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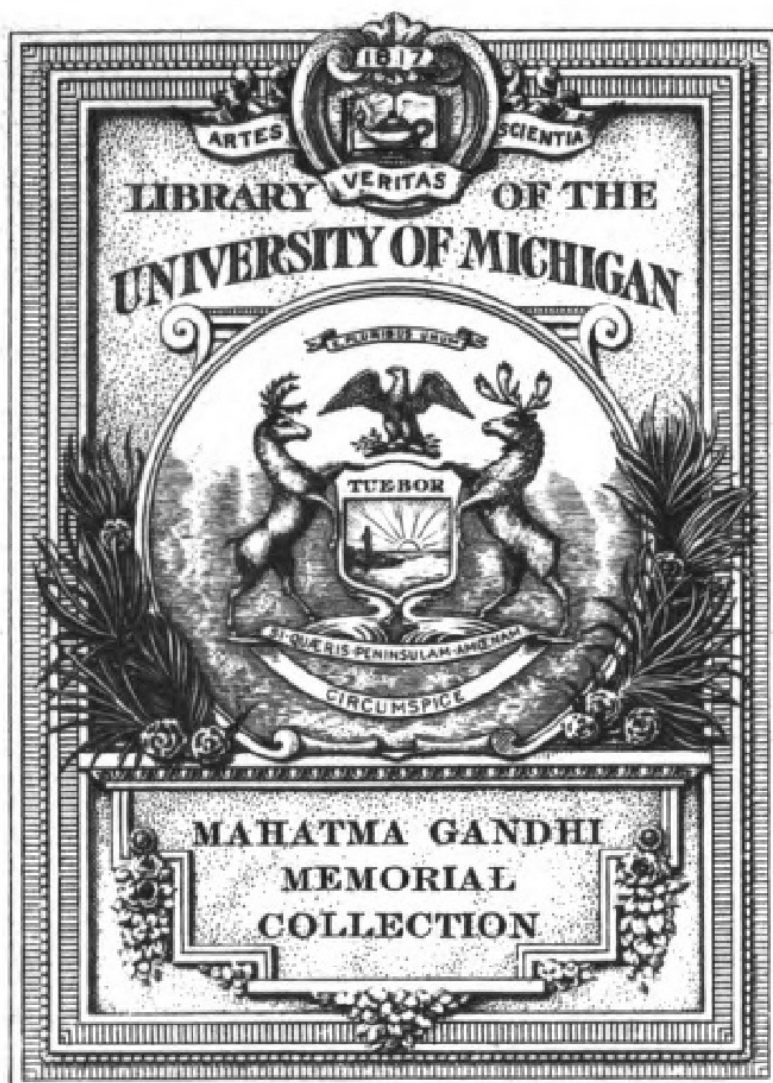


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**THE HISTORIC TRIAL**

**OF MAHATMA GANDHI.**

**WITH A FORWORD**

**BY**

**BABU BHAGAWAN DAS**

**Published by**

**A. C. KANCHAN**

**NATIONAL BOOK DEPOT,**

**FYZABAD.**

**Price**

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*The Dynasty of Rare Souls.*

From time to time rare souls take birth upon this earth, souls which are exceptionally sensitive to the spiritual and physical miseries, the material and moral degradation, of their fellow-beings, and which therefore spend their lives here in the endeavour to lighten the lives of the others, to reduce their miseries, to uplift them, at the cost of much voluntary suffering to themselves.

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi is obviously one of such rare souls. And the Indian People, recognising the greatness of the soul born amongst them, deeply grateful for his efforts to help them, even though not yet able to fully follow or even quite accept in mind all the advice given by him to them, have, by right instinct and common consent, surmised named him Mahatma, the 'great-souled'.

"He tried to save others, himself he could not save"—was said of Jesus the Christ. The saying records a single fact. But it indicates a general law also. He who would save others, cannot save himself; he who would save himself, cannot save others. The wood that is to warm others, must first lose its own life, must be severed from its roots, must become fuel and go into the fire. Thus has it always been with those who would help their fellow-men, be they called servants, be they called saviours. Thus it has been with Mahatma Gandhi. Thus it was with Bal Gangadhar Tilak, the Loka-manya, 'the honored of the People', his most noteworthy and immediate predecessor in self-sacrificing work for the political uplift of India, though along somewhat different lines, which won for him, from the People, his different but equally great title.

*Mahatma Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi.*

Many years Mahatma Gandhi labored in South Africa. Repeatedly he suffered imprisonment there at the hands of the 'false' public servants, the men in office, the men in power, of the class to whom is assigned by Providence the part of setting off, by acts showing selfish littleness of mind, the greatness of soul of the true public servants, to whom has been given by that same Providence, an opposite and complementary part, in the world-drama. He labored and suffered for the inner and outer uplift of his countrymen, who had gone to that distant foreign soil for the sake of a livelihood made impossible for them in their own Mother-land, despite the bounty of nature, by the misgovernment of the men in power and in office here. He tried to bring into the hearts of those countrymen a sense of self-respect and thereby win for them from others the recognition of their common human rights. After many years of work there he came back home, to carry on the same work of moral and thence political and material regeneration here, in the much larger field of India.

*The Plight of India, between the Devil and the Deep Sea.*

The task was very difficult—to take a true and safe course between the devil and the deep sea. On the one side, the actuality of the octopus of the irresponsible Bureaucracy, serving England's capitalistic interest, swathing ever more and more closely and suffocatingly in the tentacles of lawless law the hapless people; on the other, the imminent possibility of arousing to disastrous activity the hundred-headed hydra of the elements of rowdyism in the Mob; for the evil forces of age-long moral degradation and internal strife and disruption, which had split up this vast and ancient people into endless castes and creeds and sects and sub-sects, and forced upon it social and religious degeneration and political



and economic subjection and complete decay of the panchayat system of local self-government—these evil forces were yet at work, though a strong reaction had begun against them.

*The Opportunity and the Inspiration.*

Providence made the opportunity for Mahatma Gandhi in the events of the fateful year 1919. The written statement of Mahatma Gandhi (published in this book) handed by him to the official who sat in judgment over him at Ahmedabad, describes the circumstances. The statement, full of dignity, full of nobility, is also full of the crowning virtue of humility. It indicates how the Rowlatt Act, the Amritsar Massacre, the atrocities of the Martial Law in the Panjab, the investigations of the Congress Enquiry Committee, and the rejection, by the British-Indian Government, of its recommendations, in 1920, finally destroyed Mahatma-ji's faith in that Government, and brought to a head the conflict between the utterly irresponsible despotism of the Bureaucracy of the alien-government, on the one side, and, on the other, the urging in India's soul, voiced through the Congress, for self-government and responsible government.

Providence also gave to Mahatma Gandhi the inspiration of the Non-Violent Non-Co-Operation programme and of the revival of the Domestic Spinning Wheel. The negative and the positive sides of this programme, if worked intelligently, offer the possibility of re-training the people in the almost forgotten art of domestic, social, educational, judicial, economic, industrial 'local self-government', as a necessary preliminary to full political self-government. They also make possible the steering of the ship of political struggle between the Scylla and the Charybdis mentioned before, with a fair chance of safety.

*Intellectual Light needed to supplement Moral Heat.*

But the experience of the past two years seems to indicate that some thing more is wanted. The intensive N. C. O. movement has developed the courage of conviction, the spirit of self-sacrifice, the practical patriotism, the self-respecting communal consciousness, in a far deeper degree and to a much wider extent in the country, in these two years, than was done by the more 'sober' methods of Congress work (indispensable preparation though they were, and therefore to be looked upon always with thankfulness) in the preceding thirty-five. Yet, it has been felt in many quarters, that it has not given to the country *intellectual light* in correspondence with the *moral heat* it has generated.

This lack would have been supplied before long. The last numbers of *Young India* that were issued by Mahatma Gandhi before his arrest, show that he was beginning to turn his attention to the subject. What was and is greatly, urgently, needed by the country is a clear short explanation of the true significance of the word Swaraj. The fire of that simple, single word, in the setting of the events of 1919 and the British-Indian Government's callous un-repentance, fanned by the wings of Mahatma Gandhi's great spirit, generated the moral heat.

*Authoritative Explanation wanted of Swaraj as  
Legislation and rule by the elected Higher Self.*

An explanation, issued authoritatively by the All-India Congress Committee, or by the Congress itself in full special or general annual session, of what are to be regarded as the fundamental principles of true Swaraj; how it is to be made the *raj* of the *true swa*, (and not of the *false swa*) how *the higher self* (and not *the lower self*) of the Community will be secured and

induced to take charge of the work of legislation and of superintendence of the executive administration; by what rules and methods of election will it be made humanly probable that wise, philanthropic, experienced and selfless persons shall become legislators (instead of pushful self-seekers and promoters of their own class-interests), so that the just interests of all sections of the community may be protected and promoted, (and not only the interest of some small class aggrandised at the expense of the others); how the deepest depth of slave-mentality will not be fallen into by this country, in the frantic pursuit of the mere word 'self-government', by blind imitation of one or other current western forms of Swaraj; how the patent defects of these latter, the western democracies, which have resulted in such disasters as the Great War and its after-consequences, will be avoided;—a clear, short, authoritative, explanation of these matters would serve as a veritable lamp in the darkness, would give just *the intellectual light* which is needed by the country, would regulate and make more steady and strong *the moral heat*, keep it from straying into wrong channels, make the preservation of non-violence more certain, and give to the whole population the *Education of the Head* which is absolutely necessary to supplement *the Education of the Heart* that has been given—and *imperfectly* given, because of this lack—by the N. C. O. Movement.

*Mahatma Gandhi prevented by disaffected and disloyal Bureaucracy from supplying the lack.*

But Mahatma Gandhi is prevented from curing this defect. The Bureaucracy has, for its own self-preservation, locked him up.

False priests, theocrats, vampirise their following, after stunting and stupefying their minds with superstitions, i. e., beliefs without reason; while true





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priests-teachers-legislators foster and strengthen their people by feeding and filling them with science, i.e., beliefs with reason. False capitalists, plutocrats, keep their laborers in slavery (and therefore rebellious and hate-filled) by beggaring them and making them more and more helpless and dependent upon the capitalists; while true capitalists-trustees-patriarchs make their workers willing and steadfast co-operators by satisfying all their just needs and keeping them happy. False governmental officials, bureaucrats, keep the people down, make them 'sub-jects' (the 'down-trodden') by the policy of divide and rule, by making them more and more mutually quarrelsome, other-respecting instead of self-respecting, terror-stricken at heart, more and more at the mercy of the officials, more and more bound by laws in every limb, more and more unable to exercise the most elementary human rights without the permission of these public-servants now become public-masters, more and more servile and morally and physically degraded; while true officials-elders-protectors do their utmost to make the people ever more and more self-dependent, doing as much of their own daily work as possible without interference from and without reference to the officials, but getting from them all the possible help that they may need and ask for in doing that work; their interest is the interest of the people, not different, much less antagonistic.

