the hatred and ill-will against the State, of which the deeds of violence are undoubtedly an evidence. The Indian Covenanters by their determination to undergo every form of suffering make an irresistible appeal to the Government towards which they bear no ill-will and provide to the believers in the efficiency of violence, as a means of securing redress of grievances, with an infallible remedy, and with a remedy that blesses those
that use it and also those against whom it is used. If the covenan ters know the use of this remedy, I fear no ill from it. I have no business to doubt their ability. They must ascertain whether the disease is sufficiently great to justify the strong remedy and whether all milder ones have been tried. They have convinced themselves that the disease is serious enough, and that milder measures have utterly failed. The rest lies in the lap of the gods. I am yours, etc.

—M. K. GANDHI.

The Satyagraha Vow.

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

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

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi.

Mrs. Annie Besant, Madras.

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

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

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

Benjamin Guy Horniman, Editor, Bombay Chronicle.

Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Merchant, Bombay.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Hyderabad.

Umar Sobani, Mill-owner, Bombay.

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

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

Narayan Damodar Savarkar, Bombay.

(c) Bombay Chronicle, dated the 4th March (Thursday) 1919.— At a meeting of the signatories to the Satyagraha Pledge held on
Saturday (1st March) the following Executive Committee was appointed:—

President—Mahatma Gandhi.

Vice-President—Mr. B. G. Horniman.

Members of the Committee—


With power to add.

Secretaries—

Dr. Sathaye

Mr. Shankarlal Banker.

Mr. Umar Sobani.

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

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

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

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

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

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

(2) The position of European commercial interests.

"The Times" office boy confuses these two points and asks what is the relevance in this connection of quoting the opinions of the I.C.S., about the safety or otherwise of European commercial
interests under the Reform Scheme! Last year the organizers of Gandhi's Passive Resistance campaign, though in reality completely defeated, were allowed to pose as having won a triumphant victory because nobody thought it worthwhile to contradict them and give publicity to the true facts. I venture to suggest that the searchlight of publicity should be kept steadily focussed on this new Satyagraha and that they should not be allowed to throw dust into the eyes of the public again."

Page 155, paragraph 378 (g and I)—

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

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

It will be noted from the composition of the Satyagraha Committee that the Home Rulers are taking the lead in the agitation. They are attempting to ridicule the Manifesto of the Moderates against the Passive Resistance movement which was issued from Delhi. The public mind is undoubtedly agitated over the question and a very large number of people of various classes openly express the opinion that there was no necessity for Government to introduce such legislation immediately after the armistice. The agitators have succeeded so far that they have caused the idea to spread that the machinery of Government will collapse in the face of this movement. It is even said that officials may be affected by it.
M. K. Gandhi left for Delhi on Monday. (3rd March). It is rumoured that he went in response to a telegraphic summons from His Excellency the Viceroy.

* * * *

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

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

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

It is further reported that Gandhi had now declined to be one of the Congress deputation to England, saying that he has lost faith in the efficacy of deputations and that stronger measures are necessary to oppose those obnoxious Bills, before anything else is done.
Horniman, Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Umar Sobani and Mrs. Naidu left here again for Bombay on the evening of the 24th.

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

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

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

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

Gandhi’s Private Secretary, Mahadeo Hari Desai, has written to people in the Satyagraha Ashram, Ahmedabad stating that the Viceroy in the course of the interview which eventually took place,
gave an assurance to Gandhi that if the non-official members persisted in their opposition, he would be prepared to reconsider the advisability of passing the Bills.

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

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

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

Madras, March 24th.

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

Satyagraha, as I have endeavoured to explain at several meetings is essentially a religious movement. It is a process of purification and penance. It seeks to secure reform or redress of grievances by self-suffering. I therefore venture to suggest that the second Sunday after the publication of the Viceregal assent to Bill No. 2 of 1919 may be observed as a day of humiliation and prayer. As there must be effective public demonstration in keeping with the character of the observance, I beg to advise as follows:—A twenty-four hours fast, counting from the last meal of the preceding night, should be observed by all adults unless prevented from doing so by consideration of religion or health. The fast is not to be regarded in any shape or form in the nature of a hunger-strike or designed to put any pressure upon Government. It is to be regarded for Satyagrahis as a necessary discipline to fit them for the civil disobedience contemplated in their pledge and for all others as some slight token of the intensity of their wounded feelings.

All work except such as may be necessary in the public interest should be suspended for the day. Markets and other business places should be closed. Employees who are required to work even on Sundays only suspend work after obtaining previous leave. I do not hesitate to recommend these two suggestions for adoption by public servants for, though it is an unquestionably right thing for them not to take part in political discussions and gatherings, in my opinion they have the undoubted right to express upon vital matters their feelings in the very limited manner herein suggested. Public meetings should be held on that day in all parts of India not excluding villages at which a resolution praying for the withdrawal of the measures should be passed. If my advice is deemed worthy of acceptance, the responsibility will lie in the first instance on various Satyagraha Associations for undertaking the necessary work of organisation, but all other associations will, I hope, join hands in making this demonstration a success.
(Acting Secretary, S. D.),

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

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

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

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

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

**POSTER NO. 1.**

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

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

*Thoreau.*
Poster No. II.

