

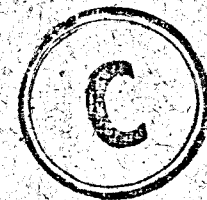
E. B. N. 94

Gandhi AND

NON VIOLENT

RESISTANCE

X



76
N23.
3356.

14
GANDHI

124

914

AND

NON-VIOLENT

RESISTANCE

MR. BLANCHE WATSON

954 AL

156

N23

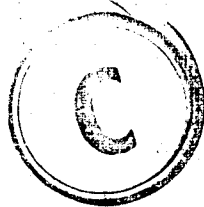
3356

 * **Dr. அகாஷ்** *
 * செப்பனிடுவதற்காக எடுத்துக் *
 * கொள்ளப்பட்ட *
 * **அகாஷ்** *
 * மாதம் வருடம் 1985 *
 * செப்பனிடும் முடித்த *
 * **மே** மாதம் வருடம் 1985 *
 * **சென்னை** *
 * ஆராய்ச்சி உதவியாளரின் *
 * கையொப்பம் *
 * **சென்னை** *

17 NOV 1984

HI AND NON-VIOLENT
 RESISTANCE

2



CONTENTS

	PAGE
A Scene in Johannesburg	1
From South Africa to India	3
Early Life and Education	6
Visit to South Africa	7
Boer War and the Indian Ambulance Corps	9
Return to India	11
Back to South Africa	11
Founding of "The Indian Opinion"	12
The Phoenix Settlement	13
Service in Plague Areas	14
Leading a Stretcher-Bearer Corps	15
Anti-Asiatic Law and Passive Resistance	16
Mr. Gokhale's Historic Visit	19
Further Stages of the Struggle	20
Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi in London	21
Return to the Motherland	22
Satyagrahashram	24
Travels in India	24
Anarchical Crimes	25
Loyalty to the British Raj	25
Address to the Students	26
Brahmins and Panchamas	27
Unveiling Mr. Gokhale's Portrait	29
Hindu University Speech	30
Mr. Gandhi in Champaran	31
The Congress-League Scheme	33
Famine in the Kaira District	34

	PAGE
Interest in South Africa	... 35
Ahmedabad Mill Strike	... 35
Delhi War Conference	... 37
Lord Willingdon and the Home Rulers	... 39
Recruiting for the War	... 39
The Montagu Reforms	... 40
The Rowlatt Bills and Satyagraha	... 41
The Punjab Disorders	... 46
The Khilafat Question	... 49
The Non-Co-operation Programme	... 51
The Special Congress and Non-Co-operation	... 54
Boycott of Councils	... 56
The Non-Co-operation Resolution	... 56
The Fateful Decision	... 59
Interview with the new Viceroy	... 62
The Bombay Riots	... 63
The Calcutta Hartal	... 64
The Deputation to the Viceroy	... 65
The Ahmedabad Congress	... 66
The Bombay Conference	... 67
The Ultimatum	... 67
The Chauri Chaura Tragedy	... 71
Gandhi's Arrest	... 72
The Great Trial	... 73
Gandhi in Prison	... 74
The Release and After	... 76
The "Young India"	... 78
The Fast and the Delhi Conference	... 80
President of the Belgaum Congress	... 83
"Honourable Compromise"	... 86
Mr. Sastri as First Ambassador	... 87
Vaikam Satyagraha	... 89

	PAGE
A Great Moderating Influence	... 89
A Bonfire Demonstration	... 91
British General Elections	... 92
Labour's Achievements	... 93
The Viceroy's Announcement	... 94
The Leaders' Statement	... 95
Lahore Congress: Independence Move	... 97
Civil Disobedience	... 100
Gandhi's Letter to the Viceroy	... 101
His "Last Message and Testament"	... 104
The Great March	... 105
Speech at Borsad	... 107
Speech at Surat	... 108
"Feasting when others are Hungry"	... 109
Trustees of the Dumb Millions	... 110
Advice to Parsis at Navsari	... 110
Gandhi's Statement at Dandi	... 111
Appeal to the Country	... 112
The "Law-Breaker"	... 112
Gandhi's Statement	... 113
The Arrests	... 114
Progress of the Civil Disobedience Campaign	... 115
Women in the Movement	... 118
Violence	... 118
The Bengal Ordinance	... 120
The Press Ordinance	... 121
Mr. Patel's Resignation	... 122
Gandhi's Activities	... 123
The Arrest	... 124
His Message	... 126
Mrs. Gandhi on the Arrest	... 127
Mrs. Naidu on Gandhi's Arrest	... 127

	PAGE
The Aftermath of the Arrest	... 127
Protests in other parts of the World	... 128
American Sympathy	... 129
The Liberal Move	... 129
Lord Irwin's Announcement	... 130
The Working Committee's Decision	... 131
The Effect of the Movement	... 132
The Salt Raids	... 133
Wadala Raids	... 134
Ordinances Galore	... 135
Eye-witnesses' Statement	... 135
Mr. Slocombe's Impressions	... 136
A Week's War News	... 137
The Sapru-Jayakar Negotiations	... 138
Mr. Gandhi's Notes to the Nehrus	... 139
Congress Leaders' Note	... 140
The Failure of Negotiations	... 141
The Round Table Conference	... 144
The Sub-Committees and their Reports	... 146
The Provinces	... 149
The Premier's Statement	... 149
Round Table Conference Delegates' Manifesto	... 151
The Release of the Politicals	... 151
Face to Face with Realities	... 153
The Passing of Pandit Motilal	... 154
Letter to Lord Irwin	... 155
Gandhi-Irwin Talks	... 156
Speech at the Queen's Gardens	... 156
Gandhi and the Muslim Council	... 157
Gandhi-Irwin Talks Resumed	... 157
The Gandhi-Irwin Agreement	... 159
Implementing the Pact	... 162

	PAGE
Reception at Ahmedabad	... 165
"Young India" Again	... 167
Gandhi and the Red-Flaggers	... 167
Lord Irwin and the Mahatma	... 168
The Execution of Bhagat Singh	... 169
The Karachi Congress	... 170
The Muslim Conference	... 173
Opening the Federation of Chambers	... 173
Gandhiji in Bombay	... 174
The Attempt on Sir E. Hotson's Life	... 176
The Rupture	... 177
Letter to Lord Willingdon	... 183
The Real Issue: the Attitude of the Services	... 185
Further Peace Efforts	... 186
The Gandhi-Willingdon Talks	... 188
The Agreement	... 189

APPENDIX

	PAGE
i Rules & Regulations of Satyagrahashrama ...	191
ii Irwin-Gandhi Agreement. ...	193

APPRECIATIONS

I. The Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri ...	1
II. Romain Rolland ...	7
III. Hy. S. L. Polak ...	10
IV. Millie Graham Polak ...	13
V. C. F. Andrews ...	15
VI. Prof. Gilbert Murray ...	18
VII. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu ...	19
VIII. Bishop Whitehead ...	20
IX. Rabindranath Tagore ...	21
X. Rev. Dr. J. H. Holmes ...	23
XI. Dr. William Kirk ...	24
XII. Mr. H. N. Brailsford ...	25
XIII. Mr. Nagendranath Gupta ...	26
XIV. Mr. George Slocombe ...	28
XV. Mr. Robert Bernays ...	28
XVI. Mr. Jain Laing ...	29
XVII. Rev. R. Pyke ...	29
XVIII. Mr. Horace G. Alexander ...	30
XIX. Mr. Upton Close ...	31
XX. Mr. Boyd W. Tucker ...	31
XXI. H. E. Lord Irwin ...	32
XXII. An American Tribute ...	

IMPORTANT DATES

Gandhi's Birth ...	Oct. 2, 1869
Leaves for South Africa ...	1893
Returns to India ...	1895
Goes again to South Africa ...	1896
Arranges for Ambulance Corps in the Anglo-Boer War ...	1899
Returns to India ...	1901
Back to South Africa ...	1902
Presents Memorial to Mr. Chamberlain ...	1902
Founds the Transvaal British Indian Association and THE INDIAN OPINION ...	1903
Renders help during the Plague in Johannesburg ...	1904
Deputation to Lord Selbourne ...	Nov. 22, 1905
Leads Stretcher-bearer Corps in Natal Native Rebellion ...	1906
Takes the Oath of Passive Resistance against Anti-Asiatic Law ...	1906
Emigration Act receives Royal Assent ...	Dec. 26, 1907
Addresses mass meeting in Johannesburg protesting against the Emigration Act and his subsequent arrest ...	1907
Upholds Voluntary Registration and consequent assault by the mob ...	Feb. 1908
Leaves for London ...	1908
Invites Gokhale to South Africa ...	1912
Levy of the £3 tax and the revival of Passive Resistance ...	Sept. 1913
Smuts-Gandhi Agreement ...	1913
Truce with the South African Government ...	Jan. 1914
Passing of the Indian Relief Act ...	July 1914
Leaves for London and arranges for the Indian Volunteer Corps during the Great War ...	Sept. 1914
Returns to India ...	Jan. 1915
Government awards Kaiser-i-Hind Medal ...	1915
Founds Satyagrahashram in Ahmedabad ...	1916
Hindu University Speech ...	Feb. 4, 1916
Arrest in Champaran ...	April 1917
Supports the Congress-League Scheme ...	1917
Settles the Ahmedabad Mills Strike ...	1918
Attends the Delhi War Conference ...	1918

Promulgation of the Rowlatt Bills	...	Feb. 1919
Satyagraha Pledge against Rowlatt Bills	...	Feb. 28, 1919
Suspension of Satyagraha and Fast	...	April 18, 1919
Agitation against the Khilafat and the Punjab Wrongs	...	" 1918-1919
Robertson Commission (South Africa)	...	Nov. 1919
Letter to Lord Chelmsford	...	June 14, 1920
Returns Kaiser-i-Hind Medal and starts Non-Co-operation	...	Aug. 1, 1920
Special Congress at Calcutta	...	" 1920
Open Letter to the Duke of Connaught	...	" Feb. 1921
Interview with H. E. Lord Reading	...	May 1921
Arrest of the Ali Brothers and their Apology	...	Sept. 1921
Prince of Wales' Landing, and riots in Bombay	...	Nov. 1921
Pandit Malaviya's Deputation to Lord Reading	...	Dec. 1921
Bombay Conference	...	Jan. 14, 1922
Ultimatum to Lord Reading	...	" 1922
Tragedy of Chauri Chaura	...	Feb. 14, 1922
Arrest of Gandhi at Ahmedabad	...	March 10, 1922
Trial of Gandhi and Imprisonment	...	" 1922
Release from Jail	...	Feb. 1924
Resumes Editorship of YOUNG INDIA	...	April 1924
The "Fast" and the Delhi Conference	...	Sept. 11, 1924
President of the Belgaum Congress	...	Dec. 1924
Visit of the Paddisi Deputation to South Africa	...	Sept. 1926
Blesses the Sastri-Habibullah's South African Agreement	...	Feb. 1927
Madras Congress declares Independence as Goal	...	Dec. 1928
Calcutta Congress confirms Independence Resolution	...	" 1928
Bonfire Demonstration in Calcutta	...	March 1929
British General Elections—Labour comes to power	...	May 1929
Viceroy's Announcement	...	Oct. 25, 1929
Leaders' Statement	...	" 1929
Break-up of the Interview with the Viceroy	...	Dec. 23, 1929
Lahore Congress and the Independence move	...	" 1929
A. I. C. C. appoints Gandhi as Dictator and decides to prosecute Gandhi's programme of Civil Disobedience	...	Feb. 15, 1930
Gandhi's Letter to H. E. Lord Irwin	...	March 4, 1930
The Great March	...	" 12, 1930
Breaks Salt Law at Dandi	...	April 6, 1930
V. J. Patel resigns the Assembly Presidentship	...	" 25, 1930
Viceroy promulgates Press Ordinance	...	" 17, 1930
Gandhi is arrested under Regulation 25 of 1927 and interned at Yerrawada	...	May 4, 1930
Gandhi's second letter to Lord Irwin	...	" 5, 1930
Mr. Abbas Tyabji's march to Dharsana Salt field	...	" 8, 1930
Mr. Abbas Tyabji's arrest	...	" 12, 1930

Congress Working Committee meets	...	May 16, 1930
Mr. Slocombe's interview with Mahatma Gandhi in Yerrawada Jail	...	" 20, 1930
Mass raid at Dharsana	...	" 21, 1930
Mrs. Sarojini Naidu's arrest and conviction	...	" 23, 1930
Mass raid on Wadala Salt Pans	...	" 24, 1930
Pandit Malaviya's arrest and release	...	" 27, 1930
Publication of the Simon Report	...	June 10, 1930
Mr. Slocombe interviews Pandit Motilal	...	" 20, 1930
Pandit Motilal is arrested and convicted	...	" 30, 1930
Pandit Malaviya is nominated member of the A. I. C. C.	...	July 4, 1930
Peace talks begin between Viceroy and Sir T. B. Saprú and Jayakar	...	" 20, 1930
Sir T. B. Saprú and Jayakar meet Gandhiji in Jail	...	" 23, 1930
Viceroy permits the Nehrus to confer with Gandhi on peace proposals	...	" 31, 1930
Vallabhai Patel and Malaviya are arrested	...	Aug. 3, 1930
Mr. Abdul Kalam Asad becomes President of the A. I. C. C.	...	" 7, 1930
Pandit Malaviya is released	...	" 9, 1930
The Nehrus meet Gandhiji and Mrs. Sarojini in Yerrawada. Dr. Saprú and Mr. Jayakar are also present	...	" 13, 1930
Mr. Abdul Kalam Asad is arrested and convicted.	...	" 21, 1930
Dr. Ansari succeeds A. K. Asad	...	" 25, 1930
Congress Working Committee is declared unlawful.	...	" 26, 1930
Sir Saprú and Jayakar see Lord Irwin with Gandhi's proposals	...	" 27, 1930
V. J. Patel, Malaviya and Dr. Ansari are arrested.	...	" 28, 1930
Failure of Peace negotiations; documents and correspondence released	...	Sept. 5, 1930
Personnel of the Round Table Conference is announced	...	" 10, 1930
Mr. Alexander of the Society of Friends meets Mr. Gandhi in Yerrawada jail	...	" 12, 1930
Viceroy's letter to Saprú and Jayakar re: repudiation of debts	...	" 14, 1930
Lord Irwin promulgates his Ninth Ordinance empowering forfeiture of properties of Associations declared unlawful	...	Oct. 11, 1930
Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is released	...	" 12, 1930
Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is re-arrested and convicted to 2 years' R. I. and a fine of Rs. 600	...	" 29, 1930

IMPORTANT DATES

Mr. Ben Gupta is sentenced to one year's R.I.	Nov. 2, 1930
Round Table Conference meets in London	" 2, 1930
Mr. Mahadev Desai, Gandhi's Private Secretary is arrested and convicted	" 25, 1930
Sardar Vallabhat Patel is arrested	Dec. 7, 1930
Viceroy issues two more Ordinances	" 24, 1930
Mrs. Kamala Nehru is arrested	" 29, 1930
Mr. V. J. Patel, ex-Speaker of the Assembly, is released	Jan. 6, 1931
Messrs. Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and 25 others are unconditionally released	" 26, 1931
The A. I. C. C. meets in Allahabad	Feb. 1, 1931
Pandit Motilal Nehru is dead	" 6, 1931
Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru meets Mr. Gandhi	" 7, 1931
Mr. Gandhi meets Lord Irwin	" 17, 1931
Mr. Gandhi addresses a mammoth meeting in Delhi	" 18, 1931
Congress Working Committee pledges to stand by Gandhi	" 22, 1931
Gandhi addresses Muslims on unity	" 23, 1931
Mr. Gandhi and Lord Irwin come to an agreement	March 3, 1931
Congress Working Committee ratifies Irwin-Gandhi Agreement and calls off Civil Disobedience Movement	" 4, 1931
Gandhiji addresses American and Indian Journalists on Delhi Pact	" 5, 1931
Mr. Gandhi resumes the Editorship of <i>Young India</i> and <i>Narajivan</i>	" 5, 1931
Mr. Gandhi enters Ahmedabad and receives a purse of Rs. 70,000, a gold Takli and 10 mds. of handspun yarn	" 10, 1931
Mr. Baldwin makes a speech blessing the Gandhi-Irwin Agreement	" 12, 1931
Mr. Gandhi interviews the Viceroy for the first time after the Truce	" 19, 1931
Serious rioting in Cawnpore results in 50 deaths and many wounded	" 26, 1931
Indian National Congress meets in Karachi under the Presidentship of Sardar Patel	" 28, 1931
Congress ratifies Gandhi-Irwin Pact	" 31, 1931
All-India Muslim Conference meets in Delhi	April 5, 1931
The Central Sikh League ratifies the Irwin-Gandhi Pact	" 10, 1931
Mr. Gandhi bids farewell to Lord Irwin	" 16, 1931
Lord Willingdon succeeds Lord Irwin as Viceroy	" 17, 1931

IMPORTANT DATES

Mr. Gandhi arrives in Simla and interviews Lord Willingdon	May 13, 1931
Mr. Gandhi announces that he would fully participate in the Round Table Conference discussions if he goes to London	" 31, 1931
Congress Working Committee decides that Gandhiji should attend the Second R. T. C.	June 10, 1931
Mr. Gandhi dines with young Europeans of Bombay at Taj Mahal Hotel	" 23, 1931
Mr. Gandhi attends the Congress of cloth merchants of Bombay at Congress House	" 24, 1931
Lord Willingdon makes his first political pronouncement at the Chelmsford Club	" 28, 1931
Mr. Gandhi wires to Lord Willingdon re: the non-observance of the Truce by certain Local Governments	July 10, 1931
Viceroy assures Gandhiji that the Truce terms will be duly implemented	" 11, 1931
Mr. Gandhi interviews Lord Willingdon re: Irwin-Gandhi Pact	" 18, 1931
H. E. Sir Ernest Hotson, Acting Governor of Bombay, is shot at, at the Fergusson College	" 22, 1931
Gandhi Reception Committee is formed in London	" 24, 1931
Mr. Gandhi gives an ultimatum to the Collector of Surat. Viceroy asks him not to precipitate a crisis	" 25, 1931
Mr. Gandhi congratulates H. E. Sir E. Hotson, Governor of Bombay, on his narrow escape from gunshot	" 28, 1931
Congress Working Committee condemns violence and disaffiliates the London Branch	Aug. 5, 1931
Gandhiji wires to Viceroy re: allegations against breaches of the Truce and requests investigation thus enabling him to proceed to London.	" 11, 1931
Government of India's reply is considered unsatisfactory and the Working Committee issues statement withdrawing Congress Participation in Round Table Conference. Mrs. Sarojini, and Pt. Malaviya cancel their passage to London	" 13, 1931
Release of Mr. Gandhi's correspondence with the Viceroy, Governor of Bombay, etc.	" 15, 1931
Mr. Gandhi opens a private temple belonging to Sir Chunibai for the use of untouchables in Ahmedabad	Aug. 1, 1931

IMPORTANT DATES

Mr. Gandhi wires to Viceroy to intervene in Bardoli affair and thus enable him to proceed to London	Aug. 11, 1931
Viceroy's reply is deemed unsatisfactory. Mr. Gandhi decides not to go to London	" 13, 1931
Mr. Gandhi releases for publication all his letters and his charges on the Government of India re: non-fulfilment of Truce terms	" 19, 1931
Viceroy replies to Mr. Gandhi's letter and agrees to interview Mahatma Gandhi	" 22, 1931
Government of India replies to Gandhiji's charge-sheet	" 23, 1931
Mr. Gandhi arrives in Simla and interviews Mr. Emerson	" 25, 1931
Mr. Gandhi interviews Viceroy and the latter agrees to appoint a Committee to enquire into Bardoli troubles.	" 27, 1931
Mr. Gandhi sails for London by S. S. "Rajputana"	" 29, 1931

MAHATMA GANDHI THE MAN AND HIS MISSION

A SCENE IN JOHANNESBURG

THE scene is laid in Johannesburg. Summer is coming and the days are lengthening out. At Park Station, at 6 o'clock on a Sunday evening, in September, 1908, whilst it was still broad daylight, a small animated group of dark-skinned people might have been observed eagerly looking in the direction from which the mail train from Natal, that stops at Volksrust, was expected. The watchers were Madrassi hawkers, who were apparently awaiting the arrival of one affectionately regarded by them. Punctually to time, the train steamed in and there was observed, descending from a second-class compartment, attended by a prison-warder in uniform, a small, slim, dark, active man with calm eyes and a serene countenance. He was clad in the garb of a South African native convict—small military cap, that did not protect him from the sun, loose, coarse jacket, bearing a numbered ticket and marked with the broad arrow, short trousers, one leg dark, the other light, similarly marked, thick grey woollen socks and leather sandals. But it was plain that he was not a South African native, and upon closer scrutiny, one became aware that he, too, was an Indian, like those who respectfully saluted him, as he turned quietly to the warder for instructions. He was carrying a white canvas bag, which held his clothing and other effects found upon him when he

was received by the gaol authorities, and also a small basket containing books. He had been sent by the Government to travel nearly two hundred miles, for many hours, without food or the means of procuring it, as the warder had no funds for that purpose, and but for the charity of a European friend—a Government official—he would have had to starve for twenty-four hours. A brief consultation ensued between the prisoner and the warder. The latter appeared to realise the incongruity of the situation, for he bore himself towards the prisoner with every reasonable mark of respect. The latter was evidently a person of some importance, to whom a considerable amount of deference should be shown. The subject of conversation was whether the prisoner preferred to go by cab or to walk to the gaol. If the former, he (the prisoner) would have to pay for it. He, however, declined the easier method of locomotion, choosing to walk three-quarters of a mile in broad daylight, in his convict suit to the gaol and resolutely shouldering his bag, he briskly stepped out, the Madrassi hawkers shamefacedly following at some distance. Later, he disappeared within the grim portals of the Johannesburg gaol, above which is carved, in Dutch, the motto, "Union makes strength".

Five years have passed. On the dusty, undulating road from Standerton to Greylingstad, for a distance of three miles, is seen a long, trailing "army" of men who, on closer inspection, are recognisable as Indians of the labouring classes, to the number of some two thousand. Upon questioning them, it would be found that they had been gathered from the coal mines of Northern Natal, where they had been working under indenture, or as "free" men, liable to the £3 annual tax upon the freedom of themselves, their wives, their sons of

16 years and their daughters of thirteen. They had marched from Newcastle to Charlestown whence they had crossed the border into the Transvaal, at Volksrust. They were now marching stolidly and patiently on until they reached Tolstoy Farm, near Johannesburg, or they were arrested, as prohibited immigrants, by the Government. Thus they had marched for several days on a handful of rice, bread and sugar a day, carrying with them all their few worldly belongings, hopeful that, at the end the burden of the hated £3 tax would be removed from their shoulders. They appeared to place implicit trust in a small, limping, bent, but dogged man, coarsely dressed and using a staff painfully marching at the head of the straggling column, but with a serene and peaceful countenance, and a look of sureness and content. A nearer inspection of this strange figure discloses the same individual that we have already seen entering the forbidding portals of the "Fort", at Johannesburg. But how much older looking and care-worn? He has taken a vow to eat only one poor meal a day, until the iniquitous tax upon the honour and chastity of his brothers and sisters shall have been repealed. Upon him, as the foremost protagonist of the movement, has fallen the main burden and responsibility of organising one of the greatest and noblest protests against tyranny that the world has ever seen during the preceding seven years. Time has left its mark upon him?

FROM SOUTH AFRICA TO INDIA

Nine more years have passed. Bent down by the weight of years, but resolute of heart, that same figure is yet the cynosure of all eyes. The scene is laid now in Ahmedabad where thousands of Khadder-clad pilgrims march in solemn array to the court-house and await "the man of destiny". It was twelve noon on the 18th of

March. That same frail figure in a loin cloth, with the dear old familiar smile of deep content, enters the court-house. The whole court suddenly rises to greet the illustrious prisoner. "This looks like a family gathering," says he with the benignant smile of his. The heart of the gathering throbs with alternate hopes and fears, but the august prisoner, pure of heart and meek of spirit, is calm like the deep sea. In a moment, the great trial had begun; and as the prisoner made his historic statement, tears were seen trickling down the cheeks of the stoutest. "I wish to endorse all the blame that the Advocate-General has thrown on my shoulders," says he with perfect candour. "To preach disaffection to the existing system of government has become almost a passion with me * * * I do not ask for mercy. I do not plead any extenuating act. I am here, therefore, to invite and submit to the highest penalty that can be inflicted upon me for what in law is a deliberate crime and what appears to me to be the highest duty of a citizen." And then follows the terrible indictment of the Government. The Judge himself is deeply moved. He feels the greatness of the occasion and, in slow and deliberate accents, he says: "It would be impossible to ignore the fact that you are in a different category from any person I have ever tried or am likely to try. It would be impossible to ignore the fact that in the eyes of millions of your countrymen, you are a great patriot and a great leader. Even those who differ from you in politics look upon you as a man of high ideals and of noble and even saintly life." "But," he continued, "I have to deal with you in one character only * * * to judge you as a man subject to the law who has by his own admission broken the law, committed, what to an ordinary man must appear

to be grave offences against the State." A sentence of six years' simple imprisonment is passed: but the Judge adds: "that, if the course of events in India should make it possible for the Government to reduce the period and release you, no one will be better pleased than I." And the prisoner thanks the Judge, and there is perfect good humour. Was there ever such a trial in the history of British Courts or any other court for the matter of that? And finally he bids farewell to the tearful throng pressing forward to touch the bare feet of him whose presence was a benediction!

The man is Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, Dewan's son, Barrister-at-Law, scholar, student, cultured Indian gentleman, "farmer and weaver," and leader of his people. Because he preferred to obey the dictates of conscience, because he placed honour before comfort or even life itself, because he chose not to accept an insult to his Motherland, because he strove so that right should prevail and that his people might have life, a civilised, Christian Government in a Colony over which waves the British flag, deemed that the best way to overcome such dangerous contumacy was to cast his body into gaol, where at one time he was compelled to herd with and starve upon the diet of the most degraded aboriginal native felons, men barely emerging from the condition of brute-beasts, or rather, with all their human aspirations and instincts crushed out of them by the treatment accorded to them under the "civilising" process of the Transvaal's colour legislation. And, again obeying the behests of conscience, believing that he best serves India so, he again chooses the refuge of prison, convinced like Thoreau that he is freer than his gaolers or those who mourn for him, but do not liberate themselves from bondage.

EARLY LIFE AND EDUCATION

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was born on the 2nd October, 1869. Though he has a Brahmin's spirituality and desire to serve and teach, he is not a Brahmin. Though he has a Kshatriya's courage and devotion, he is not a Kshatriya. He belongs to an old Bania family resident in Kathiawar, politics being a heritage of the family. His forefathers were Dewans of the State of Porbandar in that Province, his father having been Dewan of that State for 25 years, as also of Rajkote and other States in Kathiawar. He was likewise, at one time, a member of the Rajasthanik Sabha, having been nominated thereto by the Government of Bombay. Mr. Gandhi's father was known to, and loved by, all with whom he came in contact and he did not hesitate, if need came, to oppose the will of the Rana of Porbandar and of the Political Agent, when he thought that they were adopting a wrong or unworthy line of conduct. This particular trait has evidently descended to his youngest son. Mr. Gandhi's mother was an orthodox Hindu lady, rigid in her observance of religious obligations, strict in the performance of her duties as wife and mother, and stern in her determination that her children should grow up good and honest men and women. Between her youngest son and herself existed a strong affection, and her religious example and influence left a lasting impression upon his character. Mohandas Gandhi received his education partly in Kathiawar and partly in London. It was only with the greatest difficulty that his mother could be prevailed upon to consent to his crossing the waters, and, before doing so, she exacted from him a threefold vow, administered by a Jain priest that he would abstain from flesh, alcohol and women. And this vow was faithfully and whole-heartedly kept amidst all

the temptations of student life in London. Young Gandhi became an under-graduate of the London University and afterwards joined the Inner Temple, whence he emerged in due course a barrister-at-law. He returned to India immediately after his call, and was at once admitted as an Advocate of the Bombay High Court, in which capacity he began practice with some success.

VISIT TO SOUTH AFRICA

In 1893, Mr. Gandhi was induced to go to South Africa, proceeding to Natal and then to the Transvaal, in connection with an Indian legal case of some difficulty. Almost immediately upon landing at Durban, disillusionment awaited him. Brought up in British traditions of the equality of all British subjects, an honoured guest in the capital of the Empire, he found that in the British Colony of Natal, he was regarded as a pariah, scarcely higher than a savage aboriginal native of the soil. He appealed for admission as an Advocate of the Supreme Court of Natal, but his application was opposed by the Law Society on the ground that the law did not contemplate that a coloured person should be admitted to practise. Fortunately, the Supreme Court viewed the matter in a different light and granted the application. But Mr. Gandhi received sudden warning of what awaited him in the years to come.

In 1894, on the urgent invitation of the Natal Indian community, he decided to remain in the Colony, in order that he might be of service in the political troubles that he foresaw in the near future. In that year, together with a number of prominent members of the community, he founded the Natal Indian Congress, being for some years its honorary secretary, in which capacity he drafted a number of petitions and memorials admirable in construction, lucid and simple in phraseology, clear and concise in the manner

of setting forth the subject-matter. He took a leading part in the successful attempt to defeat the Asiatics' Exclusion Act passed by the Natal Parliament and in the unsuccessful one to prevent the disfranchisement of the Indian community, though the effort made obliged the Imperial authorities to insist that this disfranchisement should be effected along non-racial lines. At the end of 1895, he returned to India, being authorised by the Natal and Transvaal Indians to represent their grievances to the Indian public. This he did by means of addresses and a pamphlet, the mutilated contents of which were summarised by Reuter and cabled to Natal, where they evoked a furious protest on the part of the European colonists. The telegram ran thus: "A pamphlet published in India declares that the Indians in Natal are robbed, and assaulted, and treated like beasts, and are unable to obtain redress. *The Times of India* advocates an enquiry into these allegations."

This message was certainly not the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, though it had elements of truth in it. About the same time, Mr. Gandhi returned to Durban with his family, and with him, though independently of him, travelled several compatriots. The rumour arose that he was bringing with him, a number of skilled Indian workers with the express object of ousting the European artisans from the field of employments, and the two circumstances combined to stimulate in the colonists, high and low alike, all the worst feelings, and feeling ran so high that the Attorney-General, Mr. Escombe, felt himself obliged to side with the popular party, and accordingly gave instructions that the vessel bringing Mr. Gandhi and his companions should be detained in quarantine. The quarantine was only raised when the ship-owners announced their intention of taking legal action against the Government.

The vessels now came alongside the wharf, but the crowd that assembled became so hostile that a police inspector, who came on board, warned Mr. Gandhi of his own personal danger if he landed then, and he urged him to delay the landing until night. A little later, however, a well-known member of the Natal Bar came on board specially to greet Mr. Gandhi and offer his services, and Mr. Gandhi at once determined to land without waiting for darkness to come, trusting, as he himself expressed it, to the British sense of justice and fair-play. He was soon recognised, however, set upon, and half-killed, when the wife of the superintendent of police, who recognised him, ran to his rescue, and, raising her umbrella over him, defied the crowd, and accompanied him to the store of an Indian friend. Mr. Gandhi was, however, in order to save his friend's property, obliged to escape disguised as a police constable.

The affair was at an end, popular passions calmed down, and the newspapers apologised to him, though the incident demonstrated the temper of the mob towards the resident Indian community. Years afterwards, meeting Mr. Gandhi one day, Mr. Escombe expressed profound regret at his connection with this unsavoury business, declaring that, at the time, he was unacquainted with Mr. Gandhi's personal merits and those of the community to which he belonged. Half an hour later he was found dead in the streets, stricken down by heart-disease.

BOER WAR AND THE INDIAN AMBULANCE CORPS

In 1899, at the outbreak of the Anglo-Boer War, Mr. Gandhi, after considerable opposition, induced the Government to accept the offer of an Indian Ambulance Corps. The Corps was one thousand strong and saw active service, being on one occasion, at least, under heavy fire, and on another, removing the dead body of Lord Robert's

only son from the field. The Corps was favourably reported on, and Mr. Gandhi was mentioned in despatches and afterwards awarded the war medal. His object in offering the services of a body of Indians to do even the most menial work was to show that the Indian community desired to take their full share of public responsibilities, and that just as they knew how to demand rights, so they also knew to assume obligations. And that has been the key-note of Mr. Gandhi's public work from the beginning.

Writing in the *Illustrated Star* of Johannesburg in July 1911, a European, who had taken part in that campaign, observed :—

My first meeting with Mr. M. Gandhi was under strange circumstances. It was on the road from Spion Kop, after the fateful retirement of the British troops in January, 1900. The previous afternoon I saw the Indian mule-train moved up the slopes of the Kop carrying water to the distressed soldiers who had lain powerless on the plateau. The mules carried the water in immense bags, one on each side, led by Indians at their heads. The galling rifle-fire, which heralded their arrival on the top, did not deter the strangely-looking cavalcade which moved slowly forward, and as an Indian fell, another quietly stepped forward to fill the vacant place. Afterwards the grim duty of the bearer corps, which Mr. Gandhi organised in Natal, began. It was on such occasions the Indians proved their fortitude, and the one with the greatest fortitude of all was the subject of this sketch. After a night's work, which had shattered men with much bigger frames I came across Gandhi in the early morning sitting by the roadside—eating a regulation Army biscuit. Every man in Buller's force was dull and depressed, and damnation was heartily invoked on everything. But Gandhi was stoical in his bearing, cheerful, and confident in his conversation, and had a kindly eye. We ate one good meal. It was an informal introduction, and it led to his friendship. I saw the man and his small undisciplined force many a field of battle during the Natal campaign. When Sir Buller was to be rendered they were there. Their unassuming dauntlessness cost them many lives, and eventually an order was published forbidding them to go into the firing-line. Gandhi simply did his duty then, and his comment the other evening in the moment of his triumph, at the dinner to the Europeans who had supported the Indian movement, when some hundreds of his countrymen and a large number of Europeans paid him a noble tribute, was that he had simply done his duty.

RETURN TO INDIA

In 1901, owing to a breakdown in health, Mr. Gandhi came to India, taking his family with him. Before he went, however, the Natal Indian community presented him, Mrs. Gandhi, and his children with a valuable gold plate and jewellery. He refused, however, to accept a single item of this munificent gift, putting it on one side to be used for public purposes, should the need arise. The incident but endeared him the more to the people, who realised once again how selfless was the work that he had so modestly and unassumingly undertaken. Before the Ambulance Corps left for the front, its members had been publicly entertained by Sir John Robinson, then Prime Minister of Natal, and on the occasion of the presentation to Mr. Gandhi by the Indian community, he addressed a letter to the organisers of the ceremony, in which, after excusing his unavoidable absence, he said :

It would have given me great pleasure to have been present on the occasion of so well-earned a mark of respect to our able and distinguished fellow-citizen, Mr. Gandhi. Not the less heartily do I wish all success to this public recognition of the good work done and the many services rendered to the community by Mr. Gandhi.

On his arrival in Bombay, Mr. Gandhi once more resumed practice, as he then had no intention of returning to South Africa, believing that with the end of the war, a new era had arrived.

BACK TO SOUTH AFRICA

Scarcely, however, had he returned from the Calcutta Congress, where, under Mr. (now Sir) Dinshaw Wacha, he did some very useful organising work unobtrusively, when he received an urgent telegram from Natal, peremptorily calling him back to South Africa to draft the memorials to Mr. Chamberlain, whose visit was imminent, to take charge

of the work required to secure the removal of existing grievances and to place Indian affairs finally on a higher level. Without a moment's hesitation, he obeyed the call of duty, and a new chapter opened in his life. In Natal, he had been able to overcome official prejudice and was high in the esteem of all those heads of departments and ministers with whom his public duties brought him into contact. But when, after heading a deputation to Mr. Chamberlain in Natal, he was called to the Transvaal for similar purpose he found all officialdom hostile, and he was refused the right to attend upon Mr. Chamberlain as a member of a deputation of Transvaal Indians: and it was only after the utmost endeavours that he prevailed upon the Indian community to send a deputation that did not include him. Finding that the situation was becoming rapidly worse, and being without a trained guide, the Transvaal Indians pressed him to remain with them, and this he at last consented to do, being admitted to practise as an Attorney of the Supreme Court of the Transvaal. In 1903, together with other communal leaders, he founded the Transvaal British Indian Association, of which, until his final departure from South Africa, he was the honorary secretary and principal legal adviser.

FOUNDING OF "THE INDIAN OPINION"

About the middle of 1903, it had occurred to him that, if the South African Indians were to be brought into closer association with each other and with their European fellow-colonists, and to be politically and socially educated, it was absolutely necessary to have a newspaper, and, after consultation, he provided the greater part of the capital for its inauguration, with the late Mr. M. H. Nazar as editor, and thus the *Indian Opinion* was born. It was first published in English, Gujarati, Hindi and Tamil. For various reasons,

it afterwards became necessary to dispense with the Tamil and Hindi columns.

Towards the end of 1904, however, finding that the paper was absorbing most of the money that could be spared without making any appreciable financial headway, he went to Durban to investigate the situation. During the journey, he became absorbed in the perusal of Ruskin's "Unto This Last", and he received certain impressions that were confirmed whilst on a visit to some relatives, who had started a trading enterprise in an up-country village. His conclusions were that the town conditions in which the paper was produced were such as almost to compel unlimited waste, to act as a check upon the originality and individuality of the workers, and to prevent the realisation of his dearest desire to so infuse the columns of the paper with a spirit of tolerance and persuasiveness as to bring together all that was best in the European and Indian communities, whose fate it was to dwell side by side, either mutually hostile to or suspicious of each other, or amicably co-operating in the securing of the welfare of the State and the building-up of a wise administration of its assets.

THE PHOENIX SETTLEMENT

Accordingly, he determined that the very first thing to be done was to put an end to the divorce of the workers from the land; and from this determination, arose what has since become known as the Phoenix Settlement. Phoenix is situated about 12 miles from Durban, in the midst of a sugar-growing country, and Mr. Gandhi invested his savings in the purchase of an estate of about 100 acres of land about two miles distant from the station, on which were erected the press buildings and machinery. A number of

selected Indians and Europeans were invited to become settlers, and the original conditions were these—that they should have entire management of all the assets of the press, including the land itself; that each should practically vow himself to a life of poverty, accepting not more than £3 (Rs. 45) a month, expenses being high in South Africa, and an equal share in the profits, if any; that a house should be built for him, for which he should pay when able, and in whatever instalments might seem suitable to him, without interest; that he should have two acres of land as his own for cultivation, payment being on similar conditions, and that he should devote himself to working for the public good, *Indian Opinion* being meanwhile the mainspring of the work. Whilst the fundamental principles remained, it became necessary later, in the light of further experience, to modify these conditions. Subsequently, the Phoenix settlers extended the scope of their labours, to the task of educating some at least of the children of the lakh-and-a-half of Indians in South Africa.

SERVICE IN PLAGUE AREAS

In 1904, an outbreak of plague occurred in the Indian Location, Johannesburg, largely owing to gross negligence on the part of the Municipal authorities, in spite of repeated warnings of the insanitary conditions prevailing. A week before the official announcement of the outbreak, Mr. Gandhi sent a final warning that plague had already broken out, but his statement was officially denied. When, however, a public admission of the existence of plague could no longer be withheld, but before the Municipal authorities had taken any steps to cope with the disease, he at once organised a private hospital and nursing home, and, together with a few devoted friends, personally tended

16 Acc. no. 691
Dt 22-11-27.

the plague patients; and this work was formally appreciated by the Municipal authorities.

LEADING A STRETCHER-BEARER CORPS

In 1906, a native rebellion broke out in Natal due to many causes, but realising that bloodshed was imminent and that hospital work would necessarily ensue therefrom, Mr. Gandhi offered, on behalf of the Natal Indians, a Stretcher-Bearer Corps, which, after some delay, was accepted. Meanwhile he had sent his family to Phoenix, where he thought it was most proper that they should live, rather than in the dirt, noise, and restlessness of the town. He himself volunteered to lead the Corps, which was on active service for a month, being mentioned in despatches and publicly congratulated and thanked by the Governor for the valuable services rendered. Each member of the Corps has had awarded to him the medal especially struck for the occasion, and as an indication of the manner in which the Transvaal Government appreciated the work so selflessly performed by Mr. Gandhi and his Corps, it may be noted that, together with at least three other members of the Corps, as well as some who belonged to or helped to fit out the old Ambulance Corps, he was flung into gaol to associate with criminals of the lowest type.

The work of the Corps was, besides that of carrying stretchers and marching on foot behind mounted infantry, through dense bush, sometimes thirty miles a day, in the midst of a savage enemy's country unformed and unprotected, to perform the task of hospital assistants and to nurse the wounded natives, who had been callously shot down by the colonial troopers, or had been cruelly lashed by military command. Mr. Gandhi does not like to speak his mind about what he saw or learnt on this occasion. But many times he must have had searchings of conscience as to the

propriety of his allying himself, even in that merciful capacity, with those capable of such acts of revolting and inexcusable brutality. However, it is well to know that nearly all his solicitude was exercised on behalf of aboriginal native patients, and one saw the Dewan's son ministering to the needs and allaying the sufferings of some of the most undeveloped types of humanity, whose odour, habits and surroundings must have been extremely repugnant to a man of refined tastes—though Mr. Gandhi himself will not admit this.

ANTI-ASIATIC LAW AND PASSIVE RESISTANCE

Scarcely had he returned to Johannesburg to resume practice (he had left his office to look after itself during his absence) when a thunderbolt was launched by the Transvaal Government by the promulgation of the Draft Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance. After years of plotting and scheming, the anti-Asiatics of the Transvaal, having first secured the willing services of an administrative department anxious to find an excuse for the continuance of its own existence, compelled the capitulation of the executive itself with the aforementioned result. Mr. Gandhi at once realised what was afoot, and understood immediately that, unless the Indian community adopted a decided attitude of protest, which would be backed up, if necessary, by resolute action, the whole Indian population of South Africa was doomed, and he accordingly took counsel with the leading members of the community, who agreed that the measure must be fought to the bitter end. Mr. Gandhi was chiefly responsible for the initiation of the policy of passive resistance that was so successfully carried out by the Indians of South Africa during the next eight years. Since that day, Mr. Gandhi's history has been mainly that of the Passive Resistance struggle. All

know how he took the oath not to submit to the Law on the 11th September, 1906; how he went to England with a compatriot in the same year, and how their vigorous pleading induced Lord Elgin to suspend the operation of the objectionable piece of legislation: how, when the law finally received the Royal assent, he threw himself into the forefront of the fight and by speech, pen, and example, inspired the whole community to maintain an adamant front to the attack that was being made upon the very foundations of its religion, its national honour, its racial self-respect, its manhood. No one was, therefore, surprised when, at the end of 1907, Mr. Gandhi was arrested, together with a number of other leaders, and consigned to gaol or how, when he heard that some of his friends in Pretoria had been sentenced to six months' imprisonment with hard labour, the maximum penalty, he pleaded with the Magistrate to impose that penalty upon him too, as he had been the acknowledged leader and inspirer of the opposition against this Law. To him it was a terrible shock that his followers were being more harshly treated than he himself, and it was with bowed head and deep humiliation that he left the court, sentenced to two months' simple imprisonment only. Happily, the Government realised the seriousness of the situation, and after three weeks' imprisonment of the leading passive resisters, General Smuts opened negotiations with them, and a compromise was effected between him and the Indian community, partly written, partly verbal, whereby voluntary registration, which had been repeatedly offered, was accepted conditionally upon the Law being subsequently repealed. This promise of repeal was made personally to Mr. Gandhi by General Smuts in the presence of official witnesses. When, shortly afterwards, Mr. Gandhi was

nearly killed by a few of his more fanatical countrymen (who thought he had betrayed them to the Government) as he was on his way to the Registration Office to carry out his pledge to the Government, he issued a letter to the Indian community in which he definitely declared that promise of repeal had been made. General Smuts did not do so until several months later. No one was, however, astonished to find Mr. Gandhi charging General Smuts with breach of faith, and absolutely refusing to compromise himself or the community that he represented by accepting further legislation that would, in the end, have still further degraded the Indians of South Africa. Having convinced his colleagues that such acceptance on their part was impossible, the struggle re-commenced.

Twice again, during the period of passive resistance, was he sent to gaol, and then the Government sought to seduce his followers from their allegiance, by imprisoning them in hundreds and leaving him free. In 1909, whilst his friend and fellow-worker, Mr. Polak, was in India, on behalf of the South African Indian community, he and a colleague had gone to England to endeavour to arouse the public conscience there to the enormities that were being perpetrated in South Africa in the name of the British people. Whilst he failed in his main purpose to secure from General Smuts, through the mediation of the Imperial Government, the removal of the racial bar in the Immigration Law, he nevertheless sowed the seeds of the subsequent settlement, for his suggestions were embodied, and their adoption was recommended by the Imperial Government in their Despatch to Lord Gladstone, shortly after the creation of the Union of South Africa in the following year.

MR. GOKHALE'S HISTORIC VISIT

In 1911, the second "provisional settlement" was effected after the Union Government had, notwithstanding prolonged and sympathetic negotiations with Mr. Gandhi, found themselves unable to discover a formula acceptable alike to the Indian community, the Government themselves and Parliament. Nor did the year 1912 show any better promise in the direction of a final settlement. Meanwhile, there occurred the historic visit to South Africa of India's great statesman-patriot, the Hon. Mr. Gokhale, who, even then, was suffering from ill-health. Mr. Gandhi, who, for years had regarded him as his own political leader, had invited him to South Africa, not primarily for political reasons, but so that he might nurse his *guru* back to health. Circumstances combined, however, to impose upon Mr. Gokhale a greater physical strain than had been anticipated in spite of Mr. Gandhi's own devoted personal service. It was pathetic and beautiful to observe the way these two old friends refused to see anything but the best in each other, in spite of their fundamental differences of temperament and often of outlook. To Gandhi, Gokhale was the gallant and selfless paladin, whom the whole of India looked up to as her noblest son. To Gokhale, Gandhi was the very embodiment of saintly self-abnegation, a man whose personal sufferings, splendid and chivalrous leadership and moral fervour, marked him out as one of the most outstanding figures of the day, the coming leader of his people, who had made the name of his adored Motherland, revered and honoured throughout the Empire and beyond, and who had proved beyond dispute the capacity of even his most insignificant countrymen to live and die for her.

FURTHER STAGES OF THE STRUGGLE

During his visit, Mr. Gokhale extracted a promise (afterwards denied) from the principal Union Ministers, that they would introduce legislation repealing the £3 tax. When, therefore, in 1913, Mr. Gandhi discovered that the Government were not going to fulfil their pledges of 1911, and that they refused to repeal the £3 tax, he denounced the "provincial settlement", and, in September, announced the revival of Passive Resistance and its bodily extension to Natal, where he promptly organised and carried through the now historic strike. The events of this last phase of the struggle are of historic interest—the campaign of the Indian women whose marriages had been dishonoured by a fresh decision of the Supreme Court at the instigation of the Government, the awakening of the free and indentured labourers all over Natal, the strikes, and the historic march into the Transvaal, the scenes enacted later in the effort to crush the strikers and compel them to resume work, the arrest and imprisonment of the principal leaders and of hundreds—many thousands—of the rank and file, the enormous Indian mass meetings held in Durban, Johannesburg, and other parts of the Union, the fierce and passionate indignation aroused in India, the large sums of money poured into South Africa from all parts of the Motherland, Lord Hardinge's famous speech at Madras, in which he placed himself at the head of Indian public opinion and his demand for a Commission of Inquiry, the energetic efforts of Lord Ampthill's Committee, the hurried intervention of the Imperial authorities, the appointment over the heads of the Indian community of a Commission whose *personnel* could not satisfy the Indians, the discharge from prison of the leaders whose advice to ignore the Commission was almost universally accepted,

the arrival of Messrs. Andrews and Pearson and their wonderful work of reconciliation, the deaths of Harbat Singh and Valliamma, the strained position relieved only by the interruption of the second European strike, when Mr. Gandhi, as on an earlier occasion, undertook not to hamper the Government whilst they had their hands full with the fresh difficulty, and when it had been dealt with, the entirely new spirit of friendliness, trust, and co-operation that was found to have been created by the moderation of the great Indian leader and the loving influence spread around him by Mr. Andrews as he proceeded with his great Imperial mission.

• All these things are by now matters of history, as are the favourable recommendations of the Commission on practically every point referred to it and out of which Passive Resistance had arisen, the adoption of the 'Commission's Report in its entirety by the Government, the introduction and passing into law of the Indians' Relief Act, after lengthy and remarkable debates in both Houses of the Legislature, the correspondence between Mr. Gandhi and General Smuts, in which the latter undertook, on behalf of the Government, to carry through the administrative reforms that were not covered by the new Act, and the final letter of the Indian protagonist of Passive Resistance—formally announcing the conclusion of the struggle and setting forth the points upon which Indians would sooner or later have to be satisfied before they could acquire complete equality of civil status—and the scenes of his departure for his beloved Motherland.