But the interests of an alien and irresponsible government can never be identical with the interests of the people. It is but natural therefore that the British-Indian Bureaucracy, disloyal and disaffected at heart towards the Indian People, clinging tooth and nail to its powers and privileges and blissful freedom from responsibility (and the consequent joys of widespread bribery and corruption, blackmail, abuse of power, and general oppression of the people by the public servants in all departments, which are ac-

knowned in governmental reports themselves), and wishful to continue to take from the People the much too heavy price of utter helplessness and dependence in return for some of the outer conveniences of western civilization (witness the very name of 'the Dependency' for India) should as an act of sheer self-preservation, have imprisoned Mahatma Gandhi, who was trying to revive the moribund soul of the Indian People, to reanimate its withered self-respect, and so was endangering the irresponsibility of that Bureaucracy, because self-respect is the beginning of self-government and responsible government.

*" I plead Guilty "*

To the fellow-creature who sat in judgment over him at Ahmedabad—verily a servant sitting in judgment over a master—Mahatma Gandhi said " I plead guilty".

He might have truly and justly denied the charge, that of " bringing or attempting to bring into hatred or contempt or exciting or attempting to excite disaffection towards His Majesty's Government established by law in British India". For he was trying only to change legally the nature of the government from irresponsible to responsible, by thoroughly peaceful and legitimate means, and was very far from existing hatred or contempt or disaffection towards any person or body of persons in particular. But he forbore to make any such reply, which would probably have been only misunderstood and have prolonged the trial without changing the result. He therefore simply said, " I plead guilty". He surely said this in that noble pity, over the tragic farce, which is only very subtly distinguishable from noble scorn. The same mood of sorrow over the soul-decay of the vicious object, with Christ-like yearning for his betterment—' Yes,



I am guilty, if that will satiate your present mood, my brother, and help to convert you from it to a virtuous one'—is noble pity. The same mood with a trace of anger—' Yes, I am guilty, for the fool hath decided from of old in his heart that there is no God, and it is no use arguing with you'—would be noble scorn. The judge was a paid instrument and part of the Bureaucracy. He could know no better. He decided according to his lights, the lights which he, like his confreres of the services, committed himself to, when he joined. He could not be blamed, except for being at all in a service which necessarily prevented him from seeing and knowing better. Therefore Mahatma Gandhi told him that he had no alternative but to either resign the service or imprison him. And the paid official duly imprisoned him.

### *The Nursing of the Seedling.*

It is now for those leaders of the Congress who have the opportunity of doing so, to supply the lack above referred to, in the N. C. O. movement, which Mahatma-ji has been prevented from supplying.

The seed which this 'practical mystic' has sown throughout the length and breadth of the land, the seed of self-respect, of spirituality and morality in politics, of intense aspiration for Swaraj, will live, if wisely tended by the leaders. Mahatma-ji's imprisonment will, very likely, even help and make stronger the sprouting of the seed. History shows that self-seeking men in power generally over-reach themselves, and the means they employ to repress their opponents, while they may and do harm the latter individually, help on their cause as a whole—for the plain reason that disaffection is not cured but created and increased, and affection is not created but destroyed, by terrorism, a simple psychological fact which official-made penal codes do not recognise though history

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does. That Mahatma-ji is in jail is only a perpetual reminder to the people of the quality of the existing system or form of government and of the urgent need of converting it from irresponsible to responsible.

But, as said before, the seed has to be wisely tended, and necessary modifications have to be made from time to time in the programme of work.

*The Constructive Programme.*

The constructive positive side of the programme swadeshi panchayat, swadeshi vocational education swadeshi industries especially of cloth, swadeshi healthy re-creations in place of the soul-and-body-ruining relaxations of drug and drink—these were, are, and always will be sound and good. They are the indispensable foundations of self-respect and self-government in India. The revival of these constitutes the training of the People anew in the almost forgotten art of local self-government. It may be said to make the practical *Education of the Limbs*, side by side with the Education of the Head and of the Heart mentioned before. A responsible and honest body of public servants would help these on, as much as possible, instead of hindering them.

*The Negative side.*

But the negative side will require modification according to changing circumstances. The views of Lokamanya Tilak—a very far-seeing and no less patriotic leader, though he looked at the problems concerned from a somewhat different standpoint, and did not weave into his views the same universal philanthropy and spiritual quality—may have to be incorporated into the Congress programme so far as may be possible, by making it a little more elastic without radically changing it.

*Synthesis with the Lokamanya's Policy of Responsive  
Co-operation.*

Lokamanya Tilak's policy is, as he himself called it, the policy of Responsive Co-operation. A Samskrit verse which was a favourite with him is to the effect that in politics 'We should do unto others as they do unto us.' In a certain sense, the verse may apply even to the present policy of the Congress. Though it is called by the negative name of non-co-operation, yet the positive form, 'responsive co-operation' means much the same thing, *i. e.*, co-operating with the Government when it honestly co-operates with the People for their benefit, and obstructing it when it does otherwise. I remember distinctly, that in the course of a discussion in Bombay, in July, 1921, Mahatma Gandhi admitted to me clearly that the non-co-operators are not to non-co-operate with even the present system of government in everything, but only in some specified things. This is obvious also. The difference then between the Lokamanya's policy and the current policy of the Congress may well be regarded as one of details only, as to the matters in respect of which, and as to the form in which, non-co-operation should be practised, *e. g.*, by negative aloofness from and avoidance of Legislative Councils or positive obstruction inside them. When the current policy has yielded up its full results (certainly good and very good, in some respects, and, quite likely, somewhat ill also, in some other respects, for no course of human action ever was, is, or will be productive of only one kind), the Lokamanya's view may well be synthesized and incorporated with it—for the 'common adversary' *i. e.*, the *ir-responsible* form of government, should be attacked on all sides and in as many peaceful, non-violent ways as possible, so far as there is no risk of the attacking parties neutralizing each other.

*Responsive Non-Co-operation.*

In order to make the synthesis with the current policy of the Congress easier, some of the leaders of the Lokamanya's school have very happily proposed to change the name of their policy to "Responsive Non-Co-operation." The right name is exceedingly important. Enormous tragedies have happened and are happening simply because people *do not understand each other, and they do not understand each other because the right words are not used.*

There would be no belittlement of Mahatma-ji in this. He would himself, as he has done before, have modified and changed his policy, with change of circumstances. When a great idea comes into the mind of a great leader, it comes as a seed, not full-fledged. Its growth and shaping, its pruning and training and lopping, depend on changing conditions of soil and season.

*The Principle of Non-Violence in Politics.*

But the principle of non-violence is absolutely indispensable in politics; though many people quite reasonably think that it does not hold good in respect of the right of self-defence, especially of women and children, against private crime. Violent revolutions have been tried by mankind for thousands of years, all down the stream of history. But they have not succeeded substantially in improving the lot of mankind, so far as widespread happiness is concerned. They have only changed masters. The U. S. A. is perhaps the most successful example. Yet the plutocrat reigns there to-day more ruthlessly than theocrat or autocrat or bureaucrat ever did or does elsewhere. Great Teachers of Religion, like Christ and Buddha, have succeeded much better in spreading happiness, at least for some

time. Non-violent resistance has been tried in religion in Russia by the Doukhobors, and the Baha-ists in Persia. It is being tried in the field of economics in many western countries, in the shape of strikes by wage-workers; also now in India in imitation of the west. It was meet and fitting that a great soul should arise in the East to apply that principle on an immense scale in the field of politics. *Ex oriente lux*. The idea of non-violent revolution deserves a full and fair trial at the least. That which is gained by violence can be kept also only by violence, and is generally lost also by violence. The spirit of violence once aroused against outsiders is apt to persist and *become internecine*. Witness Russia, witness Ireland, today.

### *Is Non-Violence Cowardice ?*

A European friend once said, "I have a feeling that this non-violence means only cowardice." He was much mistaken. Mahatma-ji has more than once and convincingly explained that, *if properly practised*, it means the very highest form of self-sacrificing courage. So far as the courage of violence is concerned, it has been well established that Indian soldiers are as good fighters as any in the world. Who would venture to say that the Akali Sikhs—whose great struggle to obtain peacefully the possession of property belonging to their Gurudwaras, without any violence on their own part (though with very much violence on the part of the governmental police) is going on heroically in the Punjab as this is being written—who would venture to say that they, with their long and great martial record, are cowards ?

But the world needs the courage of non-violence now. Mankind has had and still has too much of the courage of violence like the wild beasts. But if the friend meant by cowardice, the fear of future internecine struggles and of violent anarchy; if he meant



by it the reckoning of such possible consequence of general confusion throughout the land, then, of course, he was right, and N. C. O.'s may readily plead guilty to the charge, and without shame.

*The Principle of a new-old conception of  
Essential Religion.*

The next equally indispensable principle is that of abandonment of all racial and religious ill-will, hatred, bitterness. Without this, the principle of non-violence will never be effectively practised. These principles are good for the whole world; but confining ourselves to India, it should be diligently preached and clearly realized by all concerned that the Hindus and the Muslims of India are not two *qaum*-s or races, as is often said, but only two religions, and only one *qaum*, one race, by intermixture of blood. The ancestors or ancestresses of all the Muslims of today were Hindus fourteen hundred years ago, (when the Muslim religion was not yet born), and of a great many, only twenty, thirty, or forty years ago.

As regards religious differences, a *new conception of religion* is absolutely indispensable. Let every one ask himself, "I, who am of such and such a religion today, Hindu or Muslim or Christian or any other—*can I, or can I not, change this my present religion for any other, just as I please?*"

*It is obvious that I can.* If so, does it not follow incontestably and conclusively that I am, that "I" is, that the soul of man is, the final judge between and therefore greater than all religions and all avatars, prophets, gospels, etc., that ever were, are, or will be?

आत्मैव देवताः सर्वाः सर्वमात्मन्यवस्थितम् ।

بنی آدم اعضاء یک دیگر اند۔

مصنف دل بینی کا کتابہ ہے از این نیست۔

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If so, the only Final and Supreme and Universal Religion is reverence and affection for the Soul of the human being, in myself and in all others, *i. e.*, the Universal Spirit, with utter tolerance of the outer formalities of all religions, and the occasional adjustment and modification of them in accordance with the golden rule, 'Do as you would be done by', so as not to hurt each other's feelings. To say, "This is a matter of Dharma-Mazhab-Religion with me, and it cannot be changed", is obviously incorrect, after the above considerations have been assimilated, and in view of the further unquestionable fact that *every great living religion has undergone endless changes* since its origin and has scores or even hundreds of sects and sub-sects today in consequence.

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*The Principle of self-dependence in*

*"Domestic Politics."*

The third great principle for the country to follow, is that of self-dependence in respect of all necessaries, as already mentioned, in respect of cultural-technical education, of *panchayati* adjustment of private disputes of the supply of food and clothing, of healthy relaxations and recreations. In this connection, Mahatma Gandhi's advice to the people to revive the domestic spinning-wheel is as great an inspiration as his insistence on non-violence. All this will no doubt mean a certain amount of recession from the excessive developments of western civilization. But Mahatma Gandhi expressly advises such recession to a simpler life. The community may not be able to go back quite as far as he suggests; but some retracing of steps is necessary. And this idea is supported by thoughtful western men also, *vide* the splendid appreciation of Mahatma Gandhi by the Rev. Mr. Holmes, published at the end of this volume.