The new handcuffs of Rowlatt Bills.

Duty of servants of the country.

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

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

*Thoreau.*

Poster No. III.

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

*Thoreau.*

Poster No. IV.

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

Poster No. V.

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

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

*Gnan Sagar Litho Press, Girgaum Road, Bombay, Printer: K. G. Joshi.*

Page 264, paragraph 555 (a-1)—

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Bombay, April 22nd.—The adjourned meeting of the All-India Congress Committee was held yesterday evening. The first item for consideration was the statement drafted by the Committee dealing with the present situation. The Chairman, Mr. Madan Mohan Malaviya, read this report. It condemned unequivocally the present state of outrage and anarchy in the country. There was considerable discussion and difference of opinion as to whether or not the statement should be adopted. The Chairman said that in his view, although they all deplored the incidents that had occurred in certain parts of India, they were still in the dark as to whether they should condemn the people or Government. They were agreed that the violence and physical force used at Amritsar and Lahore should be deprecated, but they had been unable to ascertain what had been the real cause of the trouble and whether the people themselves or Government were primarily to blame. He disassociated himself from the allegation made in certain quarters that the Passive
Resistance Movement was responsible for the trouble. Mrs. Besant spoke very strongly condemning the riots and acts of violence. She said that India was at the most critical stage in her history, and that her only hope of salvation was for all her sons to rally to the side of Government and to offer their whole-hearted support. She had herself visited certain of the disaffected areas and she was convinced that there was something behind the movement. In her opinion Government were perfectly justified in taking strong coercive measures. She was loath to believe that the disorders were due to Bolshevism but she was now convinced that such was the case, and she had very good authority for saying that an armed invasion of India was contemplated. M. K. Gandhi deplored the violence which had taken place. The Passive Resistance Movement was in itself quite innocent and he never dreamt that it would degenerate into violence. He associated himself with Mrs. Besant to a certain extent but he was not yet satisfied as to the direct cause of the mischief. He was still awaiting reports from his emissaries Kasturiranga Iyengar, the editor of the Hindu, of Madras, deprecated the measures adopted by Government. He said that Government were not justified in using aeroplanes, bombs and machine-guns and he was of opinion that the coercive measures employed would do more harm than good.

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

The following resolutions were then passed:—

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

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

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

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

(5) To condemn the action of the Government of India and of the Punjab in preventing Mr. Gandhi from proceeding to Delhi and to draw the attention of Government to the fact that had
Mr. Gandhi been allowed to proceed to Delhi the people would have been pacified by him, as was the case in Ahmedabad, and the situation would not have become so bad.

The following were amongst those present at the meeting:—


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

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

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

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

In many quarters the decision of Gandhi is adversely criticised, and there is no doubt that his inaction has estranged a number of agitators.
Gandhi has despatched telegrams to Nadiad and Ahmedabad stating the fact of Horniman's arrest, and adding that no hartal or demonstrations were necessary.

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

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

Page 337—

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

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

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

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

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

Copy of M. K. Gandhi’s Message.

Brothers and Sisters,

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

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

The condition I have described is truly serious. Satyagraha is on the anvil. At the same time, this is a fine opportunity for demonstrating its purity and its invincibility. It will rest with Satyagrhis and other inhabitants of India to take advantage of the opportunity. I can fully appreciate the deep wound that will be caused to every Satyagrahi by the separation of a dear comrade. The Nation will certainly feel hurt to find that the one who presented it with a daily draught of liberty is no more in its midst. At a time like this Satyagrhis and others will, in my opinion, demonstrate their true affection for Mr. Horniman only by remaining perfectly calm. It will be sheer thoughtlessness to break the peace. Modern Civilization challenges the Ancient. Satyagraha now going on is based upon the teachings of the Ancient Civilization and if India accepted Satyagraha the superiority of the Ancient Civilization will be indicated. The world will see Modern Civilization in its nakedness and there is no doubt that its votaries will retrace their steps.
The following are the practical suggestions I venture to place before you. There should be no stoppage of business anywhere in Hindustan. There should be no large public meetings of protests, no processions, no violence of any kind whatsoever and every effort should be made to stop any tendency thereto. I ask Satyagrahis and the sympathisers not to lose faith in the efficacy of Satyagraha and firmly to believe that the Satyagraha pledge will be carried out in its entirety.

More later.

M. K. GANDHI.

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Bombay, April 29th.

Below are rough notes of an interview with Gandhi on 27th April 1919.

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

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

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

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

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

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

(1) The Mahommedan question.
(2) The inflammatory speeches of agitators.
(3) The Rowlatt Act
(4) The famine.
(5) The forced recruiting in the Punjab.