MR. AND MRS. GANDHI IN LONDON

Faithful to his instinct for service, Mr. Gandhi hurried to England, where he heard that Gokhale was critically ill, and arrived, on the outbreak of the Great War, to

find that his friend was slowly recovering from the almost fatal attack that had overwhelmed him. Here, too, his sense of responsibility revealed itself. He recognised that it was India's duty, in the hour of the Empire's trial, to do all in her power to help, and he at once set about the formation of the Indian Volunteer Ambulance Corps in London, enrolling himself and his devoted wife, who had herself been barely snatched from the jaws of death but a few weeks earlier, amongst the members. But the years of strain, his neglect of his own physical well-being, and his addiction to long fasts as a means to spiritual purification, had undermined a never very robust constitution, and his condition became so serious that private and official friends insisted upon his proceeding immediately, with Mrs. Gandhi, to India.

RETURN TO THE MOTHERLAND

On his return to the Motherland, at the beginning of 1915, Mr. Gandhi was naturally very much before the public eye. His progress through India, from the day of the public landing and welcome at the Apollo Bunder, was, in the nature of a veritable triumph, marred only by the sudden death of his beloved teacher, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, who had sacrificed health and life itself upon the altar of his country's welfare.

The Government of India marked their appreciation of Mr. Gandhi's unique services by recommending him for the Kaiser-i-Hind gold medal, which was conferred upon him by the King-Emperor amongst the 1915 New Year Honours. To Gokhale he had given a promise to make no public utterance on Indian affairs until at least a year had passed, and he had visited the principal centres of public life in India. This promise, which was faithfully

kept, was extracted, because Gokhale, hoping to see in him his own successor, had been somewhat disturbed by the very advanced views expressed by Mr. Gandhi in the proscribed pamphlet—*Hind Swaraj** whose pages, we now know, were written to show the basic similarity of civilisation the world over, the superiority of India for the particular Indian phase of that civilisation and the stupidity of the barriers of luxury created by the modern industrial civilisation of the West, that constantly separate man from man and make him a senseless machine drudge, and that threaten to invade that holy Motherland that stands in his eyes for the victory of spirit over matter. He had condemned some things of which he had disapproved, in Gokhale's opinion, somewhat hastily, and the older man had thought that, after an absence from India of so many years, during which he had perhaps idealised certain phases of Indian life, a year's travel and observation would be a useful corrective. Which of the two, if either, has correctly diagnosed the situation, time alone can show.

But one thing is clear. Mr. Gandhi has consistently maintained these views in the face of adverse criticisms from friends and foes. And it is interesting that writing over a decade after the publication of the book, Mr. Gandhi observed in *Young India* (26th January 1921):

It is certainly my good fortune that this booklet of mine is receiving wide attention. In my opinion it is a book which can be put into the hands of a child. It teaches the gospel of love in the place of that of hate. It replaces violence with self-sacrifice. It pits soul force against brute force. It has gone through several editions and I commend it to those who would care to read it. I withdraw nothing except one word of it and that in deference to a lady friend.

* HIND SWARAJ OR INDIAN HOME RULE. By Mahatma Gandhi. Price Annas Eight. G. A. Natesan & Co., Publishers, Madras.

SATYAGRAHASHRAM

Mr. Gandhi, however, made his headquarters at Ahmedabad, the capital of his own Province of Gujarat and here he founded his *Satyagrahashram*, where he has been endeavouring to train up from childhood public servants upon a basis of austerity of life and personal subordination to the common good, the members supporting themselves by work at the hand-loom or other manual labour. (The Rules and Regulations of the *Asram* are printed as an Appendix to this book.)

TRAVELS IN INDIA

True to his promise to Mr. Gokhale, Mr. Gandhi, on his return to India, started on an extensive tour through the country. Though his idea was merely to visit every place of importance and acquaint himself thoroughly with the conditions of the country and thus acquire first-hand knowledge of men and things, he had of course to speak wherever he went. He was given a warm and enthusiastic welcome at every station, and the magnificent demonstrations in his honour bore an eloquent testimony to the great regard in which his countrymen have always held him. Mr. Gandhi accepted these marks of affection and respect with his accustomed grace, but spoke out his mind on every subject as the occasion demanded. One characteristic feature of these speeches was that Mr. Gandhi seldom repeated second-hand opinions and his views on every subject were, therefore, refreshingly original. As a reformer, his interests were encyclopaedic and he touched life at many points at once. It is convenient, therefore, in a review of his travels and opinions, to record his views on the many public questions that confronted him as he passed from place to place in his first great pilgrimage through the country. Undeterred by fear or any exaggerated sense of conventional respecta-

bility, he retained his independence, indifferent to the applause or contumely of his listeners.

ANARCHICAL CRIMES

Speaking at the Students' Hall, College Square, Calcutta, in March 1915, when the Hon. Mr. Lyon presided, he said, with reference to anarchical crimes, that

whatever his personal views were, he must say that misguided zeal that resorts to dacoities and assassinations cannot be productive of any good. These dacoities and assassinations are absolutely a foreign growth in India. They cannot take root here and cannot be a permanent institution here. History proves that assassinations have done no good. The religion of the country, the Hindu religion, is abstention from "himsa", that is, taking animal life. That is, he believes, the guiding principle of all religions. The Hindu religion says that even the evil-doer should not be hated. It says that nobody has any right to kill even the evil-doer. These assassinations are a Western institution, and the speaker warned his hearers against the Western methods and Western evils.

That was a striking pronouncement of a public man denouncing anarchical crimes not on mere grounds of political expediency but on deeper grounds of morality and religion. That was the first public utterance of a man who scorned the shibboleths of lip loyalty quite as much as the subterfuges of secret societies. Mr. Gandhi thus vindicated his great principle that the means are a part of the end and that in his politics at any rate he would countenance no questionable methods for the attainment of quite undeniably legitimate and honourable aims. It was the same principle that he vindicated at the Karachi Congress of 1931 when he denounced political violence while appreciating the heroism of Bhagat Singh. Thus he struck a blow at the root of all Machiavellian politics that the end justifies the means.

LOYALTY TO THE BRITISH RAJ

At the British Law Dinner in April of the same year, he observed in proposing (at the request of the President,

the Hon. Mr. Corbett, the Advocate-General) the toast of the British Empire:—

As a passive resister I discovered that a passive resister has to make good his claim to passive resistance no matter under what circumstance he finds himself, and I discovered that the British Empire had certain ideals with which I have fallen in love, and one of those ideals is that every subject of the British Empire has the freest scope possible for his energies and honour and whatever he thinks is due to his conscience. I think that this is true of the British Empire, as it is not true of any other Government. (*Applause.*) I feel, as you here perhaps know, that I am no lover of any Government, and I have more than once said that that Government is best which governs least. And I have found that it is possible for me to be governed least under the British Empire. Hence my loyalty to the British Empire. (*Loud applause.*)

The speech doubtless made a deep impression not only by the vigour and originality of his exposition but also by a certain consistency to his own ethical principles. "The right to rebel", as an inalienable right of a British citizen—that was quite a characteristic and rather curious vindication of the British Raj. And so we find in every one of his public utterances Mr. Gandhi familiarised his countrymen with his singular opinions.

ADDRESS TO THE STUDENTS

Addressing the students of Madras at the Y.M.C.A., when the Hon. Mr. (now the Rt. Hon.) V. S. Srinivasa Sastri presided, Mr. Gandhi made his now famous onslaught on European civilization. He made it plain that in tolerating a foreign rule, India never bargained for foreign culture. We were quite content to have our own; and Mr. Gandhi argued that we dare not give up our cultural inheritance at the risk of our soul.

I am and I have been a determined opponent of modern civilization. I want you to turn your eyes to-day upon what is going on in Europe, and if you have come to the conclusion that Europe is to-day groaning under the heels of the modern civilisation, then you and your elders will have to think twice before you can emulate that civilisation in our Motherland. But I have been told, "How can we help it, seeing that our rulers bring that culture

to our Motherland." Do not make any mistake about it at all. I do not for one moment believe that it is for any rulers to bring that culture to you, unless you are prepared to accept it, and if it be that the rulers bring that culture before us, I think that we have forces within ourselves to enable us to reject that culture without having to reject the rulers themselves.

He concluded:—

I ally myself to the British Government, because I believe that it is possible for me to claim equal partnership with every subject of the British Empire. I to-day claim that equal partnership. I do not belong to a subject race. I do not call myself a subject race. (*Applause.*) But there is this thing: it is not for the British Governors to give you, it is for you to take the thing. I want and I can take the thing. That I want only by discharging my obligations. Max Muller has told us,—we need not go to Max Muller to interpret our own religion—but he says, our religion consists in four letters "D-n-t-y" and not in the five letters "R-i-g-h-t". And if you believe that all that we want can flow from a better discharge of our duty, then think always of your duty and fighting along those lines you will have no fear of any man, you will fear only God.

BRAHMINS AND PANCHAMAS

If Mr. Gandhi was plain-spoken in regard to his political opinions and in his views of British rule and foreign culture, he was no less outspoken in his condemnation of his own countrymen. In his speech at Mayavaram on May 22, 1915, he touched on social reform and uttered some home truths in that centre of orthodoxy:—

In so far as I have been able to study Hinduism outside India, I have felt that it is no part of real Hinduism to have in its hold a mass of people whom I would call "untouchables". If it was proved to me that this is an essential part of Hinduism, I for one would declare myself an open rebel against Hinduism itself.

Are the Brahmins in Mayavaram equi-minded towards the Pariah and will they tell me, if they are so equi-minded, that others will not follow? Even if they say that they are prepared to do so but others will not follow, I shall have to disbelieve them until I have revised my notions of Hinduism. If the Brahmins themselves consider they are holding high position by penance and austerity, then they have themselves much to learn; then they will be the people who have cursed and ruined the land.

This was the beginning of a social controversy which has not ended yet. Indeed, Mr. Gandhi's social heresies

brought on his devoted head the fury of a considerable section of conservative opinion in the country—a section which is hard put to it to march with the times. And yet Mr. Gandhi has gone his way, pressing his opinions in diverse ways with the persistency of a reformer.

Swadeshi industries and Swadeshi culture, or rather the neglect of these, then came in for severe handling, and he gave utterance to some unwelcome truths in the matter of leadership by example and by precept.

There are, I understand, one thousand handlooms. So much the worse for the leaders! (Loud applause.) If those one thousand handlooms are kept chiefly in attending to the wants of our women, double this supply of our handlooms and you will have all your wants supplied by our own weavers and there will be no poverty in the land. I ask you and ask your friend the President, how far he is indebted to foreign goods for the outfit and if he can tell me that he has tried his utmost and still has failed to unfit himself or rather to fit himself out with Swadeshi clothing and therefore he has got this stuff, I shall sit at his feet and learn a lesson. What I have been able to learn to-day is that it is entirely possible for me, without any extra cost, to fit myself with Swadeshi clothing.

Surely here we find the genesis of the great Khaddar campaign and the yarn franchise of the latter-day Congress!

These passages on diverse subjects culled from Mr. Gandhi's Speeches and Writings reveal the mentality of the man as he was in 1915. The succeeding years have merely tended to confirm these opinions, and in many ways Mr. Gandhi has progressed in the direction of his own genius. It is remarkable that, in the light of subsequent history and recent experience, there is a singular uniformity, we had almost said, continuity, in Mr. Gandhi's original ideas. They have seldom been shaken by opinions however influential nor by all the vicissitudes of circumstances. This only brings in relief the firmness and tenacity of his convictions which have grown with the passage of years in the very direction indicated by his attitude to the varied problems that confronted him in the days when, like a

pilgrim from abroad, he travelled up and down the country in search of knowledge. Knowledge indeed he must have gathered in a remarkable degree, for he spared no pains to equip himself for the great task that lay before him, but he had also managed to impress himself more indelibly on the habits and opinions of his countrymen. Like all strong and original minds, Gandhi reacted on his countrymen with extraordinary vigour and the impact of such a mind on the tendencies of the age has been dynamic—altogether wholesome as some conceive it or thoroughly devastating, in the view of others. Whatever it is, the fact remains that his influence on recent history has been potent and decisive.

UNVEILING MR. GOKHALE'S PORTRAIT

Towards the end of May he was invited to Bangalore to unveil the portrait of Mr. Gokhale, when he made a brief and highly suggestive speech.

I saw in the recitation,—the beautiful recitation that was given to me,—that God is with them whose garment was dusty and tattered. My thought immediately went to the end of my garment; I examined and found that it is not dusty and it is not tattered; it is fairly spotless and clean. God is not in me. There are other conditions attached; but in these conditions I may fail; and you, my dear countrymen, may also fail; and if we do tend this well, we should not dishonour the memory of one whose portrait you have asked me to unveil this morning. I have declared myself his disciple in the political field and I have him as my *Raja Guru*: and this I claim on behalf of the Indian people. It was in 1896 that I made this declaration, and I do not regret having made the choice.

That reference to the garment that is not dusty and tattered is truly inspired! There is in it something soul-stirring that moves us to heights of great feeling as in the hymns and psalms of the poet-saints of Medieval India. Nowhere else have we a note of such pathos and grandeur touched with noble passion for humanity.

Later in the year Gandhi presided over the anniversary function at the Gurukul and spoke in Hindi on the

meaning of true Swadeshism, the doctrine of Ahimsa and other kindred topics.

HINDU UNIVERSITY SPEECH

On Feb. 4, 1916, he attended the Hindu University celebrations and delivered an address which unfortunately was intercepted. But the regrettable incident of which far too much was made, revealed the hold that he possesses upon the esteem and affection of his countrymen, for his version of what transpired was generally accepted. Since then Mr. Gandhi has been taking a prominent part in the building up of the Indian nation along his own peculiar lines. For, he teaches both by precept and by example. But he goes his own way, untrammelled by precedent, carefully analysing the criticism to which he is naturally subjected, holding himself answerable, however, to his own conscience alone. For he is of the prophets, and not merely of the secondary interpreters of life.

The same month he came to Madras and on the 10th spoke on Social Service to a large audience presided over by Mrs. Whitehead. On the 14th he spoke on Swadeshi before the Missionary Conference, and a couple of days later gave a lucid account of his Satyagrahashram to a large gathering of students in the precincts of the Young Men's Christian Association, Madras, the Hon. Rev. G. Pittendrigh of the Christian College presiding. He then went back to Ahmedabad to look after his Ashram. Late in the year on December 22, he made a remarkable speech on "Economic *versus* Moral Progress" at the Muir Central College, Allahabad, Mr. Stanley Jevons presiding. The address contains some of his most mature and thoughtful reflections on life, and, both in style and sentiment, is one of the most characteristic of Mr. Gandhi's utterances.

MR. GANDHI IN CHAMPARAN

Then came the Champaran incident which has since become historic as being the forerunner of civil disobedience. In the Lucknow Congress of December 1916, Mr. Gandhi, though pressed by some of the citizens of Behar, declined to talk about grievances of the labourers in the Behar plantations without first-hand knowledge of the real state of affairs. This he resolved to acquire soon after the Congress session: and in response to an insistent public demand, to inquire into the conditions under which Indians worked in the indigo plantations, Mr. Gandhi was in Muzaffarpur on the 15th of April, 1917, whence he took the mid-day train for Motihari. Next day he was served with a notice from the Champaran District Magistrate to quit the district "by the next available train as his presence will endanger the public peace and may lead to serious disturbance which may be accompanied by loss of life". But the local authorities in issuing this mandate counted without the host. For Mr. Gandhi, who had initiated the Passive Resistance Movement in South Africa, replied in a way that did not surprise those who had known him:

Out of a sense of public responsibility, I feel it to be my duty to say that I am unable to leave this district, but if it so please the authorities, I shall submit to the order by suffering the penalty of disobedience.

I most emphatically repudiate the Commissioner's suggestion that "my object is likely to be agitation". My desire is purely and simply for "a genuine search for knowledge" and this I shall continue to satisfy so long as I am left free.

Mr. Gandhi appeared before the District Magistrate on the 18th, when he presented a statement. Finding that the case was likely to be unnecessarily prolonged, he pleaded guilty, and the judgment was deferred pending instructions from higher authorities. The rest of the story is pretty

familiar. The higher authorities subsequently issued instructions not to proceed with the prosecution, while a Commission of Enquiry was at once instituted to enquire into the conditions of the Behar labourers with Mr. Gandhi as a member of that body. As usual, Mr. Gandhi worked in perfect harmony with the other members, and though with the findings of his own private enquiry he could have raised a storm of indignant agitation against the scandals of the plantations, he refrained from using his influence and knowledge for a merely vindictive and vainglorious cry. He worked quietly, with no thought of himself, but absorbed in the need for remedial measures; and when in December 1917 the Champaran Agrarian Bill was moved in the Behar Legislative Council, the Hon. Mr. Maude made a frank statement of the scandals, which necessitated an enquiry by a Commission, and acknowledged Mr. Gandhi's service in handsome terms:—

It is constantly asserted, and I have myself often heard it said, that there is in reality nothing wrong or rotten in the state of affairs; that all concerned are perfectly happy so long as they are left alone, and that it is only when outside influences and agitators come in, that any trouble is experienced. I submit that this contention is altogether untenable in the light of the history of the last fifty years. What is it we find on each individual occasion when fresh attention has been, at remarkably short intervals, drawn once more to the conditions of the production of the indigo plant? We do not find on each occasion that some fresh little matter has gone wrong which can be easily adjusted, but we find on every occasion alike that it is the system itself, which is condemned as being inherently wrong and impossible, and we see also repeated time after time the utter futility of bringing the matter to any lasting or satisfactory settlement by the only solutions that have so far been attempted, namely, an enhancement of the price paid for indigo and a reduction of the tenant's burden by reducing the limit of the proportion of his land which he would be required to earmark for indigo cultivation. Repeatedly, those expedients have been tried—repeatedly they have failed to effect a lasting solution, partly because they could not be universally enforced, but chiefly because no thinking can set right a system which is in itself inherently rotten and open to abuse.

The planters of course could not endure this. They took occasion to indulge in the most rabid and unbecoming attacks on Mr. Gandhi. One Mr. Irwin earned on unenviable notoriety by writing all sorts of scurrilous attacks touching personalities which have nothing to do with the subject of enquiry. Columns of such stuff appeared in the pages of THE PIONEER: but Mr. Gandhi with a quiet humour replied in words which should have made the soul of Mr. Irwin penitent. The controversy on Mr. Gandhi's dress and Mrs. Gandhi's stall-keeping reveals the character of the two men—Mr. Irwin tussy, vindictive, violent, ill-tempered, writhing like a wounded snake in anger and agony, and Mr. Gandhi secure in his righteousness, modest, quiet, strong and friendly with no malice and untainted by evil passions.

THE CONGRESS-LEAGUE SCHEME

By this time Mr. Gandhi had made the Guzerat Sabha a well-equipped organisation for effective social service. When in August 1917 it was announced that Mr. Montagu would be in India in connection with the Scheme of post-War Reforms, the Guzerat Sabha, under the direction of Mr. Gandhi, devised in November the admirable scheme of a monster petition in connection with the Congress-League Scheme. The idea and the movement alike were opportune. Mr. Gandhi himself undertook the work in his province of Guzerat and carried it out with characteristic thoroughness. The suggestion was taken up by the Congress and the Home Rule League and piles of books containing the monster signatures were duly presented to Mr. Montagu at Delhi.

Meanwhile Mr. Gandhi was not idle. On the 17th September he presided over the Bombay Co-operative Conference. On November 3, he delivered a remarkable

address as president of the Guzerat Political Conference and later, of the Guzerat Educational Conference. Then came the Congress week in Calcutta in December and he presided over the First Session of the Social Service League when he made a striking speech. Mr. Gandhi has always travelled in the third class in all his journeyings and the grievances of the third class passengers are driven home in his address to the Social Service League. But even before this he had already sent a letter to the press on the subject on the 25th September 1917, in which he gave a vivid and true account of the woes of the third class passengers.

FAMINE IN THE KAIRA DISTRICT

After his return from the Calcutta Congress of December 1917, Mr. Gandhi was occupied in connection with the famine in the Kaira District and his labours resulted in some material relief to the people. The facts of the story can be easily told in Mr. Gandhi's own words uttered at a meeting in Bombay on February 5, 1918.

The responsibility for the notice issued by the Guzerat Sabha of Ahmedabad was his; and nobody expected that the Government would misinterpret the objects of the notice. The Guzerat Sabha had sufficient proof of the plight of the people in the Kaira District and that the people were even obliged to sell their cattle to pay taxes, and the notice was issued to console those suffering from hardships. The Sabha's request was to suspend the collection of dues till negotiations were over. If the Commissioner of the Division had not been angry with the deputation and had talked to them politely, such crises would not have happened. He fully expected that the deputation which would wait on the Governor would be able to explain the situation to His Excellency and the people's cause would succeed in the end. Public men had every right to advise the people of their rights. He trusted that those who had given the people the right advice would stand by them and would not hesitate to undergo hardships in order to secure justice.

The first and last principle of passive resistance is that we should not inflict hardships on others but put up with them ourselves in order to get justice, and the Government did not fear

anything if we make up our mind as we are bent on getting sheer justice from it and nothing else. We can have two weapons on occasions like this, revolt or passive resistance, and my request is for the second remedy always. In order to remove distress through which the Guzerat people are passing, it is my firm conviction that if we tell the truth to the Government, it will ultimately be convinced and if we are firm in our resolve, the Kaira District people shall suffer wrongs no more.

INTEREST IN SOUTH AFRICA

In spite of all these activities in India, Mr. Gandhi could never forget the scene of his early labours. His South African friends and fellow-workers are always dear to him. In a communication to the *Indian Opinion* he wrote under date 15th December, 1917 :—

When I left South Africa, I had fully intended to write to my Indian and English friends there from time to time, but I found my lot in India to be quite different from what I had expected it to be. I had hoped to be able to have comparative peace and leisure but I have been irresistibly drawn into many activities. I hardly cope with them and local daily correspondence. Half of my time is passed in the Indian trains. My South African friends will, I hope, forgive me for my apparent neglect of them. Let me assure them that not a day has passed but I have thought of them and their kindness. South African associations can never be effaced from my memory.

I note, too, that our people in South Africa are not yet free from difficulties about trade licences and leaving certificates. My Indian experience has confirmed the opinion that there is no remedy like passive resistance against such evils. The community has to exhaust milder remedies but I hope that it will not allow the sword of passive resistance to get rusty. It is our duty whilst the terrible War lasts, to be satisfied with petitions, etc., for the desired relief but I think the Government should know that the community will not rest until the questions above mentioned are satisfactorily solved. It is but right that I should also warn the community against dangers from within. I hear from those who return from South Africa that we are by no means free of those who are engaged in illicit traffic. We who seek justice must be above suspicion, and I hope that our leaders will not rest till they purged the community of internal defects.

AHMEDABAD MILL STRIKE

Passive Resistance in some form or other has always been Mr. Gandhi's final panacea for all ailments in the body

politic. He has applied it with resolute courage, and has at least as often succeeded as he has as often undoubtedly failed. But success or failure in the pursuit of a righteous cause is seldom the determining factor with men of Mr. Gandhi's moral stamina. When in March 1918 the millhands at Ahmedabad went on strike, Mr. Gandhi was requisitioned to settle the dispute between the millowners and the workmen, and he arranged a compromise satisfactory to both.

He was guiding the latter to a successful settlement of their wages when some of them betrayed a sense of weakness and despair; and demoralisation was apprehended. At a critical stage in the crisis Mr. Gandhi and Miss Anusuyabhai took the vow of fast. This extreme action on the part of Mr. Gandhi was disquieting to friends and provoked some bitter comments from the unfriendly. He, of course, would be the last person to resort to such a method of forcing the millowners by appealing to their sense of pity, knowing that they were his friends and admirers. He explained the circumstances in a statement issued subsequently:

I am not sorry for the vow, but with the belief that I have, I would have been unworthy of the trust undertaken by me if I had done anything less. Before I took the vow I knew that there were serious defects about it. For me to take such a vow in order to affect in any shape or form the decision of the millowners would be a cowardly injustice done to them, and that I would so prove myself unfit for the friendship which I had the privilege of enjoying with some of them. I knew that I ran the risk of being misunderstood. I could not prevent my fast from affecting my decision. That knowledge moreover put a responsibility on me which I was ill able to bear. From now I disabled myself from gaining concessions for the men which ordinarily in a struggle such as this I would be entirely justified in securing. I knew, too, that I would have to be satisfied with the minimum I could get from millowners and with a fulfilment of the letter of the men's vow rather than its spirit and so hath it happened. I put the defects of my vow in one scale and the merits of it in the other. There are hardly any acts of

human beings which are free from all taint. Mine, I know, was exceptionally tainted, but better the ignominy of having unworthily compromised by my vow the position and independence of the millowners, than that it should be said by posterity that 10,000 men had suddenly broken a vow which they had for over twenty days solemnly taken and repeated in the name of God. I am fully convinced that no body of men can make themselves into a nation or perform great tasks unless they become as true as steel and unless their promises come to be regarded by the world like the law of the Medys and Persians, inflexible, and unbreakable, and whatever may be the verdict of friends, so far as I can think at present, on given occasions, I should not hesitate in future to repeat the humble performance which I have taken the liberty of describing in the communication.

DELHI WAR CONFERENCE

Mr. Gandhi was one of those invited to attend the Delhi War Conference in April 1918. At first he refused to participate in the discussions, on the ground that Mr. Tilak, Mrs. Besant and the Ali Brothers were not invited to the Conference. He, however, waived the objection at the pressing invitation personally conveyed by H. E. the Viceroy in an interview. At the Conference he spoke briefly, supporting the loyalty resolution and urged his countrymen to give in the hour of danger ungrudging and unequivocal support to the Empire of which "we aspire in the near future to be partners in the same sense as the Dominions overseas".

He explained his position more clearly in a *communique* issued by him soon after the Conference. He pointed out:

I recognise that in the hour of its danger we must give, as we have decided to give, ungrudging and unequivocal support to the Empire of which we aspire in the near future to be partners in the same sense as the Dominions Overseas. But it is the simple truth that our response is due to the expectation that our goal will be reached all the more speedily. On that account, even as performance of duty automatically confers a corresponding right, people are entitled to believe that the imminent reforms alluded to in your speech will embody the main general principles of the Congress-League scheme, and I am sure that it is this faith which has

enabled many members of the Conference to tender to the Government their full-hearted co-operation. If I could make my countrymen retrace their steps, I would make them withdraw all the Congress resolutions and not whisper "Home Rule" or "Responsible Government" during the pendency of the War. I would make India offer all her able-bodied sons as a sacrifice to the Empire at its critical moment and I know that India, by this very act, would become the most favoured partner in the Empire, and racial distinctions would become a thing of the past. But practically the whole of educated India has decided to take a less effective course, and it is no longer possible to say that educated India does not exercise any influence on the masses.

I feel sure that nothing less than a definite vision of Home Rule to be realised in the shortest possible time will satisfy the Indian people. I know that there are many in India who consider no sacrifice is too great in order to achieve the end, and they are wakeful enough to realise that they must be equally prepared to sacrifice themselves for the Empire in which they hope and desire to reach their final status. It follows then that we can but accelerate our journey to the goal by silently and simply devoting ourselves heart and soul to the work of delivering the Empire from the threatening danger. It will be a national suicide not to recognise this elementary truth. We must perceive that, if we serve to save the Empire, we have in that very act secured Home Rule.

Whilst, therefore, it is clear to me that we should give to the Empire every available man for its defence, I fear that I cannot say the same thing about the financial assistance. My intimate intercourse with the raiyats convinces me that India has already donated to the Imperial Exchequer beyond her capacity. I know that, in making this statement, I am voicing the opinion of the majority of my countrymen.

It is interesting to note that even so early as this, Mr. Gandhi foreshadowed his views on the Khilafat question of which we shall read so much indeed in the subsequent pages. Mr. Gandhi wrote these words in a letter to the Viceroy:—

Lastly, I would like you to ask His Majesty's Ministers to give definite assurance about the Muhammadan States. I am sure you know that every Muhammadan is deeply interested in them. As a Hindu I cannot be indifferent to their cause. Their sorrows must be our sorrows. In the most scrupulous regard for the rights of these States and for the Muslim sentiment as to the places of worship and in your just and timely treatment of the Indian claim to Home Rule lie the safety of the Empire. I wrote this, because I love the English nation and I wish to evoke in every Indian the loyalty to Englishmen.

LORD WILLINGDON AND THE HOME RULERS

On June 10, 1918, Lord Willingdon, the Governor of Bombay, presiding over the Bombay War Conference, happened to make an unfortunate reference to Home Rulers. Mr. Tilak who was on the war-path resented what he deemed an unwarranted insult to Home Rulers and instantly launched on a downright political oration. His Excellency ruled him out of order and one by one the Home Rulers left the Conference. Mr. Gandhi was asked to preside over the protest meeting in Bombay held on the 16th June. He spoke as follows:—

Lord Willingdon has presented them with the expression Home Rule Leaguers distinguished from Home Rulers, and I cannot conceive the existence of an Indian who is not a Home Ruler; but there are millions like myself who are not Home Rule Leaguers. Although I am not a member of any Home Rule League, I wish to pay on this auspicious day my humble tribute to numerous Home Rule Leaguers whose association I have ever sought in my work and which has been extended to me ungrudgingly. I have found many of them to be capable of any sacrifice for the sake of the Motherland.

RECRUITING FOR THE WAR

Mr. Gandhi did a great deal to stimulate recruiting for the War. Though he did not hesitate to criticise the bureaucracy for individual acts of wrong, he went about in the districts of Kaira calling for recruits. Time and again he wrote to the press urging the need for volunteers, and he constantly spoke to the educated and the illiterate alike on the necessity for joining the Defence Force.

On one occasion he said in Kaira where he had conducted Satyagraha on an extensive scale:—

You have successfully demonstrated how you can resist Government with civility, and how you can retain your own respect without hurting theirs. I now place before you an opportunity of proving that you bear no hostility to Government in spite of your strenuous fight with them.

You are all Home Rulers, some of you are members of Home Rule Leagues. One meaning of Home Rule is that we should

become partners of the Empire. To-day we are a subject people. We do not enjoy all the rights of Englishmen. We are not to-day partners of the Empire as are Canada, South Africa and Australia. We are a dependency. We want the rights of Englishmen, and we aspire to be as much partners of the Empire as the Dominions Overseas. We wish for the time when we may aspire to the Vice-regal office. To bring such a state of things we should have the ability to defend ourselves, that is the ability to bear arms and to use them. As long as we have to look to Englishmen for our defence, as long as we are not free from the fear of the military, so long we cannot be regarded as equal partners with Englishmen. It, therefore, behoves us to learn the use of arms and to acquire the ability to defend ourselves. If we want to learn the use of arms with the greatest possible despatch, it is our duty to enlist ourselves in the Army.

The easiest and the straightest way to win *Swaraj*, said Mr. Gandhi, is to participate in the defence of the Empire. This argument, doubtless, went home, and he appealed in the following words:

There are 600 villages in the Kaira District. Every village has on an average a population of over 1,000. If every village gave at least twenty men the Kaira District would be able to raise an army of 12,000 men. The population of the whole district is seven lakhs and this number will then work out at 17 per cent.—a rate which is lower than the death-rate. If we are not prepared to make even this sacrifice for the Empire and *Swarajya*, it is no wonder if we are regarded as unworthy of it. If every village gives at least twenty men they will return from the war and be the living bulwarks of their village. If they fall on the battle-field they will immortalise themselves, their villages and their country, and twenty fresh men will follow suit and offer themselves for national defence.

THE MONTAGU REFORMS

We have noticed how Mr. Gandhi took a leading part in the agitation for post-War reforms and how his idea of a monster petition was taken up by every political body of importance in the country. It must, however, be noted with regret that his enthusiasm for the reforms was not kept up as he was absolutely engrossed in other affairs. On the publication of the Joint Report in July 1918, Mr. Gandhi wrote to the *Servant of India* at the request of the Hon. Mr. V. S. S. Sastri for an expression of opinion:

No scheme of reform can possibly benefit India that does not recognise that the present administration is top-heavy and ruinously expensive and for me, even law, order and good government would be too dearly purchased if the price to be paid for it is to be the grinding poverty of the masses. The watchword of our Reform Councils will have to be not the increase of taxation for the growing needs of a growing country, but a decrease of financial burdens that are sapping the foundation itself of organic growth. If this fundamental fact is recognised there need be no suspicion of our motives and I think I am perfectly safe in asserting that in every other respect British interests will be as secure in Indian hands as they are in their own.

It follows from what I have said above that we must respectfully press for the Congress-League claim for the immediate granting to Indians of 50 per cent. of the higher posts in the Civil Service.*

THE ROWLATT BILLS AND SATYAGRAHA

• But soon there began a movement which was to tax the utmost energies of Mr. Gandhi—a movement fraught with grave consequences. The Government of India persisted in passing a piece of legislation known as the Rowlatt Laws which were designed to curb still further what little liberty is yet possessed by Indians in their own country. The legislation was presumed to be based on the Report of the Rowlatt Committee which announced the discovery of plots for the subversion of Government. Friends of Government, solicitous of the peaceful and well-ordered condition of society, warned it of the danger of passing such Acts which betrayed a tactless want of confidence and trust in the people at a time when Responsible Government was contemplated. The Bill was stoutly opposed by the public and the press. It was denounced by every political organisation worth the name. It was severely and even vehemently attacked in the Imperial Council.

* In this connection Mr. Montagu's own opinion of Mr. Gandhi, since made public by the release of his Diary, is of some interest. Mr. Montagu was greatly impressed by Mr. Gandhi's character and his beneficent activities but he held that "he is a pure visionary" and "does not understand details of schemes".

Irrespective of parties, the whole country stood solid against a measure of such iniquity. The Hon. Mr. (now the Rt. Hon.) Sastri and Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya, and in fact every one of the non-official members condemned the Bill as outrageous and forebode grave consequences if it should be passed. But Government was obstinate and the Bill was passed in the teeth of all opposition.

Mr. Gandhi, who travelled all over the country and wrote and spoke with amazing energy, was not to be easily silenced. Every other form of constitutional agitation having failed, he resorted as usual to his patent—Satyagraha. On February 28, 1919, he published a momentous pledge which he asked his countrymen to sign and observe as a covenant binding on them. The pledge ran as follows :—

Being conscientiously of opinion that the Bill 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 principle 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 further affirm that in this struggle we will faithfully follow truth and refrain from violence to life, person or property.

He then started on an extensive tour through the country educating the learned and the unlearned in the principles and practice of Satyagraha. At Bombay, Allahabad, Madras, Tanjore, Trichy, Tuticorin and Negapatam, he addressed large gatherings in March. Sunday, the 6th April, was appointed the Satyagraha day when complete *hartal* was to be observed, prayers offered and the vow to be taken amidst great demonstrations. Delhi observed the Satyagraha day on the 30th, and there

ensued a scuffle between the people and the police. It was alleged against the Delhi people at the Railway Station

(1) that some of them were trying to coerce sweetmeat sellers into closing their stalls; (2) that some were forcibly preventing people from plying tram-cars and other vehicles; (3) that some of them threw brick-bats; (4) that the whole crowd that marched to the Station demanded the release of men who were said to be coercers and who were for that reason arrested at the instance of the Railway authorities; (5) that the crowd declined to disperse when the Magistrate gave orders to disperse.

Swami Shraddhananda (the well-known Mahatma Munshi Ram of the Gurukula, who had taken the Orders of the Sannyasi) denied the first three allegations. Granting they were all true there was no need, argued Mr. Gandhi, for the interference of the military who were called on to fire on the unarmed mob. But the crowd was completely self-possessed, and though there was some loss of life, it spoke volumes in praise of the Delhi people that they conducted a meeting of 40,000 in perfect peace and order. But the Delhi tragedy had burnt itself into the soul of Mr. Gandhi and his friends. "The incident," he said, "imposed an added responsibility upon Satyagrahis of steeling their hearts and going on with their struggle until the Rowlatt Legislation was withdrawn." The whole country answered Mr. Gandhi's call in a way that was at once significant and impressive. Tens and hundreds of thousands gathered in different cities, and never within living memory have such demonstrations been witnessed.

In the meanwhile, the Satyagraha Committees in different centres of India were actively carrying on their propaganda. The Central Committee, of which Mr. Gandhi was the president, advised that for the time being laws regarding prohibited literature and registration of newspapers might be civilly disobeyed. Accordingly on the 7th April, Mr. Gandhi issued a notice to organise, regulate and control

the sale of these publications. A leaflet called *Satyagrahi* was at once brought out as also some early writing of Mr. Gandhi's which was pronounced to be seditious. The first print stated among other things :

The editor is liable at any moment to be arrested, and it is impossible to ensure the continuity of publication until India is in a happy position of supplying editors enough to take the place of those who are arrested. It is not our intention to break for all time the laws governing the publication of newspapers. This paper will, therefore, exist so long only as the Rowlatt Legislation is not withdrawn.

Meanwhile, as contemplated by Mr. Gandhi, he was arrested at Kosi on his way to Delhi on the morning of the 10th April and served with an order not to enter the Punjab and the district of Delhi. The officer serving the order treated him most politely, assuring him that it would be his most painful duty to arrest him, if he elected to disobey, but that there would be no ill-will between them. Mr. Gandhi smilingly said that he must elect to disobey as it was his duty, and that the officer ought also to do what was his duty. Mr. Gandhi then dictated a message to Mr. Desai, his secretary, laying special emphasis in his oral message that none should resent his arrest or do anything tainted with untruth or violence which was sure to harm the sacred cause.

Mr. Gandhi arrived in Bombay on the afternoon of the 11th April, having been prevented from entering the Provinces of the Punjab and Delhi. An order was soon after served on him requiring him to confine his activities within the limits of the Bombay Presidency. Having heard of the riots and the consequent bloodshed in different places, he caused the following message to be read at all the meetings that evening :—

I have not been able to understand the cause of so much excitement and disturbance that followed my detention. It is not

Satyagraha. It is worse than *duragraha*. Those who join *Satyagraha* demonstrations are bound one and all to refrain at all hazard from violence, not to throw stones or in any way whatever injure anybody.

I therefore suggest that if we cannot conduct this movement without the slightest violence from our side, the movement might have to be abandoned or it may be necessary to give it a different and still more restricted shape. It may be necessary to go even further. The time may come for me to offer *Satyagraha* against ourselves. I would not deem it a disgrace that we die. I shall be pained to hear of the death of a *Satyagrahi*, but I shall consider it to be the proper sacrifice given for the sake of the struggle.

I do not see what penance I can offer excepting that it is for me to fast and if need be by so doing to give up this body and thus prove the truth of *Satyagraha*. I appeal to you to peacefully disperse and to refrain from acts that may in any way bring disgrace up in the people of Bombay.

But the *duragraha* of the few upset the calculations of Mr. Gandhi, as he had so constantly been warned by many of his friends and admirers who could not however subscribe to his faith in civil disobedience. The story of the tragedy needs no repeating. It is written on the tablet of time with bitter memories, and the embers of that controversy have not yet subsided. But Mr. Gandhi, with a delicacy of conscience and a fine appreciation of truth, which we have learnt to associate with his name as with that of Newman, felt for the wrongs done to Englishmen with the same passionate intensity with which he felt for those inflicted on his own countrymen. Few words of remorse in recorded literature are more touching than those uttered by Mr. Gandhi in his speech at Ahmedabad on the 14th April, 1919. They are in the supreme manner of Cardinal Newman's *Apologia pro vita sua* :

Brothers, the events that have happened in the course of the last few days have been most disgraceful to Ahmedabad, and as all these things have happened in my name, I am ashamed of them, and those who have been responsible for them have thereby not honoured me but disgraced me. A rapier run through my body could hardly have pained me more. I have said times without number that *Satyagraha* admits of no violence, no pillage, no

incendiarism; and still in the name of Satyagraha we burnt down buildings, forcibly captured weapons, extorted money, stopped trains, cut off telegraph wires, killed innocent people and plundered shops and private houses. If deeds such as these could save me from the prison house or the scaffold I should not like to be so saved.

It is open to anybody to say that but for the Satyagraha campaign, there would not have been this violence. For this I have already done a penance, to my mind an unendurable one, namely, that I have had to postpone my visit to Delhi to seek arrest, and I have also been obliged to suggest a temporary restriction of Satyagraha to a limited field. This has been more painful to me than a wound, but this penance is not enough, and I have therefore decided to fast for three days, *i.e.*, 72 hours. I hope my fast will pain no one, I believe a seventy-two hours' fast is easier for me than a twenty-four hours' fast for you. And I have imposed on me a discipline which I can bear.

In consequence of the violence, he ordered a general suspension of the movement on the 18th April, only to be resumed on another occasion which was soon to follow in the heels of the Punjab tragedy.

THE PUNJAB DISORDERS

Before passing to a consideration of the Khilafat question and Mr. Gandhi's lead which made it such a potent and All-India agitation, we must say a word on the aftermath of the Punjab tragedy. It is unnecessary to recount the extraordinary happenings in the Punjab as time and vigilant enquiries have laid bare the unscrupulous methods of that Government. For over a year, the tale of the Punjab atrocities, the shooting down of a defenceless and unarmed gathering of some 2,000 men, women and children in cold blood at the Jallianwallah Bagh, the monstrous methods of martial law administered by Col. Johnson and Bosworth Smith, the outrageous indignities to which the poor people of the place were subjected, the callous disregard of life and respect with which Sir Michael O'Dwyer and Brigadier Dyer were inflicting some of the worst features of Prussianism on a helpless people—the crawling order and the

public flogging—these have been the theme of countless articles and speeches. The Punjab revelations have shocked the conscience of the civilized world which could scarcely believe that such frightful acts of brutality could be possible in the British Government till the Hunter Commission confirmed their worst apprehensions.

But it was long before the Government could be forced to appoint a Commission of Inquiry. And at last only a Committee was appointed while all India was anxious for a Royal Commission. It was, therefore, decided to proceed with an independent enquiry. Mr. Gandhi headed the Congress Sub-Committee and carried out a most searching and thorough investigation. It was a pity he could not lead the Congress evidence before the Hunter Committee, owing to differences between the two Committees in regard to the freedom of certain witnesses then under confinement. Suffice it to say that the Congress Committee decided not to give evidence, or in any way participate with the Hunter Committee.

But under the able and indefatigable guidance of Mr. Gandhi, the Congress Committee collected a great mass of material for judging the Punjab disorders. They examined over 1,700 witnesses and recorded the evidence of no less than 650. Mr. Gandhi's participation in the Committee was itself a guarantee to its merit as an authoritative and responsible body. In fact no name could carry more weight than Mr. Gandhi's in the matter of veracity in such an undertaking—an undertaking likely to prejudice and warp the judgment of many. When in April 1920 the Report was published it was hailed everywhere as an unanswerable document—the result of patient industry and dispassionate judgment on a most brutal and savage episode in recent history.

Soon after, the Hunter Report, which was for many months in the hands of the Cabinet, was also issued, accompanied by a despatch by the Secretary of State. The Report duly recorded many of the facts published already in the Congress Report, laid stress on the evils of Satyagraha, condoned the bloody exploits of Gen. Dyer as "an error of judgment" (a diplomatic euphemism for the slaughter of the innocents) and vindicated the statesmanship of Sir Michael O'Dwyer! The force of perversion could no further go! Mr. Montagu, however, passionately denounced Gen. Dyer's savagery as inconsistent with the principles of British Government, but curiously enough paid a tribute to Sir Michael's sagacity and firmness and the Viceroy's policy of masterly inactivity! This was 'bad enough from the Indian point of view. But there sprang up a wild scream from the Anglo-Indian Press, and Mem Sabes in search of sensation and notoriety discovered in Gen. Dyer the saviour of British India. The *Pioneer* and other prints followed the lead of the London *Morning Post* and appealed for funds towards a memorial to this gallant soldier who shot men like rabbits, while a section of the Indian Press urged that "Chelmsford must go". Then followed the debate in the House of Commons which was looked forward to with some excitement. The House ultimately retained its honour in the debate and though Mr. Montagu, Mr. Asquith, and Mr. Churchill, spoke with a profound sense of justice and carried the day, there was no doubt of the mentality of the average Englishmen. But it was left to the House of Peers to betray the utter demoralisation that had set in. Lord Finlay's motion condoning Gen. Dyer was passed in spite of the masterly speeches of Lord Curzon and Lord Sinha. Though the noble Lords' action could have no constitutional value it

was yet an index to the depth of English ignorance and prejudice. Above all, some officers who had misbehaved in the late tragedy still continued to exercise authority in the Punjab and the late Mr. Lajpat Rai started a propaganda to boycott the New Councils so long as they were not dispensed with. Mr. Gandhi who had already made up his mind to offer Satyagraha in varying forms in connection with the Khilafat question readily joined Lalaji and issued the following note to that effect in July 1920 :

Needless to say, I am in entire accord with Lala Lajpat Rai on the question of a boycott of the Reformed Councils. For me it is but one step in the campaign of Non-Co-operation, as I feel equally keenly on the Punjab question as on the Khilafat. Lala Lajpat Rai's suggestion is doubly welcome. I have seen a suggestion made in more quarters than one that Non-Co-operation with the Reforms should commence after the process of election has been gone through. I cannot help saying that it is a mistake to go through the election farce and the expense of it, when we clearly do not intend to take part in the proceedings of these Legislative Councils. Moreover, a great deal of educative work has to be done among the people, and if I could I would not have the best attention of the country frittered away in electioneering. The populace will not understand the beauty of Non-Co-operation, if we seek election and then resign; but it would be a fine education for them. If electors are taught not to elect anybody and unanimously to tell whosoever may be seeking their suffrage that he would not represent them if he sought election so long as the Punjab and Khilafat questions were not satisfactorily settled. I hope, however, that Lala Lajpat Rai does not mean to end with the boycott of the Reformed Councils. We must take, if necessary, every one of the four stages of Non-Co-operation if we are to be regarded as a self-respecting nation. The issue is clear. Both the Khilafat terms and the Punjab affairs show that Indian opinion counts for little in the Councils of the Empire. It is a humiliating position. We shall make nothing of the Reforms if we quietly swallow the humiliation. In my humble opinion, therefore, the first condition of real progress is the removal of these two difficulties in our path, and, unless some better course of action is devised, Non-Co-operation must hold the field.

THE KHILAFAT QUESTION

We have referred more than once to Mr. Gandhi's connection with the Khilafat question. The country was in the throes of a tremendous agitation—an agitation which

gained enormously in its intensity and popular appeal by the mere fact of Mr. Gandhi's participation in it. It would take us far afield to discuss the whole question of the history of the Khilafat movement. Briefly put, it resolves itself into two primary factors. The first was the then Premier's pledge and promise, that after the War nothing would be done to disturb the integrity of the Ottoman Empire both as a concession to Muslim loyalty and in accordance with the principles of self-determination. The second was that the violation of imperial obligation was thoroughly immoral and should at all costs be resisted by all self-respecting Mahomedans. In this gigantic enterprise Hindus must help Mahomedans and join hands with them as a token of neighbourly regard. This, at any rate, was the interpretation put upon the Khilafat question by Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Gandhi would not stop to consider that the Government of India could possibly have no voice in the determination of an international negotiation. He knew that the Government of India had represented the Indian feeling with some warmth and that Mr. Montagu and Lord Sinha had done their best to voice the claims of India at the Peace Table. But he held that the Government of India had not done all in their power and when the terms of Treaty with Turkey were published with a lengthy note from the Government of India to soothe the injured sentiment of the Muslim people, Mr. Gandhi wrote a remarkably frank letter to H. E. Lord Chelmsford on June 14, 1920, setting forth his reasons for resorting to Non-Co-operation.

The Peace terms and Your Excellency's defence of them have given the Mussalmans of India a shock from which it will be difficult for them to recover. The terms violate Ministerial pledges and utterly disregard the Mussalman sentiment. I consider that as a staunch Hindu, wishing to live on terms of the closest friendship with my Mussalman countrymen, I should be an unworthy son of

India if I did not stand by them in their hour of trial. In my humble opinion their cause is just. They claim that Turkey must not be punished if their sentiment is to be respected. Muslim soldiers did not fight to inflict punishment on their own Khalifa or to deprive him of his territories. The Mussalman attitude has been consistent throughout these five years. My duty to the Empire to which I owe my loyalty, requires me to resist the cruel violence that had been done to Mussalman sentiment. So far as I am aware the Mussalmans and Hindus have, as a whole, lost faith in British justice and honour.

The report of the majority of the Hunter Committee, Your Excellency's despatch thereon, and Mr. Montagu's reply have only aggravated the distrust. In these circumstances the only course open to one like me is either in despair to sever all connection with British Rule or if I still retained the faith in the inherent superiority of the British Constitution to all others at present in vogue, to adopt such means as will rectify the wrong done and thus restore that confidence.

Non-Co-operation was the only dignified and constitutional form of such direct action. For it is a right recognised from times immemorial of the subjects to refuse to assist the ruler who misrules. At the same time I admit Non-Co-operation practised by the mass of people is attended with grave risks. But in a crisis such as has overtaken the Mussalmans of India, no step that is unattended with large risks can possibly bring about the desired change. Not to run some risks will be to count much greater risks if not the virtual destruction of law and order; but there is yet an escape from Non-Co-operation. The Mussalman representation has requested Your Excellency to lead the agitation yourself as did your distinguished predecessor at the time of the South African trouble, but if you cannot see your way to do so and Non-Co-operation becomes the dire necessity, I hope Your Excellency will give those who have accepted my advice and myself credit for being actuated by nothing less than a stern sense of duty.