### *The Principle of Explication of Swa-raj.*

The fourth principle, also absolutely indispensable, though so far lamentably neglected by N. C. O. leaders also, and of course by the leaders of the other political parties of India, is the avoidance of the disastrous slave-mentality of blindly accepting the western view of the nature of self-government and imitating any existing western system of self-government in India.

It is absolutely necessary, if immense misery is to be avoided, that it should be clearly realised throughout the length and breadth of the land that true self-government is government by the *higher self* of the community; that the higher self means persons who are wise and experienced, as well as self-denying and philanthropic, who are *ethically* as well as *intellectually* fit; and that the methods and rules of election should be thoroughly discussed and thought out now, beforehand, so that when the time comes, only such persons may be elected to the Legislature.

### *Mahatma-ji's Views.*

This matter is so important that it will bear a little more dwelling on. Between July 1921 and March 1922, I repeatedly invited the attention of Mahatma-ji (and also of the All-India Congress Committee and the Working Committee of the Congress) to it. Two of my letters were written to him while I was in jail in December-January, 1920-1921. And I received three or four letters from him from time to time saying he would attend to it as soon as he had any leisure from more immediately urgent business. The last letter was written an hour or so before he was arrested and says, "It is said my arrest is imminent ...If I am not arrested, I promise you I propose to deal with your pamphlet. No week has passed but I have thought of it. Only...so many things are happening

which require immediate attention, that I have been obliged to defer consideration of your scheme...If I get my well-deserved rest, I would like you then to open the discussion yourself in the columns of *Young India*, if it is allowed to survive my arrest." Subsequently, since 25th May 1922, brief articles have now and then appeared in *Young India* under the editorship of Shri C. Rajagopalachar. A set of questions, tentatively putting forward some suggestions, simply as a basis for discussion, regarding the qualifications of legislators and electors and the conditions of election, was published in the issue of 25th May, 1922. But the suggestions have not elicited any specific criticism so far. They are appended to this foreword.

#### *Other Views.*

Shri Rajagopalachar is well-known to be one of the ablest and sincerest followers of Mahatma Gandhi, who has assimilated his views of life and of political work most thoroughly. He is naturally quite in accord with the idea of introducing "conscience and the religious spirit into politics", though his subsequent writings show that he does not quite see how to ensure the return of the right kind of persons to the Legislature—an obviously difficult question, but, therefore requiring all the more to be diligently tackled with, instead of shirked and postponed; for it is indeed the very problem of problems in *practical politics, the most immediately urgent question* for the would-be political reformer.

Shri Rajagopalachar has an excellent article, headed "Ascetic and Saint" in *Young India* for 13th July, 1922. Some remarks therein may be quoted here, and their implications pointed out as germane to our subject. (Some persons speak) "as if selflessness and saintliness of character were a disqualification for politics. Religion and conscience

have been grievously absent in politics. But the hope of the world lies in...introducing conscience and the religious spirit into politics. Selflessness, saintliness of character and deep communion with Nature ought to be qualifications, not disqualifications, therefore, for entry into politics. The object of politics is human progress, and if it is an axiom that progress is based on Truth and Good, not on Falsehood and Evil, only selfless and saintly men ought to lead struggles against tyranny....Diplomacy and circumvention may win in politics as understood hitherto, but the goal of India is a new kind of politics based on truth and love, where it has hitherto been founded on falsehood and hatred...The Indian struggle is a struggle that will establish non-violence as a pillar of Victory and World-Hope. We are told by Mr. Pearson that young men and women all the world over, with a great vision and high hope, are looking towards India for their inspiration...In Mr. Pearson's words, 'More imperative than a political victory, is the question of whether India will be true to her *Dharma* and thus take her rightful position of leadership among the nations of the world'....." We may note incidentally that other western writers also, the well known Mr. H.G. Wells, for instance, and Miss Howsin and others have expressed similar hopes that India will work out something new, something more effective and suitable than the west has done.

### *The Meaning of Religion,*

Of course, by Religion the writer can only mean the *Spirit* of Universal Religion, Humanism and Humanitarianism; not any particular sectarian religion or credo with an excessive insistence on this or that particular book as the only sacred scripture, or this or that particular person as the only avatara or prophet—of which bigotry and uncharitableness we have had far too much under the name of religion,

just as we have had far too much of diplomacy and circumvention under the name of politics; but the reverent belief in the Unity, the Immanence, the Fatherhood of the Universal God, and in the Interdependence, the Solidarity, the Brotherhood of Man.

*And of Communion with Nature.*

We may also assume that by 'communion with Nature' he means that observation and experience of human as well as non-human Nature, in their action and reaction upon each other, which, in combination with a philanthropic temperament, produce ripe wisdom—such ripe wisdom as is possessed by an aged and even 'illiterate' agriculturist occasionally, and is not always possessed by even brilliant or smart and shrewd speakers, writers, lawyers, doctors, journalists, business-men, officials, etc.

*The Perpetual Struggle.*

We may further believe that the writer would agree, if questioned, that 'only selfless and saintly men ought to lead' *not only* the occasional 'struggles against tyranny,' but should *perpetually* maintain the struggle of Good against Evil, of the Higher Self of the community against its Lower Self, by acting as the legislators of the community and the heads of its governmental departments.

*The Indian Secret of Winning Therein.*

Now, if this be so, we cannot help feeling that the expectations of those who are looking towards India for a new inspiration in politics would be justified, that India would prove true to her *Dharma*, her peculiar genius, her deepest individuality, her best and most ancient traditions, and that the 'new kind



of politics' which is 'the goal of India' would be achieved, if and *only if* India could evolve, or re-evolve, a way, could discover, or re-discover, the secret, of making sure that her Legislature, her *Dharma-parishat* (—this is the name in *Manu*—) shall be permanently composed of such selfless, saintly, *spiritual-minded* and Nature-communing persons. *So only can Spiritual Swaraj and Political Swaraj merge together and become one.* Be it remembered that we look for no impossible perfections. No human being whatsoever has ever been, is, or ever will be, wholly free from defects, weakness, failures. But we may certainly and quite reasonably require and expect that our legislators should be *comparatively* and *predominantly* and *on the whole* selfless and philanthropic and wise, not mercenary-minded but missionary-hearted, even as the educator and the priest ought to be missionary-hearted and not mercenary-minded.

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### *How the Congress can Help.*

And we cannot help feeling that the attainment of this truly precious goal would be greatly facilitated if the Congress would make clear to all concerned, to its workers and sympathizers as well as its opponents, this nature of its goal and also the method by which it proposes to make sure of securing such legislators. In this work especially may the N. C. O. leaders invite the Moderate-Liberals to join with them and help in the discussion; for they have to bear in mind that one of the last pieces of advice that Mahatma Gandhi gave to the N. C. O. workers before his incarceration, was to induce the Moderate-Liberals to co-operate with them along all possible common lines. It would be very deplorable if, after 'the selfless and saintly men' have led the 'struggles against tyranny' to a successful issue, the fruits of that success should, for want of such timely and thorough



education of public opinion, not be equitably distributed for the benefit of the whole community, but be all seized by a handful of very selfish, very un-saintly, scheming, cunning and pushful men, and only a new and perhaps worse bureaucracy established, as has happened in history so often, and the whole old trouble begin over again. The latest example is Japan, where the magic of the vast self-sacrifice of the nobles made that nation a first-class power in the course of a single generation; but being dominated by the *materialistic*, and not the *spiritual*, view of life, has rapidly carried the population into the grip of mammonism, capitalism, militarism, etc., as in Europe.

*Right knowledge, with Right desire and Right Action, brings Freedom.*

Such a result should be guarded against, most vigilantly, in India. The N. C. O. has brought the poison circulating in the body politic of India to a head. The potentialities of despotism in the bureaucracy, as also the good and the bad qualities in the People, have come to the surface, in the Violent Repressive Measures of the Bureaucracy in 1921-1922. The good qualities should be fostered, and the evil ones let out. The poison should not be allowed to be reabsorbed into the circulation. This will be achieved successfully, (without the use of the lancet of violence) if the poultice of non-violent moral heat is applied carefully in the intellectual light of a clear and widespread knowledge of the fundamental principles of true Swa-raj. It is the ancient teaching of the Buddha that *Right Knowledge*, together with *Right Desire* and *Right Action*, must achieve *Moksha*, Freedom, Independence, Self-government, Swa-raj, spiritual as well political. For our present purpose, *Right Knowledge* is the knowledge of the nature of true Swaraj; *Right Desire* or *Feeling* is the Religious Peace and Unity and Non-violence which are possible

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only by recognition of the Universal Spirit under the veil of all special religions; Right Action is the revival of swadeshi activity in all possible ways, before mentioned. The question of 'untouchability' will be duly adjusted and rightly solved, of itself, by Right Knowledge and Right Feeling.

*The Right Conscience shall win.*

Working along such lines, nursing carefully the sproutings of the seed sown by Mahatma Gandhi, bearing carefully in mind that freedom means freedom to do good only, means not licence but more self-discipline, there is reason to hope that the younger generation of N. C. O. workers may reap the harvest from that seed even in their lifetime, and taste the fruit of Mahatma Gandhi's lifelong self-sacrifice.

Set-backs there always have been and always will be in such movements. But even in the case of violent movements, history shows that set-backs have been always followed by forward advances, as that other true Mahatma, Terence Mac Swiney, has written of Ireland, in his posthumously published book on *The Principles of Freedom*. Much more, in the case of a non-violent movement, must the set-backs if any, be very temporary.

Indeed, even if the struggle were lost, through no proven fault of his own, the N. C. O, could conscientiously say,

'Tis better to have loved and lost  
Than never to have loved at all.

It is better to have felt the generous emotions of standing up non-violently against the violent lawlessness of a whole wrong system of government, even though the ultimate result be to be beaten down and carried into jails, than never to have felt those emotions at all.

But there is no final losing in such a struggle for those whose conscience is clear. The clouds may darken the sun for a little while, but it will shine forth again more strongly than ever.

Freedom's battle once begun,  
Handed down from sire to son,  
Though baffled oft is ever won.

BHAGAVAN DAS.

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## APPENDIX.

### QUESTIONNAIRE.

#### THE ESSENTIALS OF SELF-GOVERNMENT.

##### *The Crux of all Political Science and Art.*

1. Are there not two 'selves' in every community, as in every individual, a higher and a lower, a better and a worse, a more virtuous and a more vicious, a wiser and a more foolish ?

2. Is it not essential that in self-government, the bigger self of the community, its better, wiser, and virtuous self, and not its worse, more foolish, and more vicious lower self, should govern ?