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

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

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

Page 339-40, Para 600.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* * *

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

* * *

On the evening of the 13th instant, a meeting of about 2,000 persons was held near the Santaram Temple at Nadiad to read Gandhi’s message delivered by him at Ahmedabad and to preach Passive Resistance. At the request of the Deputy Superintendent of Police Mr. Madhavlal Nabubhai Dvivedi, the organiser of the meeting, omitted to say anything about Passive Resistance and after a few general remarks concluded the meeting by reading out Gandhi’s message and exhorting them to refrain from violence, etc.
Kaira, April 29th.—Messrs. M. K. Gandhi and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya were reported to be coming to Nadiad on the 22nd instant but did not do so. Mr. Gandhi, however, passed through on his way to Ahmednagar by the Gujarat Mail. A large number of local Home Rulers, including Gokaldas Dwarkadas Talati, Fulchand Bapuji Shah, Madhavlal Nabubhai Dwivedi and Janardhan Sharma saw him at the station.

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

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

Page 373-74, para 625 (m)—

(m) Bombay, May 1st.—The Satyagraha meeting of yesterday evening was very illuminating. Gandhi arrived one hour late. He consulted his fellow Satyagrahis as to their opinion of the future line of action which the Sabha should take. He stated that he had received a number of letters of protest against his inaction, including some containing ugly threats of poison and murder. He had been charged in some of the threatening letters with instigating the Satyagrahis to do deeds of violence and of leaving them in the lurch when they had committed themselves and had paid the penalty in bloodshed. He averred that it was not his intention to back out of the movement but he would like to know the sense of the meeting before he said more. One Satyagrahi, whose name I have not got, said that they should act vigorously and he instanced Egypt which had obtained many rights after a strenuous fight of 15 days. Another said that the principles of Satyagraha did not enjoin on them the necessity of receiving kicks and blows in patience without retaliation. Gandhi asked this speaker whether it was his intention to fight openly; if so, he was at liberty to try conclusions with the authorities and he would soon find that he would come to grief as no political move based on physical force could possibly succeed. Another man enquired what was being done by way of protest against Horniman’s arrest. Gandhi answered that it mattered little that
Horniman had gone; it was for India to produce 101 Hornimans that was true Satyagraha. Many murmured that this was not Satyagraha and that they should do something to mark their resentment at the action of Government. Gandhi replied that if they wanted to strike they might close their shops but they should remain at home and create no demonstrations whatsoever. Gandhi, seeing that his power over the Satyagrahis was waning, postponed further discussion until Friday next, the 2nd instant (May). He advised that the Sabha should meet regularly once a week to exchange opinions and Wednesday was fixed as the future date of meeting.

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

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

Umar Sobani has blossomed out in full swadeshi rig.

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

WHEN IS SATYAGRAHA GOING TO BE RESUMED?

Mahatma Gandhi’s Message.

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

When is Satyagraha going to be resumed? Is the question many have been asking me. There are two answers. One is that Satyagraha has not at all ceased. As long as we practise truth, and ask others to do so, so long Satyagraha can never be said to have ceased. And if all practise truth, and refrain from violence to person and property, we would immediately get what we want. But when all are not prepared to do so, when Satyagrahis are only a handful, then we have to devise other methods deducible from Satyagraha. One such method is Civil Disobedience. I have already explained the reason why this Civil Disobedience has been for the time being suspended. As long as we know that there is every likelihood, bordering on certainty, of rioting and violence following Civil Disobedience, so long disobedience of laws cannot be regarded as Civil Disobedience, but as disobedience that is thoughtless, uncivil, and devoid of truth. Satyagrahis may never commit such disobedience. The resumption of Civil Disobedience can however be hastened by the Satyagrahis completely fulfilling their duty. My confidence in it has led me to assurance that we shall be fitted for resuming Civil Disobedience in about two months, i.e., if the Rowlatt
legislation is not withdrawn in the meantime we may resume Civil Disobedience by the beginning of July. In provisionally fixing this period I am guided by the following considerations: One of them is that we shall have by that time spread our message throughout the country, viz., that during the pendency of Civil Disobedience no one, under cover of Satyagraha, or the pretence of helping it, should resort to rioting or violence. It may be hoped that the people being convinced that the true interest of the country will be served by acting in accordance with the message will preserve peace. And peace thus voluntarily sustained will materially contribute towards India's progress. But it is possible that India may not understand Satyagraha to this extent. In that case there is one more hope of the non-recurrence of violence, though the condition upon which the hope is based is humiliating for us. It is open to the Satyagrahis however to avoid this condition. Indeed it becomes their duty to resume Satyagraha under such conditions. The military dispositions that are now going on will naturally ensure non-recurrence of violence that is so detrimental to the country. The recent outbreaks were all so sudden that the Government were not prepared to cope with them there and then. But the Governmental arrangements are quite likely to be completed in two months' time and breach of public peace will then be well nigh impossible, and therefore also conscious or unconscious abuse of Satyagraha. Under such a state of things the Satyagrahis may without any fear of disturbance commit Civil Disobedience and thereby demonstrate that not violence but Satyagraha alone can help us to secure justice.

May, 2nd, 1919.