THE NON-CO-OPERATION PROGRAMME

And what was the Non-Co-operation programme that Mr. Gandhi had worked out for the adoption of the country for rectifying the wrongs done to Muslim sentiment? He enunciated the four stages in the programme of Non-Co-operation in clear and unambiguous terms. The first was the giving up of titles and honorary offices; the second was the refusal to serve Government in paid appointments or to participate in any manner in the working of the existing machinery of civil and judicial

administration. The third was to decline to pay taxes, and the last was to ask the police and the military to withdraw co-operation from the Government. From the first Mr. Gandhi realised the full scope of the movement and he had no doubt of its far-reaching effects. It cannot, therefore, be said that he started the movement in a fit of indignation. Far from it, he had worked out his programme to the farthest limits of its logic and had a clear grasp of all its implications. From time to time he set right many a misconception in the mind of the non-co-operationists, such for instance, in regard to the position of the non-co-operationist Vakil. There is no ambiguity in what Mr. Gandhi said. The Vakil should quietly wash his hands off the courts, cases and all. Mr. Gandhi took care to explain that no stage would be taken until he had made sure that he was on firm ground. That is, he would not embark on the last two stages till he had created an indigenous panchayat to dispense justice and an organization of volunteers to maintain peace and order. In any case, violence should be completely avoided.

Now it must be admitted that many people had only vague and hazy notion of Mr. Gandhi's programme. There were, of course, those who plainly told Mr. Gandhi of the impracticability of his scheme and the dangers involved in it. Many Liberal League organisations implored Mr. Gandhi not to lead the country to a repetition of the Punjab tragedy. Moderate leaders like Sir Narayan Chandavarkar argued the futility of methods leading to anarchy and chaos. But the most amusing, even at such serious times, was the attitude of some Congressmen. These were variously divided. All hailed Non-Co-operation in theory and were determined to uphold it at any cost! But when the time came for practising it, they

flooded the country with a mass of literature of the most tortuous kind. These friends and "followers" proved to be the real thorn on Mr. Gandhi's side. Aspirants after Council honours refused to commit what they called "political suicide" by boycotting the New Councils. Others affected to believe in the possibilities of further efforts of constitutional agitation. Still others detected illegalities in some stages of Non-Co-operation. And yet some would not commit themselves but await the verdict of the Special Congress. A minority would contest at the elections only to resign again and yet some others would join the New Councils just to wreck the Reforms! What a cloud of words and mystification of meaning! To all this warfare of words Mr. Gandhi's own direct and simple statements are in refreshing contrast. He spoke and wrote strongly on the subject. There could be no doubt of his intentions or his plans. There was no ambiguity in his language. His words went straight as a bullet and he had a wholesome scorn of diplomatic reserves in opinion.

Accordingly on the 1st August, as he had already announced, he led the movement by returning the *Kaiser-i-Hind* gold medal to the Viceroy. In returning it he wrote a letter to His Excellency from which we must quote the following sentences:—

Events that have happened during the past month have confirmed me in the opinion that the Imperial Government have acted in the Khilafat matter in an unscrupulous, immoral, and unjust manner and have been moving from wrong to wrong in order to defend their immorality. I can retain neither respect nor affection for such a Government. * * *

Your Excellency's light-hearted treatment of official crime, your exoneration of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, Mr. Montagu's despatch, and above all, the shameful ignorance of the Punjab events and callous disregard of the feelings of Indians betrayed by the House of Lords have filled me with the gravest misgivings regarding the future of the Empire, have estranged me completely from the present Gov-

ornment and have disabled me from rendering as I have hitherto whole-heartedly tendered, my loyal co-operation.

In my humble opinion the ordinary method of agitating by way of petitions, deputations, and the like is no remedy for moving to repentance a Government so hopelessly indifferent to the welfare of its charge as the Government of India has proved to be. In European countries condonation of such grievous wrongs as the Khilafat and the Punjab would have resulted in a bloody revolution by the people. They would have resisted, at all costs, national emasculation. Half of India is too weak to offer violent resistance and the other half is unwilling to do so. I have, therefore, ventured to suggest the remedy of Non-Co-operation, which enables those who wish to dissociate themselves from Government, and which, if it is unattended by violence and undertaken in an ordered manner, must compel it to retrace its steps and undo the wrongs committed; but whilst I pursue the policy of Non-Co-operation, in so far as I can carry the people with me, I shall not lose hope that you will yet see your way to do justice. I, thereafter, respectfully ask Your Excellency to summon a conference of recognised leaders of the people, and, in consultation with them, to find a way that will gladden Mussalmans and do reparation to the unhappy Punjab.

Soon after, Mr. Gandhi started on an extensive campaign preaching Non-Co-operation to large audiences. In August he came to Madras where he delivered a powerful speech advocating his scheme. Mr. Gandhi went to Tanjore, Trichy, Bangalore and other places and discoursed on the same subject with his accustomed energy, while his weekly *Young India* was replete with regular contributions from his indefatigable pen. Week after week *Young India* came out with a series of articles from Mr. Gandhi's pen answering objections and formulating methods of Non-Co-operation, which, whether one agreed with them or not, were undoubtedly an intellectual treat.

THE SPECIAL CONGRESS AND NON-CO-OPERATION

Mr. Gandhi's immediate objective was to convert the Special Congress to his creed. For, as we have said, though many had jubilantly proclaimed their faith in his programme, it was found that as time drew near for putting his plans into practice they were busy finding loop-

holes to escape the rigours of Mr. Gandhi's discipline. Everybody would throw everybody else into the struggle. A body of men who had sworn by Mr. Gandhi and denounced those who had the courage to differ from him were suddenly faced with an awkward dilemma. They felt the inconvenience of suffering and sacrifice and would fain be relieved of their unwitting words of bravado. But Mr. Gandhi would stand four square to all the winds that blow. Nor could they with any grace secede from the Congress, having so violently denounced as treason the Moderates' disregard of the Delhi and Amritsar Resolutions. There was to their mind only one course left open, i.e., to thwart Mr. Gandhi's resolution in the open Congress. But Mr. Gandhi had prepared the ground with characteristic thoroughness. Khilafat specials from Bombay and Madras had flooded the Congress with delegates sworn to vote for him. There was a tough fight in the Subjects Committee which sat for eight long hours without coming to any apparent decision. Over forty amendments (dear to the legal mind!) were brought in by different members, twelve of them were ruled out as mere verbal repetitions and there remained no less than 28 amendments to consider. The speeches in the Subjects Committee were remarkably frank. Messrs. Malaviya, Das, Pal, Jinnah, Baptista, all attacked the original resolution with warmth, while Dr. Besant vigorously assailed the very principle of Non-Co-operation. The debate was most exciting. The President, Mr. Lajpat Rai himself, spoke strongly against certain important provisions of the resolution. He would not agree to the withdrawal of boys from schools nor could he think it at all possible to call upon lawyers to leave their practice. He was personally in favour of the principle of Non-Co-operation but he doubted the wisdom of com-

mitting the Congress to those extravagant and far-reaching items in Mr. Gandhi's programme.

BOYCOTT OF COUNCILS

But by far the most contentious item in the Resolution was that relating to the boycott of Councils. The bulk of the Nationalists were strangely enough opposed to it and by a curious stretch of logic they considered obstruction in the Council as preferable to wholesale boycott.

Mr. C. R. Das, who was in charge of the main resolution on behalf of the Reception Committee, agreed to Mr. Bopin Chandra Pal's amendment of his resolution, but if it was defeated, he would stand by his own. Mr. Pal's amendment was put to the vote and was lost, 155 voting for and 161 against. Then another vote was taken on Mr. Das's resolution and Mr. Gandhi's resolution as amended by Pundit Motilal Nehru and as accepted by Mr. Gandhi himself was passed. It is said that in the final voting a poll was taken, 133 voting for Mr. Das's resolution and 148 for Mr. Gandhi's thus giving a majority to Mr. Gandhi of 15 votes and thus showing that the voting was very close. It is clear that the Subjects Committee consisted of 296 members present and that 15 of whom remained neutral. The greatest excitement prevailed both inside the Committee room and outside when it was known that Mr. Gandhi won the day. Nearly two thousand people collected outside and shouted "Gandhi Mahatma Kee Jai" and "Bande Mataram".

THE NON-CO-OPERATION RESOLUTION

That gives the clue to the mentality of the Congress. If Mr. Gandhi could win in the Subjects Committee itself there was no doubt of his triumph in the open Congress. Still Mr. Das proposed to bring his amendments in the

open Congress and take the verdict. That verdict was a foregone conclusion.

The Nationalists complained (what an irony of things!) that the Khilafats had packed the house and manœuvred a majority. There is no doubt that each party strove for victory. When the Congress met the next day, Sir Asutosh Choudhuri moved for adjournment of the question in the right legal way. Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao seconded it but the motion was lost by an overwhelming majority.

Mr. Gandhi then rose to move his famous Non-Co-operation resolution amidst thunderous applause. The Resolution ran as follows :—

In view of the fact that on the Khilafat question both the Indian and Imperial Governments have signally failed in their duty towards the Mussalmans of India, and the Prime Minister has deliberately broken his pledged word given to them and that it is the duty of every non-Moslem Indian in every legitimate manner to assist his Mussalman brother in his attempt to remove the religious calamity that has overtaken him.

And in view of the fact that in the matter of the events of the April of 1919 both the said Governments have grossly neglected or failed to protect the innocent people of the Punjab and punish officers guilty of unsoldierly and barbarous behaviour towards them and have exonerated Sir Michael O'Dwyer who proved himself directly or indirectly responsible for most of the official crimes and callous to the sufferings of the people placed under his administration, and that the Debate in the House of Commons and specially in the House of Lords betrayed a woeful lack of sympathy with the people of India and showed virtual support of the systematic terrorism and frightfulness adopted in the Punjab and that the latest Viceroyal pronouncement is proof of entire absence of repentance in the matters of the Khilafat and the Punjab :

This Congress is of opinion that there can be no contentment in India without redress of the two aforementioned wrongs and that the only effectual means to vindicate national honour and to prevent a repetition of similar wrongs in future is the establishment of Swarajya. This Congress is further of opinion that there is no course left open for the people of India but to approve of and adopt the policy of progressive non-violent Non-Co-operation until the said wrongs are righted and Swarajya is established.

And inasmuch as a beginning should be made by the classes who have hitherto moulded, and represented public opinion and

inasmuch as Government consolidates its power through titles and honours bestowed on the people, through schools controlled by it, its law courts and its legislative councils, and inasmuch as it is desirable in the prosecution of the movement to take the minimum risk and to call for the least sacrifice compatible with the attainment of the desired object, the Congress earnestly advises :

(a) surrender of titles and honorary offices and resignation from nominated seats in local bodies.

(b) refusal to attend Government levees, durbars, and other official and semi-official functions held by Government officials or in their honour;

(c) gradual withdrawal of children from schools and colleges owned, aided, or controlled by Government and in place of such schools and colleges, establishment of national schools and colleges in the various provinces;

(d) gradual boycott of British courts by lawyers and litigants, and establishment of private arbitration courts by their aid for the settlement of private disputes;

(e) refusal on the part of military, clerical and labouring classes to offer themselves as recruits for service in Mesopotamia;

(f) withdrawal by candidates of their candidature for election to the Reformed Councils and refusal on the part of the voters to vote for any candidate who may despite the Congress advice, offer himself for election.—

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

In moving the resolution, Mr. Gandhi spoke with compelling fervour. "I stand before you, in fear of God," he said, "and with a sense of duty towards my country to commend this resolution to your hearty acceptance." Mr. Gandhi said that the only weapon in their hands was Non-Co-operation, and non-violence should

be their creed. Dr. Kitchlew seconded the resolution in Urdu.

Mr. Pal then placed his amendment which proposed a mission to England to present our demands and in the meanwhile to establish national schools, formulate arbitration courts and not to boycott the Councils.

Mr. Das in supporting the amendment made an appeal to Mr. Gandhi to consider the practical effect of his victory. Dr. Besant opposed both the resolution and the amendment, while Pundit Malaviya and Mr. Jinnah preferred the latter. Messrs. Yakub Hasan, Jitendra Lal Banerjee, Motilal Nehru and Rambhuj Dutt supported Mr. Gandhi whose resolution was finally carried.

The Congress re-assembled on the 9th and the whole morning was devoted to the taking of votes, province by province, for and against Mr. Gandhi's motion. Out of twelve provinces only the Central Provinces and Berar showed a majority against Mr. Gandhi's motion, while in the remaining ten provinces the majority of votes were in his favour. The President announced that out of 5,814 delegates, the registered number of delegates who took part in the voting was 2,728 while 63 did not vote. Actual voting showed that 1,855 voted for and 879 against Mr. Gandhi's motion.

THE FATEFUL DECISION

After this fateful decision it was no wonder that Congressmen who were avowedly against Non-Co-operation found themselves in a difficult predicament. They hastily called for a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee and it was resolved to find a way out of the situation.

The mandatory nature of the Congress Resolution was relaxed at the instance of Pundit Malaviya and a few others.

who thought it suicidal to let slip the benefits of the new reforms. It was, however, thought inexpedient to impair the authority of the Congress, and Congressmen like Mr. Patel in Bombay, Mr. Das in Bengal, Pundit Motilal Nehru in U. P., Messrs. Madhava Rao and Vijayaraghavachariar in Madras—though they had opposed the Resolution in the Congress—decided to abide by it, and withdrew their candidature from the forthcoming elections. Many leading Congressmen resigned their honorary offices and relinquished their titles. While several office-bearers in the Provincial Congress Committees who were opposed to the Resolution, resigned their offices so as to leave the Congress organisations free to work out Mr. Gandhi's programme.

If Mr. Gandhi's influence was so decisive at the Special Congress as to set at naught the opinions of Congressmen like C. R. Das and Bepin Chandra Pal, his authority was supreme at the Nagpur Session in December. Nagpur, in fact, witnessed the turning point in the history of the Congress, as in that year Mr. Gandhi, with an overwhelming majority, completely captured this institution and converted its leading spirits to his creed. Here it was that the old creed of the Congress was discarded for the new one of indifference to British overlordship.

With the change of creed and the wholesale adoption of the programme of Non-Co-operation the old Congress was virtually dead. The new Congress was inspired by a new hope and sustained by new methods altogether alien to the faith of men like Dadabhai and Gokhale who had guided it in its years of infancy and adolescence.

Mr. Gandhi was not slow to use his great authority over the Congress to further the movement of which he was the directing head. At his command were all the Congress and Khilafat organisations, and he set out on an

extensive tour of the country preaching the new cult with the fervour of a prophet. Everywhere he was received with ovation.

As he went from place to place accompanied by the Ali Brothers, the movement became popular among the ignorant as well as the literate. His fourfold programme of boycotting schools, cloths, councils and Government service was the theme of multitudinous discourses. But the most painful result (at any rate to those who were not of his persuasion) was the calling away of youths from schools and colleges. Many a lad, led away by the glamour of the great ideal and the irresistible appeal of a saintly leader, gave up his school education—the only education available in the country.

One peculiarity of the programme was that emphasis was laid on each item as the occasion demanded. At one time it was the boycott of schools, again it was the collection of a crore of rupees for the Swarajya Fund, a third time it was the burning of mill cloths, and yet again it was the boycott of the Duke or the good Prince. Each was in turn to bring Swarajya within the year. Thus in February the agitation centred on the boycott of the Duke of Connaught to whom Mr. Gandhi addressed a dignified if uncompromising letter.

By May the spirit of lawlessness had spread far and wide, and strikes and *hartals* became the order of the day. Mr. Gandhi, however, resolutely discountenanced all violence and he was seldom sparing in his admonition of those who took part in the incident at Malegaon and other places. Again and again, he spoke strongly against the spirit of non-violence which for a time broke out as often as he cried it in all earnestness.

INTERVIEW WITH THE NEW VICEROY

It was about this time too that Lord Chelmsford retired and his place was taken by Lord Reading, who came to India with a great reputation as jurist and diplomat. An ex-Lord Chief Justice of England and sometime British Ambassador at Washington during the fateful years of the War—the new Viceroy inspired great hopes. His reputation for justice, strengthened by his repeated assurances, and his reputation for tactful dealing of delicate questions were just the things of momentous need for India. No wonder, an air of hope and expectancy hung over the whole country.

Soon after Lord Reading arrived in India, an interview was arranged by Pundit Malaviya between the new Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi. This interview, which lasted many hours, took place at Simla in May 1921. Much speculation was rife as to its result and Mr. Gandhi explained the circumstances and the results of his talk in an article in *Young India* under the title "The Simla Visit". What was the upshot of the visit? The leader of the Non-Cooperation movement and the head of the Government of India got to know each other. It was a great thing.

But the immediate result of this was the statement issued by the Ali Brothers—a statement in which they regretted their occasional lapse into excessive language and promised to refrain from writing or speaking in any manner likely to provoke violence. This "definite result of the interview" was claimed as a victory for the Government. Others claimed that it was a victory for Mr. Gandhi who explained that it was no apology or undertaking to the Government, but a re-assertion of the principle of non-violence to which the Ali Brothers had subscribed. It was a statement to the public irrespective of what the Govern-

ment might or might not do with them. In answer to criticisms against his advice to the Brothers, Mr. Gandhi stoutly defended his action, and praised the Brothers' attitude.

Indeed Mr. Gandhi's loyalty to his colleagues and particularly his affectionate and fraternal regard for the Brothers is beautiful and touching to a degree. And when in September 1921 the Brothers were prosecuted by the Bombay Government, Mr. Gandhi with fifty others issued a public manifesto that "it is the inherent right of every one to express his opinion without restraint about the propriety of citizens offering their services to, or remaining in the employ of, the Government whether in the civil or the military department". To think of those days and Mr. Shaukat Ali's later performances is a study in contrast. Who could have imagined that the "big brother" would lead the revolt against his erstwhile leader?

THE BOMBAY RIOTS

Now to take up the thread of the story. Whatever the root-cause of the breaking out of violence and hooliganism, the landing of the Prince of Wales in Bombay on the 17th November was made the occasion of a ghastly tragedy. Mr. Gandhi had since the announcement of the Royal visit appealed to his countrymen to refrain from participating in the functions got up in honour of the Prince. Non-Co-operators all over the country had organised what are known as 'hartals', closing of shops and suspending all work, and boycotting the Prince. In Bombay such activities resulted in a great riot in which all parties suffered owing to the hooliganism of the mischievous elements in the mob who violated Mr. Gandhi's injunctions to be non-violent and brought about a terrible riot. Mr. Gandhi was then in Bombay and after witnessing the

scene of the tragedy, wrote some of the most stirring letters which, coupled with the exertions of men of all parties, restored peace in the city.

As a penance for this ghastly tragedy, he pledged himself to fast till complete peace was restored. Strangely enough, the situation was well in hand in a couple of days and on the fourth day in breaking the fast in the midst of a gathering of Co-operators, Non-Co-operators, Hindus, Mussulmans, Parsis and Christians, Mr. Gandhi made a thrilling statement.

Warned by the disasters at Bombay and the Moplah rebellion which was still going on in Malabar, it was expected that Mr. Gandhi would reconsider his position and stop short of the extreme step in Non-Co-operation. But that was not to be. The Congress had by this time become an organ for registering his decrees. And the Committee met frequently to devise methods in pursuance of Non-Co-operation. Thundering resolutions, alternating with hopes and warnings, came in quick succession. Province after Province vied with one another for the exciting novelty of Civil Disobedience.

Though the author of the Civil Disobedience movement in India, Mr. Gandhi was always alive to its dangers. He therefore insisted that his conditions should be fulfilled *in toto* before any taluka could embark on the campaign. And those conditions were very rigorous indeed.

THE CALCUTTA HARTAL

Meanwhile the hartal organised by Non-Co-operators in connection with the Prince's visit was more or less successful in many places. It was alleged that by intimidation and otherwise, the hartal in Calcutta on the day of the Prince's landing in Bombay was phenomenally

complete. The Bengal Chamber of Commerce and the Anglo-Indian Press took an alarmist view of the situation and expressed grave indignation against the passivity of the Government. With a view to suppress the activity of the Congress in this direction Government resuscitated Part II of the Criminal Law Amendment Act which was then literally under a sentence of death. When volunteering was declared unlawful, Congress leaders took up the challenge and called on the people to disobey the order and seek imprisonment in their thousands. Men like Messrs. C. R. Das in Calcutta, and Motilal Nehru in Allahabad, openly defied the order and canvassed volunteers in total disregard of legal consequences. They sought imprisonment and called on their countrymen to follow them to prison. The situation was grave. It was then that Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Sir P. C. Ray and others thought that the time had come when they should step into the breach and try to bring about a reconciliation between Government and Non-Co-operators. With this view, Pundit Madan Mohan and others interviewed leading Non-Co-operators and those in authority. Lord Ronaldshay, in his speech at the Legislative Council, referred to the gravity of the situation and defined the firm attitude of Government.

The Viceroy who had invited the Prince was naturally very indignant at the strange form of "reception" that awaited the innocent scion of the Royal House. Could anything be done at all towards a *rapprochement*.

THE DEPUTATION TO THE VICEROY

A Deputation headed by Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya waited on His Excellency the Viceroy at Calcutta on December 21 and requested him to call a Round Table Conference of representatives of people of all shades of

opinion with a view to bring about a settlement. Lord Reading replied at some length and defined the attitude of the Government. He regretted that "it is impossible even to consider the convening of a conference if agitation in open and avowed defiance of law is meanwhile to be continued". Mr. Gandhi's refusal to call off the harts in connection with H. R. H. the Prince of Wales' visit to Calcutta on December 24, apparently stiffened the attitude of the Government. Interviewed by the Associated Press, Mr. Gandhi made the following statement regarding the Viceroy's reply to the Deputation :—

I repeat for the thousandth time that it is not hostile to any nation or any body of men, but it is deliberately aimed at the system under which the Government of India is being to-day conducted, and I promise that no threats and no enforcement of threats by the Viceroy or any body of men will strangle that agitation or send to rest that awakening.

THE AHMEDABAD CONGRESS

Meanwhile the Annual Session of the Congress met at Ahmedabad, the headquarters of Mr. Gandhi. It was virtually a Gandhi Session. The President-elect, Mr. C. R. Das, was in prison and so were many other leaders besides. Hakim Ajmal Khan was elected to take the chair and the proceedings were all in Hindi and Gujarati. Mr. Gandhi was invested with full dictatorial powers by the Congress.

There were yet some in the Congress who went a step further than Mr. Gandhi himself. Moulana Hazrat Mohani stood out for complete independence and it is interesting to note how valiantly Mr. Gandhi fought then against the motion of absolute severance from Britain. Mr. Gandhi opposed all his amendments and pinned the Congress down to his own resolution. Soon after the session, some of the Provincial organisations were busy preparing for a no-tax

campaign. In U. P., Guzarat, the Andhra and in the Punjab, the movement threatened to assume a serious turn. Mr. Gandhi himself, while insisting that his conditions should be fulfilled before any taluka should embark on an offensive campaign, threw the onus of responsibility on the Province itself—Provincial autonomy with a vengeance! But then there were hopes of peace in the air.

THE BOMBAY CONFERENCE

A conference of representatives of various shades of political opinion convened by Pandit Malaviya, Mr. Jinnah and others, assembled at Bombay on the 14th January, 1922, with Sir C. Sankaran Nair in the chair. On the second day, Sir Sankaran withdrew and Sir M. Visweswaraya took his place. Over two hundred leading men from different provinces attended. Mr. Gandhi was present throughout and though he refused to be officially connected—an attitude resented by many—with the resolutions, he took part in the debates and helped the conference in framing the resolutions which were also ratified by the Congress Working Committee.

THE ULTIMATUM

While negotiations were going on between the representatives of the Malaviya Conference and H. E. the Viceroy, Mr. Gandhi addressed an open letter to Lord Reading. The letter was in effect an ultimatum holding out the threat of an immediate inauguration of civil disobedience in Bardoli. In that letter Mr. Gandhi charged the Government of many crimes and misdemeanours and frankly and boldly held forth :—

Repression of a virulent type has taken place with the concurrence of the Government of India, in Bengal, Assam, the United Provinces, the Punjab, the Province of Delhi and in a way in Bihar and Orissa and elsewhere. I know that you have objected to the use of the word "repression" for describing the action of the

authorities in these Provinces. In my opinion, when an action is taken which is in excess of the requirements of the situation, it is undoubtedly repression. The looting of property, assaults on innocent people, brutal treatment of the prisoners in jails, including flogging, can in no sense be described as legal, civilized or in any way necessary. This official lawlessness cannot be described by any other term but lawless repression.

Intimidation by Non-Co-operators or their sympathisers to a certain extent in connection with hartals and picketing may be admitted, but in no case can it be held to justify the wholesale suppression of peaceful volunteering or equally peaceful public meetings under a distorted use of an extraordinary law which was passed in order to deal with activities which were manifestly violent both in intention and action, nor is it possible to designate as otherwise than repressive action taken against innocent people under what has appeared to many of us as an illegal use of the ordinary law, nor again can the administrative interference with the liberty of the Press under a law that is under promise of repeal be regarded as anything but repression.

The immediate task before the country, therefore, is to rescue from paralysis freedom of speech, freedom of association and freedom of Press.

In the present mood of the Government of India and in the present unprepared state of the country in respect of complete control of the forces of violence, Non-Co-operators were unwilling to have anything to do with the Malaviya Conference whose object was to induce Your Excellency to convene a Round Table Conference. But as I was anxious to avoid all avoidable suffering, I had no hesitation in advising the Working Committee of the Congress to accept the recommendations of that Conference.

Although, in my opinion, the terms were quite in keeping with your own requirements as I understood them through your Calcutta speech and otherwise, you have summarily rejected the proposal.

In the circumstances, there is nothing before the country but to adopt some non-violent method for the enforcement of its demands; including the elementary rights of free speech, free association and free Press. In my humble opinion, the recent events are a clear departure from the civilized policy laid down by Your Excellency at the time of the generous, manly and unconditional apology of the Ali Brothers, viz., that the Government of India should not interfere with the activities of Non-Co-operators so long as they remained non-violent in word and deed. Had the Government policy remained neutral and allowed public opinion to ripen and have its full effect, it would have been possible to advise postponement of the adoption of Civil Disobedience of an aggressive type till the Congress had acquired fuller control over the forces of violence in the country and enforced greater discipline

among the millions of its adherents. But the lawless repression (in a way unparalleled in the history of this unfortunate country) has made immediate adoption of mass Civil Disobedience an imperative duty. The Working Committee of the Congress has restricted it only to certain areas to be selected by me from time to time and at present it is confined only to Bardoli. I may under said authority give my consent at once in respect of a group of 100 villages in Gunjur in the Madras Presidency, provided they can strictly conform to the conditions of non-violence, unity among different classes, the adoption and manufacture of hand-spun Khaddar and untouchability.

But before the people of Bardoli actually commence mass Civil Disobedience, I would respectfully urge you as the head of the Government of India finally to revise your policy and so free all the Non-Co-operating prisoners who are convicted or under trial for non-violent activities and declare in clear terms the policy of absolute non-interference with all non-violent activities in the country whether they be regarding the redress of the Khilafat or the Punjab wrongs or Swaraj or any other purpose and even though they fall within the repressive sections of the Penal Code or the Criminal Procedure Code or other repressive laws, subject always to the condition of non-violence. I would further urge you to free the Press from all administrative control and restore all the fines and forfeitures recently imposed. In thus urging I am asking Your Excellency to do what is to-day being done in every country which is deemed to be under civilised Government. If you can see your way to make the necessary declaration within seven days of the date of publication of this manifesto I shall be prepared to advise postponement of Civil Disobedience of an aggressive character till the imprisoned workers have after their discharge reviewed the whole situation and considered the position *de novo*. If the Government make the requested declaration, I shall regard it as an honest desire on its part to give effect to public opinion and shall, therefore, have no hesitation in advising the country to be engaged in further moulding the public opinion without violent restraint from either side and trust to its working to secure the fulfilment of its unalterable demands. Aggressive Civil Disobedience in that case will be taken up only when the Government departs from its policy of strictest neutrality or refuse to yield to the clearly expressed opinion of the vast majority of the people of India.

The Government of India in a *Communiqué* published on the 6th February in reply to Mr. Gandhi's letter, repudiated his assertion and urged that the issue before the country was no longer between this or that programme of political advance, but between lawlessness with all its consequence on the one hand, and on the other, the

maintenance of those principles which lie at the root of all civilised Governments. Mr. Gandhi in a further rejoinder issued on the very next day pointed out that the choice before the people was mass Civil Disobedience with all its undoubted dangers and lawless repression of the lawful activities of the people.

Mr. Gandhi then gave a comprehensive account of Government's lawlessness and barbarities with the following facts:—

(1) Official shooting at Entally in Calcutta and the callous treatment even of a corpse. (2) The admitted brutality of the civil guards. (3) The forcible dispersal of a meeting at Dacca and the dragging of innocent men by their legs although they had given no offence or cause whatsoever. (4) Similar treatment of volunteers in Aligarh. (5) The conclusive (in my opinion) findings of the Committee presided over by Dr. Gokhul Chaud about the brutal and uncalled for assaults upon volunteers and the public in Lahore. (6) The wicked and inhuman treatment of volunteers and the public at Jullundur. (7) The shooting of a boy at Dehra Dun and the cruelly forcible dispersal of a public meeting of that place. (8) The looting admitted by the Bihar Government of villages by an officer and his company without any permission whatsoever, from any one, but, as stated by Non-Co-operators at the invitation of a planter, assaults upon volunteers and the burning of Khaddar and papers belonging to the Congress at Sonapur. (9) The midnight searches and arrests in the Congress and Khilafat offices.

I have merely given a sample of the many infallible proofs of official lawlessness and barbarism. I have mentioned not even a tithe of what is happening all over the country. I wish to state, without fear of successful contradiction, that the scale on which this lawlessness had gone on in so many provinces of India puts into shade the inhumanities that were practised in the Punjab, if we accept the crawling order and the massacre at Jallianwallabagh. It is my certain conviction that the massacre at Jallianwallabagh was a clean transaction compared to the unclean transactions described above, and the pity of it is that, because people are not shot or butchered, the tortures through which hundreds of inoffensive men have gone through do not produce a sufficient effect to turn everybody's face against this Government.

And he wound up with the following challenge:

I venture to claim extreme reasonableness and moderation for the above presentation of the case. The alternative before the people, therefore, is not, as the *communiqué* concludes, between "lawlessness with all its disastrous consequences on the one hand

and on the other the maintenance of those principles which lie at the root of all civilised Governments". Mass Civil Disobedience, it adds, is fraught with such danger to the State that it must be met with "sternness and severity". The choice before the people is mass civil disobedience with all its undoubted dangers and lawless repression of the lawful activities of the people. I hold that it is impossible for anybody of self-respecting men for fear of unknown dangers to sit still and do nothing effective when looting of property and assaulting of innocent men are going on all over the country in the name of law and order.

THE CHAURI CHAURA TRAGEDY

While Mr. Gandhi was about to inaugurate mass Civil Disobedience in Bardoli, there occurred a terrible tragedy at Chauri Chaura on the 14th February, when an infuriated mob, including some volunteers also, attacked the *thana*, burnt down the building and beat to death no less than twenty-two policemen. Some constables and chawkedars were literally burnt to death and the whole place was under mobocracy. Mr. Gandhi took this occurrence as a third warning from God to suspend civil disobedience, and the Bardoli programme was accordingly given up. On the 11th the Working Committee met at Bardoli and resolved to suspend all offensive action including even picketing and processions. The country was to confine itself to the constructive programme of Khaddar manufacture. The Working Committee advised the stoppage of all activities designed to court imprisonment.

The suspension of mass civil disobedience in Bardoli, which was recommended by the Working Committee, at the instance of Mr. Gandhi, was resented by some of his colleagues and followers. In reply to correspondents who attacked him, he wrote as follows in *Young India* of February 23:

I feel still more confident of the correctness of the decision of the Working Committee, but if it is found that the country repudiates my action I shall not mind it. I can but do my duty.

The All-India Congress Committee met on the 25th at Delhi to consider the Bardoli decisions, and though the latter were endorsed it was not done without some important modifications, to feed the growing demand for aggressive action on the part of the extreme Non-Co-operators. From subsequent events it was fairly certain that the Delhi resolutions confirmed the Government's resolve to prosecute Mr. Gandhi, a resolve which was held in abeyance after the Bardoli programme was made known.

GANDHI'S ARREST

For months past the rumour of Mr. Gandhi's impending arrest was in the air. Expecting the inevitable, Mr. Gandhi had more than once written his final message. But in the first week of March the rumour became more wide-spread and intense. The stiffening of public opinion in England and Mr. Montagu's threatening speech in defence of his Indian policy in the Commons, revealed the fact that the Secretary of State had already sanctioned Mr. Gandhi's prosecution. Chauri Chaura and the Delhi decision were presumably the immediate cause of Government's action on Gandhi. Realising that his arrest would not long be deferred, Gandhi wrote a farewell message in *Young India* calling on his countrymen to continue the work of the Congress undeterred by fear, to prosecute the Khaddar programme, to promote Hindu-Muslim unity and desist from violence at any cost.

Meanwhile he was arrested at the Satyagraha Ashram, Ahmedabad, on Friday, the 10th March. On the 11th noon, Messrs. Gandhi and Saukarlal Banker, the publisher, were placed before Mr. Brown, Assistant Magistrate, the Court being held in the Divisional Commissioner's Office at Sahibah. The Superintendent of Police, Ahmedabad, the first witness, produced the Bombay Government's authority

to lodge a complaint for four articles published in *Young India*, dated the 15th June, 1921, entitled "Disaffection a Virtue" dated 20th September, "Tampering with Loyalty" dated the 15th December, "The Puzzle and Its Solution" and "Shaking the Manes" dated the 23rd February, 1922. Two formal police witnesses were then produced. The accused declined to cross examine the witnesses. Mr. Gandhi, who described himself as farmer and weaver by profession, residing at Satyagraha Ashram, Sabarmati, said:

I simply wish to state that when the proper time comes I shall plead guilty so far as disaffection towards the Government is concerned. It is quite true that I am the editor of *Young India* and that the articles read in my presence were written by me and the proprietors and publishers had permitted me to control the whole policy of the paper.

The case then having been committed to the Sessions, Mr. Gandhi was taken to the Sabarmati Jail where he was detained till the hearing, which was to come off on March 18. From his prison, Mr. Gandhi wrote a number of inspiring letters to his friends and colleagues urging the continuance of the Congress work.

THE GREAT TRIAL

At last the trial came off on Saturday the 18th March before Mr. C. N. Broomfield, I.C.S., District and Sessions Judge, Ahmedabad. Of the trial itself it is needless to write at length. For it will be long before the present generation could forget the spell of it. It was historic in many ways. Men's minds involuntarily turned to another great trial nineteen hundred years ago when Jesus stood before Pontius Pilate. Mr. Gandhi's statement (50th the oral and the written statements) was in its best form, terse and lucid, courageous and uncompromising, with just that touch of greatness which elevates it to the level of a masterpiece. Never before was such a prisoner arraigned before

a British Court of Justice. Never before were the laws of an all-powerful Government so defiantly, yet with such humility, challenged. Men of all shades of political opinion, indeed all who had stood aloof from the movement and had condemned it in no uncertain terms, marvelled at the wisdom and compassion and heroism of the thin spare figure in a loin cloth thundering his anathemas against the "Satanic" system. And yet none could be gentler nor more sweet-tempered than the prisoner at the bar with a smile and a nod of thanks and recognition for every one, including his prosecutors. An eye-witness has given an account of the scene and we cannot do better than quote his words:—

Mahatmajī stood up and spoke a few words complimenting the Advocate-General on his fairness and endorsing every statement he made regarding the charges. "I wish to endorse all the blame that the Advocate-General has thrown on my shoulders," said Mahatmajī in pathetic earnestness, "and I have come to the conclusion that it is impossible for me to dissociate myself from the diabolical crimes of Chauri Chaura or the mad outrages of Bombay". These words of confession seemed to penetrate every heart throbbing in that hall and make those present there feel miserable over the mad deeds of their thoughtless countrymen. The speech finished, the Mahatmajī sat down to read his immortal statement.

* * * This historic production was the master's own. The ennobling confessions, the convincing logic, the masterly diction, the elevated thoughts and the inspiring tone—all produced instantaneous effect on the audience including the Judge and the prosecutor. For a minute everybody wondered who was on trial—whether Mahatma Gandhi before a British Judge or whether the British Government before God and Humanity.

Mr. Gandhi was sentenced to six years' simple imprisonment.

GANDHI IN PRISON

In March 1922, Mr. Gandhi was interned in Erravada Jail which for two years was looked upon as a place of pilgrimage. Thither went hundreds of devotees if only to have a vision of the august prisoner. Every three months

or so his wife and sons or some of his friends got admission to approach Gandhi and converse with him—though in the presence of the Superintendent who seemed to have exercised a quite unnecessary vigilance. Such official vigilance was entirely out of court. For Gandhi was an ideal prisoner. He was true to his dictum: "My ideal of jail life, especially that of a civil resister," he wrote to Mr. Andrews, "is to be cut off entirely from all connection with the outside world. To be allowed a visitor is a privilege—a civil resister may neither seek nor receive a visitor." Though political friends met him in jail he was too honourable to be drawn into a talk on current politics, and rarely a word escaped his lips that might in any way be construed as a message from behind the prison bars. One remembers too well Mr. Gandhi's mild surprise as he was told of Mr. Mahomed Ali's picturesque metaphor of a wireless from Erravada!

Meanwhile, the Congress was drifting as it were without a rudder or compass. Distrust of one another and mutual recriminations among the leaders replaced the stern discipline of one man leadership whatever might have been its other defects. Non-Co-operation of the Gandhian order was being diluted with partial Co-operation and leaders were divided among themselves as to aim and methods of work. Already the canker of communalism was slowly breaking in, while the Report of the Civil Disobedience Committee threw in a new apple of discord among the politicals.

But we must go back to Gandhi. In the latter years of his prison life it was understood that he was ailing from some serious disease—never correctly diagnosed. It took a bad turn and developed into appendicitis. Luckily, the medical authorities discovered it in time and Mr. Gandhi

was removed to the Sassoon Hospital, Poona, for operation. Mr. Gandhi had a very high regard for Col. Maddock, the surgeon who conducted the operation, and the mutual regard and esteem that the two had for each other developed into an ardent friendship of which both have spoken in feeling terms. Before the operation, Mr. Gandhi very thoughtfully sent for the Rt. Hon. Sastri who was then in Poona, and other friends, and the conversations at this supreme moment were reported by Mr. Sastri in words of inimitable grace, befitting "the calmness, wisdom and magnanimity of the great leader of the Non-Co-operation movement". The operation was successful and Mr. Gandhi was slowly recovering and preparing himself for the public life that was calling him. Mr. Gandhi was a model patient. It is pleasant to recall here what Col. Maddock himself wrote to Mr. G. A. Natesan, the Editor of *THE INDIAN REVIEW*, months after he had left these shores. "Whilst in hospital," wrote the great surgeon, "Gandhi endeared himself to all those who came into contact with him, on account of his unfailing courtesy and patience, his wonderful cheerfulness, thoughtfulness for others, and complete forgetfulness of himself." Well, the same greatness and elevation of character throughout.

THE RELEASE AND AFTER

As he was convalescing, the first public message came in the form of a letter to Mr. Mahomed Ali, the President of the Congress. In this letter (dated 7th February, 1924), Mr. Gandhi after thanking the doctors and nurses for their care and attention, and acknowledging numerous telegrams and messages of greeting, pointed out that release brought him no joy and that he was overwhelmed with the sense of responsibility; he deplored the tension between Hindus and Muslims in his absence and appealed for a union of all

ranks in the service of the country. He finally reaffirmed his faith in the principles of Non-Co-operation.

I had during the last two years ample time and solitude for hard thinking. It made me a firmer believer than ever in the efficacy of the Bardoli programme, and therefore in the unity between the races, the Charka, the removal of untouchability and the application of non-violence in thought, word and deed to our methods as indispensable for Swaraj. If we faithfully and fully carry out this programme, we need never resort to Civil Disobedience and I hope that it will never be necessary. But I must state that my thinking prayerfully and in solitude has not weakened my belief in the efficacy and righteousness of Civil Disobedience. I hold it as never before to be a man's or nation's right and duty when its vital being is in jeopardy. I am convinced that it is attended with less danger than war and whilst the former when successful benefits both the resister and the wrong-doer, the latter harms both the victor and the vanquished.

• Mr. Gandhi did not express any opinion on the question of Council entry until "he had the opportunity of discussing the question with our illustrious countrymen who have felt called upon in the interests of the country to advise the removal of the boycott of legislative bodies".

That opportunity was soon afforded at Juhu where came as to a shrine Congressmen of all shades of opinion. C. R. Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru were there too with their schemes of Non-Co-operation from inside the Council and then the orthodox non-co-operators who swore by the Bardoli programme. It was no light thing for a leader in convalescence to decide. His own faith in the original programme was unabated: but the forcing of his views at once would be futile besides dividing the ranks irrevocably. Neither would he compromise his own position, and so he came to an understanding with his Swarajist friends, giving them freedom of action while he himself held a different opinion. This position, of course, led to further trouble with the no-changers while the Swarajists, as the Elections were approaching, demanded a

definite declaration of the Congress in their favour. And so came the agreement of November signed by Gandhi, Das, and Nehru permitting those who cared to enter the Councils while compelling all to swear by Khaddar and the constructive programme. Thus was the Swarajist party given official sanction to work for elections on behalf of the Congress. In successive sessions of the All-India Congress Committee and the Congress, Congressmen were allowed to work in either direction. The Non-Co-operating Congress had a wing in the Swarajya party to practice Non-Co-operation from within the Councils. Indeed the Council programme being in the hands of the more energetic men, became, as it were, the more vital work of the Congress. Its results were more demonstrative and as every movement grows by opposition, the Swarajya party developed into a power as much by opposition in Council as by opposition in Congress. Though Mr. Gandhi could have carried the Congress with him in his orthodox programme, he recognised the strength of the opposition, and though in Congresses and Committees he was able to manage a small numerical majority, he knew that it was mainly due to personal equation and scorned to take advantage of it. On the other hand, he felt "humbled and defeated" as he himself said after one of those stormy meetings of the A.I.C.C. at Delhi in June 1924.

"YOUNG INDIA"

After two years' interruption, Mr. Gandhi resumed editorial charge of his two weeklies *Young India* and *Navajivan* (the Gujarati counterpart of *Young India*) in the first week of April 1924. To his followers his weekly articles were a guide and an inspiration while they were a pure joy to the rest of the world. In his opening article, Mr. Gandhi wrote in *Young India* :—

It is not without much hesitation that I resume the editorship of *Young India*. I do not know whether my health can yet sustain the energy required for conducting the paper. But I cannot foresee, I can only dimly understand God's purpose in bringing me out of my retirement in Yeravada. In taking up the editorial control of "*Navajivan*" and "*Young India*", I am following His light as far as I see it. Nor have I any new message to deliver to the reader. I had hoped for the release by the act of the Swaraj Parliament and to be able to take my humble share in serving free India. That was not to be. We have yet to attain freedom. I have no new programme. My faith in the oldest is just as bright as ever, if not brighter. Indeed one's faith in one's plans and methods is truly tested when the horizon before one is blackest. Though, therefore so far as my mind can perceive, there will be no new method or policy developed in the pages of *Young India*, I hope they will not be stale.

God, I know, is truth, I live for India's freedom and would die for it, because it is part of the truth. Only free India can worship the true God. I work for India's freedom because my Swadeshi teaches me that, being born in it and having inherited her culture, I am the fittest to serve her and she has a prior claim to my service. But my patriotism is not exclusive. It is calculated not only not to hurt another nation but to benefit all in the true sense of the word. India's freedom as conceived by me can never be a menace to the world.

Apart from his comments on current politics which gave direction to multitude of his followers and were generally made with a view to reconciling divergent interests and factions, Mr. Gandhi mainly devoted his pen to the furtherance of the constructive programme. The spinning wheel was still his *kamadhenu*. Hindu-Muslim tension and the curse of untouchability still supplied the theme for hundreds of notes and dissertations. He was and is perhaps the one no-changer still trusted by the Swarajists and he always held the scales even between the two wings of the Congress. *Young India* soon took up its unique place among the Indian weeklies. Gandhi's Jail Diary, so full of intimate touches of character and so fresh with the vivid colouring of his own reminiscences, in Jail, became an attractive feature of the journal. More than even the Diary was the Autobiography, published week after week, and

the intimate revelations of a character in the making told in the simple yet telling style of the great master won universal appreciation. Hundreds of newspapers and periodicals in India as elsewhere reproduced Mr. Gandhi's "Experiments with truth" which formed the subject of absorbing interest in Europe and America. The Autobiography has attracted thousands of readers by its simplicity and *naivete*, its almost uncanny realism, and its compelling charm.

THE FAST AND THE DELHI CONFERENCE

But there is no peace to a public man—least of all to one of Gandhi's sensitiveness. The Hindu-Muslim cloud which was no bigger than a man's hand at the time of his release grew to portentous proportions within a few months. Riot followed riot and the blaze spread from city to city. Distrust and mutual recriminations, notwithstanding all efforts at organizing the forces of order and discipline, grew apace. Gandhi was probing the question with the acuteness of a trained surgeon and exhortations from his tongue and pen seemed of no avail. What was he to do?

On the 11th September, all India was shocked to read the brief announcement in the papers that Mahatma Gandhi had undertaken a fast of twenty-one days both as "a penance and a prayer," because "recent events have proved unbearable" to him. The statement announcing this fierce resolve was couched in words so moving that we should quote the passage *in extenso*:

The recent events have proved unbearable for me. My helplessness is still more unbearable. My religion teaches me that whenever one is very distressed by something which one cannot remove one must fast and pray. I have done so in connection with my own dearest one.

Nothing evidently that I say or write can bring the two communities together. I am, therefore, imposing on myself a fast of

twenty-one days, beginning from to-day and ending on Wednesday, October 8. I reserve the liberty to drink water with or without salt.

It is both a penance and prayer. As penance I need not have taken the public into my confidence, but I publish the fast as (let me hope) an effective prayer both to Hindus and Mussalmans who have hitherto worked in unison not to commit suicide.

I respectfully invite the heads of all the communities, including Englishmen, to meet and end this quarrel which is a disgrace to religion and humanity. It seems as if God has been dethroned. Let us reinstate Him in our hearts.

At the time of undertaking the fast Mahatma Gandhi was the guest of Mr. Mahomed Ali in Delhi. Indeed some weeks before he had said that he would "bury" himself in the heart of the Punjab till the question of Hindu-Muslim unity was solved. But the solution seemed as remote as ever. Fresh riots were cropping up day after day. Delhi, Gulburga, Kohat, Lucknow—one after another in quick and unceasing succession, broke the heart of the great and good man who has done more than any other in our time to cement the two communities. As he himself explained in an inspiring article in *Young India*:

I was violently shaken by Amethi, Shamlal, and Gulburga..... I was writhing in deep pain and yet I had no remedy. News of Kohat set the smouldering mass aflame. Something had got to be done. I passed two nights in restlessness and pain. On Wednesday I knew the remedy. I must do penance in Satyagraha Ashrama.

Such an ordeal undertaken so soon after his recovery from illness and without notice to his friends and colleagues naturally threw them into a great consternation. Hakim Ajmal Khan, Mr. Mahomed Ali, Dr. Ansari and others tried to argue the Mahatma out of his extraordinary act of self-abnegation but he was inexorable, as was feared.

My fast is a matter between God and myself.....(he said). When man wants to make up with his Maker, he does not consult a third party. He ought not to. If he has any doubt about it, he certainly must. But I had no doubt in my mind.

The announcement was also the signal for a great outburst of good feeling, and messages poured in at the Mahatma's residence imploring him to cease fasting and assuring him of whole-hearted support in his endeavours to secure unity. The Muslim Press of Lahore agreed to observe a week's truce to which the Mahatma answered that what was needed was a permanent heart-unity and not a temporary makeshift. Of the ethics of the fast we are not competent to speak; but nobody could deny that it did have a tremendous influence in drawing public attention to the one question which was uppermost in the minds of all parties. What could be the answer to an appeal so moving as the Mahatma's when he wrote :

My penance is the prayer of a bleeding heart for forgiveness, for sins unwittingly committed. It is a warning to Hindus and Mussalmans who have professed to love me. If they have loved me truly and if I have been deserving of their love, they will do penance with me for the grave sin of denying God in their hearts.

But the immediate result was the calling of a conference of all parties and denominations to meet at Delhi and devise means for bringing about unity. The Conference of 300 representatives which included the Metropolitan of India came off on the 26th and passed resolutions designed to secure that unity. At this distance of time we may say it did not result in all the good things expected of such a gathering, but for the time being it generated a degree of good feeling which paved the way for the second All-Parties' Conference at Bombay in November. As might be expected, Mr. Gandhi's part in such a Conference was decisive and efforts were made to explore possibilities of a united Congress and to find a common denominator on which all parties could take action with regard to the Bengal Ordinance.