3. Is not government, by any one class, exclusively, of any other class or all other classes, *f. i.*, of the laboring class by the capitalist, or of both by the militarist, or of all three by the sacerdotalist, or of the Protestant by the Roman Catholic, or the Hindu by the Muslim, or the Muslim by the Hindu, or the Shia by the Sunni, or the Shaiva by the Vaishnava, or the non-brahmana by the brahmana, or *vice versa*, etc. as much other-government, foreign-government, alien-government, even when both the governing and the governed classes belong to the same race and nation,

as when one race and nation governs another race and nation ?

4. Is not the essence of good government, the making of good laws and the enforcing of them justly and efficiently ?

5. Is not the essence of good laws, such equitable division and balancing of rights-and-duties, as will give a fair chance (a) of necessities to all who are willing to do work suited to their psycho-physical constitution, and (b) of special rewards of different kinds to special qualifications, *f. i.*, extra honor to the man of thought, special power to the man of action, more wealth to the man of desire, more amusement to the unskilled, etc.

6. Are not such good laws possible to be made only by the higher self of the community, *i.e.*, by pure and wise and philanthropic legislators ?

7. Is not the securing of such legislators the very crux of all political science and art ?

8. Can such legislators be secured, and have they been secured, by any of the methods, of election, etc., in vogue in the current western forms of self-government ? Are the masses of the people happy in those western countries ?

9. Are any of these systems suitable for India ? If so, which ?

10. If not, what is the method, of election or other, by which the better self of the Indian (or any other) people, *i. e.*, philanthropic, unselfish, and at the same time experienced and wise men and women, may be brought into the legislature ?

11. Is it not desirable that such a legislature should have full supervising control over the executive, without itself exercising any executive power directly,

in order that the laws may be enforced justly and efficiently ?

12. Would it be helpful towards securing such worthy persons for the legislature, to observe some such conditions as that;

(a) All legislators should be elected from among the permanent residents of the country, irrespective of creed, caste, class, colour, race or sex ;

(b) They should not offer, or, canvass for themselves ;

(c) should be nominated by a given proportion of the electors, the nominators being possessed of certain qualifications of age and experience themselves; the electors generally (with exceptions) being independent heads of families, *i. e.*, the master and the mistress of each family home.

(d) Should be at least forty years of age (with exceptions); should ordinarily (with exceptions) have had experience of the responsibilities of the household life, with children of their own; should have retired from competitive professional, business, or other life of bread-winning or money-making; should have done distinguished work in some (however 'humble') walk of life; be able to support themselves on their own savings, or be assured of all necessaries and personal requirements by their families or friends; should give all their time, practically, to the national work, and do so without any cash remuneration, all requisites for the discharge of their duties being provided to them out of State funds ;

(e) Should have rank, precedence, and honor above all salaried office-bearers ; and that

(f) The Legislature should have on it persons possessing, between them, experience of all the main departments of the national life ?







**Mahatma Gandhi.**

# **'IF I AM ARRESTED'.**

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MR. GANDHI'S LATEST.

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## **'FOUR PILLARS OF SWARAJ'.**

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**Non Violence, Unity, Khaddar, Anti-Untouchability.**

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### **'MY ARREST IS AN OPPORTUNITY.'**

In the last issue of *Young India* Mr. Gandhi writes the following article:—

The rumour has been revived that my arrest is imminent. It is said to be regarded as a mistake by some officials that I was not arrested when I was to be, *i. e.*, on the 11th or 12th of February and that the Bardoli decision ought not to have been allowed to affect the Government's programme. It is said, too, that it is no longer possible for the Government to withstand the ever-rising agitation in London for my arrest and deportation. I myself cannot see how the Government can avoid arresting me if they want a permanent abandonment of civil disobedience whether individual or mass.

## LESSON OF CHAURI CHAURA.

I advised the Working Committee to suspend mass civil disobedience at Bardoli because that disobedience would not have been civil and if I am now advising all provincial workers to suspend even individual civil disobedience, it is because I know that any disobedience at the present stage will be not civil but criminal. A tranquil atmosphere is an indispensable condition of civil disobedience. It is humiliating for me to discover that there is a spirit of violence abroad and that the Government of the United Provinces has been obliged to enlist additional police for avoiding a repetition of Chauri Chaura. I do not say that all that is claimed to have happened has happened, but it is impossible to ignore all the testimony that is given in proof of the growing spirit of violence in some parts of those provinces. In spite of my political differences with Pandit Hirdayanath Kunzru, I regard him to be above wilful perversion of truth. I consider him to be one of the most capable among public workers. He is not a man to be easily carried away. When, therefore, he gives an opinion upon anything, it immediately arrests my attention. Making due allowance for the colouring of his judgement by reason of his pro-Government attitude, I am unable to dismiss his report the Chauri Chaura tragedy as unworthy of consideration. Nor is it possible to ignore letters received from zemindars and others informing me of the violent temperament and



ignorant lawlessness in the United Provinces. I have before me the Bareilly report signed by the Congress Secretary. Whilst the authorities behaved like madmen and forgot themselves in their fit of anger, we are not, if that report is to be believed, without fault. The volunteer procession was not a civil demonstration. It was insisted upon inspite of a sharp division of opinion in our own ranks. Though the crowds that gathered were not violent, the spirit of the demonstration was undoubtedly violent. It was an important show of force wholly unnecessary for our purpose and hardly a prelude to civil disobedience. That the authorities could have handled the procession in a better spirit, that they ought not to have interfered with the Swaraj flag that they ought not have objected to the use of the Town Hall which was town property as Congress offices in view of the fact that it had been so used for some months with the permission of the Town Council, is all very true. But we have ceased to give credit to the authorities for common or reasonable sense. On the contrary, we have set ourselves against them because we expect nothing but unreason and violence from them and knowing that the authorities would act no better than they did we should have refrained from all the previous irritating demonstrations. That the U. P. Government are making a mountain out of a mole-hill, that they are discounting their own provocation and the provocation given by the murdered men and Chauri Chaura is nothing new.

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All that I am concerned with is that it is not possible for us to claim; we have given them no handle whatsoever. It is therefore a penance that civil disobedience has been suspended. But if the atmosphere clears us, the people realise the full value of the adjective 'civil' and become in reality non-violent both in spirit and in deed, and if I find that the Government still do not yield to the peoples will, I shall certainly be the first person to advocate individual or mass civil disobedience as the case may be. There is no escape from that duty without the people wishing to surrender their birthright.

#### CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE NOT IMMORAL.

I doubt the sincerity of Englishmen who are born fighters when they declaim against civil disobedience as if it was a diabolical crime to be punished with exemplary severity. If they have glorified armed rebellions and resorted to them on due occasions why are many of them up in arms against the very idea of civil resistance? I can understand their saying that the attainment of a non-violent atmosphere is a virtual impossibility in India. I do not believe it, but I can appreciate such an objection. What, however, is beyond my comprehension is the dead-set made against the very theory of civil disobedience as if it was something immoral. To expect me to give up the preaching of civil disobedience is to ask me to give up preaching peace.

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which would be tantamount to asking me to commit suicide.

### MY THREE WEEKLIES

I have now been told that the Government are compassing the destruction of I am conducting, *viz* *Young India*, *Gujarati Nava Jivan* and *Hindi Nava Jivan*. I hope that the rumour has no foundation. I claim that these three journals are insisently preaching nothing but peace and goodwill. Extraordinary care is taken to give nothing but truth, as I find it, to the readers. Every inadvertent inaccuracy is admitted and corrected. The circulation of all the weeklies is daily growing. The conductors are voluntary workers in some cases taking no salary whatever and in the others receiving mere maintenance money. Profits are all returned to the subscribers in some shape or other, or are utilised for some constructive public activity or other. I cannot say that I shall not feel a pang if these journals cease to exist. But it is the easiest thing for the Government to put them out. The publishers and printers are all friends and coworkers. My compact with them is that the moment Government asks for security, that moment the newspapers must stop. I am conducting them upon the assumption that whatever view the Government may take of my activities they at least give me credit for preaching through these newspapers nothing but the purest violence and truth according to my lights.

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I hope, however, that whether the Government arrest me or whether they stop by direct or indirect means the publication of the three journals, the public will remain unmoved. It is a matter of no pride or pleasure to me but one of humiliation that the Government refrain from arresting me for fear of an outbreak of universal violence and awful slaughter that any such outbreak must involve. It would be a sad commentary upon my peaching of, and upon the Congress and Khilafat pledge of non-violence, if my in carceration was to be a signal for a storm all over the country. Surely, it would be a demonstration of India's unreadiness for a peaceful rebellion. It would be a triumph for the bureaucracy, and it would be almost final proof of the correctness of the position taken up by the Moderate friends, *viz.*, that India can never be prepared for non-violent disobedience. I hope therefore that the Congress and Khilafat workers will strain every nerve and show that all the fears entertained by the Government and their supporters were totally wrong. I promise that such act of self-restraint will take as many a mile towards our triple goal.

#### NO DEMONSTRATIONS.

There should, therefore, be no *hartals*, no noisy demonstrations, no processions. I would regard the observance of perfect peace on my arrest as a mark of high honour paid to me by my countrymen. What

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I would love to see, however, is the constructive work of the Congress going on with clock-work regularity and the speed of the Punjab Express. I would love to see people who have hitherto kept back, voluntarily discarding all their foreign cloth and making a bonfire of it. Let them fulfil the whole of the constructive programme framed at Bardoli, and they will not only release me and other prisoners, but they will also inaugurate Swaraj and secure redress of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs. Let them remember the four pillars of Swaraj: nonviolence. Hindu—Muslim—Sikh—Parsi—Christian—Jew. unity total removal of untouchability and manufacture of hand-spun and hand-woven *Khaddar* completely displacing foreign cloth.

#### A BENEFIT TO THE PEOPLE.

I do not know that my removal from their midst will not be a benefit to the people. In the first instance the superstition about the possession of supernatural powers by me will be demolished. Secondly, the belief that people have accepted the non-cooperation programme only under my influence and that they have no independent faith in it will be disproved. Thirdly, our capacity for Swaraj will be proved by our ability to conduct our activities in spite of the withdrawal even of the originator of the current programme. Fourthly, and selfishly, it will give me a quiet and physical rest, which perhaps I deserve.

## ARREST OF MAHATMA GANDHI,

### SCENES AT THE ASHRAM.

The air of the Ashram had been thick, for the last five days, with the rumour about the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi. The Ashram people were hearing about it again and again. Then came a telegram from Mr. Chhotani requesting Gandhiji to go to Ajmere. He went to Ajmere on Wednesday and returned from that place on Friday after-noon. As usual we had our evening prayer-together with Mahatma ji. When the prayer was over he informed us why he had gone to Ajmere and told us about the rumour of his arrest. He said that he was expecting it that very night. He advised us to go on working steadily with redoubled energy after his arrest. After the prayer time he went to his room, where some people had come from the city to enquire whether there was any truth in the rumour of Gandhiji's arrest. Notable among these were Shrimati Anusuya Bai—the popular worker for the mill-labourers—and Shriyut Shankerlal Banker—the printer of the *Young India*. Mahatmaji laughed when he heard of Anusuya Bai's arrival and he said to her smilingly 'What brings you here at this hour?' She replied that the rumour about his arrest had brought her there. Mahatma ji then dictated the answers to some of the letters received by him. He was not at all excited and was doing all his work with his usual calmness.