M. K. GANDHI.

Page 394, paragraph 660 (c)—

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

Page 395, para 661—

Bombay, May 11th.—

The hartal is in full swing and there are no indications whatever of trouble. It is a very different affair to that of the 6th ultimo. While the bulk of the shops in the neighbourhood of the cloth markets, Sheik Memon Street and Kalbadevi Road are closed, north of Sandhurst Road the reverse is the case and the great bulk of the shops are open. Reports from mill districts show that things in that locality are absolutely normal.
Gandhi has made the Mulji Jetha Market his headquarters. He has been sitting there since 7-30 a.m. receiving reports from his volunteers. The volunteers are moving about in small bodies throughout the city and I have no doubt that they feel that they can justly take the credit for the fact that things are perfectly quiet. It is noteworthy that a small posse of volunteers is on duty in the immediate neighbourhood of the India Infantry picket established at Dhobi Talao.

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

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

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

Page 396-404, paragraph 665—

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

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

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

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

Mr. Gandhi said as follows in Gujarati:—

Mr. President sahib and brothers, I hope you will excuse me if I sit down and deliver my address. I cannot stand and make a speech. Such is the state of my health. I am sure you will excuse me for sitting and then making a speech. If I stand up, my head becomes giddy. I intend to speak in Gujarati. I think you all understand it. If you do understand it, kindly, raise your hands, because if you do not understand it, I shall speak in broken Urdu but want to speak in Gujarati particularly, because I know that I can explain my views better in Gujarati than in Urdu. Therefore I shall speak in Gujarati. (Hands were raised signifying that the audience understood Gujarati). Our President has told you about his correspondence with me when he was in England. I admit that. I also admit that from my very childhood I had this one idea that between the Hindus and Mussalmans there should be no difference of opinion. They are born in one country and, therefore, whatever be their religions, they should be of one heart, and that between them no "Tafavat" (Disagreement) should take place. I went to South Africa for the case of a Mussalman brother. After going there and having made my permanent or semi-permanent home there—that was done at the instance of many Mussalman brethren—I have been thinking of their political troubles. I had seen their difficulties. I am intimately acquainted with their grievances. When I went to England and reached there on the 6th of August 1914, I heard that on the 4th the great war had commenced between England and her allies on the one hand and Germany and her allies on the other. In a short time Turkey threw in her lot on the side of Germany. In regard to Turkish questions I read some letters in the London Times. I used to read the paper every morning to watch and see what Turkey was going to do. I had sympathy for the Mussalman brethren. I came in contact with their leaders in England occasionally. One morning I read that Turkey had consented to join Germany. Then my feeling was this—whether Turkey was right or wrong—I had no material before me to judge whether she was right or wrong—I said to God "Oh, God protect Mussalmans " because I knew the feelings of the Mussalman brethren in South Africa when there was war between Tripoli and Italy. The significance of the war with Tripoli could only be realised if the geography and history of the place was known to people. I said to myself, when I read in the London Times that Turkey had consented to join Germany "what will be the result of this alliance ". No one could see that. Subsequently, in January 1915, I returned to India
and my feeling about my Moslem brethren was deepened. I said if in India we could do anything, it was the important duty of bringing about unity between Hindus and Moslems. I always thought that I would rather die in bringing about this unity than by contracting a disease. I did not expect my death would come about through any disease, because my health was all right. My intention was to bring about the unity between these two communities by some means or other—unity which no man could break. My other idea was about *Satyagraha*. It is a great question. There is no greater question than that. It includes many other questions—it includes even the question of the aforesaid unity between Hindus and Mussalmans. I have read the Hindu Shastras, and I have read the Islamic Shastras, and I have read the Parsi Shastras. I have read all these books, and I have come to this conclusion that Satyagraha is the best remedy for all complaints. I do not want to say very much on that subject today. I have come here to give some advice to my Moslem brethren. I have come to serve them. With that object I came to India. My first duty was, when I came to India, to find out such Moslem brethren who would give their lives for truth and for unity between Hindus and Mussalmans. Though the two communities are of two different religions, they must have a common heart for the fulfilment of the political aspirations. Therefore, as soon as I came to India, I went to Delhi. There was no upheaval there. I had no idea of Mr. Shaukat Ali then. I did not know him then. I did not also know Mahomed Ali. Though I did not know Mahomed Ali I had heard of his "goon" (Abilities). I did not know Principal Rudra. Accidentally both the brothers Shaukat Ali and Mahomed Ali—came to me. About this incident I have to tell you this. That some people always see me, although I do not know them. As soon as I saw them I thought that I knew them from my birth. They also thought that they knew me from their birth. From that time there has been a "Gath" (tie) between them and myself which is not broken and cannot be broken. Through these brothers I saw other Mussalmans. We then came to talk with Dr. Ansari and Mr. Abdul Rahim. You know them. Then I saw and became acquainted with Abdul Bari of Lucknow at the Aligarh College. I stayed in his house at Lucknow when I went there because I knew him. When I was at his place I went to see him in connection with *Satyagraha* we had a talk on *Satyagraha*, and on that occasion he treated me most hospitably and most affectionately and I need not explain to you in detail what passed between him and me on the subject of *Satyagraha* on that occasion. The conversation lasted for a long time, for several hours. We there discussed the Moslem questions on which the heart of my Moslem brethren was wounded. On that question I carried on correspondence with Government—with the Viceroy, to whom I wrote.