PRESIDENT OF THE BELGAUM CONGRESS

It was only to be expected that Mr. Gandhi would be returned unanimously to preside over the Congress in December 1924. In fact the honour would have been his, years ago, if he had not persistently declined it and chosen to work behind the scenes. Whoever was the President, Gandhi had become the guiding, inspiring and leading hand in Congress deliberations: and Karnataka was determined to make the occasion thoroughly historic. The fact that Mahatma Gandhi was to preside over the deliberations added special importance to the session. And then certain events like the Unity Conference at Delhi and the All-Parties' Conference at Bombay paved the way for a fuller understanding of differences among the diverse sections of Congressmen. The two outstanding questions of the hour—Hindu-Muslim Unity and the Gandhi-Das Pact were expected to be settled and ratified in the Congress. The circumstances imparted special interest to the Belgaum session.

In the week preceding the actual session, Gandhiji prepared the ground for the decisions of the Congress in regard to the two or three vital issues before the country. He has always been the mediator and the reconciler between the extreme wings of the Congress and he now played his role with extreme tact. In accordance with previous arrangements, Mr. Gandhi met both the No-Changers and Swarajists in a number of informal Conferences when he tried to persuade them to see each others' points of view. Throughout the conversation he placed the *Charka* in the forefront as an answer to critics and sceptics. When they wanted a fighting programme Mr. Gandhi would say, "The fighting programme is there in the boycott of foreign cloth which, if properly carried out, will bring about an atmosphere for something like Civil Dis-

obedience." He then referred to Hindu-Muslim Unity and removal of untouchability as two indispensable items in his constructive programme. But the discussion centred round the spinning franchise in lieu of the present four-anna franchise. Indeed, as the *Mahratta* put it, this was the point which Mr. Gandhi claimed as a set-off against his readiness to suspend the Non-Co-operation movement, and the recognition of the Swarajists as Congressmen who could work in the Councils on behalf of the Congress.

Mr. Gandhi's presidential address having been circulated was taken as read, but in opening the proceedings he made a few general remarks first in Hindi and then in English. He said that the work they undertook in 1920 was still undone and if they wanted Swaraj for the masses, the only way was through the *charka*. If they disbelieved they should not hesitate to reject it.

Mr. Gandhi's views on the leading topics of the day being so well known there could not in the nature of the case be anything new or sensational in the address. For one thing it was remarkable for its brevity: in fact it was the briefest in Congress record as Mr. Mahomed Ali's was possibly the longest. Mr. Gandhi re-affirmed his faith in the spinning-wheel, Hindu-Muslim Unity, the removal of untouchability and such other subjects with characteristic lucidity. He traced the course of the Non-Co-operation movement and pointed out why it was necessary to cry halt at this hour of disunion and weakness. But his own faith in Civil Disobedience still stood.

I swear by Civil Disobedience. But Civil Disobedience for the attainment of Swaraj is an impossibility unless and until we have attained the power of achieving boycott of foreign cloth.

Then he defined our immediate goal:—

Our goal must be the removal, at the earliest possible moment, of communal or sectional representation. A common electorate

must impartially elect its representatives on the sole ground of merit. Our services must be likewise impartially manned by the most qualified men and women. But till that time comes and communal jealousies or preferences become a thing of the past, minorities who suspect the motives of majorities must be allowed their way. The majorities must set the example of self-sacrifice.

As regards India's political goal, Mr. Gandhi was for *inter-dependence* on the basis of perfect equality. He is for "a federation of friendly inter-dependent states rather than for independence".

In my opinion if the British Government mean what they say and honestly help us to equality, it would be a greater triumph than a complete severance of the British connection. I would therefore strive for Swarajya within the Empire but would not hesitate to sever all connection, if severance became a necessity through Britain's own fault. I would thus throw the burden of separation on the British people.

He concluded with an affirmation of his faith:—

As a Congressman wishing to keep the Congress intact, I advise suspension of Non-Co-operation, for I see that the nation is not ready for it. But as an individual, I cannot, and will not, do so as long as the Government remains what it is. It is not merely policy with me, it is an article of faith. Non-Co-operation and Civil Disobedience are but different branches of the same tree called Satyagraha. It is my *kalpadrum*—*Jam-i-Jam*—the Universal Provider. Satyagraha is search for Truth; and God is Truth. Ahimsa or Non-violence is the light that reveals that Truth to me. Swaraj for me is part of that Truth. This Satyagraha did not fail me in South Africa, Khairra, or Champaran and in a host of other cases I could mention. It excludes all violence or hate. Therefore, I cannot and will not hate Englishmen. Nor will I bear their yoke. I must fight unto death the unholy attempt to impose British methods and British institutions on India. But I combat the attempt with non-violence. I believe in the capacity of India to offer non-violent battle to the English rulers. The experiment has not failed. It has succeeded, but not to the extent we had hoped and desired. I do not despair. On the contrary I believe that India will come to her own in the near future, and that only through Satyagraha. The proposed suspension is part of the experiment. Non-Co-operation need never be resumed if the programme sketched by me can be fulfilled. Non-violent Non-Co-operation in some form or other, whether through the Congress or without it, will be resumed if the programme fails. I have repeatedly stated that Satyagraha never fails and that one perfect Satyagrahi is enough to vindicate Truth. Let us all strive to be

perfect Satyagrahis. The striving does not require any quality unattainable by the lowliest among us. For Satyagraha is an attribute of the spirit within. It is latent in every one of us. Like Swaraj it is our birthright. Let us know it.

In concluding the proceedings of the Belgaum Congress, Mr. Gandhi, after thanking all concerned, wound up with the following exhortation :

I want you to transfer all this noble affection, all this generosity that you have shown me, to the thing which you and I hold dear, to the thing which alone binds you and me together, and that is Swaraj. If we want Swaraj we must know the conditions of Swaraj. You have endorsed those conditions in the resolution moved by Mr. Das on the Pact. Every one knows the conditions and I want you to fulfil them to the letter and in spirit and insist upon others that they will fulfil those conditions not by force but by love. Exert all the influence and all the pressure that love can exert upon every one concerned. Go throughout your districts and spread the messages of *Khaddar*, the message of Hindu-Muslim Unity, the message of untouchability and take up in hand the youngsters of the country and make them real soldiers of Swaraj. But you will not do it if the No-Changers and the Swarajists still bear malice against each other, and if they still have jealousy against one another. It will be possible only if you bury the hatchet, leave all the jealousies, all anger and all that is bad in your heart. Bury it underground, cremate it, do whatever you like, but take away the sacred resolution with you that let heavens fall but the tie that binds to-day or has bound the Swarajists and the No-Changers shall never snap.

"HONOURABLE COMPROMISE"

Before taking up the thread of his activities in the cause of social, economic and political reform in India, we must pass in review his activities in connection with the Indian South African problem.

Since his return to India, Mahatma Gandhi had always too many irons on the anvil to devote himself adequately to South African questions. And yet from time to time when there was any trouble in South Africa, his words of counsel always counted and his authority was undisputed. When the Class Areas Reservation Bill was

before the Transvaal Legislature, Gandhi wrote some illuminating criticisms guiding, inspiring and helping our countrymen abroad with practical advice as to how best to deal with the situation. But he did not actively engage himself in South African problems as before, as he always held that it was part of the trouble arising from India's dependence. South Africa had to be fought and won in India, he said, and the success of the Swaraj movement in India would automatically lead to success abroad. On the failure of Non-Co-operation he realised that every step in the South African Settlement was a move in the right direction, and he warmly commended the work of the Habibullah Deputation. Indeed before the publication of the Agreement, Gandhi's advice had been sought for, and the simultaneous publication of his views and the text of the Agreement did not a little to guide public opinion in its favour. Gandhi called it an "Honourable Compromise" in *Young India* of 24th February 1927:

Sir Mahomed Habibullah and his colleagues are to be congratulated upon having secured a settlement that is honourable to both parties. It is not the best that could be conceived, but it is the best that was possible. I doubt if any other deputation could have done more. The Class Areas Bill, which brought about the Conference and round which the battle raged, is dead and gone.....The annexure, containing a summary of 'conclusions reached by the Round Table Conference on the Indian questions in South Africa', is a remarkable document betraying in every paragraph a heroic attempt to reconcile conflicting interests and sentiments.* * * * * If this atmosphere of goodwill and sociability is kept up and encouraged, the settlement can be used as a solid foundation for erecting a beautiful temple of freedom for the Indian settlers in South Africa.

MR. SASTRI AS FIRST AMBASSADOR

It was a great victory for Gandhi and the South African cause when the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri accepted the Government's offer to be the first Agent-General in South Africa. Mr. Sastri, it would appear, had with

characteristic modesty declined the offer at first, but Mr. Gandhi's persuasive appeal to Mr. Sastri not to miss this great opportunity of service to the Indian cause in South Africa, had done its work. On the publication of the announcement, Gandhi wrote in *Young India* of April 28, 1927 :

Very considerable relief will be felt by the Indian settlers in South Africa over the announcement that the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri has consented to become India's First Agent-General in that sub-continent, if the post is finally offered to him by the Government of India. It is a great sacrifice that Sastri and the Servants of India Society have made. It is an open secret that left to himself he was not inclined to undertake the responsibility and to leave his work in India. But he has yielded to the pressure of friends, especially when it was urged upon him that he alone could successfully inaugurate the working of the Agreement in bringing about which he played not an inconsiderable part. We know from the cables that were sent from time to time from South Africa that the Europeans were anxious that he should accept the honour. Sjt. Srinivasa Sastri had by his eloquence, transparent sincerity, sweet reasonableness, and extreme earnestness won the esteem and respect of the Union Government and the Europeans in South Africa during the short time that he was there as a member of the Habibullah Deputation. I know how nervously anxious our countrymen in South Africa were that he should become the first Agent. It was impossible for Sjt. Srinivasa Sastri whom God has endowed with a generous nature not to respond to such a unanimous call from South Africa.

How well Mr. Sastri fulfilled his mission and how fully he justified Mahatmaji's (in fact, the whole country's) expectations are matters of recent history of which it is needless to enter into any detail. Suffice it to say that Mr. Sastri fully justified his reputation for statesmanship and had indeed set a high ideal for his successor to follow. Need it be said that throughout the negotiations as after it Mr. Gandhi's wise counsel and his great knowledge of South African problems were ungrudgingly placed at the disposal of Mr. Sastri for the benefit of our colonial brethren.

VAIKAM SATYAGRAHA

Soon after the Belgaum Congress, Mr. Gandhi made a tour all over the country calling upon the people to carry out the Congress mandate in regard to Khaddar, and untouchability and other features of social and political reconstruction. Early in March he was in Vaikam exhorting the Satyagrahis to carry on their campaign until success was attained. It was at this time too that he was invited by the Maharanee of Travancore to be Her Highness's guest at Varhala. Gandhi's presence in Malabar eased the situation and a sort of reconciliation was effected between the orthodox Brahmins and the advocates of reform.

A GREAT MODERATING INFLUENCE

During the next four years Gandhi confirmed himself primarily to his pet programme of Khaddar and untouchability and prohibition, and rarely if ever took part in aggressive politics. But all the same his influence in Congress circles was supreme. Whoever might be the president it was Gandhi's will that was the deciding factor. And that will was invariably exercised in moderating the temper of the ultra-extremists and independence-wallahs who had by this time increased in numbers and threatened to swamp the Congress. Time and again Mr. Gandhi was on the side of moderation. He would not jeopardise the efforts of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Pandit Motilal Nehru to bring about an All Parties' Convention, and he fully shared the desire of these two Pandits for a united stand or even a minimum demand. But the forces of extremism had gained their ascendancy and under the influence of Messrs. Srinivasa Iyengar and Jawaharlal Nehru, the Madras Congress of 1927 declared "that the goal of the Indian people is complete independence". Not all Mr. Gandhi's rebuke could wean the Congress from the extreme position it had

taken up; and it is surprising at this time of day to read Mr. Gandhi's rebuke of the independence-wallahs, in the light of his later activities. Commenting on the Independence Resolution, Mr. Gandhi wrote in *Young India*:

I could not fail to perceive that irresponsible talk and work were the order of the day, and that indiscipline was not a rare feature. Resolutions involving great consequences were sprung upon the Subjects Committee, and readily accepted by the august body, without much thought or discussion. The Independence Resolution that was rejected last year, was passed almost without opposition. I know that its wording was harmless but in my opinion it was hastily conceived, and thoughtlessly passed. The resolution, regarding the boycott of British goods was passed with an equally light heart. The Congress stultifies itself by repeating year after year resolutions of this character when it knows that it is not capable of carrying them into effect. By passing such resolutions, we make an exhibition of our impotence, become a laughing-stock of critics, and invite the contempt of the adversary.

And this from Mr. Gandhi who but a couple of years hence was leading an army of Salt Satyagrahis with a view to wrest independence from the British Government.

But the spirit of extremism once let loose was not to be curbed by the reasoning even of a man of Mahatma's influence and persuasiveness. The ranks of independence-wallahs swelled in the Congress and by the time the Congress met in Calcutta in December 1928, had become well-nigh irresistible. As part author of the All-Parties' Report, Pandit Motilal Nehru, the President of the Session, pleaded for Dominion Status. But his son Jawaharlal with the support of Messrs. Srinivasa Iyengar and Subash Chander Bose and others carried the day, and the stormy meeting of the Session ended with an emphatic declaration in favour of independence. The resolution, in view of Mr. Gandhi's later ultimatum, should be quoted:

The Congress, having considered the constitution recommended by the All-Parties' Committee Report, welcomes it as a great contribution towards the solution of India's political and communal problems and congratulates the Committee on the vital unanimity

of its recommendations, and whilst adhering to the resolutions relating to complete independence passed at the Madras Congress, approve of the constitution drawn by the Committee as a great step in political advance, specially as it represents the largest measure of agreement attained among important parties in the country.

Subject to the exigencies of political situation, this Congress will adopt the constitution, if it is accepted in its entirety by the British Parliament on or before 31st December 1929, but in the event of its non-acceptance by that date or its earlier rejection, the Congress will organise a campaign of non-violent non-co-operation by advising the country to refuse taxation and in such other manner as may be decided upon.

Consistently with the above, nothing in this resolution shall interfere with carrying on in the name of the Congress propaganda for complete independence.

This resolution was moved by Mahatma Gandhi himself as a sort of compromise and that explains Mahatma's later activities to fulfil the Calcutta programme.

A BONFIRE DEMONSTRATION

It was not long before Mahatma began as usual a whirlwind tour of the country in favour of the Calcutta resolutions. For it is a rule with him, whatever he undertakes to do he must do thoroughly. No half-hearted acquiescence with him! Early in March 1929, we find him presiding over a bonfire demonstration at Calcutta where he declared at the outset that Khadi was the only effective weapon if they were to wake up on January 1st as Independence-wallahs if need be. But he said:

I do not want to precipitate that time and I do not also want to anticipate it and if Government will play the game, if the police will play the game, if the public will play the game, I promise that we shall be able to settle our business with the Government without the public having to resort to civil disobedience or having even to resort to no-tax campaign which is also a part of civil disobedience. Believe me I shall strain every nerve to avoid and precipitate that issue.

Speaking with a full sense of responsibility on my shoulders I know the tremendous consequences of civil disobedience and no-tax campaign in a vast country like India, but a man who is made after freedom has got to take tremendous risk and stake everything that he has in order to gain that precious freedom.

There was trouble with the police, and Mr. Gandhi was hauled up before the Magistrate when he made the following statement:

I venture to submit, that by taking the law into their hands the police put themselves in the wrong and should change places with me. They should be the accused and I should be the complainant.

* * * I affirm that the crowd was absolutely peaceful and extremely well-behaved.

* * * The site chosen for burning was well-protected and isolated. It was therefore the duty of the police to refrain from interference, with the peaceful and orderly demonstration. Their interference, in my opinion, was rudely premature, extremely high-handed and uncalled for.

Concluding his long statement, Mahatmaji declared:

If you believe the statement of facts given by me, I ask that I and my colleagues be discharged and you may take such notice of the conduct of the police as may be open to you. This is irrespective of the interpretation that the Court may put on Section 96 of the Police Act.

Nominal fines were imposed on the accused which, it was said, was immediately paid by some one without Gandhi's knowledge. Gandhi declared that he could not believe that the fine was paid by some one on behalf of the Bengal Congress Committee. He could call nothing his own in this world from which he could pay the fine, and this apart from his views on the payment of the fine. He said, "Mr. Sen Gupta knew this thing and, therefore, whoever had paid the fine could not be a friend."

BRITISH GENERAL ELECTIONS

While the agitation was going on in India, the General Elections in England in May 1929 resulted in the overthrow of Mr. Baldwin's Ministry, and Labour came into power with Mr. Ramsay MacDonald as Premier. The general feeling in India was one of thankfulness and relief as people were getting tired of, and irritated by, the Birkenhead tone. The avowed sympathy of Labour with

nationalist aspirations in India and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's friendship with leading Indian politicians and his well-known sympathy with their aspirations seemed for a time to evoke a generous response. Mr. Wedgwood Benn, the Secretary of State for India, and Dr. Drummond Shields, the then Under-Secretary, were politicians with Liberal proclivities; and it was not long before they were able to establish themselves in the generous appreciation of the Indian public. Not even the most recalcitrant non-co-operator could have objected to a Cabinet of acknowledged socialists anxious to pacify an Empire seething with sullen resentment against the arrogant imperialism of the "Little Englanders" whose tone had provoked the ire of ardent nationalists in India. Indian Liberals expected much from the Labour Government, while Congressmen were content that the worst was over with the fall of the Unionists, and things could never be so bad under an avowedly Socialist Cabinet.

LABOUR'S ACHIEVEMENTS

The new Labour Government entered on its task with great zest and independence of judgment. It soon won notable successes in international policy which enhanced its prestige, strengthened its hold upon the electorate and created a wide-spread impression that the affairs of Great Britain were in the hands of men who brought a new and broad spirit to their management. Its courageous and statesmanlike policy, particularly with regard to Egypt, which resulted in the making of a new Anglo-Egyptian Treaty in consonance with Egyptian public opinion, won almost universal appreciation; and the feeling began gradually to dawn upon the Indian mind, that if the same new spirit could be shown in dealing with India, the settlement of her constitutional problem would not be attended

with much difficulty. Mr. Wedgwood Benn, the Secretary of State for India, evidently brought a new and open mind to bear upon the consideration of the Indian political situation, and took particular care to avoid saying anything which might offend Indian sentiment and widen the gulf of misunderstanding, ill-feeling and discontent that yawned between Great Britain and India.

Lord Irwin who was then in England had tried his level best to reconcile Indian opinion to the Simon Commission. Finding it absolutely impossible His Excellency was in consultation with the Cabinet and had hit upon a Round Table Conference to solve the puzzling Indian problem. Now the Round Table Conference was one of the demands of the Congress for some years past and it was a happy solution of a very knotty problem.

THE VICEROY'S ANNOUNCEMENT

His Excellency Lord Irwin returned to India on 25th October 1929, and on Dewali day, that is, on 31st October, issued with the approval of His Majesty's Government an important statement which was a declaration of the goal of British policy in India. His Excellency declared:

The goal of British policy was stated in the Declaration of August 1917 to be that of providing for "the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of Responsible Government in India as an integral part of British Empire". As I recently pointed out, my own instrument of instruction from the King-Emperor expressly states that it is His Majesty's will and pleasure that the plans laid by Parliament in 1919 should be the means by which British India may attain its due place among his Dominions. Ministers of the Crown, moreover, have, more than once, publicly declared that it is the desire of the British Government that India should, in the fullness of time, take her place in the Empire in equal partnership with the Dominions. But in view of the doubts which have been expressed both in Great Britain and India regarding the interpretation to be placed on the intentions of the British Government, in enacting the Statute of 1919,

I am authorised, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, to state clearly that, in their judgment, it is implicit in the Declaration of 1917 that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress, as there contemplated, is the attainment of Dominion Status.

His Excellency concluded as follows:

It is not necessary for me to say how greatly I trust that the action of His Majesty's Government may evoke response from, and enlist the concurrence of all sections of opinion in India; and I believe that all who wish India well, wherever and whoever they are, desire to break through the cobwebs of mistrust that have lately clogged the relations between India and Great Britain.

I am firmly assured that the course of action now proposed is at once the outcome of a real desire to bring to the body politic of India the touch that carries with it healing and health, and is the method by which we may best hope to handle those high matters in the way of constructive statesmanship.

THE LEADERS' STATEMENT

The immediate effect of this statement was almost electric. Except a handful of "Complete Independents" who considered that it was a move designed to undermine the growing movement of independence, all other sections of Indian opinion generally welcomed and appreciated the statement. A Conference of leaders of all parties met at Delhi to confer on the announcement and Mr. Gandhi himself drafted the resolution which was discussed and adopted with Dr. Sapru's amendments at the Conference. The Leaders' statement was as follows:—

We appreciate the sincerity underlying the declarations as also the desire of British Government to placate Indian opinion. We hope to be able to tender our co-operation to His Majesty's Government in their effort to evolve a scheme of Dominion constitution suitable for India's needs, but we deem it necessary that certain acts should be done and certain points should be declared so as to inspire trust and ensure the co-operation of principal political organisations in the country.

We consider it vital for the success of the proposed conference that (a) a policy of general conciliation should be definitely adopted to induce a calmer atmosphere; (b) political prisoners should be granted a general amnesty; (c) the representation of progressive political organisations should be effectively secured and that the Indian National Congress, as the largest among them, should have predominant representation.

Some doubt has been expressed about the interpretation of the paragraph in the statement made by the Viceroy on behalf of His Majesty's Government regarding Dominion Status. We understand however that the conference is to meet not to discuss when Dominion Status is to be established but to frame a scheme of Dominion constitution for India. We hope that we are not mistaken in thus interpreting the import and implications of the weighty pronouncement of H. E. the Viceroy.

Until the new constitution comes into existence, we think it necessary that a more liberal spirit should be infused in the Government of the country, that relations of the executive and legislature should be brought more in harmony with the object of the proposed conference, and that greater regard should be paid to constitutional methods and practices.

We hold it to be absolutely essential that the public should be made to feel that a new era has commenced from to-day and that the new constitution is to be but a register to that fact. Lastly, we deem it as an essential factor for the success of the Conference that it should be convened as expeditiously as possible.

It was thus thought that there would be an end of all trouble and a right solution of the vexed Indian question was near at hand. At any rate it was thought that the Round Table Conference was a move in the right direction and a move the genuineness of which was beyond question. And both the Secretary of State and the Viceroy made it plain that they meant to handle the situation in no pettifogging spirit. And the Viceroy straightway invited the leaders to confer with him on the personnel and other matters connected with the forthcoming Conference. And what was the surprise of the country when it became known that the Viceroy's conference with the leaders had failed. His Excellency met the leaders on the 23rd December 1929 at the Viceregal House, Delhi. But the conference broke down after three hours' discussion. The official *communiqué* stated:—

The Viceroy met Gandhiji, Pandit Motilal, Mr. Patel, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. M. A. Jinnah at the Viceroy's House, New Delhi, this afternoon. Discussion was limited to the function of the proposed Conference in London. It was pointed out that any

member of the Conference would be free to advocate any proposals and that any measure of unanimity at the Conference would necessarily carry weight with British opinion. On behalf of the Congress Party Pandit Jawaharlal expressed that unless previous assurances were given by His Majesty's Government that the purpose of the Conference was to draw up a scheme for Dominion Status which His Majesty's Government would undertake to support, there would be grave difficulty about Congress participation. His Excellency made it plain that the Conference was designed to elicit the greatest possible measure of agreement for the final proposals, which it would be the duty of His Majesty's Government to submit to Parliament and that it was impossible for him or for His Majesty's Government in any way to prejudge the action of the Conference or to restrict the liberty of Parliament. Conversation then concluded.

This is but a diplomatic way of saying that Gandhi and the Viceroy could not agree and the Conference broke off!

LAHORE CONGRESS: INDEPENDENCE MOVE

No wonder when the Congress met at Lahore in December 1929, the atmosphere was charged with excitement.

Pandit Jawaharlal's Presidential address was, if anything, more decided in its demand for independence. Gandhi, as usual, had no light task in moderating the extreme wing of the Congress, and it was left to him to move the following resolution in the open session after a strenuous fight in the Subjects Committee. One can imagine what the unadulterated text would be like!

The Congress, whilst endorsing the action of the Working Committee in connection with the manifesto signed by the party leaders, including Congressmen, in connection with the Viceregal Pronouncement of the 31st October relating to Dominion Status, and appreciating the efforts of H. E. the Viceroy towards a peaceful settlement of the national movement for Swaraj, and having considered the result of the meeting between the Viceroy and Pandit Motilal Nehru and other leaders, is of opinion that nothing is to be gained in the existing circumstances by the Congress being represented at the proposed Round Table Conference;

And in pursuance of the resolution passed at the Calcutta Congress last year, this Congress now declares that Swaraj in the Congress creed shall mean complete Independence, and therefore further declares the Nehru scheme of Dominion Status to have

lapsed, and hopes all parties in the Congress will devote their exclusive attention to the attainment of complete independence, and hopes also that those whom the tentative solution of the communal problem suggested in the Nehru Committee has prevented from joining the Congress or actuated them to refrain from it, will now join or rejoin the Congress and zealously prosecute the common goal;

And as a preliminary step towards organising a campaign for independence and in order to make the Congress policy consistent with the change of creed, this Congress declares a boycott of the Central and Provincial Legislatures and calls upon Congressmen to abstain from participating, directly or indirectly, in the Legislatures in future, and the present members of the Legislatures to tender their resignation;

And the Congress calls upon the nation to concentrate its attention upon the constructive programme of the Congress and authorises the All-India Congress Committee, whenever it deems fit, to launch a programme of civil disobedience, including non-payment of taxes, whether in selected areas or otherwise, and under such safeguards as it may consider necessary.

Introducing the Independence resolution as adopted by the Subjects Committee, Gandhi characterised it as the *root of the future Congress work*. Thus the resolution declared complete Independence as the meaning of Swaraj for the purposes of the Congress creed and resolved on the complete boycott of the legislatures as a preliminary step towards organising a campaign for Independence.

Since the passing of the Independence Resolution, the cleavage between the Congress and the Government on the one hand and the Congress and Moderate opinion on the other became more and more pronounced. Liberals throughout the country regretted that owing to Mr. Gandhi's recalcitrant attitude, the possibility of the Round Table Conference was being jeopardised and a solution of the vexed problem still further deferred. And the Viceroy's speech in opening the Assembly on January 25 was not calculated to reassure the fading faith in Congress circles. Liberals felt that the good offices of the Viceroy and the well-intentioned Cabinet were being nullified by the

impossible attitude that Gandhi had taken. But Gandhi commenting on the Viceroy's speech in the Assembly wrote in *Young India*:

His Excellency the Viceroy deserves thanks from every Congressman for having cleared the atmosphere and let us know exactly where he and we stand.

The Viceroy would not mind waiting for the grant of Dominion Status till every millionaire was reduced to the level of a wage-earner getting seven pice per day. The Congress will to-day, if it had power, raise every starving peasant to the state in which he at least will get a living, even equal to the millionaires, and when the peasant is fully awakened to a sense of his plight and knows that it is not the *kismet* that has brought him to the helpless state but the existing rule. Unaided, he will in his impatience abolish all distinctions between the constitutional and unconstitutional, even the violent and non-violent means. The Congress expects to guide the peasants in the right direction.

Proceeding, Gandhi made the following offer to Lord Irwin:

- (1) Total prohibition.
- (2) Reduction of rates to 1s. 4d.
- (3) Reduction of land revenue at least by 50 per cent. and making it subject to legislative control.
- (4) Abolition of the salt tax.
- (5) Reduction of Military expenditure at least by 50 per cent. to begin with.
- (6) Reduction of salaries of the highest grade services by half or less, so as to suit the reduced revenue.
- (7) Protective tariff on foreign cloth.
- (8) Passage of the Coastal Traffic Reservation Bill.
- (9) Discharge of all political prisoners, save those condemned for murder or attempt to murder, or trial by ordinary judicial tribunals, withdrawal of all political prosecutions, abrogation of Section 124-A and Regulation III of 1818, and giving permission to all Indian exiles to return.
- (10) Abolition of the C.I.D. or its popular control.
- (11) To issue licences to use fire-arms for self-defence, subject to popular control.

In fact these were the terms which Mr. Gandhi communicated to Mr. Bomanji who undertook to negotiate with Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, the Prime Minister, as early as January 1930.

This is by no means an exhaustive list of the pressing needs, wrote Mahatma Gandhi, but let the Viceroy satisfy us with regard to these very simple but vital needs of India. He will then hear no talk of civil disobedience; and the Congress will heartily participate in any conference where there is a perfect freedom of expression and demand". That is to say non-compliance with these simple and vital demands would mean civil disobedience.

That was the beginning of another struggle, perhaps the most momentous in recent history. For we find soon after Mr. Gandhi addressing the Vidyapith words which in the light of his great march to the salt pans of the Arabian Sea, show that already he was on the war-path (of course the Non-violent war-path of the Satyagrahi.)

* * * Other nations, said Mr. Gandhi, might have different and other means for getting their country's freedom, but for India there is no way but non-violent Non-Co-operation. May you be the exponents of this *mantra* of Swaraj and may God give you strength and courage enough to give all that you have in India's fight for Independence, a fight which is drawing very near.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

And so Gandhi and his co-workers set to work for independence, and a vigorous propaganda was abroad under the auspices of the Congress. The Working Committee met at Ahmedabad on the 15th February and after considerable deliberations decided on prosecuting Gandhi's scheme of civil disobedience. It accordingly invested Mahatmaji with dictatorial powers giving him full authority to prosecute his programme and prepare the country for civil disobedience. The resolution declared:

In the opinion of the Working Committee, Civil Disobedience should be initiated by those who believe in non-violence for the purpose of achieving Purna Swarajya as an article of faith, and as the Congress contains in its organisation not merely such men and women, but also those who accept non-violence as a policy essential in the existing circumstances in the country, the Working Com-

mittee welcomes the proposal of Mahatma Gandhi and authorises him and those working with him, who believe in non-violence as an article of faith to the extent above indicated, to start Civil Disobedience as and when they desire and in the manner and to the extent they decide.

The Working Committee trusts that in the event of leaders being arrested and imprisoned, those who are left behind and have the spirit of sacrifice and service in them will carry on Congress organisation and guide the movement to the best of their ability.

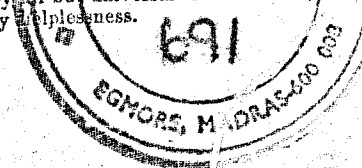
GANDHI'S LETTER TO THE VICEROY

The next step was the famous letter addressed by Gandhi to H. E. Lord Irwin. Whatever might be said of Mr. Gandhi's programme there is a certain consistency in his method. Just as he began Non-Co-operation after giving due warning to Lord Reading, so now, before embarking on his campaign of civil disobedience, Gandhi wrote what is now called his "ultimatum" to the Viceroy. The letter, as we read it, was in no sense an ultimatum. It was a declaration of facts as Gandhi conceived them and he boldly and frankly enunciated his immediate programme in case the Viceroy should not heed his warnings. The letter was personally delivered to the Private Secretary to the Viceroy by one Reginald Reynold, an English youth who was an inmate of the Ashram for some months past. Mr. Gandhi chose an Englishman for this task probably as an indication of the fact that he still held Englishmen in respect and had no prejudices against them personally. The letter which reached the Viceroy on the 4th March was a strongly worded indictment of British rule:

And why do I regard the British rule as a curse?

It has impoverished the dumb millions by a system of progressive exploitation and by a ruinously expensive military and civil administration which the country can never afford.

It has reduced us politically to serfdom. It has sapped the foundations of our culture. And, by the policy of disarmament, it has degraded us spiritually. Lacking inward strength, we have been reduced, by a universal disarmament, to a state bordering on cowardly helplessness.



And then he passed on to say that in common with many of his countrymen, he had hugged the fond hope that the proposed Round Table Conference might furnish a solution. But the Delhi interview having miscarried, there was no option for Pandit Motilal Nehru and him "but to take steps to carry out the solemn resolution of the Congress arrived at in Calcutta at its session of 1928".

If India is to live as a nation, if the slow death by starvation of her people is to stop, some remedy must be found for immediate relief. The proposed Conference is certainly not the remedy. It is not a matter of carrying conviction by argument. The matter resolves itself into one of matching forces. Conviction or no conviction, Great Britain would defend her Indian commerce and interests by all the forces at her command. India must consequently evolve force enough to free herself from that embrace of death.

That force is not in violence. Gandhi knew there was in the country a party of violence slowly gaining ground. But he was convinced that it could not bring the desired relief to the dumb millions.

And the conviction is growing deeper and deeper in me that nothing but unadulterated non-violence can check the organised violence of the British Government. Many think that non-violence is not an active force. My experience, limited though it undoubtedly is, shows that non-violence can be an intensely active force. It is my purpose to set in motion that force as well against the organised violent force of the British rule as the unorganised violent force of the growing party of violence. To sit still would be to give rein to both the forces above mentioned. Having unquestioning and immovable faith in the efficacy of non-violence as I know it, it would be sinful on my part to wait any longer. This non-violence will be expressed through civil disobedience, for the moment confined to the inmates of the Satyagraha Ashram, but ultimately designed to cover all those who choose to join the movement with its obvious limitations.

Nor was he unconscious of the risks he was running. He was certainly aware of the consequences of embarking on a campaign of civil disobedience. It was a mad risk to be sure, as he confessed.

But the victories of truth have never been won without risks often of the gravest character. Conversion of a nation that has con-

sciously or unconsciously pressed upon another, far more numerous, far more ancient and no less cultured than itself is worth any amount of risk.

Gandhi declared that his idea was never to injure a single Englishman. If anything, he explained, his plan if successful would lead to natural friendship with Englishmen by doing away with the evils that now beset the British connection with India. And he went on to declare definitely:

But if you can not see your way to deal with these evils, and my letter makes no appeal to your heart on the 11th day of this month (March 1930), I shall proceed with such co-workers of the Ashram as I can take to disregard the provisions of Salt laws. I regard this tax to be the most iniquitous of all from the poor man's stand-point. As the Independence movement is essentially for the poorest in the land, the beginning will be made with this evil. The wonder is that we have submitted to the cruel monopoly for so long. It is, I know, open to you to frustrate my design by arresting me. I hope there will be tens of thousands ready in a disciplined manner to take up the work after me, and in the act of disobeying the Salt Act lay themselves open to the penalties of a law that should never have disfigured the Statute book.

The Viceroy's reply, as might be expected, was curt and brief expressing His Excellency's regret that Mr. Gandhi was contemplating "a course of action which is clearly bound to involve violation of the law and danger to the public peace".

Commenting on this, Gandhi wrote in *Young India* :—

On bended knees I asked for bread and received stone instead. The English nation responds only to force and I am not surprised by the Viceroy's reply. The only public peace the nation knows is the peace of the public prison. India is a vast prison house. I repudiate this (British) law and regard it as my sacred duty to break the mournful monotony of compulsory peace that is choking the heart of the nation for want of free vent.

And so Gandhi prepared himself for immediate Satyagraha. To begin with there were the inmates of the Ashram including the students of the Vidyapith who offered themselves to be enrolled as volunteers. Gandhi held out

no alluring prospects before them. They were to be fully alive to the difficulties of the task that lay ahead.

HIS "LAST MESSAGE AND TESTAMENT"

Our case is strong, our means purest, and God is with us. There is no defeat for the Satyagrahis till they give up the truth. I pray for the success of the battle which begins to-morrow.

In these words Mahatma Gandhi concluded what he termed his last message and testament on the banks of the Sabarmati where thousands had collected to hear him on the 11th March 1930 (the day previous to the great march). He exhorted the people of Gujarat to continue the plan of marching to Jalalpur in order to offer Civil Disobedience through the manufacture of salt, even if he and his party were arrested before reaching the destination. From what he had heard in the last fifteen days, he was confident that there would be enough volunteers forthcoming in Gujarat. The people of India, he urged, should preserve peace and carry out the instructions of the Working Committee. He laid down only one condition for the people to join what he called the "War of Independence"—and that was "absolute non-violence as an article of faith". They could carry out his programme in more ways than one. He once again outlined his programme of triple boycott and urged that those, who had courage, could refuse to pay taxes. Alluding to Civil Disobedience through breaking of salt monopoly, Mahatma Gandhi suggested three means to achieve the end. First, by the manufacture of salt wherever it could be done. Secondly, to remove salt without paying duty thereupon and thirdly to distribute salt. Referring to the question of leadership in the country he asked people to follow Pandit Jawaharlal. But where no Congress organisation existed, he asked every one to be his own leader. "Where could be the

question of leadership when the riddle of bravery could only be solved by freedom or death?"

THE GREAT MARCH

True to his declaration, just a little while before day-break on the morning of the 12th, Mahatma Gandhi with his 79 Volunteers, all students of the Vidyapith, left the Ashram on a campaign of civil disobedience. Their destination was the village of Dandi on the sea-coast near Jalalpur where Gandhi was to break the law regarding the manufacture of salt. Streams of Khaddar-clad men and women had flowed to the Ashram all night through to have a *darshan* of Mahatmaji and witness the great march. Among those were journalists and camera-men from far and near and correspondents of some British papers as well.

"The scenes that preceded, accompanied and followed this great national event," wrote the *Bombay Chronicle*, "were so enthusiastic, magnificent and soul-stirring that indeed they beggar description. Never was the wave of patriotism so powerful in the hearts of mankind, as it was on this great occasion which is bound to go down to the chapters of the history of India's national freedom as a great beginning of a Great Movement." In fact the *Chronicle* went so far as to say that Gujarat was to realize the great hopes of another patriot and reformer, who no less than half a century ago, had predicted its leadership in the coming campaign. For Malabari, it declared, had given poetical expression to the glory that was awaiting Gujarat. That was about the tone in which the nationalist press viewed the situation. And there was no doubt the march had appealed to the imagination of multitudes of people who were emotionally swayed by the dramatic turn of events.

Mahatmaji began at the head of the procession to march with quick steps and unflinching. The pace was a trifle too fast for his health and age, wrote the correspondent.

He was carrying a long stick in his hand obviously for support. The whole army was marching in a perfectly disciplined manner. The agile general in the front was indeed a source of inspiration to all. The army passed all along the distance of ten miles up to Aslali between the densely packing rows of people who were standing in their places for hours together, eager for the "darshan" of India's great General. Ahmedabad had had on the occasion one of its hugest processions during living memory. With the possible exceptions of children and decrepits every resident of the city must have watched the great procession which was at least two miles in length. Those who could not find a standing place in the streets through which the army marched had made use of house-tops and galleries, open walls and trees and every conceivable place they could get hold of. The whole city seemed to be *enfe* on this historic occasion. The cries of "Gandhi-ki-Jai" were rending the skies all along the march.

"Like the historic march of Ramachandra to Lanka," said Pandit Motilal Nohru, "the march of Gandhi would be memorable and the places he passes through would be sacred."

And so for miles and miles the roads were watered and bestrewn with green leaves and the halting stations were decorated with flags and festoons, and all through, there was a general appearance of a festival.

Mahatmaji spoke at all the halting stations, urging the people to take to khaddar, to stop drinking, to give up co-operation with Government and join the ranks of the Satyagrahis. At Aslali he told his followers that he would either die on the way or else keep away from the Ashram until Swaraj had been won. This was an expression of despair, said his critics; while his own followers were moved to their depths. "I have no intention of returning to the Ashram until I succeed in getting the salt tax

repealed," said Mr. Gandhi. He exhorted villagers to take to the spinning wheel, to look to the sanitation of the village and to treat the untouchables with brotherly love. He urged them to join his movement to break the salt monopoly of Government, as this would be a step forward on the way to Swaraj. Volunteers were enrolling themselves in their hundreds in the cause of civil disobedience and the headmen of several villages were resigning their jobs and joining the campaign. The arrest of Mr. Gandhi was supposed to be imminent and Mahatmaji, as might be expected, was well prepared for it and he gave instruction that his place should be taken up by Abbas Tyabjee, the aged friend, who has stood by Gandhi through all the years of Non-Co-operation. The fight threatened to be well-nigh grim: and as Sir P. C. Ray said, "Mahatma Gandhi's historic march was like the exodus of Israelites under Moses. Until the Seer seized the promised land, he won't turn his back."

SPEECH AT BORSAD

After ten days' march, Gandhi and his party of Satyagrahis reached Gujerat where they camped for the night. Speaking at Borsad, Gandhi made a full confession of his faith and the ideals for which he stands. In the course of his appeal to the gathering assembled at Borsad, he said:

The British rule in India has brought about moral, material and cultural and spiritual ruination of this great country. I regard this rule as a curse. I am out to destroy this system of Government.

I have sung the tune of "God Save the King" and have taught others to sing it. I was a believer in the politics of petitions, deputations and friendly negotiations. But all these have gone to dogs. I know that these are not the ways to bring this Government round.

Continuing, Gandhiji said, "sedition has become my religion. Ours is a non-violent battle. We are not out to

kill anybody but it is our *dharma* to see that the curse of this Government is blotted out."

And yet, as all the world knows, Gandhi is singularly free from malice or ill-will. He strenuously opposed social boycott of people for political or other reasons. Speaking at a place called Jambusar, Gandhi denounced the enforcement of social boycott against sub-inspectors of police. It was not religion to starve Government officials, said Mr. Gandhi, and he would suck the poison out of a dying enemy of his if he was bitten by a snake, in order to save his life.

The A.I.C.C. meeting which met at Ahmedabad on Friday the 21st March (1930) decided to start Civil Disobedience on the arrest of Mahatmaji or if he so directed, before his arrest by April 6.

SPEECH AT SURAT

"Suck the poison out of a dying enemy"—that was the key-note of Gandhi's Satyagraha, not a passion for revenge or an ambition to overthrow the enemy. In fact in Gandhi's theology there could be no such thing as an enemy unless it be an abstract one. Throughout the march which lasted four and twenty days, Gandhi went on preaching his cult of truth and non-violence to the multitudes that gathered from far and near, and he did not hesitate to impose the strictest discipline on the Satyagrahis that flocked to his banner. To him as to his band it was a religious pilgrimage and he would therefore eschew every attempt at making his journey a thing of comfort. At each place he halted, he spoke twice a day and his injunctions to his followers were rigorous in the extreme. He would not countenance any attempt to please the palate of the volunteers with delicacies brought from distant

places. He would not bear the sight of a common cooly carrying the heavy burner all through the dark and dusty paths of the countryside. Now and again Gandhi has the habit of "turning the searchlight inward" and the result is always salutary. He remembered that he had written strongly to the Viceroy on the subject of his enormous salary. In one of his exhortations at Surat on the 29th March, Gandhi referred to this particular passage in his open letter and went on to observe:

Only this morning at the prayer time I was telling my companions that as we had entered the district in which we were to offer civil disobedience, we should insist on greater purification and intenser dedication and warned them that as the district was more organised and contained many intimate co-workers, there was every likelihood of our being pampered. I warned them against succumbing to their pampering. We are not Angels. We are very weak, easily tempted. There are many lapses to our debit. Even to-day some were discovered. One defaulter confessed his lapse himself whilst I was brooding over the lapse of the pilgrims. I discovered that my warning was given none too soon. The local workers had ordered milk from Surat to be brought in a motor lorry and they had incurred other expenses which they could not justify. I therefore spoke strongly about them. But that did not allay my grief. On the contrary it increased with the contemplation of the wrong done.

"FEASTING WHEN OTHERS ARE HUNGRY"

In the light of these discoveries, what right had I to write to the Viceroy the letter in which I have severely criticised his salary which is more than 5,000 times our average income? How could he possibly do justice to that salary? And how can we tolerate his getting a salary out of all proportion to our income? But he is individually not to be blamed for it. He has no need for it. God has made him a wealthy man. I have suggested in my letter that probably the whole of his salary is spent in charity. I have since learnt that my guess is largely likely to be true. Even so, of course, I should resist the giving of such a large salary. I could not vote Rs. 21,000 per month, not perhaps even Rs. 2,100 per month. But when could I offer such resistance? Certainly not if I was myself taking from the people an unconscionable toll. I could resist only if my living bore some correspondence with the average income of the people. We are marching in the name of God. We profess to act on behalf of the hungry, the naked and the unemployed. I have no right to criticise the Viceregal salary, if we are costing the country, say fifty times seven pice, the average daily income of our

people. I have asked the workers to furnish me with an account of the expenses and the way things are going. I should not be surprised if each of us is costing something near fifty times seven pice. What else can be the result if they will fetch for me from whatever source possible, the choicest oranges and grapes, if they will bring 120 when I should want 12 oranges, if when I need one pound of milk, they will produce three? What else can be the result if we would take all the dainties you may place before us under the excuse that we would hurt your feeling, if we did not take them. You give us guavas and grapes and we eat them because they are free gift from a princely farmer. And then imagine me with an easy conscience writing the Viceregal letter on costly glazed paper with a fountain pen, a free gift from some accommodating friend. Will this behave you and me? Can a letter so written produce the slightest effect?

TRUSTEES OF THE DUMB MILLIONS

To live thus would be to illustrate the immortal verse of Akhobhagat who says 'stolen food is like eating unprocessed mercury' and to live above the means befitting a poor country is to live on stolen food. This battle can never be won by living on stolen food. Nor did I bargain to set out on this march for living above our means. We expect thousands of volunteers to respond to the call. It will be impossible to keep them on extravagant terms. My life has become so busy that I get little time to come in close touch even with the eighty companions so as to be able to identify them individually. There was therefore no course open to me but to unburden my soul in public. I expect you to understand the central point of my message. If you have not there is no hope of Swaraj through the present effort. We must become real trustees of the dumb millions.

Needless to say the speech produced a tremendous impression on the audience.

ADVICE TO PARSIS AT NAVSARI

The whole countryside was awake to the call of the Mahatma. Over two hundred patels had resigned and there was a general stir all round. Gandhi's own speeches were generally impassioned and always brave and there was a tone of pathos which had gone home to the hearts of the listeners. Addressing the Parsis at Navsari, Gandhi made a pathetic and fervent appeal to them to give up drink and the liquor trade. "If they are successful in doing away with the salt tax and the liquor traffic from India,"

added Gandhiji, "there is the victory for ahimsa. And what power on earth is there, then, that would prevent Indians from getting Swaraj? If there be any such power, I shall like to see it."

"Either I shall return with what I want, or else my dead body will float in the Ocean," concluded Gandhi—a sentence which was as much the expression of determination as of despair.

Thus it would appear, whether the masses understood all the implications of the Mahatma's political programme or not there was a wholesome cleansing of their souls. The tour must have caused a great social upheaval, for there could be little doubt as to Gandhi's powerful appeal as a social and temperance reformer. This is borne out by the impressions of Mr. K. Natarajan, Editor of the *Indian Social Reformer* who is by no means a Satyagrahi but who is wholly in favour of the Mahatma's social gospel.

The general impression we brought away with us is more important perhaps than a detailed account of our experience. The Satyagraha against the salt laws is the last thing which the people at Chhaprabatha were thinking of when he was among them. They hailed his presence as that of an auspicious guest and during his stay with them they were absorbed in the pride of having him in their midst. He diffuses sweetness and light wherever he goes, and if I were Viceroy I would give him a commission to visit as many villages as possible every year. The *Satyagraha* was so clean out of our minds, even Mahatmaji's for the time being, that when my daughter took leave of him, he affectionately said, "Do come to the Ashram." Then correcting himself: "Go. I should have said, as I will not be there. No, I shall not go back."

GANDHI'S STATEMENT AT DANDI

Gandhi and his party reached Dandi on the morning of the 5th April. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu had also gone there to see the Mahatma. Interviewed by the Associated Press immediately after his arrival at Dandi, Gandhiji said:

God be thanked for what may be termed the happy ending of the first stage in this, for me at least, the final struggle for freedom. I cannot withhold my compliments from the Government for the policy of complete non-interference adopted by them throughout the march. After the graceless and childish performance in the matter of Mr. Vallabhai's arrest and imprisonment and equally unprovoked arrest and imprisonment of Mr. Sen Gupta, I was wholly unprepared for this exemplary non-interference. I am not so foolish as to imagine that the Government has suddenly lost their proved capacity for provoking popular resentment and then punishing with frightfulness. I wish I could believe this non-interference was due to any real change of heart or policy. The wanton disregard shown by them to popular feeling in the Legislative Assembly and their high-handed action leave no room for doubt that the policy of heartless exploitation of India is to be persisted in at any cost, and so the only interpretation I can put upon this non-interference is that the British Government, powerful though it is, is sensitive to world opinion which will not tolerate repression of extreme political agitation which civil disobedience undoubtedly is, so long as disobedience remains civil and therefore necessarily non-violent.

APPEAL TO THE COUNTRY

It remains to be seen whether the Government will tolerate as they have tolerated the march, the actual breach of the salt laws by countless people from to-morrow. I expect extensive popular response to the resolution of the Working Committee. I have seen nothing to warrant the cancellation of the notice I have already issued that all Committees and organisations throughout the length and breadth of the land are free, if they are prepared to commence from to-morrow Civil Disobedience in respect of the salt laws. God willing, I expect with my companions (volunteers) to commence actual Civil Disobedience at 6-30 to-morrow morning. 6th April had been to us since its culmination in Jalianwalla massacre day for penance and purification. We therefore commence it with prayer and fasting. I hope the whole of India will observe the National Work commencing from to-morrow in the spirit in which it was conceived. I am positive that the greater the dedication to the country's cause and the greater the purification, the speedier will be the glorious end for which the millions of India consciously or unconsciously are striving.