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Some of the Ashram people asked him certain questions about his arrest which he answered. Then he gave instructions to his assistant, Babu Krishna Das, about the editing of his paper *Young India* after the arrest.

It was nearly 10 O'clock and Mahatmaji said to all of us 'Now you must retire. I shall go to bed.' Maulana Hasrat Mohani came just at that time and Mahatmaji was glad to see him.

Anusuya Bai and Shankerlal Banker started in their motorcar from Ashram. They had not gone far when they met the superintendent of police on the way to the Ashram in his car. He informed Shriyut Shankerlal that he should consider himself under arrest. Shankerlalji then returned with the superintendent to the Ashram. The superintendent did not enter the Ashram himself but sent a word to Mahatma Gandhi through Anusuya Bai about his arrest. The superintendent was courteous enough to request Anusuya Bai to tell Mahatmaji that he could take as much time as he wanted. Mahatmaji was of course quite ready for his arrest. He took some books with him. In the meanwhile the ladies and the girls of the Ashram came to his room. He gave his advice to all and a word for each of them.

Then he asked the ladies to sing the following song, which he likes most:—

बैष्णव अम तो तेने कहिये, जे पीर पराई जावें रे ।  
 पर दुःखे उपकार करे तो ए, मन अभिमान न आवे रे ॥  
 सकल लोक मां सहने बंदे, निम्दा न करे केनी रे ।  
 वाच काळ मन निश्चल राखे, धन धन धवनी तेना रे ॥  
 समदृष्टि ने तुम्हा स्वागी पर स्त्री जेने मात रे ।  
 जिह्वा थकी असत्य न बोखे, पर धन नव भाखे हाथ रे ॥  
 मोह माया व्यापे नहि जेने, हृद वैराग जेना मन मारे ।  
 राम नाम शुं ताली लागी, सकल तीरथ तेना तनमां रे ॥  
 वख जोभी ने कपट रहित छे, काम क्रोध निर्वायां रे ।  
 मखे नरसैयी चेनुं दर्शन करतां, कुळ ऐकीतर तारां रे ॥

It is noteworthy that during the South African struggle when the first batch including Mrs. Gandhi went to jail from the Phoenix Ashram, this beautiful song of Narsi Mehta was sung by them at the time of their departure. Some of the ladies, who were singing this song at this time in Satyagrah Ashram had themselves sanctified the jails in South Africa.

Mahatmaji then went to the motorcar of the superintendent. which started under shouts of 'Siyavar Ram Chandra ki jai' and Bande Matram. Mrs. Gandhi and a few others accompanied Mahatmaji upto the Sabarmati jail which is only a mile from the Ashram.

Ba (Mrs. Gandhi is known by this name here—meaning mother in Gujerati) returned from there at 11-30. It was an inspiration to see her calm and dignified face at that time, when she told us in her motherlike natural way.



**‘हवे तो बोको ए शान्ति राखी जोह्य तो बंधुसाहं रहेसे’**

Every thing will turn out for good if the people remain quiet,’ All of us felt in our hearts that truer words were never uttered with greater simplicity.

BENARSI DAS CHATURVEDI.

Satyagrah Ashram,  
Sabarmati, March 11.

### THE TRIAL OF MAHATMA GANDHI.

Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Shankar Lal Banker were arrested late last night by the the Superintendent of Police, Ahmedabad on the authority of a warrant issued by the District Magistrate, Ahmedabad and were removed to the Sabarmati Jail, where they were lodged in separate cells. The premises of the “Navajivan” printing press were also searched at 12 midnight and some three papers showing the connection of Mahatma Gandhi with “Young India” were taken away. The news had already filtered to the people before it was publicly announced by leaflets under the signature of Miss Anusuyabai and Vallabhabhai Patel. People were advised to remain quiet and observe no hartal but to push on Congress work as laid down in the Delhi programme. The distinguished accused were placed before Mr. Browp, personal assistant to the District Magistrate to-day at 12 noon.

The Court room was improvised in the Commissioner’s Office at Shahibagh, some three miles away

from the city. A limited accomodation had been provided for the public. The Magistrate, Mr. Brown, arrived at 12 noon followed soon after by Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Shanker Lal Banker were brought down in a special train from Sabarmati Jail by the Police Superintendent. Rao Bahadur Girdhar Lal, public Prosecutor, Ahmedabad, conducted the case.

### THE OFFENDING ARTICLES.

The District Superintendent of Police, Ahmedabad was the first witness. He produced the authority of the Government of Bombay, empowering him to lodge a complaint on account of 4 articles published in "Young India", the 1st dated 15th June 1921. entitled "Disaffection a Virtue, the second dated 29th September 1921 Tampering with loyalty", the third dated 15th December 1921, "the puzzle and its solution" and the 4th dated 23rd February 1922 "Shaking The Manes". Accordingly warrants of arrest were issued by the District Magistrate, Ahmedabad to the District Superintendent of Police, Ahmedabad dated the 6th instant and the case was transferred by the District Magistrate to the file of Mr. Brown. Meanwhile warrants were also issued to the Superintendent of Police of Surat and Ajmer as Mahatmaji was expected to be at those places. The Police Superintendent produced all these papers, put in the issues of "Young India" that contained the articles complained of and some more to show Mahatma Gandhi's connection

with the paper. He also produced some three original articles written in the hand of Mahatma Gandhi.

Then came Mr. Bharda, Registrar, Appellate side of the Bombay High Court. The second witness, who produced the correspondence with Mahatma Gandhi as Editor of "Young India" in 1919 regarding his publication of a letter of Mr. Kennedy, District and Sessions Judge, Ahmedabad and the consequent issuing of a rule by the High Court against Mahatma Gandhi. Mr. Chatfield the District Magistrate came in next. He produced Mahatma Gandhi's letter regarding the security demanded for his papers and on the strength of this correspondence with Mahatma Gandhi rectified to his signature. He also produced the declaration filed before him by Mr. Shankar Lal Banker as printer of Young India. Then there were two formal Police witnesses who proved that they had purchased various copies of "Young India" and had sent them in to superiors. The accused refused to cross examine witnesses. But made the following statements when asked to do so.

#### MAHATMAJI'S STATEMENT.

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, aged 53, farmer and weaver by occupation, residing at Satyagrah Ashrama, Sabar-Mati said "I simply wish to state that when the proper time comes I shall plead guilty, so far as disaffection towards Government is concerned. It is true that I am Editor of "Young India"

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and that the articles read in my presence were written by me and the proprietors and publishers have permitted me to direct and control the whole policy of the paper."

#### MR. BANKER'S STATEMENT.

Shanker Lal Ghelabhai Banker aged 32, landed proprietor residing at 34 Chawpatty Road, Bombay wished to state nothing except that when the proper occasion comes he would plead guilty to having published the articles before the Court.

#### COMMITTED TO SESSIONS.

The Public Prosecutor represented that charge be framed only on three counts, the articles dated 29th September 1921, 15th December 1921 and 23rd Febry. 1922 under section 124 A. The accused were committed to sessions which is to come off on the 18th instant.

The proceedings were quite serious. At times the Magistrate, the Public Prosecutor and the witnesses spoke so low that it would be great wonder if they were audible to the accused who were seated on chairs. The accused were for the most of the time occupied reading newspapers.

Mr. Brown, the Special Magistrate, seemed to be quite a novice in his trade and had to take instructions from the Prosecutor.

### MAHATMA'S REQUEST.

The members of the public dropped in as they came to know of the trial and the room was quite crowded. Among those present were local N. C. O. leaders, members of the Sabarmati Ashram, Maulana Hasrat Mohani and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, who arrived from Ajmer just when the trial was finishing. The accused had to wait for train after the completion of the trial and they held conversation with the audience. Mahatma Gandhi asked his associates to conduct his papers and wittily remarked that just as the presiding Magistrate, even though ignorant, conducted his work with the help of the Public Prosecutor, feeling confident that the Chair was his and he had to work right or wrong, even so they had to go on with the papers.

The people have received the news of arrest with unusual courage and quiet. Their behaviour has won praise even from the Police. It shows what discipline can do with the mass. The police arrangements are quite laudable and in this connection the courtesy of the Superintendent of Police deserves mention.

### MAHATMA'S TRIAL IN SESSIONS COURT.

At the circuit house at Shahibagh the Trial of Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Shankar Lal Banker commenced Saturday noon. Admission to the Court was strictly by tickets and yet the court house was



full of distinguished visitors, both from the city itself and outside. Many of the members of the working committee and the Provincial Congress Committees were present. Among those present might be mentioned Mrs. Naidu, Mrs. Petit, Mrs. Sarladevi Chaudhrani, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Messrs, Abbas Tayabji, N. C. Kelkar Koujalgi, P. Keshavamenon, Miss Ansuyaben, Mrs. Gandhi, Messrs. Ambalal Sarabhai. T. Prakasham, Jawahar Lal Nehru etc. There was no crowd outside either on the road or near the Court premises in the beginning. But there was very large Police force. There was also no excitement in the city which has its normal appearance all, all the mills working. There was military in the compound.

The police and military precautions were complete. While the policemen were witnessed at frequent intervals all round the compound of the Court, an Indian Infantry was stationed inside the compound, with about half a dozen European Police Officers who were also in attendance.

#### MAHATMA GANDHI'S ARRIVAL.

Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Banker arrived at the Court at 11-40 a. m., accompanied by Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya who had obviously postponed leaving Ahmedabad last night. All those inside the Court stood up when Mr. Gandhi entered the Hall, and remained standing until he was shown a seat to the

left of the judge. A little further up in the same row, to the right of Mr. Gandhi sat Mr. Banker with Pandit Malaviya on the right while to the left of Mr. Gandhi, sat his wife, with Mrs. Naidu and Mrs. Saraladevi next to her.

At 11,-50, Sir Thomas Strangman entered the Court and exchanged nods with Mr. Gandhi. Mr. A. C. Wild, Legal Remembrancer sat with T. J. Strangman. The Judge took his seat at 12 noon and said there was a slight discrepancy in the charges framed which he corrected. The charges were then read out by the Registrar, the offence being in three articles published in the "Young India" of September 29th, December 15th of 1921 and February 23rd 1922. The offending articles were then read out. First of them was "Tampering with loyalty", the 2nd "The Puzzle and its Solution" and last "Shaking the Manes."

#### CHARGES EXPLAINED.

The judge said the law required that the charges should not only be read out but explained. In this case it would not be necessary for him to say much by way of explanation. The charge in each case was that of bringing or attempting to bring into hatred or contempt or exciting or attempting to excite disaffection towards His Majesty's Government established by law in British India. Both the accused were charged with the three offences under section 124A,

contained in the articles read out written by Mr. Gandhi and printed by Mr. Banker. The words hatred and contempt were words, the meaning of which was sufficiently obvious. The word disaffection was defined under the section and they were told that disaffection included disloyalty and feelings of enmity and the word used in the section had also been interpreted by the High Court of Bombay in a reported case as meaning political alienation or discontent, a spirit of disloyalty to Government or existing authority.