an open letter. I placed before him the whole of the Islamic questions. The Moslem question is a very "Gambhir" (serious) question. The reform question the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme question—is also a very great question. We have to ask for "Dad" (Redress) of our grievances from Government. The earnest attention of Government is necessary to be paid to this question. We have not to live the lives of luxury. We bear pain. Otherwise we shall never become fit for Swaraj. We should not forget that we have to do excellent work in the country. We have to study the grievances of our neighbours. Not to live in luxury but to do good to our neighbours, is our war-cry. The neighbours should not be discontented. We have to see that our Mussalman brothers are free from pain. We have to take part and share in their pain. There can be no pain which will break their hearts and not ours. If their hearts are wounded, our pain should be increased. We have to consider the question of how to increase the happiness for the Mussalman brothers. How to seek our and their happiness for the present and for the future is the question that should be under our consideration. We should feel for the "afat" (mishap) that has came upon our Mussalman brothers. The question of this afat has to be considered. The afat on our Mussalman brothers is an afat on us too. We cannot bear to see that they should labour under the afat without our taking some share in it. Such are the many and important questions that we have to consider. We are foolish enough to confine our attention to one question or other. The British people consider many such questions. They do not consider the question of the Army, but also the question of the five crores of Mussalmans in the country. How to satisfy the hearts of these people is also one of the questions before them. For us to consider, there is this question that if the hearts of the five crores of Mussalmans are wounded, the hearts of all the 30 crores of people are also wounded. We have to make a common demand. The Mussalmans have to make their demand very clearly. They should make such a demand as would secure the approval of the whole world, which will say that this demand is proper. You have to make a specific demand regarding the Khilafat and regarding Mecca, Medina, etc. Though I am not a Mussalman, I can well appreciate the feelings of my Mussalman brothers on this subject. I have read the Koran. I have studied the Mahomedan Shastras. I can understand the significance of the demand to be made by the Mussalman brothers. I can understand their demands as well as they themselves can understand it. The question of Palestine should be decided with justice. Why should Palestine be handed over to the Jews? I have considered this matter, but I am not able to give you a final reply. Of course, there should be a limitation to our consideration of this
question. There is a "Hadd" to our limitation. The desire of the Mussalman brothers naturally is that Palestine should be under the Mussalman Sultanate. And the reason is obvious. Up to the other day it was under Mahommedan Rule. It was under Mussalman Sultanate. The Mussalman brothers want to retain it in their own hands. I think Palestine should be in the hands of the Mussalman Sultanate. Palestine being under the Mahommedan Sultanate, it is the duty of the British Government to protect it as against the ownership of any non-Mahommedan power. I think the Mussalman brothers should consider these questions (with moderation) within certain limitations. What demands our Mussalman brothers will make ought to be conceded. We must be useful to the Mussalman brothers. We must participate in their pain. Hindus must work heartily in conjunction with their Mussalman brothers. Hindus are bound to help them. They must help them unasked. Mussalmans should not be made to wait and ask for our help. Our hearts being united, there should be no ground for "takrar" (complaint) among themselves. If we do complain we will be behaving like fools. Hitherto we were behaving like fools in fighting with the Mussalman brothers. We should not fight like fools. Now that we are thinking of living as of one heart, why should we fight among ourselves? We have become one, and no one can divide us. I think that the Mussalman brothers have not explained their case properly to the Government. I feel it is their duty to do so. I said so to Abdul Bari. I told him that Hindus would spontaneously help his coreligionists if they know exactly what case the latter have placed before Government. Crores of Mussalmans have to make a specific demand. They have not yet made it. There should be such a demand made on behalf of five crores of Mussalmans of India. What their feeling is Government do not know. The best proof of the fact that Government do not know what five crores of Mussalmans want is what appeared four or five days back in the Times of India. You all know that there was lately a meeting here of the All-India Congress Committee under the presidentship of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. It decided to represent certain matters to Government. A telegram was sent to that effect to Government. In criticising that representation of the Committee, the Times suggested that what demand the Mussalmans want to make the British Government do not know. You cannot say—my argument is this—that your demand has been clearly placed before Government. Therefore, I have come to warn you—to advise you to place what you want before Government in a clear manner. The President of the Muslim League has touched upon this subject in his address (at Delhi), but he has not enlarged on the point to any particular degree. This question should be treated by itself. It ought not to be mixed up with
other questions. It is, therefore, the duty of the Mussalman leaders to place before Government the case of their community at large. They should state how the complaint arose of which they want to speak to Government. You deserve all sympathy and, therefore, I have to complain to you that you have not done your duty of placing your wants before the authorities. What "chhez" (thing) you have not placed before Government, you should do now. It is not my duty to place before Government what your case is. That is your own business. Only I will help you. You will have to place before me proper materials. I will do what I think is proper after hearing you. You place before me a blanket (outlines of your case) and I may be able to convert it into a shawl (well-conceived representation). I can assure you that Hindus feel that their hearts are as much wounded as yours in this matter. If you place a proper demand before Government, the world cannot find fault with you. But you must not lose time in placing your case before Government. Time is flying fast. One minute is equal to one year. If you allow even a few months to pass without doing anything in the matter, remember, there is a likelihood of great changes taking place, of which you can have no idea. Try to place your case before the authorities. Suppose you make a mistake, that does not matter. You think of the case of the pots made in their crude shape by the potter. Mistakes in the initial stage of the manufacture can be rectified later on. Say to Government " such and such is our grievance, and if you do not remove it, it will