THE "LAW-BREAKER"

Gandhi's prayer on the morning of the 6th was more than usually solemn. In the course of his speech he observed that if he was arrested, they should take orders from Mr. Abbas Tyabjee and if he too was removed, from

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. He paid a tribute to both these leaders and asked the volunteers implicitly to obey them.

Gandhiji concluded his address by asking the visitors not to offer Satyagraha that day, but to do so the next day. He considered his offer of Civil Disobedience as a great *Yagna* and he evidently did not want demonstrations, proceeding out of motives other than spiritual, to be associated with his great movement.

Soon after prayers, Mr. Gandhi with his 84 volunteers of the Gujarat Vidyapith and Saheth Punjabhai of Ahmedabad, proceeded exactly at 6 in the morning for a bath in the sea. A large crowd accompanied the party. Gandhi was walking at a slow pace in grave solemnity and entered the water of the sea amidst loud cries of "Mahatma Gandhi-ki-jai".

Gandhi was leaning on Miss Abbas Tyabji's shoulder, and was accompanied by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. Then Gandhi and his volunteers proceeded to break the salt law by picking up the salt lying on the sea-shore. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu hailed the Mahatma by calling him 'law-breaker'.

No policemen appeared on the scene when Gandhi and his volunteers broke the salt law.

GANDHI'S STATEMENT

Immediately after breaking the salt law, Mr. Gandhi issued the following press statement:—

Now that the technical or ceremonial breach of the salt law has been committed, it is now open to any one who would take the risk of prosecution under the salt law to manufacture salt wherever he wishes and wherever it is convenient. My advice is that workers should everywhere manufacture salt, and where they know how to prepare clean salt, make use of it and instruct the villagers likewise, telling the villagers at the same time that he runs the risk of being prosecuted. In other words, the villagers should be fully instructed as to the incidence of the salt tax, and the manner of breaking the laws and regulations connected with it so as to have the salt tax repealed.

It should be made absolutely clear to the villagers that the breach is open, and in no way stealthy. This condition being known, they may manufacture salt or help themselves to the salt manufactured by Nature in creeks and pits near the sea-shore, use it for themselves and their cattle, and sell it to those who will buy it, it being well understood that all such people are committing a breach of the salt law and running the risk of a prosecution, or even without a prosecution, are to be subjected by so-called salt officers to harassment.

This war against the salt tax should be continued during the National Week, that is, up to the 15th April. Those who are not engaged in this sacred work should themselves do vigorous propaganda for the boycott of foreign cloth and the use of khaddar. They should also endeavour to manufacture as much khaddar as possible. As to this and the prohibition of liquor, I am preparing a message for the women of India who, I am becoming more and more convinced, can make a larger contribution than men towards the attainment of Independence. I feel that they will be worthier interpreters of non-violence than men, not because they are weak, as men, in their arrogance, believe them to be, but because they have greater courage of the right type, and immeasurably greater spirit of self-sacrifice.

Being asked what he would do during the national week, Mr. Gandhi said, "I have a lot of work to do." He however laughingly added, "I shall encourage illicit manufacture of salt."

THE ARRESTS

Gandhi's law-breaking was only a signal for a series of acts of civil disobedience in hundreds of places in different parts of the country. Groups of Satyagrahis at different points in Bombay and Calcutta were making striking demonstrations of civil disobedience. The sequel was the arrest of the Mahatma's lieutenants. First came the arrest of Sardar Vallabhai Patel; then Mr. Manilal Kothari who was leading a batch of salt Satyagrahis. He was followed by Messrs. Nariman and Jamnalal Bajaj; then Ramdas Gandhi and Devadas (sons of the Mahatma). Messrs. Deshpande and Durbar Gopaldas came next. Mr. Sen Gupta, on his release from Burma, sought arrest again by

defying the law of sedition in Calcutta. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, President of the Congress, was arrested on the 13th. These arrests led to the usual trials followed by varying sentences, and by the end of the "national week," some 200 had courted imprisonment. Gandhi felt gratified at the result:

From information available up to now, I gather that the striking manifestation of mass Civil Disobedience in Gujarat has had its effect on the Government, who have lost no time in arresting the chief men. But I know that similar attention must have been bestowed by the Government on the workers in the other Provinces. This is a matter for congratulation.

It would have been surprising if the Government had allowed civil resisters to have their own way. It would have been barbarous if they had violated the persons and property of civil resisters without judicial process.

No exception can be taken to orderly prosecutions and penalties thereunder. After all, this is the logical outcome of civil resistance. Imprisonment and the like is the test through which the civil resister has to pass. He gains his end when he himself is found not to flinch and those whom he represents do not betray any nervousness where the leader is put away. Now is the time for every one to be both chief and follower.

It would pain me if even after these imprisonments, students who are in Government or Government-controlled schools and colleges do not respond by giving up their schools and colleges.

In another message issued to Gujarat, Mr. Gandhi pointed out that "Gujarat has fulfilled the hope expressed by Pandit Motilal Nehru at Jambusar".

The first day of the National Week has begun auspiciously. I congratulate all those brave warriors who are arrested. They have enhanced the glory of Gujarat and India. But what will the remaining workers in greater Gujarat do. I hope that uninvited, they will come down from all places and take the places of those arrested. Now is the time of test for students, pleaders and Government servants.

PROGRESS OF THE CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE CAMPAIGN

Indeed after the arrest of the Congress President, the movement flourished with renewed rigour. It was naturally impossible for Government to ignore the growing tendency to disregard the law. So the executive began to disperse

Satyagrahis. Early in the second week of April when the Satyagrahis at Aat attempted to carry contraband salt, the police tried to wrest it by force from their hands. Gandhi said, "they had no right to do that if they were representing a civilised government." When one of the volunteers was slightly injured on the wrist, Gandhi wrote:

This laying hand on the people for the purpose of seizing the salt they were carrying was morally wrong, and even wrong, I fancy, according to the English common law. But I do not know what powers are given by the statute.

Concluding, Mahatmaji said:

The legal procedure may be a cumbersome business for the Government, but since they have begun well, let them not end, ill. If they resort to terrorism, they will find the people prepared. Let the people defend the salt in their possession till they break in the attempt, but they should do so, without malice, without anger and without an angry word. The police have the easiest way open to them for taking possession of the salt. Let them arrest the civil resisters and they can take possession of the salt, because they have possession of their persons; but it can become forfeit only after conviction, not before.

The result of the campaign and of the numerous arrests and imprisonments of prominent workers in the various Provinces was to give an enormous stimulus to the movement. Huge public meetings were held in centres like Bombay, Calcutta, Karachi, Madras, Allahabad, Lahore, and Lucknow. An energetic campaign for the violation of the Salt Law was being conducted every day in Bombay, 500 volunteers dividing themselves into 5 batches of 100 each. The meeting held on the sands at Chowpathy (a spot hallowed by the cremation of Lokamanya Tilak's dead body) was reported to have been attended by no less than 500,000 people. Equally large meetings were held at Cawnpore with an audience of 53,000, and at Nagpur with 15,000. At Cawnpore, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya addressed the meeting and took a pledge from all present that they would

boycott British cloth at least for a period of twelve months. Over a thousand women were present at the meeting and made an enthusiastic response to the appeal.

The Maharashtra which threw in its full weight with Gandhiji, put up a brave (non-violent) fight: By the third week of May all the leaders found themselves in prison. Mr. K. M. Munshi, the member for University, resigned his seat on the Bombay Legislative Council and proceeded to Dandi to take an active part in the campaign. He was arrested and sentenced to six months' simple imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 200 on April 22. Then were arrested in turn Dr. Manubhai, Dr. Choit Ram, Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, Mr. Mahadev Desai, Messrs. Banker, Bhopatkar, D. V. Gokhale, Swami Anand, Jamnadas Dwarkadas and Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya.

In Bengal, Dr. Ganesh Chandra Banerjee was sentenced to 2½ years' rigorous imprisonment, and Dr. Prafulla Ghose and Mr. Premnath Banerjee to 2 years' rigorous imprisonment. Messrs. W. N. Neogy, P. N. Dhar, and Prof. B. K. Bhattacharya were also arrested and convicted.

In Madras Mr. K. Nageswara Rao, Editor of the *Andhra Patrika*, and Mr. T. Prakasam, Editor of the *Swarajya* were both sentenced to varying terms and their place was taken up by Miss Dhurgabhai who was subsequently arrested at Vellore.

In the Tamil Nadu Mr. C. Rajagopalachari marched with a band of hundred volunteers to Vedaranyam where he was arrested and sentenced to six months. Mrs. Rukmani Lakshmipathy was also convicted a fortnight later.

The movement was as active as ever in Andhra Desa, particularly all along the coast line. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramaya and Konda Venkatappaya were arrested and sentenced soon after. In U. P. it was not long before the prison

claimed Mr. Mohanlal Saksena, Babu Sri Prakasa, Moulvi Ahmed Zamankhan, Sardar Narbad Prasad Singh and others.

WOMEN IN THE MOVEMENT

One remarkable feature of the situation was that women more than ever participated in it. Groups of women were enlisted as volunteers for organizing the picketing of liquor shops and foreign cloth shops in Bombay and Ahmedabad. In the latter city, Mrs. Ambalal Sarabhai, the wife of a leading mill-owner, organized a deputation to Gandhiji, her programme being the Swadeshi vow and organization of the country for the boycott of British goods.

Gandhiji himself, addressing a meeting of women in a village near Navsari, requested them not to take part in the violation of the Salt Law. He observed :

Women ought not to take part alongside of men in defence of salt pans. I still give credit to the Government that it will not make war upon our women. It will be wrong on our part to provoke them into so doing. This is men's fight so long as the Government will confine their attention to men. There will be time enough for women to court assaults when the Government has crossed the limit. Let it not be said of us that men sought shelter behind women, well knowing they will be safe if they took women with them in what may be called, for want of a better name, aggressive non-violence. Women have, in the programme I ventured to place before them, enough work and to spare and all adventure and risk they may be capable of undertaking.

VIOLENCE

Gandhi had always insisted on carrying on the "warfare" in quite a gentlemanly fashion. But all warfare is ugly. Mass civil disobedience went on for a time without a hitch. But law-breaking led to arrests, and arrests to demonstrations and hartals, to be followed in turn by further arrests and consequent disturbances. The whole thing, as feared by many, worked in a vicious circle. The Satya-

grahis were by all accounts non-violent and observed their great leader's commands with praiseworthy discipline. But a mass movement gathers all and sundry, who without imbibing the spirit of the movement and of its great leader are easily led astray by the excitement of conflict. And then the magnitude of the concourse and the general unrest are just the occasion for the eruption of sporadic outbursts of violence by the rowdies. It was just the atmosphere of confusion in which the vagabonds plied their trade with comparative ease. And these disturbances had to be quelled by the police or the military, and invariably the innocent suffered and the complaint became loud that the authorities had used more force than was necessary or justifiable. Whatever it was the happenings at Karachi, Patna, Poona, Calcutta, Peshawar, Sholapur and Madras threw a lurid light on the situation. "By their indiscriminate beating and assaults," said Babu Rajendra Prasad addressing a public meeting on the day following the incident in Patna, "the authorities had perhaps done more of propaganda and infused more spirit among the people than he could ever do by means of his speeches. Therefore, in this matter at least he admitted his defeat at the hands of the Government."

So much for Patna. Mr. Gandhi referring to the Karachi tragedy wrote :

Brave young Dattatreya who is said to have known nothing of Satyagraha and being an athlete had merely gone to assist in keeping order, received a fatal bullet wound. Meghrej Revachand, 18 years' old, has also succumbed to a bullet wound. Thus did seven men, including Jairamdas, receive bullet wounds.

It was a gruesome tragedy in Peshawar where many persons were killed as a result of military firing following a disturbance in which two armoured cars were set fire to.

In Madras, police assault on the peaceful Satyagrahis on the morning of the 25th April was an equally gruesome spectacle. Then began the dispersal of a public meeting by armed sowars and police firing.

Above all there was a most unexpected outburst of violence at Chitagong, where a number of young men armed with revolvers made an attack upon the police, killing six and wounding a few more. It was evident that this had nothing to do with the Satyagraha movement, but it was most unfortunate it should have occurred at all.

THE BENGAL ORDINANCE

The Government of India considered the situation at an emergency meeting of the Executive Council, and the Viceroy immediately issued an Ordinance renewing the Bengal Ordinance, which normally lapsed on April 23rd, in view of the grave happenings in Chittagong. Gandhiji, interviewed on the subject, said that the Chittagong news made sad reading, and "shows that there is a large or a small body of men in Bengal, who do not believe in non-violence as a policy or a creed". "If it is an indication, and not an isolated act," Gandhiji said, "it is a serious affair. But however serious the situation becomes, there can be no suspension of the fight. There can be no re-tracing." Civil resisters, in his opinion, "must therefore fight an unequal struggle with the violence of the Government and the violence of those who have no faith in non-violence."

Mahatmaji himself writing under the caption *Black Regime* reviewed the outstanding events and observed that "if Government neither arrest nor declare salt free, they will find people marching to be shot rather than be tortured."

THE PRESS ORDINANCE

While events were taking this untoward turn, H. E. the Viceroy promulgated on the 27th April another Ordinance reviving the powers of the Press Act of 1910, with certain amendments. His Excellency pointed out that many writings in the Press incited openly to violent and revolutionary action, others by consistent laudation of the civil disobedience movement, had encouraged a spirit of lawlessness throughout the country.

The ordinance was enforced with the utmost promptness in Delhi, the Government demanding securities from the principal papers. This was extended to papers in all the provinces with almost indecent haste. Some of these papers ceased publication, while others in deference to the decision of the Journalists' Conference paid the securities for the first time and continued. It was a difficult and almost impossible situation for nationalist papers and no wonder some newspapers including Mr. Gandhi's *Young India*, began to be issued in cyclostyle. Mr. Gandhi in a press statement declared:

Revival in the form of an Ordinance of the Press Act, that was supposed to be dead was only to be expected and that, in its new form, the Act contains additional provisions making the whole piece deadlier than before.

Whether we realise it or not, for some days past, we have been living under a veiled form of martial law. After all, what is martial law, if it is not the will of the commanding officer? For the time being the Viceroy is that officer and wherever he considers it desirable, he supersedes the whole of the law, both common and statute, and imposes ordinances on a people too submissive to resent or resist them. I hope, however, the time for tame submission to dictation from the British rulers is gone for ever.

I hope that the people will not be frightened by this ordinance. Pressmen if they are worthy representatives of public opinion will not be frightened by the ordinance. Let us realise the wise dictum of Thoreau that it is difficult, under tyrannical rule, for honest men to be wealthy, and if we have decided to hand over our bodies without murmur to the authorities, let us also be equally ready to hand over our property to them and not sell our souls.

I would therefore urge Pressmen and publishers to refuse to furnish security, and if they are called upon to do so, either to cease publication or challenge the authorities to confiscate whatever they like. When freedom is actually knocking at our doors, and, when for the sake of wooing it, thousands have suffered tortures, let it not be said of Press representatives that they were weighed and found wanting. They may confiscate the type and machinery. They will not confiscate the pen and still less the speech, but I recognise they can succeed in confiscating even these last two, but what they will never succeed in stifling what is after all the thing that matters, the thought of the nation.

He subsequently directed the manager of his *Navajivan* press to allow it to be forfeited rather than deposit security if security was demanded by the Government under the Press Ordinance. And, of course, in due course, *Navajivan* fell and with it the journals issued by that press.

MR. PATEL'S RESIGNATION

It was about this time too that President Patel resigned his office of speakership of the Assembly as well as his membership. In his letter to His Excellency Lord Irwin, he declared that he would serve the country better outside the Assembly by joining his countrymen in the "movement for freedom". He also outlined the difficulties and obstacles he had to contend with. "The Chair," he declared, "had been a bed of thorns for me all throughout." His movements, he alleged, had been constantly watched and he had been shadowed. During the last five years his health had been seriously impaired by strenuous work. "A man with weaker nerves," he declared, "would have resigned long ago or become subservient to the bureaucracy." He found that he had laid down precedents and conventions which, in his opinion, "might be a credit to any Assembly in the world".

I would ask you to lay aside in the larger interests of the respective countries all considerations of prestige and invite Mr. Gandhi for a settlement.

Thus wrote Mr. Patel in the course of his second letter to the Viceroy, tendering his resignation. Mr. Patel in this letter reviewed the political situation in the country and recounted the advice that he constantly gave to the Viceroy, dwelling on the importance of the Congress in Indian politics. In concluding, he paid a warm tribute to Lord Irwin. "You sincerely wish to solve India's problem," he said,

your influence with all the parties in England is great..... If, therefore, you take courage and rise to the occasion, you will serve both India and England as no man has served in the past. If you fail, it must be India's good-bye to England.

The Viceroy accepting the resignation refused to reply to all the allegations against the officers of his Government as "these charges bear on their face their own refutation". He referred to Mr. Patel's misunderstandings of events as evident in his letter of resignation and he hoped that Mr. Patel "and his friends would realize the great harm they were doing to India by refusing the way of peace" for the solution of the country's political problems.

GANDHI'S ACTIVITIES

Meanwhile Mr. Gandhi's own activities continued unabated. He travelled through the villages preaching incessantly now against untouchability, now against drink, now urging the people to go on with Khadi work and the manufacture of illicit salt, and calling upon the women to take the place of men in national service. At one place he asked the people to cut off all the palm trees in the village—himself inaugurating the ceremony of destruction by cutting at the root of one—and he called upon the village officers to resign and join the national work. Addressing a meeting of women in Surat on May 4, Gandhiji said that they should not attend his meetings in future without

their *taklis*. They could spin the finest counts on the *taklis*. Women of Surat had to atone for the admission of foreign cloth through the port of Surat. At the same place he called upon the caste panchayats to observe their pledge to abstain from drink. At Navsari however he warned the people against the social boycott of Government officials. "Kaira District appears to have become the theatre of war in Gujarat," wrote Gandhiji in an article in *Navajivan*.

People have preserved peace but there are anger and malice and therefore violence in their intensive social boycott. They censure and harass Government officers in small matters. They will not succeed in this manner. We should expose the evils of the offices of Mamlatdars, Fozdars, etc., but we should not harbour anger towards Mamlatdars and Fozdars. There should be sweetness and respect in our intense boycott. Otherwise there will be riots some day. Mamlatdar and Fozdar etc. will cross the limit. Fozdar is already said to have crossed the limit. What wonder if the people crossed the limit? Similarly if some abuse, how can they blame those who resort to blows?

People of Kaira District should take a warning and enforce boycott within limits. I have indicated for instance boycott of village officers should be with regard to their office only. Their order should not be obeyed but their food supplies should not be stopped. They should not be ejected from their houses. If we are not capable of doing this we should give up the boycott.

Gandhiji was then drafting his second letter to the Viceroy and had also announced his intention of raiding the salt works of Dharsana and Chharwada.

THE ARREST

It was obvious that Gandhi's arrest was only a question of time. The Government of India had made up its mind to put a stop to his activities, a view in which the Home Government had no hesitation in concurring. But the whole affair was kept confidential and not until Mr. Gandhi was actually removed to Yerravada on the morning of the 5th, was it known that the arrest had taken place.

For at midnight on the 4th May, Gandhiji was arrested in his camp at Karadi. Describing the arrest, Mira Bai (Miss Slade) used the language of the Bible,

At dead of night, like thieves they came to steal him away. For, when they sought to lay hold on him, they feared the multitudes, because they took him for a prophet.

It would appear that the District Magistrate and District Superintendent of Police with the Deputy Superintendent of Police and about 20 armed policemen proceeded from Jalalpur to Karadi and reached there at 12-45. They proceeded straight with the help of a flashlight torch to the cot where Mr. Gandhi was fast asleep. They directed the flashlight on Mr. Gandhi, who woke up. Policemen surrounded Mr. Gandhi's cot. Mr. Gandhi asked if they wanted him. The District Magistrate replied in the affirmative and said: "We have orders to place you under arrest."

Mr. Gandhi inquired if they minded his cleaning his teeth. The District Police Superintendent replied that he had no objection. While Mr. Gandhi was thus engaged in applying salt to his teeth with a brush, his "volunteers" assembled. Mr. Gandhi asked the District Magistrate if he would let him know the charge under which he was arrested. The District Magistrate then read out the warrant.

As Government views with alarm the activities of Mr. M. K. Gandhi, they direct that he should be placed under restraint under Regulation 25 of 1927 and suffer imprisonment during the pleasure of the Government and be immediately removed to Yerravada Central Jail.

Mr. Gandhi thanked the District Magistrate and went about his morning routine. It was by this time nearing 1 A.M., and the District Magistrate requested Mr. Gandhi to speed up. Mr. Gandhi was soon ready to go. He handed over a letter which he had written to H. E. the Viceroy

and some other letters to one of his "volunteers" and he took his two bags, and a *takli*. Before Mr. Gandhi departed, his "volunteers" bade him farewell. By this time it was ten minutes past one and Mr. Gandhi was placed in a motor lorry, accompanied by policemen.

He was then taken to Borivli near Bombay by train and thence by motor car to Yerravada prison. By special favour of the authorities two newspaper correspondents, the late Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett, representing the *London Telegraph*, and Mr. Negley Farson the correspondent of an American paper, were present at a level crossing when Mahatmaji was taken down from the train. Describing the same with true historic perception, Ashmead-Bartlett wrote:

There was something intensely dramatic in the atmosphere while we were waiting for the train, for we all felt we were sole eye-witnesses of a scene which may become historical—this arrest of a prophet, false or true. For, false or true, Gandhi is now regarded as a holy man and saint by millions of Indians. Who knows whether, one hundred years from now, he may be worshipped as a supreme being by 300,000,000 people. We could not shake off these thoughts and it seemed incongruous to be at a level crossing at dawn to take the prophet into custody.

HIS MESSAGE

Before the arrest, however, Gandhiji had dictated at Dandi what may be called his last message in which he expressed his satisfaction at the way Gujarat had responded to his call.

If such an auspicious beginning is carried to its full conclusion, complete Swaraj is a certainty and India will have set to the whole world an example worthy of her. Swaraj obtained without sacrifice, never endures. People may have, therefore, to make endless sacrifices. In real sacrifice there is only one-sided suffering, that is without killing others one has to die. May India accomplish this ideal! At present, the self-respect and everything of India are concealed in a handful of salt. The first may be broken, but it should never be opened.

*

*

*

After I am arrested, neither the people nor my colleagues should be daunted. The conductor of this fight is God and not I. He dwells in the heart of all. If we have faith in us, God will certainly lead us. Our path is fixed. Whole villages should come forward to pick or manufacture salt. Women should picket liquor and opium shops and foreign cloth shops. In every house young and old should begin spinning on *takli* and heaps of yarn should be daily woven. There should be bonfires of foreign cloth. Hindus should regard none as untouchables. Hindus, Mahomedans, Parsis and Christians all should heartily embrace one another. The major communities should be satisfied with what remains after satisfaction of minor communities. Students should leave Government schools, and Government servants should resign and be employed in the service of the people like brave patels and talatis who have resigned. Thus shall we easily complete Swaraj.

MRS. GANDHI ON THE ARREST

Interviewed by the Associated Press, Mrs. Gandhi said:

Bapu has been removed, but his removal will in no way hamper the great task of winning India's freedom undertaken by him. If the nation sincerely followed Bapu, they should carry on the work with double vigour. Lawyers should now leave the courts, and women should justify the faith reposed in them by Bapu, and should leave no stone unturned in the boycott of foreign cloth and abolition of the drink evil. I fervently hope that India will show her mettle, and give a fitting reply to the Government's unwarranted action.

MRS. NAIDU ON GANDHI'S ARREST

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, in a statement to the Press on Mahatma Gandhi's arrest, said:

A powerful Government could have paid no more splendid tribute to the far-reaching power of Mahatma Gandhi than by the manner of his arrest and incarceration without trial under the most arbitrary law on their statute book. It is really immaterial that the fragile and ailing body of the Mahatma is imprisoned behind stone walls and steel bars. It is the least essential part of it. The man and his message are identical and his message is the living heritage of the nation to-day and will continue to influence the thought and action of the world unfettered and unchallenged by the mandate of the most autocratic Government of the earth.

THE AFTERMATH OF THE ARREST

The arrest of Mahatma Gandhi naturally created considerable excitement, not only in India but all over the

world. It was followed by spontaneous demonstrations of sympathy from one end of the country to the other. It was the signal for a voluntary and complete hartal in Bombay, Calcutta and several other places. The day after the arrest, the hartal was even more wide-spread. In Bombay, a huge procession was taken out, and a public meeting in the evening had to be addressed from seven different platforms. About 40 out of the 80 mills had to be inactive, because over 50,000 men had come out in protest. The workmen of the G.I.P. and the B.B. and C.I. Workshops also came out and joined the hartal. The cloth merchants decided on a six days' hartal to indicate their disapproval of the arrest. In Poona, where Gandhiji was interned, the hartal was complete. Resignations from honorary offices and from the services were announced at frequent intervals. Troubles were brewing at one or two places, though on the whole the country had imbibed Mahatmaji's teachings rather astonishingly. The disturbances in Sholapur resulting in the burning of six Police Chawkies led to police firing in which 25 were killed and about a hundred wounded. In Calcutta, though the hartal was peaceful in the City, there were disturbances at Howrah where the police opened fire; at Panchannantala, a crowd which tried to hold up a train was fired upon by the police and fifteen were injured. Section 144 was at once promulgated at Howrah, and numerous arrests were made. There was firing also in Delhi, following the refusal of a crowd to disperse. Under Section 144, all assemblies of more than five were prohibited.

PROTESTS IN OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD

But Gandhiji's arrest had a world-wide interest. Indians engaged in business in Panama called a 24-hour sympathetic 'hartal'. A similar step was taken by Indians

on the east coast of Sumatra, who wired to the Viceroy and the Congress regretting Mr. Gandhi's arrest. French papers were full of Gandhi and his doings. The boycott movement had a repercussion in Germany also where textile exporters were advised by their agents in India to suspend exports. Reuter reported that Saxon manufacturers of cheap printed cotton goods were particularly hard hit. The Indian community of Nairobi declared a 'hartal' in consequence of the arrest.

AMERICAN SYMPATHY

Meanwhile, an influentially signed message was cabled to Mr. Ramsay MacDonald by 102 American clergymen of various denominations urging him to seek an amicable settlement with Mr. Gandhi and the Indian people. Signatures were collected by Dr. John Haynes Holmes, New York, and the message appealed to the Prime Minister in the interests of Britain, India, and the world to avoid the tragedy of a conflict which would mean catastrophe for all mankind.

The signatories refused to believe that Mr. MacDonald, representing principles of freedom, democracy and brotherhood, could find it impossible to negotiate with Mr. Gandhi and make peace with the spiritual ideals he so sublimely embodies.

THE LIBERAL MOVE

The Government of India was no doubt keenly alive to the seriousness of the situation. H. E. the Viceroy interviewed the Liberal leaders, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Sir Chimanlal Setalvad at great length. The Council of the Liberal Federation met at Bombay to consider the political situation and leading Liberals gave expression to the urgent need for another announcement from the Viceroy fixing the early date of the Round Table Confer-

ence. But the day before the meeting of the All-Parties' Conference and the Council of the Liberal Federation, H. E. made another important announcement and released for publication his correspondence with the Prime Minister. The Council of the Federation also issued a statement on the situation. The Council, while unequivocally condemning the civil disobedience movement, urged the Viceroy to speed up the preparations for the Round Table Conference for the discussion of Dominion Status. It stressed the importance of the Government

indicating the terms of reference and the scope of the Round Table Conference in order that even at this stage those who keep aloof may join hands with the Liberals and other Parties who are proceeding to the Conference.

It further laid stress

on the simultaneous cessation of civil disobedience and the initiation of active conciliation on the part of the Government to be manifested by the release of those whose freedom has been restrained for political reasons, and the taking of all political Parties into Government's full confidence.

LORD IRWIN'S ANNOUNCEMENT

In the course of a statement announcing the date of the Round Table Conference, His Excellency the Viceroy reviewed the course of political events since his announcement of November 1, reiterated his desire to continue his work for India despite the many lamentable happenings, and concluded with the remark:

Our purpose remains unchanged. Neither my Government nor His Majesty's Government will be deflected by these unhappy events from our firm determination to abide by the policy I was privileged to announce on November last.

After reviewing the developments in this country since October 1929 and pointing out how his warning to Mr. Gandhi against the consequences of a campaign of civil disobedience had been proved by recent riots, Lord Irwin declared that steps were being taken to arrange for the

assembling in London of the representatives at the Round Table Conference. His Excellency added, "I have learnt to love India too well to relax my efforts to assist what I hold to be the natural and true development of her political life," and emphasised that no settlement can be considered satisfactory which did not carry the consent of, and give a sense of security to, the important communities who will have to live under the new constitution.

THE WORKING COMMITTEE'S DECISION

But, in the meanwhile, the Congress Working Committee met at Allahabad and expressed its abiding faith in civil disobedience. It chalked out the lines to follow in the coming weeks and recommended in its resolutions:

- (1) Civil Disobedience Campaign to continue;
- (2) Complete boycott of foreign cloth;
- (3) Inauguration of a no-tax campaign;
- (4) Weekly breaches of the Salt Law;
- (5) Boycott of British Banking, Insurance, Shipping and other institutions;
- (6) Picketing of liquor shops;
- (7) Delegation of full powers to Pundit Motilal Nehru.

In the meanwhile, Mr. Abbas Tyabji who took up Mahatmaji's place as leader of the Salt Satyagrahis was arrested on the 12th April.

Mrs. Naidu who had proceeded to Allahabad to attend the Working Committee meeting, on hearing of Mr. Tyabji's arrest, hurried to Dharsana, in fulfilment of her promise to Mr. Gandhi and continued to direct the raid. She and her batch of volunteers, who had pursued a policy of "wait and see" for over 24 hours, were formally arrested on 16th morning, taken out of the police cordon and then released.

After the first batch had left the prohibited area a few volunteers, taking advantage of the fact that the majority of the police party had moved out to the lunch camp leaving only a handful to keep watch, rushed towards the salt

mounds. They were chased out, and in the scuffle, a few volunteers were injured. The same evening over 220 volunteers were arrested by the police on a charge of being members of an unlawful assembly and were detained in the segregation camp at Dharsana.

According to the decision of the Bombay Congress Committee, a large number of volunteers converged on the Wadala salt works on the 18th morning. The 'raid' was frustrated by the prompt action of the police, who, armed with revolvers, arrested over 400 of the Satyagrahis. There was an exciting chase after a batch of the arrested persons, who had broken loose from the police cordon and dashed out for Wadala, but were also soon rounded up.

THE EFFECT OF THE MOVEMENT

The repercussions of the movement in the country were plain enough. To take a single instance, largely owing to the civil disobedience campaign, the Bombay Government was faced with a Budget deficit of Rs. 1½ crores, whereas they had estimated a surplus of Rs. 1 lakh.

There was also a fall in excise revenue of Rs. 60 lakhs and a decrease of Rs. 16 lakhs from forests; Rs. 5½ lakhs of land revenue remained uncollected.

But its effect on the London market and in the manufacturing centres in England was even more pronounced. The Free Press Correspondent, writing of the effect of the boycott movement, observed:

Since the attack seems to be concentrated on the textile goods, it is here that the effectiveness of the movement is most visibly felt. But what worries manufacturers is not so much the feeling that they would ultimately lose the Indian market as the fear that the existing contracts would either not be fulfilled or would be cancelled. The tendency to cancel the present orders seems to be on the increase, and the Manchester Correspondent of *The Daily Mail* says, "The latest news from India is likely to bring Lancashire's Indian trade to a complete standstill. Already spinning mills

and weaving sheds are closing down indefinitely and thousands of operatives are joining the ranks of the unemployed."

Thus nobody, least of all the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India, could believe that the trouble was all over with the arrest. It would appear that they were forced to it rather painfully. It is easy enough for the ignorant or the reactionary Press in England, as in India, to goad the Government on to acts of repression. But they forgot that the Mahatma himself, when free, is a great force working for peace. Mr. Benn and Lord Irwin knew that there could be no peace in the country until the whole problem of the Indian constitution was discussed *de novo* and a settlement in conformity with the legitimate aspirations of the people arrived at. Hence it was that, in reply to questions in the House of Commons on the morrow of the arrest, Mr. Wedgwood Benn emphasised "that the invitations to Indian leaders for the Round Table Conference still stood despite anything that has happened".

THE SALT RAIDS

Meanwhile successive meetings of the Working Committee decided to continue the programme and the raid was to go on. A mass raid at Dharsana took place on the 21st of May, when 2,500 volunteers from all parts of Gujerat took part in it. They were led by Imam Saheb, the 62-years old colleague of Gandhiji in South Africa. The volunteers commenced the raid early in the morning, and as they attacked the salt heaps at different places, the police charged them with lathis (bamboo sticks) and beat them back. Thousands witnessed the spectacle. After this had gone on for two hours, the leaders, Messrs. Imam Saheb, Pyarilal and Manilal Gandhi were arrested and later Mrs. Sarojini Naidu also. The total number of injured volunteers on that day was 290. One injured volunteer, Mr.

Bhailalbhaji Dajabhai, died from the effects of the injuries. The police, with the help of the military, then practically isolated Dharsana and Untadi by blocking the main road leading to these places and preventing any car or pedestrian from going along it. All the volunteers who were camping at Untadi were taken to some unknown destination and later released.

Two batches of volunteers numbering about 200 were led on the 3rd June from Untadi camp to raid the Dharsana salt depots. Both were held up by the police who, when the crowd entered the prohibited area, charged them with lathis. The injured men were taken to the camp hospital.

WADALA RAIDS

A succession of raids were also made on the Wadala Salt depot. On the 22nd, 118 volunteers were arrested and taken to Worli. On the 25th, 100 volunteers were accompanied by a huge crowd of 2,000 spectators. The police charged them with lathis, injuring 17, and later arrested 115 of them. The raid lasted two hours. It was continued in the afternoon when 18 more were injured by police lathis. On the 25th, about a dozen were injured, and among them the airman Kabali. On the 26th, 65 volunteers were afield and 43 of them were arrested. The rest with the crowd got off with the salt. An official Press Note stated that the disturbances that had so far taken place, had been caused largely by the sight-seers who were, unlike the volunteers, not disciplined. The Note warned the public to keep away from Wadala while the raids were in progress.

But the most demonstrative raid was to come off on the 1st June for which the War Council was diligently preparing. On the morning of the 1st, nearly 15,000

volunteers and non-volunteers participated in the great mass action at Wadala.

Successive batches marched up to the Port Trust level crossing and the swelled crowd were held up there by the police cordon. Soon the raiders among whom were women and children broke through the cordon, splashed through slime and mud, and ran over the paas. Congress raiders numbering about 150 were slightly injured. The raiders were repulsed by the police who were acting under the immediate supervision of the Home Member.

Serious trouble ending in two police charges and the calling out of the military to cope with the situation occurred at the Worli Detention Camp on the 3rd June when, about a thousand under-trial Wadala "Raiders" were involved in a brush with the police resulting in about ninety casualties, twenty-five of them being serious.

ORDINANCES GALORE

Meanwhile the Viceroy issued two more Ordinances in order to check the inauguration of no-tax campaign, the picketing of foreign cloths and liquor shops and the social boycott of Government servants. These were called the Unlawful Instigation Ordinance and the Prevention of Intimidation Ordinance. Each of them was accompanied by a personal statement by the Viceroy, who set out his reasons for such extraordinary legislation. The new Ordinances were at once applied, by notification, to the Provinces of Bombay, Bengal, Assam, Bihar and Orissa and the North-west Frontier; the Instigation Ordinance alone was extended to the Punjab.

EYE-WITNESSES' STATEMENT

But the way in which the raiders were dealt with by the police caused considerable public indignation and protests. On-lookers were aghast at the gruesome

spectacle. Mr. Hussain, ex-Judge, Small Causes Court, Bombay, Mr. K. Natarajan and Mr. G. K. Devadhar, President, Servants of India Society, who personally watched the Dharsana raid, issued a statement in which they said that:

They saw with their own eyes that after Satyagrahis were driven out of the Salt boundary, mounted European Sowars rode at full gallop with lathis in their hands beating people between the spot where Satyagrahis had reached for raid and the village itself. They actually galloped full speed through the streets of the village scattering men, women and children. Villagers ran into bye-lanes and closed themselves in houses. But if, by accident, they were unable to escape, they were beaten with lathis.

Mr. Webb Miller, writing to the *New Freeman* expressed abhorrence of the sights at Dharsana.

In eighteen years of reporting in twenty-two countries, during which I have witnessed innumerable civil disturbances, riots, street fights and rebellions, I have never witnessed such harrowing scenes as at Dharsana. Sometimes the scenes were so painful that I had to turn away momentarily. One surprising feature was the discipline of the volunteers. It seemed they were thoroughly imbued with Gandhi's non-violence creed.

MR. SLOCOMBE'S IMPRESSIONS

Mr. George Slocombe, the representative of the *Daily Herald*, London, was also an eye-witness to some of the Salt raids.

I watched the events from an observation-post on one of the rocky hills which ring in Wadala.

It was humiliating for an Englishman to stand among the ardent, friendly, but deeply moved crowd of volunteers and sympathizers and watch the representatives of the country's administration engaged in this ludicrous, embarrassing business.

The scenes that he witnessed burnt themselves into his mind, and like a true evangel he was groping for a way out of the impasse. It was now that he achieved a journalistic coup more impressive and certainly more fruitful than Mr. Bartlett's interview at the Railway level crossing. On May 20, Mr. Slocombe saw Mr. Gandhi in Yerravada Jail

and wrote a masterly despatch to his paper—a despatch which disturbed the slumbers of the House of the Commons and threw the Tory press into a paroxysm of chagrin and fury. It was in that despatch that Mr. Slocombe announced that

even at this critical hour, a settlement is possible and Mr. Gandhi is prepared to recommend to the Congress a suspension of the civil disobedience movement and co-operation with the Round Table Conference on the following terms:

- (1) The terms of reference of the Round Table Conference to include the framing of a constitution giving India the substance of independence.
- (2) Satisfaction to be granted to Mr. Gandhi's demands for the repeal of the salt tax, prohibition of liquor and the ban on foreign cloth.
- (3) An amnesty for prisoners convicted of political offences, to coincide with the end of the civil disobedience campaign.
- (4) The remaining seven points raised in Mr. Gandhi's letter to the Viceroy to be left for future discussion.

And Mr. Slocombe pertinently asked:

Is the Government prepared to make honourable peace with him? Negotiation is still possible and after my two meetings with Mr. Gandhi in prison, I am convinced that conciliation will be met with conciliation but that violence on either side will compel surrender of the other. Incalculable disaster may yet be avoided by the frank recognition that the imprisoned Mahatma now incarnates the very soul of India.

A WEEK'S WAR NEWS

But the authorities were then in no mood to listen to this counsel. Government was bent on breaking the back of the Civil Disobedience movement—and its method was simplicity itself. It was to clap all the leading men of the Congress in prison and literally to beat down the ranks. As we have seen Abbas Tyabji followed Gandhi to prison. Mrs. Sarojini who took his place was arrested on the 23rd June, and Pandit Motilal Nehru on the 30th. Vallabhai Patel and Pandit Malaviya found themselves in prison on the 3rd August following a sensational trial. Abdul Kalam Asad, the next president, was clapped on the 21st, and

II. Simultaneous calling off of civil disobedience and the withdrawal of the Ordinances and release of Satyagraha and political prisoners.

Further, Mr. Gandhi stated that he would reserve to himself

the liberty of testing every Swaraj scheme by its ability to satisfy the object underlying the 11 points mentioned in my letter to the Viceroy.

The letter to Pandit Motilal stated that "Pandit Jawaharlal's must be the final voice," and that he (Mr. Gandhi) "should have no hesitation in supporting any stronger position (than that adopted in the note) up to the letter of the Lahore resolution."

But the Nehrus pitched their demands a trifle too high and in their note to Gandhiji expressed their doubts as to the wisdom of lowering their standard.

They also felt that "we are unlikely to achieve anything (at the R. T. C.) unless an agreement on all vital matters is previously arrived at". And then Gandhi wrote his revised terms which he gave to Mr. Jayakar in the first week of August, declaring:

(1) No constitutional scheme would be acceptable to Mr. Gandhi which did not contain a clause allowing India the right to secede from the Empire at her desire and another clause which gave the right and power to India to deal satisfactorily with his eleven points.

(2) The Viceroy should be made aware of this position. Mr. Gandhi would also insist at the Conference on a clause giving India the right to have examined by an independent tribunal all the British claims and concessions given to Britishers in the past.

CONGRESS LEADERS' NOTE

The next event was the joint interview in Yerravada gaol on the 14th and 15th August, between Mr. Jayakar and Dr. Sapru on the one side, and Mr. Gandhi, Mrs. Naidu, Mr. Daulatram, the Nehrus and Dr. Syed Mahmud, on the other. The result was a letter signed by the Congress

leaders in the course of which they said among other things:

The following is the utmost response it is possible for us to make to your friendly endeavour:

The language used by the Viceroy in the reply given to your letter about the Conference is too vague to enable us to assess its value nor are we in a position to say anything authoritative without reference to a properly constituted meeting of the Working Committee of the Congress and if necessary the A.I.C.C.; but for us individually no solution will be satisfactory unless (a) it recognizes, in as many words, the right of India to secede at will from the British Empire; (b) it gives to India complete National Government responsible to her people, including control of the Defence forces and economic control, and covers all the eleven points raised in Gandhiji's letter to the Viceroy, and (c) it gives to India the right to refer, if necessary, to independent tribunal such British claims, concessions and the like, including the so-called public debt of India, as may seem to the National Government to be unjust or not in the interest of the people of India.

Note:—Such adjustments as may be necessitated in the interests of India during the transference of power to be determined by India's chosen representatives.

The negotiators then interviewed the Viceroy between the 25th and 27th August. His Excellency, while appreciating the spirit in which they had undertaken the work, declared:

I do not think any useful purpose would be served by my attempting to deal in detail with the suggestions they made, and I must frankly say I regard the discussion on the basis of the proposals contained in the letter as impossible.

Thus ended the Sapru-Jayakar negotiations to which the country was looking forward with hopes for a settlement.

THE FAILURE OF NEGOTIATIONS

The failure of the negotiations came as a rude shock and disappointment to the country at large. While Dr. Sapru and Mr. Jayakar, in conformity with the recognised etiquette on such occasions, kept a dignified silence, Liberal leaders felt sorely aggrieved by the prospect of the indefinite continuance of impasse and the strain on the

country consequent on the rigorous application of ordinances resulting in the meek and helpless sufferings of the people. Even some of the advanced nationalists did not quite approve of the intransigence of the Congressmen.

Thus the *Mahratta*, the leading organ of the Tilak School of Nationalists, while holding that the major portion of the responsibility for the failure of the peace negotiations rested on the Government, severely criticised the Congress leaders for shifting the basis of negotiations. It pointed out that in the first letter Mahatma Gandhi did not refer to the right of secession or to the question of the public debt of India. 'It was an after-thought and inserted in his second note.' It wrote :

In brief, the Congress leaders, by their unpractical extravagance, and probably by their lack of the exact perception of the political situation, have, to our mind, lost a golden opportunity of compromise. We do not believe that the country would have suffered by the compromise. On the contrary, it is our conviction that the nation would have been better braced up for any other political movement, if necessity for the same arose later. The movement of the Congress was indeed pre-eminently successful. The conduct of the Government had even certified that success. But the fact, as it seems to us and as it would be found to be correct in course of time, is that though the victory was won on the battlefield, it has now at least been lost on the peace-table.

Undeterred by the failure of these efforts, Mr. Horace G. Alexander, Professor of International Relations at Selby Oak College, took upon himself the seemingly impossible task of bringing about a *rapprochement* by further efforts at negotiation and sought interviews with the Viceroy in Simla and Mr. Gandhi in jail. Recording his impressions of his interview with the august prisoner and the possibility of a common factor in the tangle of dissensions, he pointed out subsequently in an article in the *Spectator* that :

Phrases like 'Dominion Status' and 'Federation' mean little to him. He wants to know what the functions and powers of a

Dominion are to be, and who is to have effective control of the essential services in any federation. Unlike many of his fellow-countrymen, it is not the prestige of a higher status that he craves, but the power to wrestle with the problem of Indian poverty. There is surely nothing negative or destructive in such an aim, as so many of his British critics maintain, even though his method of securing it may seem strange.

It was in fact clear that though he had to implement the existing laws with about a dozen ordinances, all obnoxious to the people, Lord Irwin was by no means oblivious to the spirit underlying the disobedience movement in the country. Addressing the Calcutta European Association at a dinner Lord Irwin declared :

However emphatically we may condemn the Civil Disobedience Movement, we should, I am satisfied, make a profound mistake if we underestimated the genuine and powerful meaning of nationalism that is to-day animating much of Indian thought and for this no complete or permanent cure has ever been or ever will be found in strong action by Government.

But the Imperial Government had decided to go on with the Round Table Conference, irrespective of Congress participation, though they would welcome such participation at any stage. H. E. Lord Irwin, speaking at a farewell Banquet at Simla on September 29th, made reference to the peace efforts and the Round Table Conference and observed :

In little more than a month from now representatives from all parts of India will meet His Majesty's Government in a Conference, which, I trust, may long be remembered as one of the landmarks of progress in the history of this country.

That the Conference will include no representative of one important political party in India, and, I confess, that the refusal of that party to endeavour to make their contribution to discussions of such far-reaching consequence, seems to me to betray a tragic lack of foresight and a bankruptcy of statesmanship.

But, while deploring that wiser counsels have not prevailed, I do not think there can be much doubt on whose shoulders must rest the blame for the present position of affairs.

Thus, arrangements were in rapid progress to make the London Conference a great and impressive success.

THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

Accordingly the opening of the Round Table Conference in the Royal Gallery of the House of Lords, on Wednesday the 12th November 1930, was attended with stately splendour. For the first time in the history of British connection with India, the King of England presided over the Conference and gave his Royal blessings to a historic gathering called upon to deal with the momentous problem of India's future constitution. There were 86 delegates in all: 16 from the Indian States, 57 representing British India, and 13 from the British political parties. The central figure in the scene was the King himself. The Premier, Princes and their Ministers sat to the right of the throne. Mr. Benn and other British delegates to the left, and the British Indian delegation to the front. Among the keenly interested visitors were the Prime Ministers of the Dominions. The speeches delivered on the occasion were altogether impressive.

The plenary session recommenced at St. James' Palace on the 17th and continued for 5 days till the 21st, during which time a number of speeches were made by representatives of the various delegations, and the consensus of opinion was a strong and irresistible plea for Dominion Status for India.

Opening the general discussion on the future form of Constitution for India, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru delivered a magnificent speech which made a great impression on the House. "India is determined to achieve a status of equality with the other three members of the Commonwealth, which will give her a Government, not merely responsible, but responsive, to the popular voice," said

Dr. Sapru, and concluded amidst cheers: "We are here to add, if we can, a bright chapter to the history of the relations of England and India."

A striking feature of these deliberations was the part taken by the Ruling Chiefs and Princes who participated in the discussion. The Maharajahs of Patiala and Bikaner and Alwar, and the Nawab of Bhopal and the representatives of the States, were unanimous in their plea for broadening the basis of the Indian Constitution and joining an Indian Federation. The Rt. Hon. Sastri made an impassioned appeal to the Premier pointing out the strength and unanimity that lay behind the movement for freedom in India. Mr. MacDonald replied with much force and earnestness.

Especially notable also was the declaration that the attitude of the Princes had revolutionised the situation, and he went on to say:

Your problem and my problem is to sit down together and supply practical answers to those questions which can be embodied in an Act of Parliament. (*Applause.*) This Constitution, this Federation or whatever it may be, must meet two fundamental requirements:

Firstly, it must work. There is no good producing a constitution which won't work. That won't get you out of your difficulties and won't get us out of ours. The other point is this. The constitution must evolve. You are not in a position here to produce a static constitution that your grandsons, great-grandsons and great great-grandsons will worship as though it is one of your sacred inheritances.

Therefore, the constitution must work, the constitution must evolve. It must be a continuing thing, and in the evolving, Indian opinion and Indian experience must be the more important initiating power.

Thus ended the plenary session which appointed various Committees to deliberate upon and advise the Conference on the outstanding issues before it.

THE SUB-COMMITTEES AND THEIR REPORTS.

For nearly ten weeks the Committees sat at frequent intervals and deliberated upon the various aspects of the problem, notably under the immediate guidance of the Prime Minister and the Lord Chancellor Lord Sankey. First, there was the Federal Structure Committee presided by Lord Sankey. There were then the Defence Committee under Mr. Thomas, the Frontier Committee under Mr. Henderson, the Franchise Committee under Sir W. M. Jowitt. There were besides the Minorities Committee under the immediate guidance of the Prime Minister, the Burma Committee, the Provincial Committee, and the Committee on Public Services.

At the meeting of the Federal Structure Committee on the 2nd January, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru outlined his proposals in a speech of remarkable force and lucidity which elicited approval from Lord Reading and admiration from all sides for the eloquence and cogency of his arguments. His proposals may be briefly put:

Powers of the Secretary of State to be restricted to Crown subjects and the Council of India to disappear.