The charges having been read out, the judge called upon the accused to plead to the charge. He asked Mahatma Gandhi whether he pleaded guilty or claimed to be tried.

Mahatma Gandhi: I plead guilty to all the charges. I observe that the King's name has been omitted from the charges and it has been properly omitted.

The Judge:—Mr. Banker, do you plead guilty or do you claim to be tried?

Mr. Banker:—I plead guilty,

#### ADVOCATE GENERAL URGES TRIAL.

Sir T. Strangman said under section 271, Criminal Procedure Code, it was open to the judge to convict the accused on thier pleas or to proceed with the trial. The words were "may," not "must". He asked his honour to proceed with the trial. In the first instance the charges were of a serious character and

in the second place it was highly desirable in the public interest that those charges should be fully and thoroughly investigated. He did not think it was necessary to labour further. From a further and narrower point of view that was in regard to the sentence it would be necessary to deal with each of the accused. It was obvious that the judge could not adequately deal with the accused unless he had the full facts of the case before him. That was the view taken by the Bombay High Court, (19 Bombay Law Reports page 356). That was an extreme case. The Advocate General then read out the case to the Court and with regard to a murder charge in which the accused was sentenced to be hanged. "Those remarks applied to the case", said Sir T. Strangman and he quoted 23 Madras, 151. It would be impossible to deal with the matter satisfactorily and also other matters which he would ask the Judge to take into account. On that ground also he would ask the Court to proceed with the trial.

#### COURT'S REPLY.

The Court said it could not agree with what had been said. He had full discretion to convict on the plea if he thought it proper to do so, and in this particular case nothing would be gained by going once more into the evidence recorded by the committing magistrate. As regards the question of the charges they would be fully investigated and as far as he

was aware nothing more was needed to establish the offence, going to show that Mr. Gandhi was responsible for those particular articles. In the face of the plea it seemed to him, that it would be futile to raise the point.

As regards the question of sentence it went without saying that from the time he knew that he was going to try the case he had tried to consider the sentence and he was prepared to hear anything that the Counsel might have to say or Mr. Gandhi wished to say on the sentence. He honestly did not believe that the mere recording of evidence in the trial which Counsel has asked for would make a difference to them one way or the other. He, therefore, proposed to accept the plea.

Mahatma Gandhi smiled at this decision.

The Judge said nothing further. It remained for him no doubt to pass the sentence and before doing so he liked to hear Sir T. Strangman. He was entitled to base his general remarks on the charge against the accused.

#### ADVOCATE GENERAL'S ARGUMENTS.

Sir T. Strangman: It will be difficult to do so. I ask the Court that the whole matter may be properly considered. If I stated what has happened before the Committing Magistrate, then I can show that there are many things which are material to the question of the sentence.



The first point, he said, he wanted to make out was that the matter which formed the subject of the present charges formed part of the campaign to spread disaffection openly and systematically, to render Government impossible and to overthrow it. The earliest article that was put in from "Young India" was dated 25th May 1921 which said that it was the duty of a non-cooperator to create disaffection towards the Government. Counsel then read out portions of the articles written by Mr. Gandhi in "Young India"

Court said nevertheless it seemed to it that the Court could accept a plea on the materials of which the sentence had to be based.

Sir T. Strangman said the question of sentence was entirely for the Court to decide. The Court was always entitled to deal in a more general manner in regard to the question of the sentence than the particular matter resulting in the conviction. He asked leave to refer to articles before the Court and what result might have been produced if the trial had proceeded, in order to ascertain what the facts were. He was not going into any matter which involved a dispute.

The Judge said there was not the least objection to his going into the charges in a general way.

Sir T. Strangman said he wanted to show that these articles were not isolated. They formed part of an organised campaign but so far as "Young India"

was concerned they would show that from the year 1921. Counsel then read out extracts from the paper, dated June 8th, on the duty of a Non-Cooperator which was to preach disaffection towards the existing Government for preparing the country for civil disobedience. Then in the same number there was an article on "Disaffection a Virtue," or something to that effect. Then there was an article on the 28th of July 1921 in which it was stated that "we have to destroy the system." Again on September 30th, 1921 there was an article headed "Punjab Prosecutions" where it was stated that a non-cooperator worthy of his name should preach disaffection. That was all so far as "Young India" was concerned. They were earlier in date than the article "Tampering with Loyalty" and it referred to the Governor of Bombay. Continuing, he said the accused was a man of high educational qualifications and evidently from his writings a recognised leader. The harm that was likely to be caused was considerable. They were the writings of an educated man and not the writings of an obscure man and the Court must consider to what the result of a campaign of the nature disclosed in the writings must inevitably lead. They had examples before them in the last few months. He referred to the occurrences in the last few months. He referred to the occurrences in Bombay last November and Chauri Chaura leading to murder and destruction of property, involving many people in misery and mis-

fortune. It was true that in the course of those articles they would find non-violence was insisted upon as an item of the campaign and as an item of the creed. But what was the use of preaching non-violence when he preached disaffection towards Government or openly instigated others to overthrow it? The answer to that question appeared to him to come from Cauri Chaura, Madras and Bombay. These bare circumstances which he asked the Court to take into account in sentencing the accused and it would be for the Court to consider those circumstances must involve sentences of severity.

As regards the 2nd accused his offence was lesser. He did the publication and he did not write. His offence nevertheless was a serious one. His instructions were that he was a man of means and he asked the Court to impose a substantial fine in addition to such terms of imprisonment as might be inflicted upon. He quoted section 10 of the Press Act as bearing on the question of fine. When making a declaration he said, a deposit of Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 10,000 was asked in many cases.

Court: Mr. Gandhi, do you wish to make a statement on the question of sentence?

Mahatma Gandhi: I would like to make a statement.

Court: Could you give it to me in writing to put it on record?

Mahatma Gandhi:—I shall give it as soon as I finish reading it.

MAHATMA GANDHI'S ORAL STATEMENT.

Before reading his written statement Mr. Gandhi spoke a few words as introductory remarks to the whole statement. He said before I read this statement, I would like to state that I entirely endorse the learned advocate general's remarks in connection with my humble self. I think that he was entirely fair to me in all the statements that he has made because it is very true, and I have no desire whatsoever to conceal from this court the fact that to preach disaffection towards the existing system of Government has become almost a passion with me. And the learned advocate general is also entirely in the right when he says that my preaching of disaffection did not commence with my connection with *Young India* but that it commenced much earlier and in the statement that I am about to read it will be my painful duty to admit before this court that it commenced much earlier than the period stated by the advocate general. It is the most painful duty with me but I have to discharge that duty knowing the responsibility that rested upon my shoulders.

And I wish to endorse all the blame that the advocate general has thrown on my shoulders in connection with the Bombay occurrences. Madras occurrences and Chauri Choura occurrences thinking

over these things deeply, and sleeping over them night after night and examining my heart, I have come to the conclusion that it is impossible for me to dissociate myself from the diabolical crimes of Chauri Choura or the mad outrages of Bombay. He is quite right when he says that as a man of responsibility, a man having received a fair share of education and having had a fair share of experience of this world I should know the consequences of every one of my acts. I knew them. I knew that I was playing with fire. I ran the risk and if I was set free I would still do the same. I would be failing in my duty if I do not do so. I have felt it this morning that I would have failed in my duty if I did not say all what I said here just now. I wanted to avoid violence. I want to avoid violence. Nonviolence is the first article of my faith. It is the last article of my faith. But I had to make my choice. I had either to submit to a system which, I considered, has done an irreparable harm to my country or incur the risk of the mad fury of my people bursting forth when they understood the truth from my lips. I know that my people have sometimes gone mad. I am deeply sorry for it; and I am, therefore, here to submit not to a light penalty but to the highest penalty. 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. The only course open to you, Mr. judge, is, as I am just going to say in my statement, either to resign your post or inflict on me the severest penalty. If you believe that the system and law you are assisting to administer are good for the people I do not expect that kind of conversion. But by the time I have finished with my statement you will, perhaps, have a glimpse of what is raging within my breast to run this maddest risk which a sane man can run.

### MAHATMAJI'S WRITTEN STATEMENT.

#### 'HOW I CAME TO BE A NON-COOPERATOR.'

I owe it perhaps to the Indian public and to the public in England, to placate which this prosecution is mainly taken up, that I should explain why from a staunch loyalist and cooperator I have become an uncompromising disaffectionist and non-cooperator. To the court too I should say why I plead guilty to the charge of promoting disaffection towards the Government established by law in India.

My public life began in 1893 in South Africa in troubled weather. My first contact with the British authorities in that country was not of a happy character. I discovered that, as a man and an Indian, I had no rights. On the contrary, I discovered that I had no rights as a man, because I was an Indian.

But I was not baffled. I thought that this treat-

ment of Indians was an excrecence upon a system that was intrinsically and mainly good. I gave the Government my voluntary and hearty cooperation, criticising it fully where I felt it was faulty, but never wishing its destruction. Consequently, when the existence of the Empire was threatened in 1899, by the Boer challenge, I offered my services to it, raised a Volunteer Ambulance Corps and served at several actions that took place for the relief of Ladysmith. Similarly in 1906, at the time of the Zulu Revolt I raised a Stretcher Bearer Party and served till the end of the rebellion. On both these occasions I received medals and was even mentioned in despatches. For my work in South Africa I was given by Lord Hardinge a Kaiser-i-Hind gold medal.

When the War broke out in 1914 between England and Germany, I raised a Volunteer Ambulance Corps in London, consisting of the then resident Indians in London, chiefly students. Its work was acknowledged by the authorities to be valuable. Lastly, in India when a special appeal was made at the War Conference in Delhi in 1917 by Lord Chelmsford for recruits, I struggled at the cost of my health to raise a corps in Khera and the response was being made when the hostilities ceased. Orders were received that no more recruits were wanted. In all these efforts at service, I was actuated by the belief that it was possible by such services to gain a status of full equality in the Empire for my countrymen.

## FIRST SHOCK.

The first shock came in the shape of the Rowlatt Act, a law designed to rob the people of all real freedom. I felt called upon to lead an intensive agitation against it. Then the Punjab horrors, beginning with the massacre at Jallanwalla Bag, and culminating in crawling orders, public flogging and other indescribable humiliations. I discovered too that the plighted word of the Prime Minister to the Mussalmans of India, regarding the integrity of Turkey and the Holy places of Islam, was not likely to be fulfilled. But in spite of the foreboding and the grave warnings of friends at the Amritsar Congress in 1919, I fought for cooperation and working the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, hoping that the Prime Minister, would redeem his promise to the Indian Mussalmans, that the Punjab wound would be healed and that the Reforms, inadequate and unsatisfactory though they were, marked a new era of hope in the life of India.