make us ' ashant' non-peaceful. Remove from our minds the cause of becoming non-peaceful". So there is a great work before you. If you do not do it, you will not be able to protect your interests, and I shall not be able to help you. Now before I conclude, I have to refer to another point. How are you going to attain your object ? There is no better remedy than Satyagraha. In India we have to do nothing but to work without fighting. We have to do no fighting. Satyagraha is our last weapon (" chhela shastra"). If the Hindus and Mussalmans fight, they will add to their burden of troubles (boro). If we have not to fight, what shall we do? With humility ask Government that our rights should be given to us. That is our demand. We shall keep on making that demand. We are not going to make " Khuna-marki" (murders and pillage). Those living outside the British Empire can fight with that Empire. That is the history of the world. In India we cannot fight with Government. I have read our Shastras. I have got thirty years' experience of these things, and I have come to the conclusion that there is only one royal road —the road of Satyagraha — to reach the goal. It is a royal road. It is not "jungli" road. The road is one on which
we say "we shall not kill but shall be killed" \( (\text{Marish nahi, pan marish } ) \). The moral is that we shall do our best to gain our object by fair means. More we cannot do ; that is to say, we cannot say what the result of our action will be. It may be that what we call 'justice', may be " injustice ". But we should not do what we Ourselves fear is injustice. Never do an unjust act and then become repentant ("paschatap"). We have to court death in the name of our rights. It is everybody's right to attack a wicked man. But it is not his right to do it by means except that of Satyagraha. I have discussed this question with Abdul Bari. He told me that all that I was telling him was to be found in the Koran. If you are prepared to die, you can get the article of your choice. You can take it. You have to show the world that you are prepared to die for your rights. Many people are ready to fight for their rights, but they do not seem to understand what the rights are that they are going to fight for. As long as you want to have a particular thing, you cannot appreciate another thing. Your fight must be the fight of "prem" (affection), of "mohabat" (friendship), and of justice. Mrs. Naidu gave you the same advice on the last occasion when she addressed you in the Sonapur Mosque (on 6th April 1919). God is not of the Mussalmans only. He is of the whole world. It is therefore, our duty to treat the whole world with "mohabat". I shall make Satyagraha and fall at your feet in that spirit. I shall thus make the authorities withdraw the Rowlatt Act, I will give my life but I shall never submit to the Rowlatt Act. I shall also interfere with other laws, if I find that those laws are not beneficial to the relationship between the rulers and the ruled. I shall break laws that will cause "Nuksan" (loss) to the subject-people. Otherwise, I shall not break any laws. This is then the royal road we should respect good laws. They will not cause any loss to us. Those laws should be protected. In my mind there is no doubt about it. You have to respect laws. You have to protect laws. But how can people protect laws unless they understand that they are proper laws? Satyagraha is the best weapon you can handle when you want to oppose anything. I have full confidence in Satyagraha, so that I shall place it before you. If you do not accept this weapon, I fear (dhashi) that you will not be able to gain your object in view. I do not say you will not gain it at all. For instance, suppose you make a request to Government, and they do not grant that request, then displeasure in your heart will ensue today. Tomorrow that feeling will grow, and then you will take to murderous acts. What I want to say I shall say openly. I shall not say it in a private room. There are detectives about me sitting here. I have to protect them. They are not to protect me. If they come it will be beneficial to me and to them also. There is no idea of "burace" (mala-fides) in my
mind. I am not presumptuous. Today I am doing everything that is all right. Tomorrow, I may become "bevakoof" (foolish). There is no knowing. But at this moment in my heart there is no idea of "burace" (mala-fides). Such is my heart. From childhood I have received this sort of "talim" (training). There will be no "bevakoof," about me. My experience is this. If anyone raises his sword against me and places it on my neck, he will find me smiling in that position. Then I shall not think of anything but pray to God. If India does not get her rights, what will be the result? The result will be this, that the rights will be trampled under foot, and India will become "Bairagi" (a beggar). You know what took place at Ahmedabad and other places. What "khunamarki" took place there. These things arise because people are displeased. You should get over your complaints by making a proper representation to the authorities. Your question is about your Caliphate. If Turkey is divided, your temporal and spiritual heads will be divided. God is not so "Bholo" (simple) (as not to understand the machinations of man). He is watching us for all 24 hours. He punishes him who is working not in a straight way. It is, therefore, your duty to let Government know what you want. You should protect your interests. Nothing should go out of your hands. The article that belongs to you should not pass out of your hands. That article should remain with you in your hands. That you can keep in your hands by means of Satyagraha. I think I have taken much of your time. I thank you for patiently listening to my remarks. I ask you to discuss your grievances "pet bharine" (to your heart's content), watching when the last sand passes out of the bottle (refers to the sand-clock in vogue in the past). I have placed before you my views. I have told you how high has risen the mercury in the thermometer of the feelings of your people in connection with these few subjects. I came here as a thief to steal your heart. I shall preserve that heart well in my pocket. If you want it back, then I would ask you to observe Sunday next as the day of humiliation. On that day we, Hindus and Mussalmans, shall be one in heart. They cannot have any difference of opinion. Their demand will be one. That demand is the removal of the Rowlatt Act from the Statute Book. Tomorrow we shall not be angry or force anyone to do anything against his will. I request you to treat everyone with "mohabat". I don't say you should retrace your paces. No. Whatever happens, if our bones are broken, we shall not go backwards. We shall work with "mohabat". We do not care for the police for our protection. We shall keep peace ourselves. The whole world will admire our conduct. Martial Law will be useless, maxim guns will be useless, aeroplanes, weapons will be useless.
against us. These can be used outside India. Even a child will say that they are of no use in India, because ours is a loyal Satyagraha agitation. There is no doubt about it. (Subdued cheers).