The Governor-General in future to be the head of the Executive Government in the same way as the Governor-General in the Dominions, subject to certain changes necessitated by the period of transition.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru recalled that the object of the Conference was not to draft a Constitution which must be left to constitutional draftsmen later. He thought he was entitled to ask the Chairman to say that the real object had been attained and to hold that the maximum amount of agreement regarding responsibility at the centre and the status of India had been arrived at. * * Lord Sankey, after considering all the reports at a special meeting of the Committee at St.

James, on January 12, read the Draft Report which suggested

that Executive power and authority should be vested in the Crown or the Governor-General, and there should be a Council of Ministers appointed by the Governor-General to hold office at his pleasure to aid and advise him.

The Governor-General should invite a Minister to form Government, who will retain office only as long as they retain the confidence of the Legislature.

The Sub-Committee generally agreed that the assumption by India of all powers and responsibility which have hitherto rested with Parliament cannot be made at one step, and

during the period of transition the Governor-General should be responsible for Defence and External Relations, including Relations with Indian States, outside the Federal sphere and in certain specified situations which may arise outside the sphere of those subjects.

The Governor-General must be free to act on his own responsibility and should be given the powers necessary to implement his decisions in the event of a breakdown of the Constitution. Adequate powers should be vested in the Governor-General for the purpose of enabling King's Government to be carried on. * * *

The Conference sitting on the 19th January at the Plenary Session adopted the following resolution:

These Reports, provisional though they are, together with the recorded notes attached to them, afford in the opinion of the Conference material of the highest value for use in the framing of a Constitution for India, embodying as they do a substantial measure of agreement on the main ground-plan and many helpful indications of the points of detail to be further pursued. And the Conference feels that arrangements should be made to pursue without interruption the work upon which it has been engaged, including the provision in the Constitution of adequate safeguards for the Mussalmans, Depressed Classes, Sikhs and all other important minorities.

The Conference concluded with the speech of the Prime Minister recounting the achievements of the Session.

The Prime Minister, in reviewing the work of the various Committees, observed:

His Majesty's Government has taken note of the fact that the deliberations of the Conference have proceeded on the basis accepted by all parties, that the Central Government should be a federation of All-India embracing both Indian States and British India in

a bi-Cameral Legislature. The precise form and structure of the new Federal Government must be determined after further discussion with the Princes and representatives of British India. The range of subjects to be committed to it will also require further discussion, because the Federal Government will have authority only in such matters concerning the States as will be ceded by their Rulers in the agreement made by them on entering into Federation.

The connection of the States with the Federation will remain subject to the basic principle that with regard to all matters not ceded by them to the Federation, their relations will be with the Crown acting through the agency of the Viceroy.

With the Legislature constituted on Federal basis, His Majesty's Government will be prepared to recognise the principle of responsibility of the Executive to the Legislature.

Under the existing conditions, the subjects of Defence and External Affairs will be reserved to the Governor-General, and arrangements will be made to place in his hands the powers necessary for the administration of those subjects.

Moreover, as the Governor-General must, as the last resort, be able in emergency to maintain the tranquillity of the State and must similarly be responsible for the observance of the constitutional rights of Minorities, he must be granted the necessary power for those purposes.

As regards Finance, the transfer of financial responsibility must necessarily be subject to such conditions as will ensure the fulfilment of the obligations incurred under the authority of the Secretary of State and the maintenance, unimpaired, of the financial stability and credit of India.

The Report of the Federal Structure Committee indicates some ways of dealing with this subject, including a Reserve Bank, the service of loans and exchange policy which, in the view of His Majesty's Government, will have to be provided for somehow in the new Constitution. It is of vital interest to all parties in India to accept these provisions to maintain financial confidence.

Subject to these provisions, the Indian Government would have full financial responsibility for methods of raising revenue and for control of expenditure on non-Reserved services. This will mean that under the existing conditions the Central Legislature and Executive will have some features of Dualism which will have to be fitted into the Constitutional structure.

Provision of Reserved powers is necessary in the circumstances, and some such reservation has indeed been incidental to the development of most free constitutions. But every care must be taken to prevent conditions arising which will necessitate their use.

THE PROVINCES

The Governors' Provinces will be constituted on the basis of full responsibility. Their Ministries will be taken from the Legislature, and will be jointly responsible to it. The range of Provincial subjects will be so defined as to give them the greatest possible measure of Self-Government. The authority of the Federal Government will be limited to the provisions required to secure its administration of the Federal subjects and to discharge its responsibility for the subjects defined in the Constitution as of All-India concern.

There will be reserved to the Governor only that minimum of special powers which is required in order to secure, in exceptional circumstances, the preservation of tranquillity and guarantee of maintenance of the rights provided by statute for the public services and minorities.

Finally, His Majesty's Government considers that the institution in the provinces of Responsible Government requires that both the Legislatures should be enlarged and that they should be based on a more liberal franchise. In framing the Constitution, His Majesty's Government considers that it will be its duty to insert the provisions guaranteeing to the various Minorities, in addition to political representation, that the differences of religion, race, sect or caste shall not in themselves constitute civic disabilities.

THE PREMIER'S STATEMENT

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald then announced the policy and intentions of His Majesty's Government in regard to the future Constitution of India:

The view of His Majesty's Government is that responsibility for the Government of India should be placed upon the Legislatures Central and Provincial, with such provision as may be necessary to guarantee, during a period of transition, the observance of certain obligations and to meet other special circumstances and also with such guarantees as are required by the minorities to protect their political liberties and rights.

In such statutory safeguards as may be made for meeting the needs of the transitional period, it will be the primary concern of His Majesty's Government to see that the reserved powers are so framed and exercised as not to prejudice the advance of India through the new constitution to full responsibility for her own Government.

But the work of the Conference had by no means ended; and "His Majesty's Government, in view of the character of the Conference, and of the limited time at its disposal in London, has deemed it advisable to

suspend its work at this point, so that Indian opinion may be consulted upon the work done and expedients considered for overcoming the difficulties which have been raised". Mr. MacDonald stated that the Government as well as representatives of other Parliamentary parties in England would soon confer with Lord Willingdon, the new Viceroy, as to the details of the plan by which this may be done, so that "the results of our completed work may be seen in a new Indian Constitution". "If in the meantime," added the Premier, "there is response to the Viceroy's appeal from those engaged at present in civil disobedience, and there is a wish to co-operate on the general lines of this declaration, steps will be taken to enlist their services."

At a Farewell Banquet in London in honour of the British Indian Delegation, Mr. MacDonald summed up the achievements of the Conference in his postprandial oration in which he said:

I believe that we are going to hammer out a constitution under which India will not only be happy but will enjoy a sense of self-respect. (*Cheers.*) Then it may be that when our constitution breaks down, when we here in London are faced with great problems of a constitutional character, you having enjoyed the blessing of an Indian constitution, will offer your timely service (*laughter*) to come here and enable us to redraft our constitution (*laughter*) and enjoy the great felicities of peace which, I believe, you are going to enjoy when you make it possible for the new constitution of India to be promulgated.

In a subsequent banquet given by the Maharajah of Alwar, the Prime Minister declared that the

British Government, and I believe that the British Parliament is fully aware of what India wants, determined to give to India everything that India can use well, every power, every responsibility which will make the Indian feel that his destiny is in his own hands, which will enable India to look forward to the time when walking in its own light, enlightened and illuminated by its own inner personality, it will go on carving a name and reputation in future which will be as honourable to it as some of those glorious chapters that have already been written in Indian History. You can talk and write your formulas and you can make your demands

but unless the forms of government correspond to the genius and needs of the people they will never sit comfortably on their shoulders.

R. T. C. DELEGATES' MANIFESTO

The Indian delegates returned to India on February 6 and twenty-six of them, including the Maharajas of Bikaner and Alwar, Mr. Sastri and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, issued a statement under their joint signatures that "the attainment by India of Dominion Status is no longer in dispute".

They emphasised that English opinion has undergone a remarkable change in India's favour. "It has been explicitly recognised that the task of governing India should in future be entrusted to an Indian executive responsible to the Indian legislature."

On the question of safeguards, the manifesto said that they would not affect the substance of the scheme which sought to transfer political power into Indian hands. They were only intended for the period of transition and were subject to further examination.

As regards law and order, the manifesto declared that the Governor-General will not have power to interfere with day-to-day administration and will step in only to secure peace and security, when it is seriously imperilled or when the interests of the minorities are seriously endangered.

THE RELEASE OF THE POLITICALS

In harmony with the Prime Minister's declaration at the concluding session of the Round Table Conference "that steps would be taken to enlist the services of Congressmen if they wished to co-operate on the lines of the declaration," H. E. Lord Irwin issued a statement on January 25, 1931, releasing Mr. Gandhi and the members of the Working Committee unconditionally.

The legal bar against their meeting and the notifications declaring the Committee unlawful were all withdrawn at once, and His Excellency added:

My Government will impose no conditions on these releases, because we feel that the best hope of restoration of peaceful conditions lies in discussions being conducted by those concerned under terms of unconditional liberty.

Our action has been taken in pursuance of a sincere desire to assist the creation of such peaceable conditions as would enable the Government to implement the undertaking given by the Prime Minister that if civil quiet were proclaimed and assured, the Government would not be backward in response.

I am content to trust those who will be affected by our decision to act in the same spirit as inspires it, and I am confident that they will recognise the importance of securing for those grave issues calm and dispassionate examination.

Much to his own surprise, Mr. Gandhi was released on the morrow of this declaration. Interviewed on his release, Mr. Gandhi gave the following message to the Indian people:

I have come out of jail with an absolutely open mind, unfettered by enmity, unbiassed in argument and prepared to study the whole situation from every point of view and discuss the Premier's statement with Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and other delegates on their return. I make this statement in deference to the urgent wish expressed in a cable sent to me from London by some of the delegates.

Speaking to a group of journalists at Bombay, Mr. Gandhi further defined his position with regard to the proposal that an amnesty should be announced. He reiterated his well-known eleven points which, he declared, must be met before a satisfactory settlement was possible. Referring to the amnesty proposal, he observed:

I personally feel that the mere release of members of the Congress Working Committee makes a difficult situation, infinitely more difficult, and makes any action on the part of the members almost, if not altogether, impossible. The authorities evidently have not perceived that this movement has so much affected the mass mind that leaders, however prominent, will be utterly unable to dictate to them a particular course of action.

He then went on to insist on the right of picketing and the manufacture of salt:

What I am anxious to clear is that even if after consultation with friends who are coming from the Round Table Conference, it is found that the Premier's statement affords sufficient ground for the Congress to tender co-operation, the right of picketing cannot be given up nor the right of the starving millions to manufacture salt.

If these elementary rights are recognised, most of the Ordinances will naturally have to be withdrawn. It is therefore highly necessary for the public, also the Government, to understand the fundamental Congress position. The manufacture of salt and the boycott of foreign cloth and liquor are not intended to register the resistance of the nation to the existing misrule, but intended to achieve these ends for all time.

No amount of goodwill, especially between Great Britain and India, so far as I can see, will reconcile the public to the drink evil, foreign cloth evil or prohibition of the manufacture of salt.

Speaking for myself, I am hankering after peace if it can be had with honour, but even if I stood alone I can be no party to any peace which does not satisfactorily solve the three questions I have mentioned. I should therefore judge the Round Table Conference tree by its fruit.

I have given three tests that are in operation, but as the public know, there are eight more points I want. Substance of Independence not shadow and even as the doctor names the disease after proper diagnosis, so also I will name the tree of the Round Table Conference after I have examined the fruit in the light of the eleven points which are conceived in the terms of the man in the street.

Mr. Gandhi then left for Allahabad where Pandit Motilal Nehru was lying ill. The Working Committee met soon after, and the decisions were suspended publication pending the arrival of Dr. Sapru, Mr. Jayakar, and the Rt. Hon. Sastri. Meanwhile the civil disobedience movement was to continue unless and until the Working Committee should decide otherwise.

FACE TO FACE WITH REALITIES

Now by this time Mr. Gandhi was thoroughly apprised of the situation in the country and the tragic sequel to the various phases of civil resistance. So in response to a request from the *News Chronicle*, Mr. Gandhi cabled back

to say that he was unable to pronounce a final opinion on the Round Table Conference.

But what worries me is the look of things here. If the Conference really offered freedom to India, the reaction should have been felt here. On the contrary I find that black repression continues unabated. Unprovoked assaults on innocent citizens still continue. Respectable people are being summarily and without apparent reason deprived of their immovable and movable property by mere executive action. A procession of women was forcibly dispersed. They were seized by the hair and kicked with boots. The continuance of such repressions would make the Congress co-operation impossible even if other difficulties were got over.

"I am a man of peace, but circumstances have made my life one of struggle. I shall, however, leave no stone unturned to attain peace. It is no joy to me to submit thousands who have a child-like faith in me to suffering," declared Gandhiji in the course of a conversation with the special representative of the *Pioneer*.

THE PASSING OF PANDIT MOTILAL

It was at this time that Pandit Motilal Nehru passed away after a hard struggle. All his colleagues and members of the Congress were gathered at Ananda Bhavan, and Jawaharlal and Mahatmaji were at his side. "Decide India's fate in the Swaraj Bhavan" the good Pandit is said to have told Dr. Satyapal.

Decide it in my presence and let me be a party to the final honourable settlement of the fate of my motherland. Let me die, if die I must, in the lap of a Free India. Let me sleep my last sleep not in a subject country but in a free one.

Oh that he had lived to witness the Irwin-Gandhi settlement! The death at such a time was a rude shock to the country but it was particularly poignant to Mr. Gandhi who said in a message to *Liberty*:

My position is worse than a widow's. By a faithful life she can appropriate the merits of her husband. I can appropriate nothing. What I have lost through Motilalji's death is a loss for ever. Rock of Ages cleft for me, let me hide myself in thee.

Pundit Jawaharlal gave fitting expression to the solace and inspiration of Mahatmaji's companionship when he exclaimed:

And to him, our beloved friend and leader, what words of mine can convey our feelings. Carrying the burden of a nation's suffering and longing for freedom, but still ever ready to share and lighten the burdens of others, he has been to us a solace and inspiration, and has given us strength and courage when the blow came and darkened our horizon.

LETTER TO LORD IRWIN

It was at this time too that Mr. Gandhi sent a letter to the Viceroy through Moulvi Rafiuddin Ahmed Kidwai, ex-M.L.A., seeking an interview with H. E. at Delhi to discuss the political situation. It would appear that Mr. Gandhi sought the interview with a view to have a peace talk with Lord Irwin the man, rather than H. E. the Viceroy. Now Gandhiji's letter to the Viceroy was a fairly lengthy one. Addressing Lord Irwin as "My dear friend," Gandhiji urged His Excellency to appoint an enquiry committee to go into the alleged police excesses. In such instances, Gandhiji included the Borsad affair, the Calcutta incident on the Independence Day, the beating of Mr. Bhashyam and others in Madras while picketing foreign cloth shops, and the Bihar shooting incident. Gandhiji's object in writing to the Viceroy was to find out whether there was really a change of heart on the part of the Government.

Lord Irwin having agreed to the interview, Mr. Gandhi left for Delhi on the 16th February. In the meanwhile the Viceroy was in frequent consultation with the Rt. Hon. Sastri, Dr. Sapru and Mr. Jayakar who were as it were the intermediaries who arranged for the interview.

While the Viceroy was in constant touch with his Council and the Governors of Bombay- and Madras, <

Mr. Gandhi had also summoned all the members of the Working Committee and some of his friends to Dr. Ansari's place in Delhi where they were in constant session. The Working Committee had given Mr. Gandhi a clear mandate and invested him with full authority to negotiate in the name of the Congress.

Mr. Gandhi's six points, which were the absolute minimum for peace negotiations to begin, were : (1) general amnesty ; (2) immediate cessation of repression ; (3) restitution of all confiscated property ; (4) reinstatement of all Government servants punished on political grounds ; (5) liberty to manufacture salt and picket liquor and foreign cloth shops ; and (6) enquiry into police excesses.

GANDHI-IRWIN TALKS

Mr. Gandhi motored to the Viceregal House on the afternoon of February 17, 1931. The talks began at 2-30 P.M. and continued till 6-10. They were resumed the next day and continued the day after.

The conversations were then suspended for a week. Apparently the Viceroy had cabled to Whitehall and was awaiting instructions from the authorities at Home. The following *communiqué* was issued from the Viceroy's House on the subject on the 19th :

His Excellency the Viceroy granted a further interview to Mr. Gandhi to-day. It is understood that various matters emerging from the discussions are now under examination, and it is possible that some days may elapse before a further stage of discussions is reached.

SPEECH AT THE QUEEN'S GARDENS

While the Gandhi-Irwin talks were suspended for a few days pending instructions from Whitehall, Mr. Gandhi addressed a mammoth gathering of over a lakh of people in the Queen's Gardens on February 20. After referring to

the death of Moulana Mahomed Ali and Pandit Motilal Nehru, he said :—

I may say this much that these talks have been conducted in a most friendly manner and with much sweetness. What will be the result I cannot say. The result is in the hands of God. It is His Will that will prevail.

GANDHI AND THE MUSLIM COUNCIL

On the morning of the 22nd, Gandhiji addressed also the meeting of the Council of the All-India Moslem League. Sir Mahomed Shafi, on behalf of the League, thanked Gandhiji for accepting their invitation and invited him to address the House. Moulvi Mahomed Yakub said that the coming of Gandhiji meant the coming of 21 crores of Indians, and he held it a happy augury for India, because • it might lead to the solution of the Hindu-Moslem tangle. Gandhiji said in the course of his reply :

Moulvi Mahomed Yakub had remarked that my coming meant the coming of 21 crores of Indians. Brethren, I am a Bania, and there is no limit to my greed. It has always been my dream and heart's desire to speak not only for 21 crores but for the 30 crores of India. To-day you may not accept that position of mine. But I may assure you that my early upbringing and training in my childhood and youth have been to strive for Hindu-Muslim Unity, and none to-day may dismiss it merely as a craze of my old age. My heart is, however, confident that God will grant me that position when I may speak for the whole of India, and if I may have to die striving for that ideal, I shall achieve the peace of my heart.

GANDHI-IRWIN TALKS RESUMED

Mr. Gandhi was called again on the 27th and 28th and the talks at one time threatened to break up. The Congress Working Committee having rejected the Viceroy's counter-proposals, Congress circles were very pessimistic about the outcome. The country at this time was swayed alternately between hopes and fears when Gandhi saw the Viceroy again on the 1st March. The prolonged interview was due to the examination of a fresh alternative submitted by Mr. Gandhi on behalf of the Congress Working

Committee in answer to the official note sent to Mr. Gandhi the previous day. Difficulties of negotiation were very obvious in spite of best intentions on the part of the leaders on either side. Apart from intransigents in the Departments and Services, irresponsible men like Mr. Churchill at Home added considerably to the complexity of the situation by their ignorance and bluster. To Mr. Churchill, for instance, it was "alarming and nauseating" to see Mr. Gandhi, an "Inner Temple lawyer, now a seditious fakir, striding half-naked up the steps of the Viceregal Palace to parley on equal terms with the representative of the King-Emperor."

The Working Committee was strong and unanimous, and though listening with respect to the authority of Gandhi, was in no mood to water down the conditions of the truce. It was at this time that the services of Dr. Sapru and Mr. Sastri became invaluable. Sir T. B. Sapru and Mr. Jayakar had earlier impressed on Lord Irwin the imperative need of the Government agreeing to the principle of the Congress demand for an independent and impartial tribunal to go into police excesses. On the other side, Mr. Sastri had passionately pleaded before Gandhiji and other members of the Congress Working Committee not to be too exacting over the details if the principle of an impartial tribunal was conceded by the Government. Mr. Sastri pleaded his case in which he laid stress on the importance of a Second Round Table Conference with so much warmth that he was at one stage overpowered with emotion and slightly fainted.

The sincerity of Mr. Sastri's pleas had its effect, so that the Congress Working Committee altered their draft formulae in certain respects without affecting the principle of their terms for truce.

Mr. Gandhi saw the Viceroy again at midnight on the 22nd March for further exchange of notes on the points raised by the Working Committee. And the situation that appeared so gloomy had slightly improved, and the conversations became more frequent. Mr. Gandhi also saw Sir George Schuster, the Finance Member, on the 3rd March, with whom a general agreement was arrived at by which people on the sea coast could pick, manufacture and sell salt thereby using nature's gift. The Gandhi-Schuster Agreement on the principle thus overcame another important obstacle and cleared the path for the settlement of Congress participation in the Round Table Conference.

THE GANDHI-IRWIN AGREEMENT

Gandhiji and Lord Irwin worked together at a settlement practically the whole of the day and a truce was agreed on late in the night according to which

the people on the sea coast have been conceded the right of picking up, manufacturing and selling salt. The punitive police posted in Bihar and other places will be withdrawn, and punitive tax so far unpaid will be remitted. All political prisoners not guilty of violence will be released forthwith. Peaceful picketing of foreign cloth shops and liquor shops will be allowed, and lastly confiscated and auctioned property will be returned.

In view of the fact that charges and counter-charges in an open enquiry into police conduct will not be conducive to a dispassionate discussion on constitutional questions, Gandhiji has agreed not to press it further.

By far the most important part of the agreement was that which laid down that the scope of future discussions shall be further consideration of the Round Table Conference conclusions, namely, federation, central responsibility and safeguards.

The conversations were resumed in the night and ended at 4-30 on the morning of the 5th when complete agreement was reached. At 12 noon the agreement was

signed by Lord Irwin and Gandhiji at "Viceroy's House", similar to the Smuts-Gandhi agreement of sixteen years ago.

The agreement was the result of fifteen days' negotiations in which Gandhiji is said to have visited the "Viceroy's House" eight times, and spent altogether twenty-four hours, besides undergoing the strain of discussing the terms of the negotiations with the Congress Executive from time to time for longer hours than he spent with the Viceroy. A correspondent rightly pointed out that Gandhiji has, by general agreement, broken all the world's endurance records and that when his own health was none too good.

News of the agreement spread like wild fire in the city at dawn. Sir Tej Bahadur exclaimed: "I rejoice at it. I give my heartfelt congratulations to Lord Irwin, Gandhiji and the country." *The Statesman* (New Delhi) gave a lead in a strikingly refreshing article welcoming the agreement as one of the greatest happenings in the second quarter of the 20th century, possibly as decisive for the world as November 11, 1918. The paper said:

The debt is great both to the Viceroy and Gandhiji who, unperturbed by outside criticism, have conducted negotiations in a serene spirit which is beyond all praise.

It paid a tribute to Lord Irwin for having banked on a miracle and now given a lead to Europe and Asia. "As for Gandhiji," it said, "that he plays no double game."

If he decides to come in, he comes in, and he may be counted on to bring his great influence to bear on the activities of the Second Round Table Conference, which would open another era of construction and lead to the gradual obliteration of the memories of the struggle.

Immediately on the publication of the Agreement, the Congress Working Committee passed the following resolution:

The Working Committee, having considered the terms of the provisional settlement arrived at between the Government of India and Mr. Gandhi on behalf of the Congress, endorses them and directs all Congress Committees to take immediate action in accordance with them.

The Committee hopes that the country will carry out the terms agreed to in so far as they relate to various Congress activities and is of opinion that on a strict fulfilment of the obligations undertaken on behalf of the Congress, will depend the advance of India towards *Purna Swaraj*.

Telegrams were accordingly despatched to all Provincial Congress Committees, while Gandhi in a speech to the Journalists appealed to the country to implement the provisional settlement and thereby give irresistible prestige to the Congress. He urged the anarchists to suspend their movement and give him a chance to attain the goal non-violently and promised thereafter the release of all politicals, including even those condemned to the gallows but warned them against false hopes.

This happy consummation was hailed all over the country with a sigh of relief, though the Churchills and Wintertons and Odwyers waxed eloquent against the "Irwin surrenders". Doubtless there were those who thought that Mr. Gandhi had scored while others held that it was the Viceroy who had won in essentials. But after the twelve months' protracted struggle and a fortnight's negotiations which threatened to break up at any moment, peace was welcome like the dawn. And it was peace with honour on either side—the triumph of goodwill and mutual understanding which have to play such a decisive part in the constructive programme that lies ahead. The Irwin-Gandhi pact was in a word the triumph of true statesmanship, or the triumph of truth and non-violence, as Mahatma Gandhi would have it and marks a new era in the history of British relations with India.

In a masterly speech delivered soon after the signing of the Agreement, Mr. Gandhi himself paid a well-deserved tribute to the Viceroy when he said that:

This settlement, such as it is, would have been impossible without the Viceroy's inexhaustible patience and equally inexhaustible industry and unfailing courtesy. I am aware that I must have, though quite unconsciously, given him cause for irritation. I must have also tried his patience, but I cannot recall any occasion when he allowed himself to be betrayed into irritation or impatience. I must add that he was frank throughout these very delicate negotiations, and I believe he was determined on it, if it was at all possible, to have a settlement.

As for himself

I have pledged my word to Lord Irwin that in making good the terms of settlement, in so far as they bind Congress, I shall devote myself heart and soul to the task. I ask for a settlement not in order to break it to pieces at the very first opportunity, but in order to strain every nerve to make absolutely final what to-day is provisional, and to make it a precursor of the goal to attain which Congress exists.

Explaining the purport of the Gandhi-Irwin Agreement to a group of journalists, Gandhiji said:

It is open to both parties to work along their own lines. The Congress seeks to make federation, responsibility, safeguards and reservations such as would promote the real growth of the country along political, social, economic and moral lines. If the Congress succeeds in making this position acceptable to the Conference, then I claim that the fruit of that effort will be complete independence. The Congress can either use a new opportunity to make the scheme worth looking at or by lack of self-confidence and want of courage fritter away the opportunity. But I know that Congressmen will require the aid of other parties, the great Princes and Englishmen. *The Congress has now launched on a period of co-operation.*

It only remained for the Government on the one side, and for the Congress on the other, to see that the terms of the truce were duly implemented by the respective parties. How strenuously Mr. Gandhi endeavoured to fulfil his part of the truce is now matter of common knowledge.

IMPLEMENTING THE PACT

It is not to be supposed that a settlement, however perfect, could satisfy all interests and all parties equally.

There were of course left-wingers in India, as in England, who felt bound to repudiate it. But they were in a minority and by no means represented the considered judgment of either people. But still they were vociferous as they always are. Mahatma Gandhi's reply to them was straight and unequivocal.

I will ask the Karachi Congress to ratify the Gandhi-Irwin Agreement, and if it was not acceptable to the country, they could move a vote of no-confidence in the Working Committee and elect another Committee and carry on the work of the Congress.

said Mahatma Gandhi at a mass meeting in the Queen's Garden, Delhi, on the 7th March. The occasion was the distribution of a large number of Red leaflets in which *Young India* (their organ) had announced that the peace ushered in by the Agreement was no peace, as the Martial Law and other prisoners convicted of violence were still in jails. Mr. Gandhi added that, if they faithfully carried out both in letter and spirit the terms of the compromise, not only prisoners convicted of violence but even Garwalis could be set free. Personally he was for the release of even dacoits and thieves, for he was against corporal punishment.

And then there was the communal trouble—nothing seemed to improve the Hindu-Muslim question. It always threatened to crop up and mar any settlement of outstanding national concern. The Mahatma's own solution was simplicity itself. He said he would give them the same advice to-day as he gave in 1921, that if only one of the two communities would be brave enough to tell the other, "Take whatever you want. We shall be content with the rest," the whole communal tangle would be solved. But the Hindus, being the majority community, should take the lead. It was only a question of being brave. He advised the Hindus to give up the spirit of bargaining and

follow the course of bravery. The Mahatma continued that in the last twelve months they had disobeyed all laws and ordinances and still no power on earth could destroy their entity or snatch away their rights. He contended that even if the Mussalmans and all other minorities took away all seats in the Legislature, the Hindus would not lose much.

We want to be humble servants of India and to seek no office. Let us compete as much as we like in the sphere of national service. If this proposition was not acceptable to Hindus, let them have done with me, but if they want to establish communal concord they must say that they do not want anything. If they do this you will save India and establish *Purna Swaraj*.

That briefly put was the Mahatma's position. But difficulties were also brooding abroad. More than once during the months following the agreement, the House of Commons was the scene of angry debates in which the die-hards were bent on breaking the back of the supporters of the Indian cause. It was revealed that some Conservatives were even prepared to back out of their commitments at the Round Table Conference, and though Mr. Baldwin in his famous speech of March 12 completely dispelled any such fear, echoes of dissentient voices were heard now and again in the precincts of Westminster. At a later date one such Conservative even went the length of threatening the House with a censure motion on the new Viceroy, because Lord Willingdon expressed a wish that India might soon obtain a Dominion Constitution. But the official leader of the Conservatives, Mr. Baldwin, made it plain that further work of the Conference was the business of the party in power, and the Conservatives would join when the picture had been filled in. He paid a tribute to the Viceroy for bringing about the Gandhi-Irwin Agreement, and added:

that he was in complete accord with the policy proposed in India. If he were in power he would carry it out in no niggardly spirit. If his policy was not acceptable to a majority of his followers, he asked them to choose another leader.

Mr. Benn said that Mr. Baldwin's words would be read with relief and delight by all sections in India. None would be more encouraged than the Viceroy.

The Prime Minister, in winding up the debate, announced that he had already cabled to the Viceroy to invite Mr. Gandhi to participate in the discussions of the Federal Structure Committee to meet in London.

But Gandhi himself had made his position equally clear. Commenting on the alleged Conservative repudiation of the Round Table Conference decisions, Mr. Gandhi declared:

The Congress is out to win *Purna Swaraj* at the earliest possible moment. It will therefore look with grave suspicion upon any dilatory tactics. The Conservative fears about the so-called safeguards are justified: the Congress would accept no safeguard which is not clearly proved to be in the interests of India, and those that were discussed in London were certainly not in India's interest.

RECEPTION AT AHMEDABAD

Meanwhile Mahatma Gandhi saw the Viceroy again and left for Ahmedabad where arrangements were made to accord him a magnificent reception, as it was the Mahatma's first entry into his city after the historic march to Dandi twelve months ago. A lakh and a half people waited for hours on the river sands in the scorching sun when the citizens' address and purse were presented to Gandhiji. When Mahatma Gandhi came, the rush of people was so great that several were trampled down by the on-rush of the surging crowd. With the greatest difficulty Gandhiji took his seat on the raised and decorated rostrum. Lady Chinubhai read the welcome address which narrated the various phases of the struggle under his leadership. The address

referred to the success of the non-violent struggle and the people's sacrifice. "May Gandhiji live long to lead the country to its goal!" concluded the address.

Replying to the address, Gandhiji justified the Agreement and asked the people to respect it in letter and spirit. Proceeding, Gandhiji said:

that the settlement that had been arrived at was so simple that even a child could understand it and even a child should try to understand it. From the standpoint of the speaker and the Congress Working Committee, they had gone as far as they could in arriving at a settlement. Swaraj was not won thereby but the second door to Swaraj was opened. They were trying to win Swaraj by the willing weapon of Civil Disobedience. Meanwhile, they as Satyagrahis should try to open the door through negotiation and settlement and they should enter if the door was opened. They should fulfil the conditions of the Agreement. If they wanted to increase their power manifold, they should effect communal unity, eradicate the drink evil, banish foreign cloth and produce khaddar. Then they would secure *Purna Swaraj*.

A purse of Rs. 70,000 and a gold takli were presented to Gandhiji by Lady Chinubhai on behalf of the citizens.

Gandhiji then started on a tour of the Gujarat District, especially Bardoli and the taluks that had played a decisive part in the no-tax campaign. He was anxious personally to bring the balm of peace and healing to the areas most affected by the Civil Disobedience movement. Everywhere he went, he enjoined the people to pay up the taxes and respect the Pact. In the course of a long statement to the people of Gujarat, he observed:

It would be culpable of us to refuse to attend the Round Table Conference.

Referring at first to the need of suspending all fighting activities and undertaking constructive work seriously, Mr. Gandhi said that:

even as a farmer, after tilling the land, devotes his entire attention to the growing of crops, so should the Congress workers, after a year of destructive work in the form of civil disobedience, take seriously to the constructive side of the Congress programme.

"YOUNG INDIA" AGAIN

This was also the burden of his writings in *Young India* and *Navjivan*. *Young India* which for some time past had been appearing in cyclostyled form following the confiscation of the *Navjivan* Press under the Ordinance, appeared again in printed form on the 12th March. In the course of his first signed article therein, under the title "How to do it", Mr. Gandhi explained the implications of the Delhi Agreement and the Congress obligations thereunder. He emphasised that, while the truce lasted, it was obligatory on them meticulously to respect laws and orders, even if these appeared capricious. He proceeded:

We need not expect a change of heart in the official world all of a sudden.

If we are conscious of our strength and our ability to resume civil disobedience whenever it becomes necessary, we should find no difficulty in obeying even irksome orders.

That was the spirit in which he worked to fulfil the conditions of the truce—a spirit which was fully recognized by H. E. Lord Irwin who, in a speech at the Jaipur Banquet, observed:

Throughout my conversations with Mr. Gandhi, I felt complete assurance that I could implicitly trust his word and I am confident that he will do everything in his power to give effect to those undertakings which are recorded in the published statement.

GANDHI AND THE RED-FLAGGERS

In the third week of March, Gandhiji was in Bombay conferring with his colleagues—and he was given a reception the like of which even Bombay had seldom witnessed. And yet there was a rumble of discontent among the more extreme wing who expressed themselves in continual interruptions. Even Gandhi was accused of betraying the labourers, while the demand for the release of Meerut prisoners and the Bengal detainees was voiced by Subash

Chandra Bose and others. In the midst of interruptions by labour "Red-flaggers," Gandhi declared that he had never betrayed the workers in his life, and that the Congress would stand by the Independence Resolution passed at Lahore, which would be reiterated at Karachi, and a clear mandate given to the Congress delegates to the next Round Table Conference that they should not accept any scheme of *Swaraj* which did not satisfy the country in the light of his eleven points or did not contain the substance of Independence.

LORD IRWIN AND THE MAHATMA

Mr. Gandhi also employed his time in Bombay in calling a Conference of mill-owners and arranging for the relief of sufferers from the foreign cloth boycott. He then left for Delhi and had a further interview with H. E. Lord Irwin on the 19th when he discussed the question of the release of political prisoners in accordance with the Agreement. He had also a long interview with Mr. Emerson, the Home Secretary.

The rest of his stay in Delhi was occupied in conferring with the Princes and representatives of the Muslims and Sikhs. At the Princes' Banquet to the Viceroy on the 20th, His Excellency paid an eloquent tribute to the honesty, sincerity and patriotism of Gandhiji with whom "it had been a pleasure and a privilege to work". His Excellency said now that he would be relieved of his official duties, he would be in a position to go back to England and explain to his people and to his political friends the implications of the truce and the state of affairs in India.

Lord Irwin declared that Mahatma Gandhi on his side was doing everything possible to convince his fellow-countrymen and to bring about an atmosphere congenial for

peace. Lord Irwin, on his part, hoped to do everything to make it possible for England and India to arrive at a peaceful settlement.

THE EXECUTION OF BHAGAT SINGH

While Mr. Gandhi was doing everything to fulfil the terms of the truce both in letter and spirit, there was no end of obstacles. Foremost of these was the hanging of Bhagat Singh and his comrades of the Lahore Conspiracy Case, which, though it was no part of the settlement, was felt by Gandhi as an undue strain on the patience of the public which could not countenance the execution under the orders of a tribunal created by the Ordinance which expired with the truce. The unwisdom of carrying out the execution in the teeth of universal outcry against normal procedure seemed to be in conflict with the heralding of the new era of friendliness and co-operation which was expected to take the place of suspicion and revenge. The Government lost an excellent opportunity for a gesture of magnanimity and goodwill which would have won over even the recalcitrants to the side of reason. Gandhi felt that the sudden execution under such circumstances was cutting the ground underneath the feet however technically unconcerned it might be with the terms of the truce. The nation's duty, he said, was clear.

The Congress must not swerve from the path chalked for it. In my opinion notwithstanding the gravest provocation, the Congress should endorse the settlement and test its capacity to yield the result hoped for. We must not put ourselves in the wrong by being angry. Let us recognise that commutation of the sentences was no part of the truce. We may accuse the Government of goondalism; but we may not accuse them of a breach of the settlement.

In my deliberate opinion, the grave blunder committed by the Government has increased our power for winning the freedom for which Bhagat Singh and his comrades have died. Let us not fritter away the opportunity by being betrayed into any angry action. Universal hartal is a foregone conclusion. No better mark

of respect can be paid to the memory of the deceased patriots than by having absolutely silent and respectful processions. Let the event be one of self-purification and greater dedication to the service of the country.

THE KARACHI CONGRESS

Gandhiji and Sjt. Vallabhai Patel, President-elect of the Congress, and other leaders arrived in Karachi on the 25th March. A band of "red shirts" greeted them with black flags, and the leader of the Party went the length of presenting Mr. Gandhi with a black flower in token of their sorrow and disapproval of Mr. Gandhi's doings. There were throughout the day hostile demonstrations against the Congress, and it was even feared that they would make it impossible for the Congress to go on. They displayed throughout a menacing attitude to the Congress leaders and volunteers and practically held them up more than once. It was left for Mr. Gandhi to bring them over to the side of reason and non-violence (at any rate for the moment) by his wise counsel and courageous stand. Gandhiji later addressing a public meeting of about 50,000 referred to the Red Shirts' demonstration and said the action of the young men did not anger him, but on the other hand he was pleased with the dignified way they had behaved towards him. They might have done worse. They might have killed him for which none required a premeditated plan.

But none can harm me as long as God wills that I should serve India. But the moment my day comes, none not even the cleverest doctors could save me.

Proceeding, Gandhiji said their struggle was based on truth and righteousness and they must advance on that basis alone. In short, this was Gandhism which the young men were shouting down. Gandhiji continued that the death of him or of all those who believed in Gandhism

could not kill Gandhism which was the cult of non-violence and love. On the other hand it was through non-violence that India could show the fight of last year's which attracted thousands of men, women and children to the fray.

This would be impossible under violence, and he appealed to young men to come out and embrace his creed. Proceeding, he observed:

If the young men try to make the work at the Congress session impossible, they could not bring back Bhagat Singh. On the other hand they would retard the progress of the country. I aspire for *Swaraj—Raj* or Government of peace and love—which alone could be achieved through non-violence. This is my only dream. I live, I eat, I walk, I speak, and I move for that dream alone, but the day my inner voice tells me that the country has no longer need for me and I am convinced that the people have refused to respond to my call, I will starve myself to death.

Prior to the actual meeting of the Congress, Gandhi had a talk with Mr. Subash Chandra Bose, the leader of the Naujawan Sabha, and was able to persuade him to fall in with the Congress view. Thereupon Mr. Subash made a statement declaring that the Red Shirts would do nothing to impair the authority of Gandhi and the Congress—a declaration which set at rest all fears regarding the peaceful conduct of the sessions. The Congress Subjects Committee met on the 28th and adopted by an overwhelming majority the resolution of the Congress Working Committee, ratifying the Gandhi-Irwin Agreement and choosing Mahatma Gandhi as the leader of the Congress Delegation to the Round Table Conference with a mandate to demand *Purna Swaraj* with such adjustments as might be necessary in the interest of India.

Mahatmaji assured the Subjects Committee that the terms of the Truce did not in any way bring down the prestige of the Congress. On the other hand it had added considerable strength to the Congress. In the open

Congress it was left to him to support the resolution which was moved by Pandit Jawaharlal. The Congress unanimously stood by him and gave him full authority to negotiate with the Government in the name of the people.

No promise has ever been made, and no promise is being made now, that if the Congress deputation goes to the Round Table Conference either here or in England and enters upon further negotiations, the deputation is going to bring *Purna Swaraj*. *Purna Swaraj* will come when the full authority of the Congress has been manifested and not a minute before. All that I promise faithfully on my own behalf and that of the deputation, which you may wish to send, is that we shall not be disloyal to the Congress in any shape or form.

With these striking words, Mahatma Gandhi wound up the debate on the resolution on Congress participating in the Round Table Conference.

The resolution was supported by many leaders of note. A few, including Mr. Jamnadas Mehta of Bombay, opposed it. Eventually the resolution was put to the House and carried practically unanimously amidst deafening shouts of "Vandemataram" and "Gandi-ki-jai."

Another resolution to which some objection was taken by a few Congressmen was what is known as the Declaration of Fundamental Rights embodying Mr. Gandhi's famous eleven points and a few more which Mr. Jawaharlal had introduced into it. But Gandhi sponsored the resolution and, as might be expected, he had his way. There was no doubt that everyone was anxious that Mr. Gandhi should have a free hand and should be unfettered in the exercise of his powers. Congress had gained greatly in prestige under his authority, and every section of the house was prepared in the interest of Congress discipline to abide by his counsels. Mr. Gandhi's hold on the Congress and the country was thus supreme at the time, and the Karachi Congress gave him an unrestricted mandate

and invested him with full authority to speak and act in the name of the country.

THE MUSLIM CONFERENCE

Fresh from his triumphs at Karachi, Gandhiji turned his attention to the solution of the communal question. Accordingly he proceeded to Delhi, where the All India Muslim Conference was sitting, and tried to get into touch with the leaders of the League with a view to reach a settlement. But in this he was disappointed. After an interview with the leaders, he issued a statement in which he pointed out that his view on the Hindu-Muslim question was that of full surrender to any unanimously expressed wish of the Mussalmans and Sikhs. Before he cultivated Hindu opinion, he wanted to have that formula but it had not been forthcoming. He added that he was unable to identify himself with any solution based on communalism.

OPENING THE FEDERATION OF CHAMBERS

On April 7, Mr. Gandhi opened the session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce before a distinguished assemblage, including Sir George Schuster. He said that *Swaraj* meant the rule of justice, therefore the Englishmen's rights must be protected. The problem was like the one he faced in South Africa during his talks with General Smuts. Mr. Gandhi was told that the real problem was that the South African settlers wished to safeguard their civilisation against Eastern influences and domination. Mr. Gandhi conceded that the view-point of General Smuts could similarly be applied to India. She wished to preserve her civilisation against inroads by other civilisations. If Englishmen and foreigners respected the Indian civilisation and lived as true servants of India, they had a most honourable place in the country.

Urging the Federation leaders to capture the Congress, Mr. Gandhi said that the entire Congress strength was derived through adult franchise. Indian nationalism was such that they neither wished to exploit others nor allow others to exploit them. The Federation leaders could capture Congress not by means of the purse but by greater sacrifice for the masses.

Gandhiji then attended the Sikh League at Amritsar, and returning to Ahmedabad, presided over the convocation of the Gujerat Vidyapith where he exhorted the graduates in the following words :

You must be experiencing the atmosphere is at present surcharged with violence. I do not want to go into the causes why it does not gather much force, but I remind the graduates that they are and ought to be the embodiment of non-violence and truth. If they have properly imbibed the spirit of truth and non-violence, then alone they will be able to dispel and clarify the clouded atmosphere of violence to a great extent.

GANDHIJI IN BOMBAY

But Gandhi arranged to be in Bombay to bid farewell to Lord Irwin and had his last talk with His Excellency on the 18th April. He also interviewed the Governor of Bombay in connection with the carrying out of the truce terms, particularly with reference to the restoration of confiscated lands in Guzerat. The conversations were, in the nature of the case, private ; but it was understood that the retiring Viceroy earnestly pressed Mr. Gandhi to attend the Second Round Table Conference in London. On the same day the Corporation of Bombay presented an address to Mr. Gandhi—an address which paid a glowing tribute to the services and achievements of the Mahatma to the country.

While Gandhiji was straining every nerve to implement the Pact and prove the nation's solidarity behind the Agreement, troubles were brewing out of the Govern-

ment's attempts to collect the revenues in Guzerat. It was understood that no coercive measures would be adopted beyond the ordinary law in collecting the taxes : and the Agreement definitely stipulated that only the ordinary processes of land revenue administration would be put in force against defaulters. Both the Viceroy and Mr. Emerson, the Home Secretary, had distinctly promised a considerate and even generous attitude to the peasants. And the Government of Bombay also would appear to have promised as much. But now and again serious allegations against local authorities came to the notice of the Working Committee, and Mr. Gandhi was flooded with complaints against the alleged extortions of the tax gatherers. Lord Willingdon succeeded to the Viceroyalty on April 17, and Mr. Gandhi interviewed him in May. Gandhiji took the opportunity to acquaint the new Viceroy with the case of the Kisans and doubtless His Excellency promised that nothing would be wanting on his part to see justice done by them. Meanwhile the Working Committee which met on June 10, decided that Gandhiji should attend the Second Round Table Conference, and he was appointed sole delegate of the Congress. Gandhiji himself announced that "if he should succeed in attending the Round Table Conference he would fully participate in the discussions". The "if" was ominous. In fact in every communication to the press on the subject of the Round Table Conference, Gandhiji took care to add the mystifying "if". Speculation was rife as to what he would ultimately do. Meanwhile the personnel of the Round Table Conference was announced which included Gandhiji's name. Still Gandhiji added "if" to every one of his statements. He had decided to stay in an East End home kept by Miss Muriel Lester if he decided to go at all. On July 11, Gandhiji wired to

Lord Willingdon regarding the non-observance of the truce terms by local Governments and received His Excellency's assurances. On the 18th, Gandhiji interviewed the Viceroy and things seemed to move pretty satisfactorily. Later, however, he had to wire to His Excellency protesting against the action of the Collector of Surat, and the Viceroy replied asking Gandhiji "not to precipitate a crisis".

THE ATTEMPT ON SIR E. HOTSON

Meanwhile an unfortunate incident occurred in Poona where while the Acting Governor H. E. Sir Ernest Hotson was visiting the Fergusson College, he was shot at by a student: not long after came the news of the shooting of Mr. Garlick in Dacca. Gandhiji was naturally horrified that such things should happen at a time when he was so untiringly busy peace-making. Gandhiji immediately telegraphed to His Excellency congratulating him on his escape and condemning the outrage. He also took occasion to write and speak freely on the subject. The Working Committee which met at Bombay in the first week of August, lost no time in passing a strong resolution on the subject. It was endorsed by the A. I. C. C. in which Mr. Gandhi himself spoke on the resolution.

Though Mr. Gandhi was himself responsible for the drafting of the resolution, he gladly seized the opportunity for a speech that made his own standpoint abundantly clear.

By this resolution we are informing the world that we do not wish to fool the British, that we wish to obtain freedom through peace and non-violence alone. We believe, and wish to make the world believe, that we want to follow the policy of peace in thought, word and deed.

It would not be honest, Mr. Gandhi continued, to take shelter under the plea that Congress has nothing to do with the acts of violence of other people.

"Can Mr. Gandhi say more," asked the *Times of India*. "It would be sheer obstinacy to pretend that this statement is not completely satisfactory." Proceeding Mr. Gandhi said that by non-violence we have gained and not lost anything. By this creed millions of our countrymen have become brave. We must therefore have the courage to speak out our minds and express a definite opinion on the creed of non-violence.

I praised the courage of Bhagat Singh and his comrades and I was a party to the Karachi resolution; but I confess that the resolution has been misunderstood and has been wrongly followed by youths. The youths have been misled. I admit the mistake if it was a mistake.

"To me non-violence is a *dharma*," he continued, "but to some of you it may be a policy."

THE RUPTURE

While he expressed himself thus freely and firmly on the subject of violence, he was also confronted with the allegations against the extortions of the local officials in Gujerat. It would appear that Mr. Gandhi, on the occasion of his visit to the Acting Governor soon after the unfortunate incident, found His Excellency was very amiable and expressed his readiness to investigate every one of the specific cases of coercion and breach of the Pact cited by Mr. Gandhi and to remedy them. Further it was reported that Mr. Gandhi also obtained an assurance that coercive measures would not be resorted to if Mr. Gandhi would use his influence with the peasants who are able to pay revenue dues to do so without any equivocation, and in accordance with this, it was claimed in Congress circles, Mr. Gandhi was mainly instrumental in the Government realising nineteen lakhs of rupees in revenue in Gujerat. Despite this it was alleged the Government, contrary to the undertaking, resorted to coercive measures.

which led Mr. Gandhi to visit Poona to interview Sir Ernest Hotson. Mr. Gandhi laid before the Governor a number of specific cases wherein he alleged the terms of the Pact had been broken by revenue officials in Gujerat, not only in the matter of collection of revenue but also in the matter of reinstatement of village officials who had resigned during the civil disobedience movement.

Some Sholapur prisoners and several other prisoners who, the Congress claimed, were covered by the Settlement still remained undischarged; (2) several such prosecutions still continued; (3) civil resisters coming under the Foreigners Act had not yet been removed from the ban; (4) Vatan and Inam cases against civil resisters were not yet withdrawn; (5) officials such as patels, who resigned during the civil disobedience movement still remained unreinstated; (6) confiscated moveable and immoveable properties had not yet, under some pretext or other, been returned; (7) liquor vendors still continued unlicensed business in spite of the knowledge of the authorities.

Mr. Gandhi referred also to two further heads in this connexion touching on forfeited lands and grants to the Ahmedabad Municipality.

Apart from these specific cases, Mr. Gandhi also held that to repudiate the Congress as an intermediary between the people and the Government means the repudiation of the Settlement.

The Working Committee, in meeting held in Bombay, asked the Governor's intervention in the matter in dispute.

The Governor's reply to Mr. Gandhi which caused considerable dissatisfaction among the members of the Working Committee, contended that the grievances put forward by Mr. Gandhi had been investigated by the Local Government and it was found that there had been no coercion as such in the collection of land revenue from the peasants of Bardoli, Borsad, etc., nor any

breaches of the terms of the Truce but that only the ordinary legal procedure was being followed.