## SHATTERED HOPES.

But all that hope was shattered. The Khilafat promise was not to be redeemed. The Punjab crime was white-washed and most of the culprits went not only unpunished, but remained in service and some continued to draw pensions from the Indian revenue, and in some cases were even rewarded. I saw, too, that not only did the Reforms not mark a change of heart, but they were only a method of further draining

India of her wealth and of prolonging her servitude. I came reluctantly to the conclusion that the British connection had made India more helpless than she ever was before politically and economically. A disarmed India has no power of resistance against any aggressor if she wanted to engage in an armed conflict with him. So much is this the case that some of our best men consider that India must take generations before she can achieve the Dominion Status, She has become so poor that she has little power of resisting famines. Before the British advent India spun and wove in her millions of cottages, just the supplement she needed for adding to her meagre agricultural resources. This cottage industry, so vital for India's existence, has been ruined by incredibly heartless and inhuman processes, as described by English witnesses. Little do the town dwellers know how the semi-starved masses of India are slowly sinking to lifelessness. Little do they know that their miserable comfort represents the brokerage they get, for the work they do for the foreign exploiter, that the profits and the brokerage are sucked from the masses. Little do they realise that the Government established by Law in British India is carried on for this exploitation of the masses. No sophistry, no jugglery in figures can explain away the evidence the skeletons in many villages present to the naked eye. I have no doubt whatsoever that both England and the town dwellers of India will have to answer if there is a God above

for this crime against humanity, which is perhaps unequalled in history. The law itself in this country has been used to serve the foreign exploiter. My unbiassed examination of the Punjab Martial Law cases has led me to believe that at least ninety-five per cent of convictions were wholly bad. My experience of political cases in India leads me to the conclusion that in nine out of every ten the condemned men were totally innocent. Their crime consisted in love of their country. In ninety-nine cases out of hundred justice has been denied to Indians as against Europeans in the courts of India. This is not an exaggerated picture. It is the experience of almost every Indian who has had anything to do with such cases. In my opinion the administration of the law is thus prostituted consciously or unconsciously for the benefit of the exploiter.

The greatest misfortune is that Englishmen and their Indian associates in the administration of the country do not know that they are engaged in the crime I have attempted to describe. I am satisfied that many English and Indian officials honestly believe that they are administering one of the best systems devised in the world and that India is making steady though slow progress. They do not know that a subtle but effective system of terrorism and an organised display of force on the one hand and the deprivation of all powers of retaliation or self-defence on the other have emasculated the people and induced in



them the habit of simulation. The awful habit has added to the ignorance and the self deception of the administrator.

#### DISAFFECTION.

Section 124 A under which I am happily charged is perhaps the prince among the political sections of the Indian Penal Code designed to suppress the liberty of the citizen. Affection cannot be manufactured or regulated by law. If one has no affection for a person or thing one should be free to give the fullest expression to his disaffection so long as he does not contemplate to promote or incite to violence. But the section under which Mr. Banker and I are charged is one under which mere promotion of disaffection is a crime. I have studied some of the cases tried under it and I know that some of the most loved of Indian's patriots have been convicted under it. I consider it a privilege, therefore, to be charged under it. I have endeavoured to give in their briefest outline the reasons for my disaffection. I have no personal ill-will against any single administrator, much less can I have any disaffection towards the King's person. But I hold it to be a virtue to be disaffected towards a Government which in its totality has done more harm to India than any previous system. India is less manly under the British Rule than she ever was before. Holding such a belief I consider it to be a sin to have affection for the system and it has been a

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precious privilege for me to be able to write what I have in the various articles tendered in evidence against me. In fact I believe that I have rendered a service to India and England by showing in non-cooperation the way out of the unnatural state in which both are living. In my humble opinion non-cooperation with evil is as much a duty as is co-operation with good. But in the past non-cooperation has been deliberately expressed in violence to the evil-doer. I am endeavouring to show to my countrymen that violent non-cooperation only multiplies evil and that as evil can only be sustained by violence, withdrawal of support of evil requires complete abstention from violence. Non-violence implies voluntary submission to the penalty for non-cooperation with evil.

I adhere, therefore, to invite and submit cheerfully 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. The only course open to you, the judge and the assessors, is either to resign your posts and thus dissociate yourselves from evil if you feel that the law you are called upon to administer is an evil and that in reality I am innocent, or to inflict on me the severest penalty if you believe that the system and law you are assisting to administer are good for the people of this country and that my activity is therefore injurious to the public weal.'

(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

MR. BANKER'S STATEMENT.

Mr. Shanker Lal Banker made the following statement:—

I only want to say that I had the privilege of printing these articles and I plead guilty to the charge. I have got nothing to say as regards the sentence.

FULL TEXT OF THE JUDGMENT.

Mr. Gandhi, you have made my task easy in one way by pleading guilty to the charge. Nevertheless what remains, namely, the determination of a just sentence is perhaps as difficult a proposition as a Judge in this country could have to face. The law is no respecter of persons. Nevertheless, it will be impossible to ignore the fact that you are in a different category from any person I have ever tried or am likely to have 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 of even saintly life. I have to deal with you in one character only. It is not my duty and I do not presume to judge or criticise you in any other character. It is my duty to Judge as a man subject to the law who has according to his own admission broken the law and committed what to an ordinary man must appear to

be a grave offence against the State. I do not forget that you have consistently preached against violence and that you have on many occasions, as I am willing to believe, done much to prevent violence. But having regard to the nature of your political teaching and the nature of many of those to whom it was addressed how you could have continued to believe that violence would not be the inevitable consequence it passes my capacity to understand. There are probably few people in India who do not sincerely regret that you should have made it impossible for any Government to leave you at liberty. But it is so. I am trying to balance what is due to you against what appears to me to be necessary in the interest of the public, and I propose in passing sentence to follow the precedent of a case in many respects similar to this case that was decided some twelve years ago. I mean the case against Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak under the same section. The sentence that was passed upon him as it finally stood was a sentence of simple imprisonment for six years. You will not consider it unreasonable. I think that you should be classed with Mr. Tilak. That is a sentence of two years simple imprisonment on each count of the charge, six years in all which I feel it my duty to pass upon you; and I should like to say in doing so 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.

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The Judge, then, addressing Mr. Banker said:—

I assume you have been to a large extent under the influence of your Chief. The sentence that I propose to pass upon you is simple imprisonment for six months on each of the first two counts that is to say simple imprisonment for one year, and a fine of thousand rupees on the third count with six months simple imprisonment in default.

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### HIS PROUDEST PRIVILEGE.

Mahatma Gandhi said: I would say one word since you have done me the honour of recalling the trial of the late Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak. I just want to say that I consider it to be the proudest privilege of honour to be associated with his name. So for as the sentence itself is concerned I certainly consider that it is as light as any judge would inflict on me and so far as the whole proceedings are concerned I must say that I could not have expected greater courtesy.

Then the friends of Mahatmaji crowded round him as the judge left the court and fell at his feet. There was much sobbing on the part of both men and women; but all the while Mahatma Gandhi was smiling and cool and giving encouragement to everybody who came to him. Mr. Banker also was smiling and taking things in a light hearted way.



After all the friends had taken leave of him Mahatma Gandhi was taken out of the court to the Sabarmati Jail and thus the great trial ended.

# **Messages of Mahatma Gandhi**

## **FROM JAIL**



# Mahatma Gandhi's Message

## TO BOMBAY.

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Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, who saw Mahatma Gandhi in Jail on Saturday, March 11, 1922 brought the following message to Bombay from him:—

I do not want Bombay to mourn over the arrest of one of its mute Secretaries and myself but to rejoice over our rest. Whilst I would like an automatic response to all the items of non-cooperation, I would like Bombay to concentrate upon the Charkha and Khaddar. The monied men of Bombay can buy all the handspun and handwoven Khaddr that could be manufactured throughout India. The women of Bombay, if they really mean to do their share of work, should religiously spin for a certain time everyday for the sake of the country. I wish that no one will think of following us to Jail. It would be criminal to court imprisonment till a complete non-violent atmosphere is attained. One test of such atmosphere will be for us to put the Englishmen and Moderates at ease.

This can be done only if we have good will towards them in spite of our differences.

M. K. GANDHI.

*Sabarmati Jail, March 11th, 1922.*

## INTERVIEW WITH MAHATMA GANDHI.

Messrs, Mangaldas Girdhar Das, Kasturbhai Lal-bhai and Gordhandas I, Patel had a long interview with Mr. Gandhi on Tuesday the 14th March 1922 in the Central Jail, at Sabarmati. A long discussion took place regarding the contributions by some Ahmedabad Mills towards the Tilak Swaraj Fund amounting to about three lakhs of rupees. Mr. Gandhi insisted on the giving over of the whole amount to the Gujrat Provincial Congress Committee, in a manner as to use any sum, wholly or partly, in National Education. Messrs. Mangaldas and Gordhandass pressed for spending the amount by opening cheap stores for the millhands or by starting labour schools or labour hospitals. They insisted on the use of the amount in the welfare work of the Millhands of Ahmedabad as the subscription list was earmarked for that purpose. At the end of a long discussion, the parties came to an unanimous decision that the Fund Committee should pay every year such amount as may be voted by the Provincial Congress Committee to the Labour Union of Ahmedabad in the interest of labour schools. The Unions were to submit their accounts to the Fund Committee of the Millowners and keep drawing amounts from them.

Mr. Gordhandas I, Patel, who is the Joint Hony : Secretary of the Millowners Association and a Member of the Ahmedabad Mills Tilak Swaraj Fund in his private capacity, put a few queries to Mr. Gandhi.



## NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT.

**Q.**—In case you are convicted will the Non-Cooperation movement be adversely affected?

**A.**—The words “In case” are inappropriate. The more harsh the punishment, the more strong will the Non-Cooperation movement be. This is my firm conviction.

**Q.** After your conviction if Government resort to rigorous repressive measures, can any district or tahsil embark upon mass civil Disobedience?

**A.** Certainly not. It is my emphatic advice that whatever repressive measures Government may adopt, the people should in no circumstances indulge in any movement of mass Civil disobedience.

**Q.** What should be the next move of the nation now?

**A.** The first and the foremost duty of the nation is to keep perfect non-violence. Mutual ill-will and feeling of hatred among the different sections of people have taken such a strong root that constant efforts to eradicate them is absolutely essential and Non-Cooperators should take the lead, because their number is considerable. There is a considerable lack of toleration, courtesy and forbearance amongst non-cooperators and it is my firm belief that is the sole reason why our victory is delayed and that I regard the “Charkha” as the most potent weapon to

secure the required peace, courtesy, etc. Hence I would only advise that the people should become immediately occupied with the "Oharkha" and Khaddar prepared therefrom. No sooner could we effect a complete boycott of foreign cloth and the use of handspun and handwoven "Khaddar", than Swarajis in hand and in consequence whereof, the doors of the jail would be automatically laid open and my companions and myself would be able to be out. I anxiously await such an auspicious occasion.

Q. What is your opinion in regard to the remarks made by Sir William Vincent against the Ali Brothers ?

A. There is nothing new in it. The Brothers have given out in the clearest terms what they believe to be true. This is considered to be their greatest fault and I too am committing similar faults. For the same reason I regard them both as my real brothers.