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

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

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

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

Page 416, para 685—

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

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

Page 462, para 754—

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

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

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

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

Nekiram Sharma of Delhi is with Gandhi. He has been translating all the Satyagraha literature into Hindi. It appears that he has been urging Gandhi to resort to the former practice of campaigning by public meetings in order to keep the movement alive, but Gandhi has not shown any inclination to fall in with his views. He has also urged Gandhi to reply to the counter-propaganda of Government in connection with the Rowlatt Act by further leaflets explaining the Satyagraha objection to the Act. Here again he has failed to move Gandhi.
On the 21st a meeting of Satyagrahis was announced for 9 p.m. at the Morarji Gokuldas Hall but at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Satyagraha Sabha on the same day at 6-30 p.m. Gandhi was informed that the Hall was not available for the Satyagraha meeting. He, therefore, gave orders that two Satyagrahis should go to the hall and inform those that came to the meeting that it had been postponed. It appears, however, that nobody went. The result was that about 150 Satyagrahis and sympathisers collected on the road outside the hall. They were unable to discover why the hall was not open and after waiting for some time a number of them decided to go and see Gandhi to ask him to explain the matter. About 100 of them reached Gandhi’s house about 10-15. When Gandhi learnt this he arranged for them to be accommodated on the terrace of the house where he is staying and explained to them that sufficient notice had not been given to the Trustees of the Morarji Gokuldas Hall and therefore the hall was not available for that meeting. He said that he was glad to see that they were so eager to meet and exchange views even if it caused them considerable personal inconvenience. He asked them whether they had any questions to ask him. One Nanalal D. Upadhaya complained that Gandhi had not convened a meeting but on the contrary had prevented them from meeting in public. He enquired whether it was true that Gandhi had stopped Sayyid Hussein from holding a public meeting. Gandhi replied that it was true that he had persuaded Sayyid Hussein not to address a public meeting and that he had done so because he thought that public meetings were not necessary under present circumstances. The same man again asked why John Scurr had been prevented from addressing a public meeting. To this Gandhi replied that he knew nothing about that. His questioner then asked whether Jamnadas and Umar Sobani had committed any sin in that they told lies about the proscribed pamphlets about the Ali Brothers and had then gone to the Commissioner of Police and apologised for doing so. Gandhi here reprimanded his questioner for introducing personal questions and the personal failings of other Satyagrahis and refused to answer the question. To another Satyagrahi who impatiently enquired when the Satyagraha Sabha would resume the campaign of civil disobedience, Gandhi replied that impatience would lead them into a serious position. Those who wished to be violent were welcome to try it. They would go to jail as the people of the Punjab had done and instead of being sentenced to one year’s imprisonment which was the ordinary punishment for such offences they would be liable to be sentenced to seven years. He advised his audience to be patient and not to break the peace.
Gandhi uttered a warning against people who pretending to be Satyagrahis collected money in his or their names. He said that one Vrajlal had been detected in the commission of such an offence and had been expelled. It has been the practice at recent Satya-graha meetings to call upon those who had attended to sign their names in a register at the door before they entered. In this case as the meeting took place unexpectedly at Gandhi’s house this precaution was not taken. The impression left on at least one of his audience was that Gandhi was not very frank in what he said to them perhaps owing to his being uncertain of the identity of all the people to whom he was speaking.