On the information before him, he is satisfied that no breach of Settlement is involved in the steps taken to collect land revenue in Bardoli. It was clearly contemplated by the Settlement that current demands and arrears would be paid promptly by all who could pay. The Collector did however show special forbearance in regard to employment of coercive processes, and it was only after some months' delay and then only in carefully selected cases that he resorted to them. The prompt response of revenue-payers and the negligible extent to which attachment became necessary showed then, that there were many persons able to pay who had not done so and established the fact that action had become necessary only in consequence of their failure to observe the Settlement.

While reserving the right to decide each case on its merits, neither the Government nor the Collector has ever accepted the position that the collection of land revenue should be dependent on the advice of the Congress, and His Excellency has no doubt you will yourself realise that the decision as to whether a particular person can or cannot pay must rest with the Collector. Holding, therefore, as he does, that there has been neither a breach of faith nor a breach of Settlement in any action which has been taken, His Excellency the Governor-in-Council is unable to approve of refund of any sums already collected.

The Governor's curt reply which doubtless precipitated the crisis, was discussed by the Working Committee for over three hours and when the Committee adjourned at noon on the 11th August, Mr. Gandhi sent an express telegram to His Excellency the Viceroy which was in the nature of an S. O. S.

Exceedingly regret to inform you that the letter from the Bombay Government just received renders impossible my departure for London. The letter raises issues of first magnitude, as well of facts as of law and contends that the Government must be the final judges on both. In naked terms this means that Government should be both the prosecutor and judge with reference to matters arising out of a contract to which they and the complainants are parties. This is an impossible position for the Congress to accept. When I read the Bombay Government's letter together with Sir Malcolm Hailey's telegram received in answer to my inquiry and reports of continuing harassment in the United Provinces, the Frontier Province and other Provinces, they seem to me a complete indication that I must not sail.

which led Mr. Gandhi to visit Poona to interview Sir Ernest Hotson. Mr. Gandhi laid before the Governor a number of specific cases wherein he alleged the terms of the Pact had been broken by revenue officials in Gujerat, not only in the matter of collection of revenue but also in the matter of reinstatement of village officials who had resigned during the civil disobedience movement.

Some Sholapur prisoners and several other prisoners who, the Congress claimed, were covered by the Settlement still remained undischarged; (2) several such prosecutions still continued; (3) civil resisters coming under the Foreigners Act had not yet been removed from the ban; (4) Vatan and Inam cases against civil resisters were not yet withdrawn; (5) officials such as patels, who resigned during the civil disobedience movement still remained unreinstated; (6) confiscated moveable and immoveable properties had not yet, under some pretext or other, been returned; (7) liquor vendors still continued unlicensed business in spite of the knowledge of the authorities.

Mr. Gandhi referred also to two further heads in this connexion touching on forfeited lands and grants to the Ahmedabad Municipality.

Apart from these specific cases, Mr. Gandhi also held that to repudiate the Congress as an intermediary between the people and the Government means the repudiation of the Settlement.

The Working Committee, in meeting held in Bombay, asked the Governor's intervention in the matter in dispute.

The Governor's reply to Mr. Gandhi which caused considerable dissatisfaction among the members of the Working Committee, contended that the grievances put forward by Mr. Gandhi had been investigated by the Local Government and it was found that there had been no coercion as such in the collection of land revenue from the peasants of Bardoli, Borsad, etc., nor any

breaches of the terms of the Truce but that only the ordinary legal procedure was being followed.

On the information before him, he is satisfied that no breach of Settlement is involved in the steps taken to collect land revenue in Bardoli. It was clearly contemplated by the Settlement that current demands and arrears would be paid promptly by all who could pay. The Collector did however show special forbearance in regard to employment of coercive processes, and it was only after some months' delay and then only in carefully selected cases that he resorted to them. The prompt response of revenue-payers and the negligible extent to which attachment became necessary showed then, that there were many persons able to pay who had not done so and established the fact that action had become necessary only in consequence of their failure to observe the Settlement.

While reserving the right to decide each case on its merits, neither the Government nor the Collector has ever accepted the position that the collection of land revenue should be dependent on the advice of the Congress, and His Excellency has no doubt you will yourself realise that the decision as to whether a particular person can or cannot pay must rest with the Collector. Holding, therefore, as he does, that there has been neither a breach of faith nor a breach of Settlement in any action which has been taken, His Excellency the Governor-in-Council is unable to approve of refund of any sums already collected.

The Governor's curt reply which doubtless precipitated the crisis, was discussed by the Working Committee for over three hours and when the Committee adjourned at noon on the 11th August, Mr. Gandhi sent an express telegram to His Excellency the Viceroy which was in the nature of an S. O. S.

Exceedingly regret to inform you that the letter from the Bombay Government just received renders impossible my departure for London. The letter raises issues of first magnitude, as well of facts as of law and contends that the Government must be the final judges on both. In naked terms this means that Government should be both the prosecutor and judge with reference to matters arising out of a contract to which they and the complainants are parties. This is an impossible position for the Congress to accept. When I read the Bombay Government's letter together with Sir Malcolm Hailey's telegram received in answer to my inquiry and reports of continuing harassment in the United Provinces, the Frontier Province and other Provinces, they seem to me a complete indication that I must not sail.

Lord Willingdon telegraphically replied to Gandhiji, explaining the Government's position in respect of land revenue collection in Gujarat. The Viceroy in a courteous but decisive note substantially supported Sir E. Hotson's reply to Gandhiji.

I should regret extremely, if for the reasons you have given, the Congress should be unwilling to carry out the arrangement which provided for their representation at the Conference. I am unable to accept these reasons as valid and I cannot but feel that your misgivings arise from a misunderstanding of the policy of the Government and the grounds on which it rests.

I would remind you of my personal letter to you of July 31st, in which I gave you the fullest assurances of my personal interest in everything to do with the Settlement and could therefore have hoped that you would not allow disputes over the present details to prevent your serving India by participating in the momentous discussion of the future Constitution which may determine the destiny of the country beyond your time or mine. If, however, your telegram represents the final word, I will at once inform the Prime Minister of your inability to attend the Conference.

Gandhiji replied that he could only read His Excellency's assurances in the light of present happenings: and if you can see in them nothing inconsistent with the settlement, it shows fundamental difference in our respective outlooks upon settlement. In circumstances I regret to say there is no way left open to me but to confirm decision already conveyed. I can only add that I tried my utmost best to go to London but failed. Please inform the Prime Minister accordingly.

It did not take long for the public to know the result of these anxious negotiations. And the Working Committee which met at once to consider the situation, issued the following statement:

The Committee carefully considered the correspondence exchanged between the Central and various Provincial Governments on the one hand, and Gandhiji on the other, upon matters arising out of the Delhi Settlement and also considered the statement made by Gandhiji describing the events that led to the correspondence. The Congress Working Committee notes with regret that there have been in its opinion repeated and in some cases serious breaches by provincial Governments of conditions of the Delhi Settlement and a stage was reached when falling satisfaction, Gandhiji had asked with the approval of

the Working Committee for the appointment of an impartial tribunal to investigate the allegations of breaches and interpret the terms of the Settlement. Such a request has now been refused even in matters affecting the vital interests of the peasantry. The Committee has therefore been obliged reluctantly to come to the conclusion that consistently with the terms of the Settlement and national interests, the Congress cannot and should not be represented at the Round Table Conference.

Thus unfortunately, after about six months of anxious and vigilant nurturing from the first week of March to the third week of August, the tender plant of the Truce, on which such great hopes had been reared, snapped at a moment. It was deplorable that the long and patient endeavour of months of goodwill and co-operation on either side should have taken such a sudden and unexpected turn. The situation was grave enough in all conscience, and Lord Irwin overwhelmed by the gravity of the crisis declined to say anything. The Rt. Hon. Sastri was plunged in gloom as he heard the news of the Congress decision and Mr. Gandhi's withdrawal from the Round Table Conference. Dr. Sapru and Mr. Jayakar and other Round Tablers who were in Bombay to sail for England on the 15th by the *Mooltan*, saw Mr. Gandhi at "Mani Bhawan" and expressed their profound disappointment at the turn of events. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu who had arranged to sail by the *Mooltan*, cancelled their passages. Gandhiji himself in an interview with press correspondents declared:

I need hardly say that it has been a great blow to me that I am not to go to London. I know what it will mean to Lord Irwin and I know also what severe disappointment it will be to the numerous English friends I have in England. But a decision not to go became inevitable. I had hoped against hope that justice will be done even at the eleventh hour. My request was in my opinion incredibly simple. If there was a contract between the Government and the Congress, and if there was a dispute as to the interpretation of the contract, or if there was a breach on either side, surely the rules governing all contracts must be applicable to this contract, and this in my opinion was the more so, because

It is a contract between a great Government and a great organisation claiming to represent the whole nation. That the contract is not legally enforceable imposes a double obligation upon the Government to submit to an impartial tribunal questions in dispute between the contracting parties if they cannot agree. The Government in their wisdom have rejected a very simple and very natural suggestion of the Congress, that such matters in dispute should be referred to an impartial tribunal.

In the circumstances it would have been highly improper if the Congress had allowed itself to be represented at the Round Table Conference. More than this I must not say at the present moment.

By arrangement the entire correspondence and documents relating to the issue under controversy were published on the 15th. Nothing could be gained by blaming one side or the other, but there was general and widespread regret that differences in trivial details should have obscured the larger end in view. It was yet hoped that something would be done to retrieve the situation—a hope inspired by Gandhiji's message to the *News Chronicle* in which he declared that the position was any day retrievable if the local authorities implement the Settlement and that he "will dash to London the moment the way is clear".

For once let the British public believe that every effort humanly possible was made by me to proceed to London. But the belief is growing on me that the great Civililians here do not want me to attend the Conference, or if they do, they do so under circumstances which a National Organisation like the Congress can never tolerate. If there is to be lasting partnership between two Nations, these Civililians will probably remain as true servants of India.

I have therefore no desire to attend the Conference if I cannot do so with their whole-hearted goodwill and blessings. When the full facts are published, I will be able to produce a catalogue of breaches by Provincial Governments which will show how patient the Congress has been and hoping against hope.

DEMAND FOR TRIBUNAL

The demand for an impartial tribunal before whom the Congress can prove these breaches I hold to be perfectly natural and simple. I claim for the Delhi Settlement at least as much sanctity and protection as is claimable for any ordinary contract. But if for this solemn Settlement one contracting party can be both prosecutor and judge, it is not worth the paper on which it is written; and if London cannot guarantee protection to that party to the contract which has

no arms to back it, London is not likely to produce a scheme that will give India what she has long desired and to which she is entitled by right of sufferings, if nothing more.

The position is any day retrievable by local authorities, implementing terms of the Settlement. I claim for the Congress that it has done its part to the best of its ability. It has always been ready to set right everything brought against it, and it has been always ready to court public inquiry into every one of its doings.

MAHATMA'S CONCERN FOR IRWIN

Personally I would give my all for the sake of Lord Irwin who will feel deeply cut up to see the Settlement to which he gave many anxious days and nights failing at the last moment. I claim to feel this no less keenly than he. You may therefore depend upon it that I would make a dash for London the moment the way is cleared for me by those who are in a position to do so.

"What is going to happen now will be known within a few days," declared Gandhiji addressing a small crowd assembled at the time of prayer.

We believe the truce still continues, but if the Government declares the truce has come to an end, we are ready for it. If however the Government declares the truce still continues, both we and the Government have to carry it out.

LETTER TO LORD WILLINGDON

Before his departure from Bombay for Ahmedabad, Mr. Gandhi addressed a personal letter to H. E. Lord Willingdon, in which he affirmed that the Congress had no desire to embarrass the Government, that it was far from his intention to set up a parallel government, that he had never insisted upon a Board of Arbitration though he claimed it as a matter of right and that all that he wanted was simple justice. He declared further that Congress was prepared to continue honourably to work the settlement provided there was reciprocal attitude on the part of the Provincial Governments. The letter reads:

Events have moved so fast that I have not had the time to acknowledge your very kind personal letter of July 31.

I recognise the sincerity running through the communication, but the latest developments have made that letter past history and, as I said in my wire of August 13, the sum-total of all circumstances betrays a fundamental difference of outlook between us.

I can only give you my assurance that it was not without the greatest and most anxious deliberation that I came to the conclusion that, in view of your decision, I could not, consistently with my obligations here, attend the Round Table Conference.

I was grieved when I heard that your decision was affected by the opinion ascribed to you that I had insisted upon a Board of Arbitration and that I was trying to set myself up as the head of a parallel government.

As for a Board of Arbitration, it is true that I have claimed it as a matter of right, but, if you recall our conversation, I never insisted upon it. On the contrary, I told you that so long as I got the justice to which I was entitled I would be quite satisfied. You will agree that this is wholly different from insisting on a Board of Arbitration.

VOLUNTARY PATELS

As to the alleged parallel government I thought I had dispelled the illusion when, in reply to a jocular remark by you, I had told you that I did not claim to be a district officer, but that my co-workers and I had acted as voluntary patels or village headmen, and that, too, with the consent and knowledge of the district officers. I should therefore be sorry if these two opinions, which I submit were erroneous, had affected your decision.

THE FACT

The purpose, however, of writing this letter is to inquire whether you regard the Delhi Settlement as now at an end, or whether it is to be still continued in spite of the abstention of the Congress from participation in the Round Table Conference. The Congress Working Committee arrived at the following decision this morning:

"In view of the resolution relating to Congress non-participation in the Round Table Conference passed by the Working Committee on August 13, the Committee desires to make it clear that this resolution should not be construed as ending the Delhi Settlement. The Committee therefore advises the Congress organisations and all Congressmen to continue to comply, until further instructions, with the terms of the Delhi Settlement in so far as they are applicable to the Congress."

From this you will observe that the Working Committee has no desire to embarrass the Government at the present juncture, and that therefore it is prepared to continue honourably to work the Settlement; but such working must depend upon a reciprocal attitude on the part of the Provincial Governments.

As I have told you so often, through correspondence and our conversations, this reciprocity has been found to be progressively missing. Information continues to be received at the office of the Working Committee of Government activity which can only be

interpreted to be a token of a design to crush the Congress workers and normal Congress activities.

If, therefore, the Settlement is to abide, I venture to think that early relief in the matter of complaints already filed is necessary. More complaints, as I have already said, are coming and co-workers are insistent that, if relief is not had in time, they should at least get permission to adopt defensive measures. May I request an early reply.

THE REAL ISSUE: THE ATTITUDE OF THE SERVICES

Gandhiji explained the purpose of his letter to the Viceroy, in an article in *Young India*. After referring to the fact how the Government had refused to accept the Congress as the intermediary between the people and the Government, and how he had not insisted on the point as he did not want to embarrass or humiliate the Government, Gandhiji pointed out that he could prove by documents that occasions were not wanting to warrant the Congress declaring the Truce at an end by reason of the Provincial Governments having failed to carry out the terms. Gandhiji then cited instances of alleged breaches and added that Congress had shown exemplary patience in not terminating the Truce in the face of the determined antagonism of the Civil Services. It was they that stood in the way of peace in the Bardoli dispute.

The inference to be drawn from the conduct of the Provincial Governments is that members of the Civil Service are unwilling that I should proceed to London. Had they desired otherwise it was open to them, as it is even now, to make my way clear for me by treating the Congress as worthy of their trust and respect, and therefore giving it satisfaction through an impartial enquiry.

Replying to the objection that Gandhiji, in concentrating upon matters of detail, had really missed the opportunity of helping decisions on matters of higher interest, he pointed out that he does not look at the two things separately:

Government of India is but a part of the whole Imperial scheme and it is not ready to recognise the right of India to govern her-

self unfettered from any outside control, it is not likely to think or do otherwise. My closest association with that Government for the last four months has left the impression on me that the Civil Service is not ready to recognise the right of India to full freedom. I have too great a regard for their ability and powers of organisation and their influence on the British public opinion, to think, that without their whole-hearted co-operation and blessing, a humble person like me could possibly get anything from London. Therefore, till the members of that Service are converted, there is no scope for the Congress to enter upon negotiations for full freedom. It must go through further suffering, however costly the process may be. Bardoli, therefore, was for me an acid test. It was designed to gauge the Civilian temper. Looked at in that light, it was not a small thing.

FURTHER PEACE EFFORTS

While he gave out his mind freely on the attitude of the Services, he was unremitting in his endeavours to continue negotiations for peace. He caused the Working Committee to issue instructions to the Provinces that by Congressmen at any rate the Truce should be observed both in the letter and spirit. He repudiated the press report that he had issued a challenge to the Government, and when it was brought to his notice that the publication of his charge-sheet had affected the negotiations adversely, he pointed out:

I have issued no challenge. Whatever I have said has been published in the correspondence. If my letter to the Collector of Surat be regarded as a challenge, then that letter unambiguously stands. The material result has been already achieved—that is to say I could not go to London. The honour of the Congress pledge to the Bardoli peasants was thereby half vindicated. The rest is in the lap of the Government. Whatever the final decision of the Government may be, I decline to believe that it can possibly be affected by the publication of the charge-sheet which was part of the relevant correspondence. This publication was authorised by the telegram dated 14th instant from Simla.

So far as the counter-charges were concerned, he said he would welcome them as also an impartial tribunal to investigate them.

I will be prepared to advise the Working Committee to accept even an one-sided tribunal—that is a tribunal that may confine its

attention only to investigate the counter-charges. The Congress has nothing to lose by a public enquiry into the allegations made against it.

Meanwhile H. E. the Viceroy who was in Calcutta, hastened to his headquarters in Simla, held a meeting of his Council and sent a reply to Mr. Gandhi's letter of August 14, in which he had alleged breaches of the Settlement on the part of the local Governments. The Viceroy replied:

The activities of the Congress during the past five months have, in many directions, been contrary both to the letter and the spirit of the Delhi Settlement, and have involved a constant menace, not only to the continuance of the Settlement, but to the maintenance of peace, particularly in the United Provinces and the North-West Frontier Province.

Lord Willingdon further observed that the refusal of the Congress to be represented at the Round Table Conference involves the failure of one of the main objects of the Settlement. Declaring that the Government would continue to avoid resort to special measures so far as that was possible, the Viceroy added:

It is the intention of the Government of India to pursue the policy they have hitherto followed to restrict action to the requirements of the specific situation, and, in particular, to avoid resort to special measures so far as this is possible.

But so far as this action may relate to the activities of the Congress, its nature and extent must depend primarily on the nature of those activities, and the Government of India are unable to fetter their discretion or that of Local Governments in this respect.

Commenting on the Viceroy's reply, Mahatmaji told a representative of the A. P. I:

I do not consider the Viceroy's reply to be at all bad or disappointing. In fact I was prepared for some such reply.

Mr. Gandhi added:

I am glad too that so far as I can understand the letter, the Government do not intend to terminate the Settlement and as the public is well aware, the Working Committee of the Congress has already passed a resolution to that effect. I am therefore hoping that all Congressmen will meticulously observe the Settlement.

Gandhiji had, in the meanwhile, received a radio message from Sir T. B. Sapru and Mr. Jayakar from S. S. Mooltan, protesting against the release of the charge-sheet which had placed them in an awkward position as they had been in communication with Whitehall on the one hand, and the Viceroy on the other. While Gandhiji could not see how the publication was irrelevant, he showed a fine spirit of accommodation in wiring to the Viceroy at once to grant him an interview, so that he might personally explain to His Excellency and clear up the points on which there had evidently been some misunderstanding.

THE GANDHI-WILLINGDON TALKS

His Excellency having agreed, Gandhiji accompanied by Mr. Vallabhai Patel, Mr. Jawahar Lal Nehru and Sir Prabhaskar Pattani reached Simla on the 25th August and at once started negotiations. Gandhiji's evident moderation and sweet reasonableness naturally disarmed all opposition and the discussions with Mr. Emerson proved most satisfactory. The discussion covered a wide area, particularly breaches relating to Gujerat, the United Provinces and the North-West-Frontier, but finally centred around Gujerat.

The Viceroy held a two hours' meeting of the Executive Council when Mr. Emerson explained the purport of his conversation with Mr. Gandhi.

It all seemed quite plain sailing and Gandhiji was to have left for Bombay *en route* to England but a eleventh-hour hitch arising, fears were aroused lest he should miss the boat on Saturday the 29th. Meanwhile Sir Prabhaskar and Sir Cowasji Jehangir (Jr.) were assiduous in their peace efforts with Government, and a settlement was reached to the satisfaction of both parties. And the following *communique* was issued on the 27th embodying the results of the Gandhi-Willingdon talks:

THE AGREEMENT

As a result of the conversations between His Excellency the Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi, the Congress will now be represented by Mr. Gandhi at the Round Table Conference.

The Settlement of March 5, 1931, remains operative. The Government of India and the local Governments will secure the observance of the specific provisions of the Settlement in those cases, if any, in which a breach is established and will give their careful consideration to any representation that may be made in this respect. The Congress will fulfil their obligations under the Settlement.

In regard to collections of land revenue in the Surat District, the point in issue is whether in those villages of Bardoli Taluk and Valod Mahal which were visited by revenue officials accompanied by a party of police during the month of July 1931, more severe demands, having regard to their material circumstances, were made from revenue-payer and enforced by coercion exercised through the police than were made from and met by revenue-payers of other villages of the Bardoli Taluka. The Government of India, in consultation and full agreement with the Government of Bombay, have decided that an inquiry shall be held into this issue in accordance with the following terms of reference: To inquire into the allegations that *khatodars* in the villages in question were compelled by means of coercion exercised through the police to pay revenue, in excess of what would have been demanded if the standard had been applied which was adopted in other villages of the Bardoli Taluka, where collections were effected after March 5, 1931, without the assistance of the police and to ascertain what sum, if any, was so paid.

Within the terms of reference, evidence may be produced on any matter in dispute. The Government of Bombay have appointed Mr. R. G. Gordon, I.C.S., Collector of Nasik, to hold the inquiry. In regard to other matters hitherto raised by the Congress, the Government of India and the local Governments concerned are not prepared to order any enquiry.

Thus Gandhiji's principal demand for an enquiry over the Bardoli dispute was conceded. The Delhi Settlement was to remain operative and Congress was to be represented at the Round Table Conference.

The news was hailed with rejoicing all over the country which for weeks together was distracted between hopes and fears. Gandhiji left Simla by special train on the 27th and reached Bombay in time to catch the P. & O. Boat *S. S. Rajaputana* on the 29th noon. With him sailed

two veteran Congress leaders—Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, and the distinguished statesman and administrator Sir Prabhaskar Pattani—all Members of the Round Table Conference.

Mahatma Gandhi, just before sailing, gave the following message to the Associated Press representative, who interviewed him in his cabin on board *S. S. Rajputana*:

Though I see nothing on the horizon to warrant hope, being a born optimist, I am hoping against hope. My faith is in God and He seems to have made my way clear for me to go to London. Therefore I expect He will use me as His instrument for the service of humanity. For me service of India is identical with the service of humanity.

Though Congress may be repudiated by sections of the people of India, it aims at representing the whole of India and, therefore, to deserve the trust that had been reposed in me and imposed upon me, I shall endeavour to represent every interest that does not conflict with the interests of the dumb millions for whom the Congress predominantly exists.

I hope that Provincial Governments, the Civil Service and English mercantile houses will help the Congress to realise the mission it has set before itself. Representing, as the Congress does, the message of non-violence and truth, it can only succeed by the goodwill of component parts of the nation, and I am therefore hoping that goodwill will be extended to the humble representative that is going upon his errand.

September, 1931.

APPENDIX

I. THE RULES AND REGULATIONS OF SATYA-GRAHASHRAMA*

OBJECT

The object of this home is to learn how to serve the motherland and to serve it.

DIVISIONS

This home is divided into three classes: Managers, Candidates and Students.

(1) MANAGERS

Managers believe that, in order to learn how to serve the country, the following observances should be enforced in their own lives, and they have been doing so for some time.

1. THE VOW OF TRUTH

It is not enough that one ordinarily does not resort to untruth; one ought to know that no deception may be practised even for the good of the country, that Truth may require opposition to one's parents and elders. Consider the example of Prahlad.

2. THE VOW OF AHIMSA (NON-KILLING)

It is not enough not to take the life of any living being. The follower of this Vow may not hurt even those whom he believes to be unjust; he may not be angry with them, he must love them: thus he would oppose the tyranny whether of parents, governments or others, but will never hurt the tyrant. The follower of Truth and Ahimsa will conquer the tyrant by love, he will not carry out the tyrant's will but he will suffer punishment even unto death for disobeying his will until the tyrant himself is conquered.

3. THE VOW OF CELIBACY

It is well-nigh impossible to observe the foregoing two Vows unless celibacy is also observed; for this vow it is not enough that one does not look upon another woman with a lustful eye, he has so to control his animal passions that they will not be moved even

* A translation of the Gujarati draft constitution.

in thought: if he is married he will not have a carnal mind regarding his wife but considering her as his life-long friend, will establish with her the relationship of perfect purity.

4. CONTROL OF THE PALATE

Until one has overcome the pleasures of the palate it is difficult to observe the foregoing Vows, more especially that of celibacy. Control of the Palate is therefore treated as a separate observance. One desirous of serving the country will believe that eating is necessary only for sustaining the body; he will, therefore, daily regulate and purify his diet and will either gradually or immediately in accordance with his ability leave off such foods as may tend to stimulate animal passions or are otherwise unnecessary.

5. THE VOW OF NON-STEALING

It is not enough not to steal what is commonly considered as other men's property. It is theft if we use articles which we do not really need. Nature provides from day to day just enough and no more for our daily needs.

6. THE VOW OF NON-POSSESSION

It is not enough not to possess and keep much, but it is necessary not to keep anything which may not be absolutely necessary for our bodily wants: thus if one can do without chairs, one should do so. The follower of this vow will, therefore, by constantly thinking thereover, simplify his life.

SUBSIDIARY OBSERVANCES

Two observances are reduced from the foregoing:

1. SWADESHI

It is inconsistent with Truth to use articles about which or about whose makers there is a possibility of deception. Therefore, for instance, a votary of Truth will not use articles manufactured in the mills of Manchester, Germany or India, for he does not know that there is no deception about them. Moreover labourers suffer much in the mills. Use of fire in the mills causes enormous destruction of life besides killing labourers before their time. Foreign goods and goods made by means of complicated machinery are, therefore, tabooed to a votary of *Ahimsa*. Further reflection will show that use of such goods will involve a breach of the vows of non-stealing and non-possession. We wear foreign goods in preference to simple goods made in our own hand-looms because custom attributes greater beauty to them. Artificial beautifying of the body is a hindrance to a Brahmachari; he will, therefore, avoid the use of any but the simplest goods. Therefore the vow of *Swadeshi* requires the use of simple and simply made clothing to the exclusion of even buttons, foreign cuts, etc., and so will *Swadeshi* be applied to every department of life.

2. FEARLESSNESS

He who is acted upon by fear can hardly follow Truth or *Ahimsa*. Managers will, therefore, endeavour to be free from the fear of kings, people, caste, families, thieves, robbers, ferocious animals such as tigers and even death. A truly fearless man will defend himself against others by truth-force or soul-force.

VERNACULARS

It is the belief of the managers that no nation can make real progress by abandoning its own languages; they will, therefore, train themselves through the medium of their respective vernaculars and as they desire to be on terms of intimacy with their brethren from all parts of India, they will learn the chief Indian languages, and as Sanskrit is the key to all the Indian languages, they will learn that also.

HAND LABOUR

Managers believe that body labour is a duty imposed by nature upon mankind. We may, therefore, resort to bodily labour alone for our sustenance and use our mental and spiritual power for the common good only, and as the largest percentage in the world lives upon agriculture, managers will devote some part of their time to working on the land: and when such is not possible, perform some other bodily labour.

HAND-LOOMS

Managers believe that one of the chief causes of poverty in the land is the virtual disappearance of cotton-spinning wheels and hand-looms. They will, therefore, make a great effort to revive this industry by working upon hand-looms themselves.

POLITICS

Politics, economic progress, etc., are not considered to be independent branches of learning but that they are all rooted in religion. An effort will, therefore, be made to learn Politics, Economics, Social Reform, etc., in a religious spirit, and work in connection with these matters will be taken up by the managers with energy and devotion.

(2) CANDIDATES

Those who are desirous of following out the foregoing programme but are not able immediately to take the necessary vows may be admitted as candidates. It is obligatory upon them to conform to the observances referred to above, though they do not take the vows whilst they are in the Ashram, and they will occupy the status of managers when they are able to take the necessary vows.

(3) STUDENTS

1. Any children whether boys or girls from four years and upwards may be admitted.

2. Parents will have to surrender all control over their children.
3. Children may not be permitted to visit their parents until the whole course of study is finished.
4. Students will be taught to observe all the vows observable by the managers.
5. They will be taught principles of religion, agriculture, handloom weaving and literature.
6. Literary knowledge will be imparted through the respective vernaculars of the students and will include History, Geography, Mathematics, Economics, etc., learning of Sanskrit, Hindi, and at least one Dravidian Vernacular is obligatory.
7. English will be taught as a second language.
8. They will be taught Urdu, Bengali, Tamil, Telugu and Devanagari characters.
9. Managers believe that the whole course will be completed in ten years. Upon reaching the age of majority, students will be given the option of taking the vows referred to in section 1 or retire from the Ashram, if its programme has not commended itself to them.
10. This option they will exercise when no longer they will require the assistance of their parents or other guardians.
11. Every endeavour will be made to teach the students from the very beginning not to have the fear, "What shall I do for my maintenance if and when I become an independent man."
12. Grown-up persons also may be admitted as students.
13. As a rule the simplest and the same style of clothing will be worn by all.
14. Food will be simple. Chillies will be excluded altogether and no condiments will be used generally except salt, pepper and turmeric. Milk and its products being a hindrance to a celibate life and milk being often a cause of tuberculosis, and having the same stimulating qualities as meat, will be most sparingly used if at all. Food will be served thrice. In it dried and fresh fruits will be liberally used. All in the Ashram will be taught principles of Hygiene.
15. There will be no vacation in this Ashram and no holidays as a rule, but during $1\frac{1}{2}$ days per week the ordinary routine will be altered and students will have leisure to attend to their private personal work.
16. During 3 months in the year those whose health permits, will be enabled to travel mostly on foot in the different parts of India.
17. No fees will be charged either against students or candidates, but parents or members themselves will be expected to contribute as much as they can towards the expenses of the Ashram.

MISCELLANEOUS

The management will be controlled solely by the managers. The chief manager will control all admissions. The expenses of conducting the Ashram are being met from moneys already received by the chief manager and being received from friends who are more or less believers in this Ashram. The Ashram is situated in 2 houses on the banks of the Sabarmati, Ahmedabad.

NOTICE

Visitors are requested during their stay at the Ashram to observe as nearly as possible the rules of the Ashram. Every endeavour will be made to make them comfortable; but they will confer upon the management a favour if they will bring with them their bedding and eating utensils. Those parents who intend sending their children to the Ashram are advised to visit the Ashram. No children will be admitted without being thoroughly examined as to their mental and moral condition.

II. IRWIN-GANDHI AGREEMENT

THE following is the text of the Irwin-Gandhi Agreement signed at Viceroy's House, in New Delhi, on March 5, 1931 :—

Consequent on the conversations that have taken place between His Excellency the Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi, it has been arranged that the civil disobedience movement be discontinued and that, with the approval of His Majesty's Government, certain action be taken by the Government of India and Local Governments.

THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

(2) As regards constitutional questions, the scope of future discussion is stated, with the assent of His Majesty's Government, to be with the object of considering further the scheme for the constitutional Government of India discussed at the Round Table Conference. Of the scheme there outlined, Federation is an essential part; so also are Indian responsibility and reservations or safeguards in the interests of India, for such matters as, for instance, Defence; External Affairs; the position of minorities; the financial credit of India, and the discharge of obligations.

(3) In pursuance of the statement made by the Prime Minister in his Announcement of the 19th of January 1931, steps will be taken for the participation of the representatives of the Congress in the further discussions that are to take place on the scheme of constitutional reform.

(4) The Settlement relates to activities directly connected with the civil disobedience movement.

CALLING OFF OF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

(5) Civil disobedience will be effectively discontinued and reciprocal action will be taken by the Government. The effective discontinuance of the civil disobedience movement means the effective discontinuance of all activities in furtherance thereof, by whatever methods pursued and in particular, the following :—

1. The organised defiance of the provisions of any law.
2. The movement for the non-payment of land revenue and other legal dues.
3. The publication of news-sheets in support of the civil disobedience movement.
4. Attempts to influence civil and military servants or village officials against Government or to persuade them to resign their posts.

APPENDIX

197

BOYCOTT OF BRITISH GOODS

(3) As regards the boycott of foreign goods, there are two issues involved, firstly, the character of the boycott and secondly the methods employed in giving effect to it. The position of Government is as follows: They approve of the encouragement of Indian Industries as part of the economic and industrial movement designed to improve the material condition of India, and they have no desire to discourage methods of propaganda, persuasion or advertisement pursued with this object in view, which do not interfere with the freedom of action of individuals, or are not prejudicial to the maintenance of Law and Order. But the boycott of non-Indian goods (except of cloth which has been applied to all foreign cloth) has been directed during the civil disobedience movement chiefly, if not exclusively, against British goods, and in regard to these it has been admittedly employed in order to exert pressure for political ends.

It is accepted that a boycott of this character, and organised for this purpose, will not be consistent with the participation of representatives of the Congress in a frank and friendly discussion of constitutional questions between representatives of British India, of the Indian States and of His Majesty's Government and political parties in England, which the settlement is intended to secure. It is, therefore, agreed that the discontinuance of the civil disobedience movement connotes the definite discontinuance of the employment of the boycott of British commodities as a political weapon and that, in consequence, those who have given up, during a time of political excitement, the sale or purchase of British goods must be left free without any form of restraint to change their attitude if they so desire.

PICKETING

(7) In regard to the methods employed in furtherance of the replacement of non-Indian by Indian goods, or against the consumption of intoxicating liquor and drugs, resort will not be had to methods coming within the category of picketing, except within the limits permitted by the ordinary law. Such picketing shall be unaggressive and it shall not involve coercion, intimidation, restraint, hostile demonstration, obstruction to the public, or any offence under the ordinary law. If and when any of these methods is employed in any place, the practice of picketing in that place will be suspended.

CONDUCT OF THE POLICE

(8) Mr. Gandhi has drawn the attention of Government to specific allegations against the conduct of the police, and represented the desirability of a public enquiry into them. In present circumstances, Government see great difficulty in this course and feel that it must inevitably lead to charges and counter-charges, and so militate against the re-establishment of peace. Having regard to these considerations, Mr. Gandhi agreed not to press the matter.

CALLING OFF REPRESSION

(9) The action that Government will take on the discontinuance of the civil disobedience movement is stated in the following paragraphs :—

(10) Ordinances promulgated in connection with the civil disobedience movement will be withdrawn.

Ordinance No. 1 of 1931 relating to the terrorist movement does not come within the scope of the provision.

(11) Notifications declaring associations unlawful under the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1908 will be withdrawn, provided that the notifications were made in connection with the civil disobedience movement.

The notifications recently issued by the Burma Government under the Criminal Law Amendment Act do not come within the scope of this provision.

(12) (i) Pending prosecutions will be withdrawn if they have been filed in connection with the Civil Disobedience movement and relate to offences which do not involve violence other than technical violence or incitement to such violence.

(ii) The same principles will apply to proceedings under the security provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code.

(iii) Where a local Government has moved any High Court or has initiated proceedings under the legal practitioners' Act in regard to the conduct of legal practitioners in connection with the civil disobedience movement, it will make application to the Court concerned for permission to withdraw such proceedings, provided that the alleged conduct of the persons concerned does not relate to violence, or incitement to violence.

(iv) Prosecutions, if any, against soldiers and police involving disobedience of orders will not come within the scope of this provision.

RELEASE OF PRISONERS

(13) (i) Those prisoners will be released who are undergoing imprisonment in connection with the civil disobedience movement for offences which did not involve violence, other than technical violence, or incitement to such violence.

(ii) If any prisoner who comes within the scope of (i) above has been also sentenced for a jail offence, not involving violence, other than technical violence, or incitement to such violence, the latter sentence also will be remitted, or if a prosecution relating to an offence of this character is pending against such a prisoner, it will be withdrawn.

(iii) Soldiers and police convicted of offences involving disobedience of orders—in the very few cases that have occurred—will not come within the scope of the amnesty.

(14) Fines which have not been realised will be remitted. Where an order for the forfeiture of security has been made under the security provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code, and the security has not been realised, it will be similarly remitted.

Fines which have been realised and securities forfeited and realised under any law will not be returned.

(15) Additional police imposed in connection with the civil disobedience movement at the expense of the inhabitants of a particular area will be withdrawn at the discretion of Local Governments. Local Governments will not refund any money, not in excess of the actual cost that has been realised, but they will remit any sum that has not been realised.

RETURN OF MOVABLE AND IMMOVABLE PROPERTY

(16) (a) Movable property, which is not an illegal possession, and which has been seized in connection with the civil disobedience movement, under the Ordinances or the provisions of the Criminal Law, will be returned, if it is still in the possession of Government.

(b) Movable property, forfeited or attached in connection with the realisation of land revenue or other dues, will be returned, unless the Collector of the District has reason to believe that the defaulter will contumaciously refuse to pay the dues recoverable from him within a reasonable period. In deciding what is a reasonable period, special regard will be paid to cases in which the defaulters, while willing to pay, genuinely require time for the purpose, and if necessary, the revenue will be suspended in accordance with the ordinary principles of land revenue administration.

(c) Compensation will not be given for deterioration.

(d) Where movable property has been sold or otherwise finally disposed of by Government, compensation will not be given and the sale proceeds will not be returned, except in so far as they are in excess of the legal dues for which the property may have been sold.

(e) It will be open to any person to seek any legal remedy he may have on the ground that the attachment or seizure of property was not in accordance with the law.

(17) (a) Immovable property of which possession has been taken under Ordinance IX of 1930 will be returned in accordance with the provisions of the Ordinance.

(b) Land and other immovable property in the possession of Government, which has been forfeited or attached in connection with the realisation of land revenue or other dues, will be returned unless the Collector of the District has reason to believe that the

defaulter will contumaciously refuse to pay the dues recoverable from him within a reasonable period. In deciding what is a reasonable period special regard will be paid to cases in which the defaulter, while willing to pay, genuinely requires time for the purpose, and, if necessary, the revenues will be suspended in accordance with the ordinary principles of land revenue administration.

(c) Where immovable property has been sold to third parties, the transaction must be regarded as final, so far as Government are concerned.

Note.—Mr. Gandhi has represented to Government that according to his information and belief some, at least, of these sales have been unlawful and unjust. Government, on the information before them, cannot accept this contention.

(d) It will be open to any person to seek any legal remedy he may have on the ground that the seizure or attachment of property was not in accordance with the law.

(18) Government believe that there have been very few cases in which the realization of dues has not been made in accordance with the provisions of the law. In order to meet such cases, if any, local Governments will issue instructions to District Officers to have prompt enquiry made into any specific complaint of this nature, and to give redress without delay if illegality is established.

POSTS OF INCUMBENTS WHO HAVE RESIGNED

(19) Where the posts rendered vacant by resignation have been permanently filled, Government will not be able to reinstate the late incumbents. Other cases of resignation will be considered on their merits by the local Governments who will pursue a liberal policy in regard to the re-appointment of Government servants and village officials who apply for reinstatement.

MANUFACTURE OF SALT

(20) Government are unable to condone breaches of this existing law relating to the salt administration, nor are they able, in the present financial conditions of the country, to make substantial modifications in the Salt Acts.

For the sake, however, of giving relief to certain of the poorer classes, they are prepared to extend their administrative provisions, on lines already prevailing in certain places, in order to, permit local residents in villages, immediately adjoining areas where salt can be collected or made, to collect or make salt for domestic consumption or sale within such villages, but not for sale to, or trading with, individuals living outside them.

(21) In the event of the Congress failing to give full effect to the obligations of this settlement, Government will take such action as may, in consequence, become necessary for the protection of the public and individuals and the due observance of Law and Order.

APPRECIATIONS

I. THE RT. HON. SRINIVASA SASTRI

In the course of an appreciative study of the character and genius of Mahatma Gandhi, the Rt. Hon. Sastri wrote as follows in the pages of the SURVEY GRAPHIC, an American Magazine:—

POLITICS is not separable from life. Mr. Gandhi would not countenance the separation, for his great aim is to strip life of its sophistication and reduce it to its own nature—simple, rounded, pure. It merely happens that for the moment his activity is in the field of politics. It merely happens that for the moment he is confronting Government and daring its wrath. It merely happens that for the moment his cry of *Swaraj* for India has caught the ear of the world and the world is anxious to know what his *Swaraj* is. His real and final objective is a radical reform of human kind. His Gospel is "Back to Nature". He avows himself an implacable enemy of Western civilization. In his mighty war against Western civilization, *Swaraj* for India is but a campaign. The rules of the campaign are the rules of the mighty war; the weapons to be used in the campaign are the weapons to be used in the campaign of the mighty war; the virtues to be evoked by the campaign are the virtues which will win the mighty war in the end. The cardinal rule of both, the war and the campaign, is non-violence. Non-violence is of the heart as well as of the body. By thought, word and act you may not injure your adversary. Enemy in a personal sense is too strong a word for his dictionary. But as the adversary does not follow the rule, you will be subjected to great suffering and loss. Rejoice in the suffering and loss and court them. If you cannot rejoice in them, do not avoid or complain against them. Love your enemies; if you love them, pardon them and never

retaliate against them. Force is wrong and must go under. The soul is invincible; learn to exercise its full power. Hold to the truth at all costs; *Satya* triumphs in the end. Out of this cardinal rule, almost logically, proceed a number of principles which will keep us straight in the war and this campaign for Swaraj. Since Western civilization and the existing system of British Government have to be got rid of, we must have nothing to do with either offspring of Satan; we must cut off our connection with those large and powerful institutions by which they enslave us. These are schools, courts, legislatures. Withdraw children from schools, sue not for justice in courts, and avoid the polling-booth. Machinery being another invention of Satan and mills being the mainstay of British domination in India, boycott both, cease to import foreign cloth, and erect a spindle in each home. The motion of the *Charkha* has mystic properties, its music chastens the soul, and its products most adorn the human form, especially the female form. These principles and courses of action have more or less permanent validity because the war against modern civilization must be expected to be of indefinite duration. It is a picked body, however, namely, the members of the *Satyagrahasrama* in Ahmedabad—who are engaged in this exalted enterprise and owe lifelong allegiance to those principles and courses of action. The numerous levies now fighting in India under the flag of Non-Co-operation are enrolled only for a single campaign and may lapse into the common grooves of life as soon as the British Government has been brought to its knees and consented to change its basis. In the intensive operations of this campaign it may become necessary to resort to civil disobedience of selected laws and non-payment of taxes. But wherever the severity of the measures which such action may provoke the authorities to adopt, Non-Co-operators are precluded from the slightest intransgression of the commandment as to non-violence.

To understand Mr. Gandhi's view of life, attention must be fixed on the rules he has laid down for the regulation of his Ahmedabad institution. Its name, *Satyagrahasrama*, means the hermitage of the determined practice of truth or the abode of soul-force. The *Asrama* is still small. It has had no real chance of proving its vitality, for ever since its establishment, other things have claimed the energies of its founder. But the attainment of its

object is conditioned by the increase of its numbers and the acceptance by the community at large of these austere ideals as at present exemplified in the lives of a few apostles. No estimate can be formed of the prospective influence of the new gospel without an examination of its real nature.

Truth in the highest sense is possibly only where the individual enjoys complete freedom. All forms of force or coercion are thus at once barred. Compulsion, authority, government, these are anathema to one who at bottom is a philosophical anarchist. In fact, he describes the essence of his doctrine, sometimes as love, sometimes as truth, sometimes as non-violence (*ahimsa*), these forms are in his opinion interchangeable: for organised government in the ideal world is unjustifiable. The merit of the British Government is that it governs the least. Even a family and a school must trust entirely to the power of love and moral reasoning. Flagrant misconduct he deals with by himself fasting for a certain number of days, the guilty party being invariably brought to a state of contrition within that period. Sometime ago he applied this remedy to end a serious strike in a mill, the employers coming to reason for fear of incurring sin. Within the last few weeks the violence practised by some persons in Bombay in the name of Non-Co-operation on the occasion of the Prince of Wales' visit entailed this form of self-chastisement on his part, and by all accounts it had the desired result.

Nobody is entitled to possess more than is absolutely necessary for the moment. To hold in excess of the need is to be guilty of theft. He and his wife have given away all their property—he practised law for many years with success—and now own nothing beyond the clothes they wear and a change or two and may be a bag or box to contain these. The *Asrama* in Ahmedabad contains the barest necessities.

Each person must supply his wants by his own exertion. The ideal is to grow the corn that one eats and weave the cloth that one wears. Even the brain-worker is not exempt for this bodily labour. In fact, the spindle has grown to be a fetish with Mr. Gandhi. Its music has a charm for him. He prescribes it for all men and women. Boys must prefer it to books. Lawyers must cast away their briefs for it. Doctors must abandon the stethoscope and take to it.

So far its products have been coarse; but he asks, can a man or woman look more beautiful than in the *Khadidar* made by himself or herself? When a lady pupil of his wore the first *Sari* of her own making, he surveyed her and pronounced her divinely attractive. Without a doubt his eyes so saw her and his mind so judged her.

Control of the senses is a requisite of the first importance. It is very hard and can be only very slow. But it must be incessantly and ruthlessly practised. Luxuries are, of course, taboo. Even comforts must be steadily reduced. The palate is a particularly venal sense and has to be rigidly curbed. Simple hard fare is a condition of spiritual advancement. Celibacy is also enjoined on the inmates of the *Asrama*. Married couples may not be admitted unless they agree to surrender their marital relation and adopt that of brother and sister. If Mr. Gandhi had his way he would recommend this course to mankind. The resulting extinction of the species has no terrors for him. ~~He merely asks~~ why should we not all go to a better planet and live on a higher plane? The question would not appear so fantastic after all to one who believed in the re-birth of souls according to the law of Karma and remembered that no person would be a celibate except of his or her own free choice and when the sex passion had been transcended.

Machinery, being one of the most inseparable adjuncts of modern civilization, must be abandoned. It is of the kingdom of Satan. Mills and factories where the labourer is done out of his humanity have no place in his scheme. The wealth they create, it needs no saying, is an abomination. Posts and telegraphs and railways are likewise condemned and with them goes the printing press. He says that every time he himself uses these instruments of civilization he does so with a pang. It would be nearly as hard for him to carry on his work without resort to them as it would be to escape from the atmosphere of the earth: but perhaps the use of evil might be defensible in its own destruction. Rapid and easy means of communication have but multiplied crime and disease. Could not man infer from the fact of God having given him legs that he was not intended to go farther than they could carry him? What are ordinarily called the benefits of the railway and similar things are in reality the opposite, being added enjoyments or means of gratifying the senses.

Medicine does not escape his judgment; he calls it black magic and actually says it is better to die than be saved by a drug prescribed by the doctor. The fear of immorality and unhealthy modes of life has been materially weakened if not totally removed by the hope of being saved from the evil consequences by the help of the doctor. A return to the cure of nature and her simple ways would redeem mankind.

These and similar doctrines which appear harsh to the ordinary person, form the substance of Mr. Gandhi's ethics. Let it not be supposed that they are logical abstractions formulated for the purposes of a moral treatise or sermon, and with no intended application to life. Their propounder practises them in the spirit and in the letter, and the limitations on their practice do not proceed from any tenderness for himself or his relatives. His renunciation of worldly goods has already been mentioned. He does not seek the medical man in sickness. He eats hard fare. He wears *Khadidar* woven by his own hands and in that dress and barefooted appears before the Viceroy of India. He knows no fear and shrinks from nothing which he advises others to do. In fact, his love of suffering and hardship as a means of spiritual progress is almost morbid. His compassion and tenderness are infinite like the ocean, to use an Eastern simile. The present writer stood by as he wiped the sores of a leper with the ends of his own garment. In fact it is his complete mastery of the passions, his realization of the ideal of a "sanyasin" in all the rigour of its Eastern conception, which accounts for the great hold he has over the masses of India and has crowned him with the title of Mahatma or the Great Soul.

Now to a few other doctrines of a subordinate grade. Curiously enough he is a believer in the system of caste though the pride of caste and its exclusiveness will receive no quarter from him. Apparently he is convinced of its beneficence, if maintained in its original purity, and holds it to be of the essence of Hinduism. In this belief, however, he is not likely to be followed by a great section of his countrymen, who are anxious to restore their religion to its ancient purity. But he is at one with them and in fact with the awakened conscience of India in desiring to exorcize the demon of untouchability. Millions of people are held by caste Hindus to be beneath their physical touch and live in conditions which are scarcely fit for human beings. These he would uplift, asserting that

Hinduism gives no kind of justification for the abuse. But his work for the depressed classes, as they are called, would take the form which has quite recently been given to social work of that kind in the West. He would have the worker cast aside his own status and live the life of the class to be helped, do their work and earn their wage, exactly as they do. So only can real understanding and sympathy come, so only can that confidence be engendered which is an essential pre-requisite of all work of amelioration.

His Non-Co-operationist followers seem in places to have mixed up his humanitarian work with politics and so suffered a check. In the Mahatma's eyes no political rights will be of the slightest use to a community which is the prey of great social failings, and work for *Swaraj* can never reach any success without simultaneous work for great social reforms. But violent political excitement is not a favourable condition, for such antagonism of government and its officials is only to be expected to the activities of hosts of young picketers who are pledged at the same time to embarrass and even destroy the ordinary administration.

The educational ideals of the Mahatma have not yet received a clear expression. To compulsion even of rudimentary education he must be averse. The highest sciences and arts, the specialised forms of historical research or economic enquiry with their glorification of machinery and wealth in its varied forms, will find no room in his simple scheme. Of the necessity of introducing one language for common use in India, he has been for long a persistent advocate. He has chosen Hindi for the place of the *lingua franca*. With characteristic earnestness he has collected funds for the purpose of spreading a knowledge of this language and has sent out enthusiastic teachers to all parts of India. The Non-Co-operation turmoil may have for the time overshadowed this activity. Perhaps, too, the bulk of educational workers in India has not yet accepted the Mahatma's conclusions in this regard, and for this reason his efforts on behalf of Hindi have not been co-ordinated with the educational work of the country generally.

The writer of these lines is not of Mr. Gandhi's political followers or a disciple of his in religion. But he claims to have known him for some years and to have been a sympathetic student of his teachings. He has felt near him the chastening effects of a great personality. He has derived much strength from observing the working of an

iron will. He has learned from a living example something of the nature of duty and the worship due to her. He has occasionally caught some dim perception of the great things that lie hidden below the surface and of the struggles and tribulations which invest life with its awe and grandeur. An ancient Sanskrit verse says: "Do not tell me of holy waters or stone images; they may cleanse us, if they do, after a long period. A saintly man purifies us at sight."

II. ROMAIN ROLLAND

SOFT dark eyes, a small frail man, with a thin face and rather large protruding eyes, his head covered with a little white cap, his body clothed in coarse white cloth, barefooted. He lives on rice and fruit, and drinks only water. He sleeps on the floor—sleeps very little, and works incessantly. His body does not seem to count at all. There is nothing striking about him—except his whole expression of "infinite patience and infinite love". W. W. Pearson who met him in South Africa, instinctively thought of St. Francis of Assisi. There is an almost childlike simplicity about him. His manner is gentle and courteous even when dealing with adversaries and he is of immaculate sincerity. He is modest and unassuming, to the point of sometimes seeming almost timid, hesitant, in making an assertion. Yet you feel his indomitable spirit. He makes no compromises and never tries to hide a mistake. Nor is he afraid to admit having been in the wrong. Diplomacy is unknown to him; he shuns oratorical effect or, rather, never thinks about it; and he shrinks unconsciously from the great popular demonstrations organised in his honour. Literally "ill with the multitude that adores him", he distrusts majorities and fears "mobocracy" and the unbridled passions of the populace. He feels at ease only in a minority, and is happiest when in meditative solitude, he can listen to the "still small voice" within.

This is the man who has stirred three hundred million people to revolt, who has shaken the foundations of the British Empire, and who has introduced into human politics the strongest religious impetus of the last two thousand years.—"Mahatma Gandhi" by Romain Rolland. (Allen & Unwin.)

III. BY S. L. POLAK

THERE may be more than one opinion as to Gandhiji's profundity as a teacher, his insight as a leader, his wisdom as a guide. There can hardly be two opinions as to his merits and qualities as a man, and it is as a man that he would, I imagine, prefer to be judged. Indeed, it is to his human weaknesses and demerits that he always points when he explains to his audience how and why it is that he fails to reach the goal that he has set himself to, how and why he has failed to satisfy their hopes and his own aspirations. He is Mahatma, because, small, weak, humble as he is, it is instinctively recognised that here we have the type and example of the man striving with all his might to reach the heart of Divinity within him. Again and again, he implores us and his Creator to take him with all his faults and failings, to recognise his limitations (which he eagerly exposes to our gaze), and yet to measure him by the heights that he would attain with every effort of his sleeping and waking hours. It is thus that we come to realise the majesty of manhood, and because he insists that he is a mere man striving to be perfect even as our Father in Heaven is perfect that we have agreed to call him a great soul. Can any higher tribute be paid by us to one in the flesh? He forces us to understand clearly, what we but dimly perceived before, that Man is a Spirit and that, in addressing the best in us, it is Spirit calling to Spirit. I doubt if any can make a higher practical contribution to life than this.

It was my own high fortune and privilege to be closely associated with Gandhiji when the Mahatmaship was less insisted upon and its glamour did not partly hide him from us, when he was allowed to be among us as a man among men; and then it was that we, who were close to him, could see him as he really is—tender, affectionate, humorous, generous, always eager to serve, never hasty to condemn. Did you feel like shirking? Who readier to do the work than Gandhi? Who made you more ashamed than he by his very unconsciousness of your slackness? Who more dependable in an emergency? Who readier to overlook your faults—even to ignore them? Who more eager to attribute to you

high motives of which you were all too ashamedly unaware? To live with Gandhi was an education in the whole art of manhood. Courage, with him, has stood for something more than a mere physical attribute. Truth has been an urgent and immediate reality, not a vague and misty dream-figure whose proper habitation lies at the bottom of a well. Another's need has been his occasion. He once said to me in mild rebuke: "Sunday is no day of rest for the sorrowful or those who suffer." And for him Sunday was, accordingly, a day of harder work than any other.

Gandhi has proved beyond dispute the theory that the best men and the best women combine in themselves the best qualities of each other. No woman could excel him in patience or endurance, none could be more long-suffering. I leave to another pen the task of elaborating this point on the domestic side, and content myself with its application to his public life. Abuse has left him completely unmoved. The difficulty of the task has inhibited him not at all. The faithlessness of fellow-workers has merely stimulated him to greater endurance for them as well as for the others who have stood and waited upon events. Disappointment has but encouraged that invincible patience with which he has taken up the task anew, sure of his goal, certain of the rightness of his cause, with the words "one step enough for me" ever upon his lips.

The true test of leadership is not when the cause is won and the flowing tide carries it to victory; but when the leader of a cause forlorn, facing treachery and disaster, nevertheless keeps his inner eye upon the distant vision, and conveys something of that vision and his own assurance of its realisation to his colleagues, associates and followers. That is where Gandhi's true greatness as a man lies. To the young man at the threshold of life, in the midst of struggle, all untried, Gandhi has ever been a source of inspiration and encouragement. However wearied by the incidents of the fray, however frequent the disappointments, however hurt by the failures, Gandhi never failed. He understood human weakness, human sorrow, human incapacity, human folly—and made yet one more sacrifice in order to retrieve their consequences. He has been the exemplar of high courage, of chivalry, of hope, of faith. His soul soars high above his human weakness. Strength has come to him and flowed from him because the human man has ever been in close contact with the things of the Spirit.

By perseverance in overcoming, man climbs from the shadows of the lowlands to the bright mountain-tops of the Spirit. For how many of us has Gandhi marked out the way and, alas! how many of us has not this great pioneer left far behind, conscious of our lost opportunities, staggering with fatigue at the pace that he has set, laying down our burdens for just a little rest, taking breath where he has gone serenely forward, doubtful of our capacity to endure, realising that our hero is already acclimatised to higher altitudes than any that we can hope in this life to reach, that there rings in his ears a harmony to which we cannot attune ourselves, that for him there burns a light that is still hidden from us by the intervening distance, that he already converses with those Higher Spirits with whom we cannot yet commune!—(*The Indian Review*.)

IV. MILLIE GRAHAM POLAK

MOST women love men for such attributes as are usually considered masculine. Yet Mahatma Gandhi has been given the love of many women for his womanliness; for all those qualities that are associated with women—great faith, great fortitude, great devotion, great patience, great tenderness and great sympathy. Women could sense that in him they found a fellow-traveller, one who had passed ahead along the road, they, too, were travelling, and could give him an affection deep, pure and untouched by any play of sex-emotion. Women of all kinds have turned to him in perplexity and trouble, and no problem of their lives but could be discussed with absolute frankness, if they desired to do so. They could be sure that some light would be thrown upon their difficulties and the path made to look not too arduous to travel. He seemed to understand how easy it might be for a woman to do what appeared to be evil for love's sake, to sympathise with the soul-surrender which prompted the action, and yet to condemn it unflinchingly and point out that the way of love's service could not be through ministering to anything but the highest. I have known many occasions when a woman has gone to him deeply troubled because she had to acquiesce in some seriously dishonourable action of her husband. Mahatmaji has sympathised with her difficulty, never suggested that she should betray her knowledge of her husband's action, but advised her to

use all her love and woman's power to get the man to amend his ways. For himself, he chose the path of the ascetic, yet I have always known him to make allowances for those who could not tread the cold, austere path of denial. If comforts and objects of beauty seemed essential to the woman who discussed such a question with him, he would, had it been in his power, have given them to her; but, at the same time, he would try and persuade her to seek beauty in the things of the spirit and not to identify herself with the things of the world. Perhaps, sometimes, he did not quite realise that so many women, while having great possessions, can yet stand outside of them. So often the woman herself does not realise it until she is called upon to give them up. Then she knows they have very little real meaning to her, neither are they the things that matter most.

I often see in imagination Mahatmaji, as I frequently saw him in South Africa, walking up and down a room with a young child in his arms, soothing it in the almost unconscious way a woman does, and, at the same time, discussing with the utmost clearness pressing political questions, communal strife, or abstract problems in philosophy; and children instinctively knew this side of his character; they would nestle up to him, sure of the comfort they desired. In some ways I have thought it was easier for him to deal with the needs of young children than those of adolescence, with its warring emotions, its struggle for liberty and self-expression, and its developing mind. During that period in the life of the developing individual, he did not so easily realise the strength of the storms that can sweep reason aside, and when as it unfortunately sometimes happened, he was deceived by the youth around him, it was because in his own great simplicity he did not appreciate the amazing complexity of the character of youth. He saw so clearly the straight path that should be trod, that he seemed to find it somewhat difficult to deal with the dual nature that becomes apparent during those years when one passes from childhood into adulthood. When, however, the individual had taken upon himself his adult character, then again, for Mahatmaji, contact and understanding were once more easy and could be complete.

Another of the many pictures of life in South Africa arises clearly in my mind. It was during the early years of life in Phoenix. Mahatmaji had at this time come to definite conclusions

about sex-abstinence. He had written and spoken on the subject very decisively. I had had several discussions with him about the continuance of human life on this planet, and had, on one occasion, remarked that he must surely consider that God was wrong in having created men and women with their senses and emotions, since, were they to accept and adopt Mahatmaji's dictum, then God's expression through creation would cease; self-control, I contended, being the goal of developed humanity and not the denial of God's method of peopling the world. Very soon after this conversation, one of the members of the little settlement at Phoenix gave birth to a child. I purposely refrained from speaking of the matter when I visited Phoenix two or three days later. I thought that perhaps Mahatmaji might feel the fact displeasing. After a short time, and having talked of other things, he said in a surprised voice: "You have not asked about the mother and babe. Do you not want to see them?" He then came with me to see the baby and talked in a quiet, joyous way to the mother; and I realised in a flash that, even as a woman does, he differentiated between abstract principles and human needs and affections.

Only once have I known him fail to comprehend the deep emotions of a woman's life, and that was in not understanding the depth of absolute sorrow into which a woman, bereft of her dearly beloved by death, was plunged. Perhaps it was the one experience that he had not until then fully entered into, and he could not, therefore, realise how sick the soul of such a woman could be. Or it may have been that his belief in woman's consciousness of her touch with the All Father precluded him from knowing that women also have their periods of standing alone in an empty universe, where God has ceased to be and man is a vanishing shadow.—(*The Indian Review*.)

V. C. F. ANDREWS

TO Mr. Gandhi, any swerving from the truth, even in casual utterance, is intolerable; his speeches must be read as stating uncompromisingly what he feels to be true. They are in no sense diplomatic, or opportunist, or merely 'political,' using the word in its narrower sense. He never pays empty compliments: he never hesitates to say, for the truth's sake, what may be unpalatable to his audience.

I shrink, as I have said, out of the very reverence that I have for him, from writing for the cold printed page about his character; but I may perhaps not offend by setting down something, however inadequate, concerning his intellectual convictions. It is of the utmost importance to understand these; because, in his case, they are held so strongly, as to bind fast his whole life and to stamp it with an originality, all its own.

The greatest of all these is his conviction of the eternal and fundamental efficacy of *ahimsa*. What this means to him, will be explained a hundred times over in his writings. To Mr. Gandhi,—it would not be too much to say,—*ahimsa* is the key to all higher existence. It is the divine life itself. I have never yet been able to reconcile this with his own recruiting campaign, for war purposes, during the year 1918. But he was, himself, able to reconcile it; and some day, no doubt, he will give to the world the logical background of that reconciliation. Leaving aside the question of this exceptional case, I do not think that there has been any more vital and inspiring contribution to ethical truth, in our own generation, than Mr. Gandhi's fearless logic in the practice of *ahimsa*. Sir Gilbert Murray's article in the *Hibbert Journal* has made this fact known to the larger world of humanity outside India.

A second intellectual conviction is the paramount use of religious vows in the building up of the spiritual life. Personally, I find it far more difficult to follow Mr. Gandhi here. Especially I dread the vow of celibacy which he, not unfrequently, recommends. It appears to me unnatural and abnormal. But here, again, he has often told me, I do not understand his position.

* * * * *

I have heard him say, again and again, to those who were in highest authority: "If I did not believe that racial equality was to be obtained within the British Empire, I should be a rebel."

At the close of the great and noble passive resistance struggle in South Africa, he explained his own standpoint in Johannesburg, in his farewell words, as follow:—

"It is my knowledge, right or wrong, of the British constitution, which has bound me to the British Empire. Tear that constitution to shreds, and my loyalty will also be torn to shreds. On the other hand, keep it intact, and you hold me bound unreservedly in its service. The choice has lain before us, who are Indians in South Africa, either to sunder ourselves from the British Empire, or to struggle by means of passive resistance in order that the ideals of the British Constitution may be preserved,—but only those ideals. The theory of racial equality in the eyes of the Law, once recognised, can never be departed from; and its principle must at all costs be maintained,—the principle, that is to say, that in all the legal codes, which bind the Empire together, there shall be no racial taint, no racial distinction, no colour disability."

I have summarised, in the above statement, the speech which Mahatma Gandhi delivered on a very memorable occasion at Johannesburg, before a European audience, and I do not think that he has ever departed from the convictions which he then uttered in public. What has impressed me most of all, has been his unlimited patience. Even now, when he has again been imprisoned by the present rulers of the British Empire, who have charge of Indian affairs, he has not despaired of the British Empire itself. According to his own opinion, it is these rulers themselves who have been untrue to the underlying principle of that Empire.

A short time before Mahatma Gandhi's arrest (1922) when I was with him in Ahmedabad, he blamed me very severely indeed for my lack of faith in the British connexion and for my publicly putting forward a demand for complete independence. He said to me openly that I had done a great deal of mischief by such advocacy of Independence. If I interpret him rightly his own position at that time was this: He had lost faith in the British Administration in India,—it was a Satanic Government. But he had not lost faith in the British Constitution itself. He still believed that India could remain within the British Empire on the

basis of racial equality, and that the principle of racial equality would come out triumphantly vindicated after the present struggle in India was over. Indeed, he held himself to be the champion of that theory, and the upholder of the British Constitution.

Whether that belief, which he has held so persistently and patiently all these years, will be justified at last, time alone can say. I remember how impressed I was at the time by the fact that one, who had been treated so disgracefully time after time in South Africa, should still retain his faith in the British character. I said to him, "It would almost seem as if you had more faith in my own countrymen than I have myself." He said to me, "That may be so,"—and I felt deeply his implied rebuke.

* * * * *

He still trusts that the temper and character of the British people will change for the better, and that the principle of racial equality will finally be acknowledged in actual deed, not merely in word. If that trust is realised, then he is prepared to remain within the British Empire. But if that trust is ultimately shattered, then he will feel that at last the time has come to sever once and for all the British connexion.—*Introduction to Gandhi's Speeches.* (G. A. Natesan & Co.)

VI. PROF. GILBERT MURRAY

LET me take a present day instance of this battle between a soul and a Government, a very curious instance, because it is almost impossible without more knowledge than most people in England possess to say who was wrong and who right.

About the year 1889, a young Indian student called Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi came to England to study law. He was rich and clever, of a cultivated family, gentle and modest in his manner. He dressed and behaved like other people. There was nothing particular about him to show that he had already taken a Jain vow to abstain from wine, from flesh, and from sexual intercourse. He took his degree and became a successful lawyer in Bombay, but he cared more for religion than for law. Gradually his asceticism increased. He gave away all his money to good causes except the meagre allowance. He took vows of poverty. He ceased to

practise at the law because his religion—a mysticism which seems to be as closely related to Christianity as it is to any traditional Indian religion—forbade him to take part in a system which tried to do right by violence. When I met him in England in 1914, I ate, I believe, only rice, and drank only water, and slept on the floor; and his wife who seemed to be his companion in everything lived in the same way. His conversation was that of a cultivated and well-read man with a certain indefinable suggestion of saintliness. His patriotism, which is combined with an enthusiastic support of England against Germany, is interwoven with his religion, and aims at the moral regeneration of India on the lines of Indian thought, with no barriers between one Indian and another, the exclusion as far as possible of the influence of the West with its industrial slavery, its material civilisation, its money-worship, and its wars. (I am merely stating this view, of course, not either criticising it or suggesting that it is right.)

Oriental peoples, perhaps owing to causes connected with their form of civilisation, are apt to be enormously influenced by great saintliness of character when they see it. Like all great masses of ignorant people, however, they need some very plain and simple test to assure them that their hero is really a saint and not a humbug, and the test they habitually apply is that of self-denial. Take vows of poverty, live on rice and water and they will listen to your preaching as several of our missionaries have found; come to them eating and drinking and dressed in expensive European clothes—and they feel differently. At any rate I am told that Gandhi's influence in India is now enormous, almost equal to that of his friend, the late Mr. Gokhale.

And now for the battle. In South Africa there are some 1,50,000 Indians, chiefly in Natal; and the South African Government, feeling that the colour question in its territories was quite sufficiently difficult already, determined to prevent the immigration of any more Indians, and if possible to expel those who were already there. This last act could not be done. It violated a treaty: it was opposed by Natal, where much of the industry depended on Indian labour; and it was objected to by the Indian Government and the Home Government. Then began a long struggle. The whites of South Africa determined to make life in South Africa undesirable, if not for all Indians, at least for all Indians above the coolie-

class. Indians were specially taxed, were made to register in a degrading way; they were classed with Negroes; their thumb-prints were taken by the police as if they were criminals. If, owing to the scruples of the Government, the law was in any case too lenient, patriotic mobs undertook to remedy the defect. Quite early in the struggle the Indians in South Africa asked Mr. Gandhi to come and help them. He came as a barrister in 1893; he was forbidden to plead. He proved his right to plead; he won his case against the Asiatic Exclusion Act on grounds of constitutional law, and returned to India. Gandhi came again in 1895. He was mobbed and nearly killed at Durban. I will not tell in detail how he settled down eventually in South Africa as a leader and counsellor to his people; how he found a settlement in the country outside Durban, where the workers should live directly on the land, and all be bound by a vow of poverty. For many years he was engaged in constant passive resistance to the Government and constant efforts to raise and ennoble the inward life of the Indian community. But he was unlike other strikers or resisters in this: that mostly the resister takes advantage of any difficulty of the Government in order to press his claim the harder. Gandhi, when the Government was in any difficulty that he thought serious, always relaxed his resistance and offered his help. In 1899 came the Boer War. Gandhi immediately organised an Indian Red Cross Unit. There was a popular movement for refusing it and treating it as seditious. But it was needed. The soldiers wanted it. It served through the War, and was mentioned in despatches, and thanked publicly for its skilful work and courage under fire. In 1904 there was an outbreak of plague in Johannesburg, and Gandhi had a private hospital opened before the public authorities had begun to act. In 1906 there was a Native rebellion in Natal; Gandhi raised and personally led a corps of stretcher-bearers, whose work seems to have proved particularly dangerous and painful. Gandhi was thanked by the Governor in Natal and shortly afterwards thrown into jail in Johannesburg.

Lastly in 1913 when he was being repeatedly imprisoned among criminals of the lowest class, and his followers were in jail to the number of 2,500; in the very midst of the general strike of Indians in the Transvaal and Natal, there occurred the sudden and dangerous railway strike which endangered for the time the very existence

of organised society in South Africa. From the ordinary agitator's point of view the game was in Gandhi's hands. He had only to strike his hardest. Instead he gave order for his people to resume work till the Government should be 'safe again'. I cannot say how often he was imprisoned, how often mobbed and assaulted, or what pains were taken to mortify and humiliate him in public. But by 1913 the Indian case had been taken up by Lord Hardinge and the Government of India. An Imperial Commission reported in his favour on most of the points at issue and an Act was passed according to the Commission's recommendations, entitled the Indian Relief Act.

My sketch is very imperfect; the story forms an extraordinary illustration of a contest which was won, or practically won, by a policy of doing no wrong, committing no violence, but simply enduring all the punishments the other side could inflict until they become weary and ashamed of punishing. A battle of the unaided human soul against overwhelming material force, and it ends by the units of material force gradually deserting their own banners and coming round to the side of the soul!—(*The Hibbert Journal*.)

VII. MRS. SAROJINI NAIDU

Mrs. Naidu was present at the Court when Mahatma Gandhi was tried and sentenced to six years' imprisonment. Describing the scene of the great trial in the "*Bombay Chronicle*", Mrs. Naidu wrote in March 1922:—

A convict and a criminal in the eyes of the Law! Nevertheless the entire Court rose in an act of spontaneous homage when Mahatma Gandhi entered—a frail, serene, indomitable figure in a coarse and scanty loin cloth, accompanied by his devoted disciple and fellow-prisoner, Shankarlal Banker.

"So you are seated near me to give me your support in case I break down," he jested, with that happy laugh of his which seems to hold all the undimmed radiance of the world's childhood in its depths. And looking round at the hosts of familiar faces of men and women who had travelled far to offer him a token of their love, he added, "This is like a family gathering and not a law-court."

A thrill of mingled fear, pride, hope and anguish ran through the crowded hall when the Judge took his seat—an admirable Judge

APPRECIATIONS

deserving of our praise alike for his brave and resolute sense of duty, his flawless courtesy, his just perception of a unique occasion and his fine tribute to a unique personality.

The strange trial proceeded and so I listened to the immortal words that flowed with prophetic fervour from the lips of my beloved master, my thoughts sped across the centuries to a different land and different age when a similar drama was enacted and another divine and gentle teacher was crucified, for spreading a kindred gospel with a kindred courage. I realised now that the lowly Jesus of Nazareth cradled in a manner furnished the only true parallel in history to this invincible apostle of Indian liberty who loved humanity with surpassing compassion and to use his own beautiful phrase, "approached the poor with the mind of the poor".

The most epic event of modern times ended quickly.

The pent-up emotion of the people burst in a storm of sorrow as a long slow procession moved towards him in a mournful pilgrimage of farewell, clinging to the hands that had toiled so incessantly, bowing over the feet that had journeyed so continuously in the service of his country.

In the midst of all this poignant scene of many-voiced and myriad-hearted grief he stood, untroubled, in all his transcendent simplicity, the embodied symbol of the Indian Nation—its living sacrifice and sacrament in one.

They might take him to the utmost ends of the earth, but his destination remains unchanged in the hearts of his people who are both the heirs and the stewards of his matchless dreams and his matchless deeds.

VIII. BISHOP WHITEHEAD

I frankly confess, though it deeply grieves me to say it, that I see in Mr. Gandhi, the patient sufferer for the cause of righteousness and mercy, a true representative of the Crucified Saviour, than the men who have thrown him into prison and yet call themselves by the name of Christ.—(*Speech at the Y. M. C. A. Auditorium, Madras, December, 1913.*)

IX. RABINDRANATH TAGORE

THE secret of Gandhi's success lies in his dynamic spiritual strength and incessant self-sacrifice. Many public men make sacrifices for selfish reasons. It is a sort of investment that yields handsome dividends. Gandhi is altogether different. He is unique in his nobility. His very life is another name for sacrifice. He sacrifices itself.

He covets no power, no position, no wealth, no name and no fame. Offer him the throne of all India, he will refuse to sit on it, but will sell the jewels and distribute the money among the needy.

Give him all the money America possesses, and he will certainly refuse to accept it, unless to be given away for a worthy cause for the uplift of humanity.

His soul is perpetually anxious to give and he expects absolutely nothing in return—not even thanks. This is no exaggeration, for I know him well.

Emperors and Maharajas, guns and bayonets, imprisonments and tortures, insults and injuries, even death itself, can never daunt the spirit of Gandhi.

His is a liberated soul. If any one strangles me, I shall be crying for help; but if Gandhi were strangled, I am sure he would not cry. He may laugh at his strangler; and if he has to die, he will die smiling.

His simplicity of life is childlike, his adherence to truth is unflinching; his love for mankind is positive and aggressive. He has what is known as the Christ spirit. The longer I know him, the better I like him. It is needless for me to say that this great man is destined to play a prominent part in moulding the future of the world.—(From an interview in America.)

X. REV. DR. J. H. HOLMES

AS the crown of his great movement, Gandhi seeks the moral and spiritual regeneration of India on the lines of Indian thought, Indian custom, and Indian idealism. This means the exclusion, so far as possible, of the influence of the West, with its industrial slavery, its materialism, its money-worship and its wars. The first step in his endeavour is to wipe out the barriers which divide the Indians from one another, and make them one great united brotherhood. Thus, he seeks the obliteration of caste distinction and religious differences; Mohammedan must live peaceably with Hindu, and Hindu with Mohammedan. Then must come a leadership of mankind in ways of peace and amity. "I believe absolutely," says Gandhi, "that India has a mission for the world." His idealism, therefore, transcends the boundaries of race and country and seeks to make itself one with the highest hopes of humanity. "My religion," he cries, "has no geographical limits. If I have a living faith in it, it will transcend my love for India herself."

Such is Mahatma Gandhi! In this great spirit, he lives among the people.

As he moves from city to city, crowds of thirty and even fifty thousand people assemble to hear his words. As he pauses for the night in a village, or in the open country-side, great throngs come to him as to a holy shrine. He would seem to be what the Indians regard him—the perfect and universal man. In his personal character, he is simple and undefiled. In his political endeavours, he is as stern a realist as Lenin, working steadfastly toward a far goal of liberation which must be won. At the same time, however, he is an idealist, like Romain Rolland, living ever in the pure radiance of the spirit. When I think of Rolland, as I have said, I think of Tolstoy. When I think of Lenin, I think of Napoleon. But when I think of Gandhi, I think of Jesus Christ. He lives his life; he speaks his word; he suffers, strives, and will some day nobly die, for His kingdom upon earth.

Do you recall how it is told of Jesus, that one day, as he was journeying, he heard his disciples quarrelling? And he said, "What were ye reasoning on the way?" And they said they had disputed who was the greatest. And Jesus said, "If any man would be first among you, let him be the servant of all."—(From a sermon.)

Gandhi is in prison, but the great cause to which he has given his life moves on. If Gandhi were to die of confinement and

repression, the Indian people would only be inspired anew by his memory, as they have already been inspired by his presence. Spiritual forces are cosmic forces. They belong not to any one time or place or person, but to all times and places, and to all persons. They are the possession of the race.

Freedom through suffering—conquest of one's enemies through the enduring and forgiving love which must in the end subdue the cruellest heart—victory not by the sword but by the spirit—this is a new ideal for a nation, a new and nobler method of revolution, and thus an event which marks a new era in the history of humankind.

It is this, next only to Gandhiji himself, which binds the attention and admiration of intelligent Americans to India to-day. They see before their face and eyes the story of their own national life enacted now by another people on higher and thus sublimer level of human idealism. In spite of themselves, also, they see for the first time, on a nation-wide scale, the serious and heroic application to world problem of Jesus' own gospel of non-resistant love. What Christians themselves, with few exceptions, have never dared to do in carrying out the teachings of their Lord and Saviour, the Indian people are now doing with a courage and a patience unrivalled in human history. In Gandhi, in other words, we see the Christ alive again; and in his millions of Indian followers we see the early non-violent Christians who fronted Rome and by their sufferings—striking never a blow, but always loving, forgiving, enduring all—subdued it to the Cross.

Not only our history, therefore, but our religion, seems to be finding its fulfilment in India to-day. What wonder that we, Americans, are profoundly stirred, and in a prayer of thanksgiving for Gandhi and his people turn devoutly to our Scriptures and read therein with new understanding, new vision, new hope, the sacred words—

"Not by power, nor by might, but by my spirit,
Saith the Lord!"—(*The Indian Social Reformer*, 23rd Aug. 1930.)

NJ. DR. WILLIAM KIRK

SCHOLARLY Indians have told me that he is venerated for his saintliness as no other man has been in the memory of any one now living. Rabindranath Tagore has said that, "the whole nation follows him implicitly and for one reason only, that they believe him to be a saint. To see a whole nation of different races, of differing temperaments and ideals, joining hands to follow a saint is a modern miracle and possible only in India. The worst and most deep-rooted passions are soothed by the words: 'Mahatma Gandhi forbids it.' He is not only the greatest man in India, he is the greatest man on earth to-day." One often hears his name linked with the Messiah, Buddha, St. Francis, and Tolstoi, and comparisons are inevitably made between his life and theirs. * * *

His physical appearance is anything but prepossessing, although an ardent admirer exclaims, "In this trivial lantern of the flesh there burns a light that never was on land or sea." And it may be true as another writer has suggested, "When Nature is making geniuses she has a habit of paying more attention to the contents than to the container."

His power does not lie in the sweep of his mental life, for there are in India many who are more than a match for him in intellectual vigour. In fact, he seems to lack in some respects the scientific outlook which differentiates the modern mind from the medieval. He seldom manifests an artist's love for the beautiful in nature, in poetry, or in song; nor has he the eloquence of voice or pen to sway the multitudes, who sit reverently at his feet.

His one claim to greatness and perhaps the real secret of his power lies in his Christ-like willingness to sacrifice self for others. In a letter to Tagore who had intimated that Gandhi had left little place in his life for the beauty of the flowers and the fields, he wrote: "True to his poetic instinct, the poet lives for the morrow, and would have us do likewise. He presents to our admiring gaze the beautiful picture of the birds in the early morning singing hymns of praise as they soar into the sky.....The human bird under the Indian sky gets up weaker than when he pretended to retire. For millions it is an eternal vigil or an eternal trance. It is an indescribably painful state which has to be experienced and to be realised. I have found it impossible to soothe suffering patients with a song. The hungry millions ask for one poem, invigorating food."

And even in this desperate struggle to escape from hunger and starvation, he tells us not to apply the principle of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth, but to follow the teachings of the Nazarene and the divine Buddha—overcome anger with love, return good for evil, temper justice with mercy, conquer avarice with generosity, confront falsehood with truth.

In other words, Gandhi has indeed a rare gift—the gift of goodness—which the Indian temperament universally accepts as the essence of a great life. I have heard more than one thoughtful Hindu say that the East will continue to worship Gandhi regardless of his ideas and his theories, and in spite of his worldly defeats and failures. He is to trusting millions a holy man and a great soul, whom the Universal Spirit has singularly favoured.

Whatever the West may eventually think of Gandhi as a politician, economist, social reformer, or religious leader, no one who has recently journeyed through India with an open mind can fail to note how reverently the high and low, the weak and the strong, speak the name of the meek and lowly man of Ahmedabad. All classes seem to unite in hailing him "Mahatma", their hope in time of trouble, their apostle of peace, and goodwill among men.

No one who has talked with him in his Ashram on the banks of the Sabarmati, as he sits upon the floor spinning and shaping the future destiny of India, can leave his physical presence without feeling the impact of a saintly character and a dauntless spirit. As I walked slowly away from his simple little cottage, passed the Khaddar workshops where his followers were busily spinning, along the path leading to the dusty, bullock-trodden highway, I found myself repeating, after the manner of the Orientals, "Mahatma, great leader of a suffering people, I salute you!"

—*Cultural World.*

XII. MR. H. N. BRAILSFORD

Since Tolstoy died there is no human being living to-day who commands as he does the veneration of mankind. Others are liked, respected and admired, but he stands on a Mount of Transfiguration.

One glances in vain at the world's premiers and presidents for a personality worthy to stand beside him "Gandhi."—*The New Leader.*

XIII. MR. NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

THE first time that Mahatma Gandhi was likened unto Jesus Christ was in the course of a sermon delivered by the Rev. Dr. John Haynes Holmes to the congregation in the Community Church at Park Avenue, New York. The entire sermon was devoted to an exposition of Mahatma Gandhi's doctrine of non-violence and it concluded with the following striking words: "When I think of Gandhi, I think of Jesus Christ. He lives his life; he speaks his word; he suffers, strives, and will some day nobly die, for His kingdom upon earth." In another sermon delivered quite recently Dr. Holmes spoke with clearer conviction and greater emphasis. The theme of the sermon was "Gandhi before Pilate". The opening words are of impressive solemnity. "Why talk ye about God and the Son of God and His resurrection on this earth when He is here?" In symbolic answer to his own question the preacher placed upon his head a Gandhi cap made of Indian Khaddar cloth in pledge of recognition and devotion to the Indian leader who, Dr. Holmes believes, is now taking Christ's place in this world. As he put on the cap he continued: "This cap is a symbol of human devotion as sacred as the cross. As the early Christians lifted the cross in token of Christ's triumph over shame and death, so the Indians are wearing this cap in token of Gandhi's triumph over tyranny and force. Why should not this cap go around the world, as the cross has gone around the world? For there are millions of men in all countries to-day who see in the Mahatma the true redeemer of our modern world. More than any other man since Jesus, Gandhi manifests that spirit of universal peace and brotherhood which alone can save us." * * * * *

The kings and the captains depart, the governors and the tetrarchs are forgotten, empires rise and fall, but the Christ and the Mahatma live for ever, enshrined in the hearts of men, revered, generation after generation through all time!—*The Modern Review.*

XIV. MR. GEORGE SLOCOMBE

IN the course of his despatch to the *Daily Herald*, Mr. George Slocombe cabled on May 21, 1930:—

My conversations with Mr. Gandhi took place in the presence of three British officials, Major Doyle, Inspector-General of Prisons, Major Martin, Prison Superintendent and Mr. Gould, District Magistrate. With all the three the prisoner seemed on excellent terms. Mr. Gandhi's cell door opens on the wide verandah. His spinning wheel occupies a prominent position in the cell and among the books at his bedside I noticed a well-thumbed copy of Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress", the work of another famous prisoner. From the cool darkness in which he spends his days by spinning and meditation, the man revered as a saint in India by millions of countrymen emerged to greet me with a shy smile. During our two interviews which took place on the verandah outside his cell, the Mahatma abandoned the cross-legged posture in which he is familiar to hundreds of millions and sat on a cane chair. Otherwise he was, as the world knows him, bare except for the loin cloth, brown and emaciated like the anchorite of a desert but apparently well and even cheerful. Alone, spectacled, the mild and shining eyes, the mouth with its queer toothless smile and his childish trick of dropping kandal from one foot as he sat with one leg crossed rendered the strange apostolic figure human.

WHAT IS INDEPENDENCE

I asked him to explain frankly what he means by independence. Did he demand independence as ultimately implied in Dominion Status or did he insist on separation from the British Commonwealth? "I have always heard," he replied, "that in England Dominion Status was understood to mean independence but by Indian authorities, it is not so understood. Therefore when Independence is insisted on by them in contradistinction to Dominion Status, we naturally ask for Independence." When I asked him if he thought that Canada and South Africa were not in all essential respects independent, he acknowledged they were. "But, we are not offered a status like theirs," he added significantly.

APPRECIATIONS

27

RISKS OF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

I asked him if he had calculated all the perils involved in his campaign of civil disobedience. He replied that he had. "I have taken what has been called a mad risk but it is a justifiable risk." No great end has been achieved without incurring danger. Nevertheless he was gravely alarmed at violence said to have been committed at Sholapur. He grieved at the death of two policemen killed there but he was convinced violence had not come from the civil resisters. They had, he said, been ordered to suffer everything, even violence, without offering resistance. I asked if he thought that in the struggle between law-breakers and authorities, Government could acknowledge defeat and Mr. Gandhi smiled, "I am an optimist"; he said, "in forty years of struggle I have frequently been told I was attempting the impossible but invariably I proved the contrary. Nevertheless, he did not refuse to negotiate. "My life has been nothing but a record of settlements," he declared. If Government was in earnest in its desire to satisfy India, it should grant the eleven points demanded in his last letter to the Viceroy. "I can only judge the tree by its fruits," he repeated over and over again. "Until we get satisfaction we shall fight on until the end and give our lives if need be in the cause of Indian freedom. We shall fill all jails in India with our passive resisters and our breakers of salt laws. We shall make all administration impossible by our opposition."

NEGOTIATION STILL POSSIBLE

I believe Mr. Gandhi only needs to be convinced of the sincerity of British Government's intentions to offer his co-operation. The Indian Government will court disaster if it persists in its tragic error of regarding Mr. Gandhi and the Congress as a negligible political force in India. Many celebrated Indian Moderates have confessed to me during the past week that Mr. Gandhi alone possesses the confidence of the masses and that communal differences upon which Government now places so much mistaken emphasis are capable of solution if the Government can reach agreement with Mr. Gandhi. His co-operation alone can make the Round Table Conference a reality.

XV. MR. ROBERT BERNAYS

What is the explanation of this lawyer who can meet Viceroy on equal terms and, by a gesture, can shape for better or worse the destinies of three hundred and twenty millions of his countrymen?

Is he a prophet or a priest, or just a politician of genius?

His power certainly does not lie in his appearance. * * *

But all thought of his unattractive appearance vanishes the moment he begins to talk.

Though he speaks very quietly and without a trace of passion or bitterness, his power is almost hypnotic. His words so grip and absorb the mind that half an hour's conversation with him produces real physical exhaustion.

Yet the man is not lost in the prophet.

Mr. Gandhi has charming manners. * * *

Yet with all his political astuteness, Gandhi has a deep strain of religious mysticism. It is difficult in conversation to keep him on to domestic politics at all. He is always straying off into doubts and speculations on the universe. He talks familiarly of the inner voice, and scorns the claims of reason.

Gandhi has indeed all the attributes traditionally associated with sainthood. * * *

He has also this important attribute of sainthood that "the common people gladly hear him". * * *

The fact remains that the whole country, including the remotest hamlet in the shadow of the hills of Baluchistan or within sight of the Tibetan snows has heard of him and would shout "Gandhi Ki Jai"—which roughly means "Up Gandhi"—if he passed by.

He is perhaps the one man since the dawn of modern history who, outside the King-Emperor, is a name to the whole of India.

How has he achieved this astounding position?

Perhaps the truth is that he is at once a prophet, priest and politician of genius and that the gifts have never before been combined in one man.

XVI. MR. JAIN LAING.

Nobody who has ever had personal contact, however casual, with Mr. Gandhi, can escape his charm, or ever forget it; never more asceticism, religious zeal and fixity of purpose more disarmingly seconded by kindness, homely shrewdness and sly, chuckling humour.

XVII. REV. R. PYRE

Some of the qualities manifest in Gandhi are that he is an educated man; he has a vivid love for India and for the depressed classes, the untouchables, one of whom he cherished and insisted in taking into his own home; has courage, the kind of courage which does not recognise danger, which stands up in the face of death and laughs; his religion—he loves God, but is not a Christian, he prays and fasts, and daily submits himself to the guiding-head of God—he is unselfish; he has that strange composition which gives a man the ability to lead.

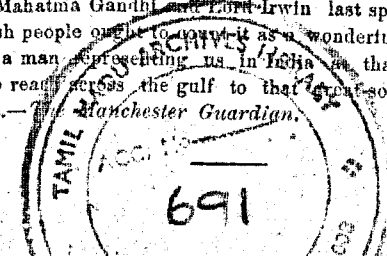
Whenever he stands up, all India hangs on his words. When you find a man without any arms or organized forces, frequently lonely, even in prison, renouncing the resources which most men regard as indispensable to success, and whose decision affects the whole of a great people, you have a fact which has to be reckoned with, which you dare not dismiss with contempt.

All the same, in prison or out of prison, in this country or in other countries, there resides in that body some mystic force which passes out and affects millions of people. There is something very wonderful about such a man.

XVIII. MR. HORACE G. ALEXANDER

Phrases like 'Dominion Status' and 'Federation' mean little to him. He wants to know what the functions and powers of a Dominion are to be, and who is to have effective control of the essential services in any federation. Unlike many of his fellow-countrymen, it is not the prestige of a higher status that he craves, but the power to wrestle with the problem of Indian poverty. There is surely nothing negative or destructive in such an aim, as so many of his British critics maintain, even though his method of securing it may seem strange.—*The Spectator*.

Something like a miracle has happened in those intimate talks between Mahatma Gandhi and Lord Irwin last spring, and I think we English people ought to count it as a wonderful providence that there was a man representing us in India at that moment great enough to reach across the gulf to that great-souled man on the other side.—*The Manchester Guardian*.



XV. MR. ROBERT BERNAYS

What is the explanation of this lawyer who can meet Viceroys on equal terms and, by a gesture, can shape for better or worse the destinies of three hundred and twenty millions of his countrymen?

Is he a prophet or a priest, or just a politician of genius?

His power certainly does not lie in his appearance. * * *

But all thought of his unattractive appearance vanishes the moment he begins to talk.

Though he speaks very quietly and without a trace of passion or bitterness, his power is almost hypnotic. His words so grip and absorb the mind that half an hour's conversation with him produces real physical exhaustion.

Yet the man is not lost in the prophet.

Mr. Gandhi has charming manners. * * *

Yet with all his political astuteness, Gandhi has a deep strain of religious mysticism. It is difficult in conversation to keep him on to domestic politics at all. He is always straying off into doubts and speculations on the universe. He talks familiarly of the inner voice, and scorns the claims of reason.

Gandhi has indeed all the attributes traditionally associated with sainthood. * * *

He has also this important attribute of sainthood, that "the common people gladly hear him." * * *

The fact remains that the whole country, including the remotest hamlet in the shadow of the hills of Baluchistan or within sight of the Tibetan snows has heard of him and would shout "Gandhi Ki Jai"—which roughly means "Up Gandhi"—if he passed by.

He is perhaps the one man since the dawn of modern history who, outside the King-Emperor, is a name to the whole of India.

How has he achieved this astounding position?

Perhaps the truth is that he is at once a prophet, priest and politician of genius and that the gifts have never before been combined in one man.

XVI. MR. JAIN LAING

Nobody who has ever had personal contact, however casual, with Mr. Gandhi, can escape his charm, or ever forget it; never were asceticism, religious zeal and fixity of purpose more disarmingly seconded by kindness, homely shrewdness and sly, chuckling humour.

XVII. REV. R. PYKE

Some of the qualities manifest in Gandhi are that he is an educated man; he has a vivid love for India and for the depressed classes, the untouchables, one of whom he cherished and insisted on taking into his own home; has courage, the kind of courage which does not recognise danger, which stands up in the face of death and laughs; his religion—he loves God, but is not a Christian, he prays and fasts, and daily submits himself to the guiding hand of God—he is unselfish; he has that strange composition which gives a man the ability to lead.

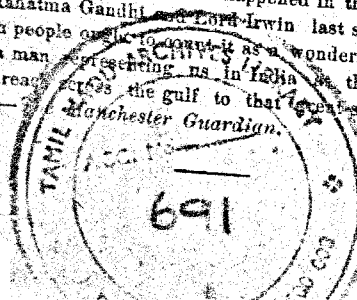
Wherever he stands up, all India hangs on his words. When you find a man without any arms or organized forces, frequently lonely, even in prison, renouncing the resources which most men regard as indispensable to success, and whose decision affects the whole of a great people, you have a fact which has to be reckoned with, which you dare not dismiss with contempt.

All the same, in prison or out of prison, in this country or in other countries, there resides in that body some mystic force which passes out and affects millions of people. There is something very wonderful about such a man.

XVIII. MR. HORACE G. ALEXANDER

Phrases like 'Dominion Status' and 'Federation' mean little to him. He wants to know what the functions and powers of a Dominion are to be, and who is to have effective control of the essential services in any federation. Unlike many of his fellow-countrymen, it is not the prestige of a higher status that he craves, but the power to wrestle with the problem of Indian poverty. There is surely nothing negative or destructive in such an aim, as so many of his British critics maintain, even though his method of securing it may seem strange.—*The Spectator*.

Something like a miracle has happened in those intimate talks between Mahatma Gandhi and Lord Irwin last spring, and I think we English people ought to count it as a wonderful providence that there was a man representing us in India, that is, one great enough to reach across the gulf to that level souled man on the other side.—*Manchester Guardian*.



XIX. MR. UPON CLOSE

Gandhi's battle is more than that of the Indian nation *versus* its conquerors. It is that of humanity *versus* social oppression. It is more than that of the Asiatic resenting the intrusion of the Western industrialism. It is that of the farmer in America as well as India who cries out that he cannot live unless a new relationship is established between agriculture and industry.

India and Ireland. Mahatma Gandhi and George Russell are initiating the constructive experiment of some industries on the soil and the building of rural culture and self-respect. It is Mahatma Gandhi who is the world's greatest example of political straightforwardness, the only true follower of the ideal of "open diplomacy" openly arrived at proposed by our own Woodrow Wilson.

This man must speak for himself. Has anything more arresting than this been said, "The moment of victory has come when there is no retort to the mad fury of the powerful, that moment will also be the moment when all the destructive cutlery in India will begin to rust?"

Or, is anything truer than this:

"With the extension of definite forgiveness comes a mighty wave of strength in us? Or anything more 'Modernist' than this? 'I have no hesitation in rejecting scriptural authority if it supports a sinful institution. I decline to be bound by any interpretation however learned it may be, if it is repugnant to reason or to moral sense.' Or has any greater definition of religion been given than this which your speaker is proud to have received from Mahatma Gandhi in direct conversation, 'The conviction that I shall always live as truly as I live now and that I can better my condition. To that, he added 'Provided I have the willingness to risk mental and physical suffering'. Does his answer to Tagore 'to a people famishing and unemployed, the only acceptable form in which God can dare appear is work and wages and food' sound pertinent right now?"

Gandhi is the greatest of to-day's makers of new nations, because alone among them he builds upon a policy to be good for them and for those in their mercy after they have attained social, political and economic equality with Great Powers. He is the greatest, because unlike the others, he would sacrifice his nation's hope of independence rather than commit one act of violence or chicanery.

Jesus of Nazareth.

live the antipathic

immediate causes, becoming

upon every cause that stirs humanity after them.

Spoke at Gandhi Testimonial Dinner, New York, Jan. 17, 1931.

XX. MR. BOYD W. TUCKER

I am a disciple of Mahatma Gandhi, because I find him to be a vital, living spiritual personality in the world to-day. In some respects he has given the Christ's message a richer and fuller interpretation, which the Jesus himself had neither the time nor the opportunity to develop. I believe that in Mahatma Gandhi we have again visited the world in its hour of desperate need.

Two great forces are striving for the conquest of the world: Gandhism and Bolshevism. But both are moving in diametrically opposite directions. Bolshevism stands for discrimination, but Mahatma Gandhi knows no discrimination, seeking to achieve his ideal by reason and love. Mahatma Gandhi is to-day as the world's greatest hope, free from class war, from Bolshevism and the tragic conflict between the Orient and the West. He is utterly misunderstood in the West. His proposed visit to London will be an epochal event, representing the dawn of a new age, the Renaissance.

XXI. H. E. LORD

However mistaken any man may think, the exploration of the world may appear the results of the poor man, no one can fail to recognise the spirit of Mahatma Gandhi to count no sacrifice too great. He is the greatest, because unlike the others, he would sacrifice his nation's hope of independence rather than commit one act of violence or chicanery.

Spoke at Gandhi Testimonial Dinner, New York, Jan. 17, 1931.

May be.

Gandhi is the half-naked
disehard. But, saint or devil,
tionary leaders of all time.

A revolutionist is judged by his power.

Gandhi has done that. Not by physical force like
but by spiritual force. He fights as Jesus fought.

This method is inaccurately called non-resistance. It is in
resistance of the most extreme and uncompromising sort, moral
resistance. It is war—no less war because it is non-violent war.

The weapon is civil disobedience. In this country Thoreau
once preached it without winning converts. To-day it is generally
practised in the United States in two fields—and with success.
With this weapon the South has nullified the constitutional amend-
ments giving black men paper equality with white men. With this
upon citizens have virtually destroyed prohibition. * * * *

That Gandhi does make the seemingly impossible come true
is clear from the terms of the truce which he has signed with the
British Viceroy.

One year ago when he marched to the seashore to make sat-
yagrah of all the might of the British empire, the wise men of
Western world predicted that Britain could not and would not
to the will of an unarmed brown man.

Gandhi has won this first great battle in the war for India's
from alien rule. His people will continue to make satyagrah by
king the British monopoly. His 70,000 followers
civil disobedience will walk free. He will demand
for Home Rule which were futile in London and

with him, for he is India.

In the end does not grant his demands, or
nated, India will unleash again the gigantic
as out British rule at his command.

Gandhi's personal power probably is unequalled
to-day.—The New York World.

END