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

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

Page 467 para 758—


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

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

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

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

A private meeting of the Satyagrahis was held the same night at the Morarji Goculdas Hall. Gandhi told those present that he was about to address them on a very important matter which they were on no account to divulge. Certain persons had been hanged in the Punjab, others had been transported for life, and men were being severely and unjustly punished by Government. He was convinced that it was unjust of Government to behave as they were behaving and he wanted to fight to the bitter end with Government on this account. For his campaign he was in need of intelligent, strong-willed and well-educated men to assist him and he appealed only to such persons as were prepared to give an undertaking that they would adhere to the principles of Satyagraha to the last. Satyagrahis who are prepared to assist on these terms he asked to see him at his residence. They must be prepared even to face firearms. He further announced that for the present he would enlist no more Satyagrahis and that only those whose names had already been registered and who carried Satyagraha badges would henceforth be admitted to their meetings.
Gandhi explained that he had for some time heard rumours about what was being done in the Punjab and he had received certain letters. He had carefully considered whether it was right for him to remain idle or to take action in the disturbed area, but after seeing certain "Brothers" from the United Provinces and the Punjab and having heard from them first-hand information of events that had taken place there he could no longer refrain from acting because of the excesses of the Courts Martial which had inflicted capital sentences and corporal punishments on numerous persons many of whom were innocent.

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

Page 509, para 791(c)—

Surat, May 31st—M. K. Gandhi arrived here on the morning of the 26th instant accompanied by Anusuyabai, sister of Ambalal
Sarabhai, of Ahmedabad. They put up at the Satyagraha Office. About a dozen of the local Satyagrahis met him at the station. There were no spectators, the hour of arrival, 5-30 a.m. being too early for the Surat folk, but in the course of the day inquisitive crowds collected outside the Satyagraha office to get a glimpse of the Mahatma who appeared at a window at intervals. While here, Gandhi addressed two meetings one, for women only, in the afternoon, when about 250 attended and another 'open-air' meeting in the evening when the audience is estimated at 7,000. Gandhi's subjects were Satyagraha and Swadeshvrat. Gandhi was unable to make himself heard and his speech was repeated, sentence by sentence, by Dayalji Nanubhai. Gandhi left for Bombay by the 10 p.m. train and only a few of the leading Satyagrahis saw him off. His audience expected more 'ginger' and were on the whole disappointed.

Page 521, para 819—

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

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

Page 526, para 826 (a).

(a) Bombay, June 10th.—There is considerable uncertainty as to what Gandhi's immediate intentions are. He poses as being engaged
in making preparations for the opening of a Satyagraha campaign in the Punjab early next month, but he is setting about the task in so unbusinesslike and unpractical a manner that I cannot help thinking that he is trying to make it appear that, anxious as he is to do something in the Punjab, circumstances are too strong for him. On the 31st ultimo (31st May 1919) for instance ten satyagrahis visited his house in order to sign on as volunteers for duty in the Punjab. After Gandhi had addressed them eight of the ten were still prepared to sign. Gandhi then questioned them as to whether they had any dependant on them. Naturally everyone had either a father, a mother, a wife or children dependent on him, whereupon Gandhi turned him down as unsuitable. Gandhi insistently maintained an attitude of mystery about his programme which again was calculated to dissuade recruits from signing on. He was asked point blank what his programme was and what those willing to sign on would be expected to do, but Gandhi refused definitely to enlighten them. All he would say was that they must be prepared to carry out his orders to the letter, orders which he would issue at the last moment, and that they must be prepared to sacrifice their lives if necessary. Gandhi left for Ahmedabad the same night (31st May 1919).

He returned to Bombay on the 3rd instant.

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

Six volunteers for the Punjab assembled at Gandhi’s house to sign on the morning of the 4th. Gandhi announced, to them that he intended to practice civil disobedience on three main issues, viz., (1) salt, (2) revenue and (3) education. He had detailed a Mahratta to go to the Royal Asiatic Society and to collect all the information he could as regards the production, sale, taxation and disposal of salt. Apparently Gandhi’s object is to write a series of pamphlets dealing with the administration of the salt, revenue and educational departments in order to prepare the public to disobey civilly the orders of Government on these questions. Gandhi then delivered a lecture to the six candidates as to their duties as volunteers for
duty in the Punjab. He said that he expected implicit obedience and blind compliance with his orders. He said that they might be required to go either to the Punjab or to Madras and that Swami Shradhanand had said that the Satyagraha Sabha in Delhi had practically ceased to exist. Gandhi sent away the six candidates to think over the matter and told them to report again on the 7th.

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

(1) That their uniform made them look like convicts, and

(2) That Captain was rude to them when they were late for parade!

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

Next day, 15 Satyagrahis came to Gandhi’s house to sign on as volunteers for the Punjab. Gandhi asked them whether they had consulted their parents, their wives and their children and whether they had obtained their sanction to their going to the Punjab and facing imprisonment or death. They replied that they were men of mature understanding and that they saw no necessity to seek the consent of their parents or children to their actions. Naturally, they said their relations would not jump at the idea of their going to the Punjab to meet an untimely end. Gandhi refused to consider their case and said that he did not think they were suitable men to be employed on this work. He reiterated that he was determined at all costs to start full Satyagraha on the 1st of July. Gandhi announced that he had spent much of his time with Jinnah and
Mrs. Naidu who were going to England and that he gave them certain instructions. I am informed that he has written four letters which Mrs. Naidu is to deliver for him in England. One is addressed to Horniman, one to Henry Pollock and the other two to Englishmen whose names my agent cannot remember.

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

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

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