#### MR. MONTAGU'S RESIGNATION.

Q.—Will India suffer any harm in consequence of Mr. Montagu's resignation ?

A.—I certainly do not believe that there will be any harm. But Mr. Montagu certainly deserves credit for what he has done.

Q.—Is there any logical connection between the political conditions of England and India at present ?

A.—There certainly is such a connection. If the programme which I have laid down for India is carried through, it will produce a very salutary effect not only on the political situation of England but on that of the whole world.

Q.—What do you think of the coming Paris Conference?

A.—At present, I have no high expectations from that, as it is my firm belief that as long as India does not show completely the miracle of “Charkha” the problem of Khilafat will not be properly solved.

Q.—What are your instructions regarding the harmonious relations between the millhands and the capitalists of this place, in your absence?

A.—Repose full confidence in Ansuya Ben.

Q.—What message do you send to the people of Ahmedabad?

A.—The people of Ahmedabdd should take to “Khaddar”, preserve perfect unity and support the current movement.

MAHATMAJI'S MESSAGE.

—o—

**“ Khadi will bring you Swaraj.”**

Mr. Indulal Yagnik, in the course of an article in the latest number of the “Nav Jivan” writes in connection with a visit he paid to Mahatmaji in the Sabarmati Jail:—“Mahatmaji was engaged in a conversation with a certain visitor when I went to see him. The following words struck against my ears: “Truth is a magnet. It draws files of truth all-round ... .. I have experienced unexpected events all through my life.”

On my requesting him for his command he said: “*There is only one message from me and it is the message of Khadi. Give me Khadi and I will give you Swaraj. Khadi will bring salvation to the untouchables and Khadi will maintain the Hindu Muslim unity. Khadi is the most powerful weapon for non-violence. This does not mean that I do not advocate the boycott of councils and boycott of law courts. But with a view that no-one may entertain ill-will against the pleaders and the members of the Councils, I want people to carry on Khadi propaganda with their aid. Conciliate Moderates. Foster cordial relations with them. The moment they become fearless they will side with us. The same is true of the Anglo-Indians and the Englishmen.*”

Jail : -  
draws  
raj .  
may  
Foster



## TO HAKIMJI

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The following letter was addressed by Mr. Gandhi to Hakim Ajmal Khan:—

Sabarmati Jail, 12th March 1922.

My dear Hakimji.

Since my arrest this is the first letter I have commenced to write after having ascertained that under the Jail rules I am entitled to write as many letters as I like as an under-trial prisoner. Of course you know that Mr. Shankerlal Banker is with me. I am happy that he is with me. Every one knows how near he has come to me—naturally, therefore, both of us are glad that we have been arrested together.

I write this to you in your capacity as Chairman of the Working Committee and, therefore, leader of both Hindus and Musslmans or better still of all India,

I write to you also as one of the foremost leaders of Mussalmans, but above all I write this to you as an esteemed friend. I have had the privilege of knowing you since 1915. Our daily growing association has enabled me to prize your friendship as a treasure. A staunch Mussalman, you have shown in your own life what Hindu-Muslim unity means.



We all now realise, as we have never before realised that without that unity we cannot attain our freedom, and I make bold to say that without that unity the Mussalmans of India cannot render the Khilafat all the aid they wish. Divided, we must ever remain slaves. This unity, therefore, cannot be a mere policy to be discarded when it does not suit us. We can discard it only when we are tired of Swaraj. Hindu-Muslim unity must be our creed to last for all time under all circumstances.

Nor must that unity be a menace to the minorities—the Parsees, the Christians, the Jews or the powerful Sikhs. If we seek to crush any of them, we shall some day want to fight each other.

I have been drawn so close to you chiefly because I know that you believe in Hindu-Muslim unity in the full sense of the term.

This unity in my opinion is unattainable without our adopting non-violence as a firm policy. I call it a policy because it is limited to the preservation of that unity. But it follows that thirty crores of Hindus and Mussalmans, united not for a time but for all time, can defy all the powers of the world and should consider it a cowardly act to resort to violence in their dealings with the English administrators. We have hitherto feared them and their guns in our simplicity. The moment we realise our combined strength, we shall consider it unmanly to fear them

and, therefore, ever to think of striking them. Hence am I anxious and impatient to persuade my countrymen to feel non-violent, not out of our weakness but out of our strength. But you and I know that we have not yet evolved the non-violence of the strong. And we have not done so, because the Hindu-Muslim union has not gone much beyond the stage of policy. There is still too much mutual distrust and consequent fear. I am not disappointed. The progress we have made in that direction is indeed phenomenal. We seem to have covered in eighteen months' time the work of a generation. But infinitely more is necessary. Neither the classes nor the masses feel instinctively that our union is necessary as the breath of our nostrils.

For this consummation we must, it seems to me, rely more upon quality than quantity. Given a sufficient number of Hindus and Mussalmans with almost a fanatical faith in everlasting friendship between the Hindus and the Mussalmans of India, we shall not be long before the unity permeates the masses. A few of us must first clearly understand that we can make no headway without accepting non-violence in thought word and deed for the full realisation of our political ambition. I would, therefore, beseech you and the members of the Working Committee and the All-India Congress Committee to see that our ranks contain no workers who do not fully realise the essential truth I have endeavoured to place before you. A living

faith cannot be manufactured by the rule of majority.

To me the visible symbol of all-India unity and therefore, of the acceptance of non-violence as an indispensable means for the realisation of our political ambition is undoubtedly the *charkha*, i. e., *khaddar*. Only those who believe in cultivating a non-violent spirit and eternal friendship between Hindus and Mussalmans will daily and religiously spin. Universal handspinning and the universal manufacture and use of hand-spun and hand-woven *khaddar* will be a substantial, if not absolute, proof of the real unity and non-violence. And it will be a recognition of a living kinship with the dumb masses. Nothing can possibly unify and revivify India as the acceptance by all India of the spinning wheel as a daily sacrament and the *khaddar* were as a privilege and a duty.

Whilst, therefore, I am anxious that more title-holders should give up their titles, lawyers law-courts, scholars the Government schools or colleges, the Councillors the Councils and the soldiers and the civilians their posts, I would urge the nation to restrict its activity in this direction only to the consolidation of the results already achieved and to trust its strength to command further abstentions from association with a system we are seeking to mend or end.

Moreover, the workers are too few. I would not waste a single worker today on destructive work when we have such an enormous amount of constructive

work. But perhaps the most conclusive argument against devoting further time to destructive propaganda is the fact that the spirit of intolerance which is a form of violence has never been so rampant as now. Cooperators are estranged from us; they fear us. They say that we are establishing a worse bureaucracy than the existing one. We must remove every cause for such anxiety. We must go out of our way to win them to our side. We must make Englishmen safe from all harm from our side. I should not have to labour the point, if it was clear to every one as it is to you and to me that our pledge of non-violence implies utter humility and goodwill even towards our bitterest opponent. This necessary spirit will be automatically realised, if only India will devote her sole attention to the work of construction suggested by me.

I flatter myself with the belief that my imprisonment is quite enough for a long time to come. I believe in all humility that I have no ill-will against any one. Some of my friends would not have to be as non-violent as I am. But we contemplated the imprisonment of the most innocent. If I may be allowed that claim, it is clear that I should not be followed to prison by anybody at all. We do want to paralyse the Government considered as a system—not, however, by intimidation, but by the irresistible pressure of our innocence. In my opinion it would be intimidation to fill the jails anyhow. And why should more

innocent men seek imprisonment till one considered to be the most innocent has been found inadequate for the purpose.

My caution against further courting of imprisonment does not mean that we are now to shirk imprisonment. If the Government will take away every *non-violent* non-cooperator, I should welcome it. Only it should not because of our civil disobedience, defensive or aggressive. Nor, I hope, will the country fret over those who are in jail. It will do them and the country good to serve the full term of their imprisonment. They can be fitly discharged before their time only by an act of the Swaraj Parliament. And I entertain an absolute conviction that universal adoption of *khaddar* is Swaraj.

I have refrained from mentioning untouchability I am sure every good Hindu believes that it has got to go. Its removal is necessary as the realisation of Hindu-Muslim unity.

I have placed before you a programme which is in my opinion the quickest and the best. No impatient Khilafatist can devise a better. May God give you health and wisdom to guide the country to her destined goal.

I am,

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

MR. GANDHI'S LETTER  
TO  
MR. ANDREWS.

Mahatma Gandhi has sent the following letter to Mr. C. F. Andrews from Sabarmati Jail in answer to a letter expressing deep regret that on account of the railway strike, he was not able to leave his work and come to him before the trial was over :-

SAMBARMATI JAIL, MARCH 17.

My dear Charlie, I have just got your letter. You were quite right in not leaving your work. You should certainly go to Gurudev, and be with him as long as he needs you. I would certainly like your going to the Ashram (Sabarmati), and staying there a while, when you are free. But I would not expect you to see me in jail; I am as happy as a bird! My ideal of a jail life—especially that of a civil resister—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 privilege. The religious value of jail discipline is enhanced by renouncing privileges. The forthcoming imprisonment will be to me more a religious than a political advantage. If it is a sacrifice, I want it to the purest.

With love, your,  
Mohan.



## HAKIMJI'S REPLY TO MR. GANDHI.

The following is the reply sent by Hakim Ajmal Khan to Mr. Gandhi's letter which was published in *Young India* last week and reproduced in the *Leader* :-

Ahmedabad, 17th March, 1922.

My dear Mahatmaji.

I have received the letter which you wrote to me from Sabarmati jail and thank you very sincerely for the kind sentiments that you have expressed towards me. Whether I really deserve them is another question into which I do not propose to enter.

I am glad that Mr. Shankarlal Banker is with you in the jail. He has great affection for you and possesses qualities which have endeared him to you. I feel sure that his company in jail will be a source of extra pleasure and satisfaction to you.

I can, however, feel happy at your arrest only when I find that as a mark of the profound respect that it has for you the country takes still greater interest in the national movement than it did when you were free. But it gives me infinite pleasure to see that the country observed perfect peace on your arrest. This is a clear sign of the spread of the spirit of non-violence in the country, which is as essential for our success as pure air is for life.

I have no doubt that the secret of the progress of our country lies in the unity of the Hindus, the

Musalmans and other races of India. Such a unity should not be based on policy, for that, in my opinion, will only be a kind of armistice which might with difficulty be sufficient for present requirements. But I clearly see that the two great communities are coming closer to each other every day. And although the number of men whose hearts are absolutely free from any sectarian prejudices may not be very great in the two communities, I feel convinced that the country has found the road to real unity and will advance on it with steady steps towards its goal. So highly do I prize the unity of races inhabiting our country that if the country gave up all other activities and achieved that alone, I would consider the Khilafat and the Swaraj Questions automatically solved to our satisfaction. For the achievement of our objects is so intimately connected with this unity that to me the two appear identical.

The question naturally arises, how are we to achieve this living and lasting unity? I can find only one answer to that. We can only achieve it by the sincerity and purity of our hearts. Not until every one of us has driven selfishness out of his mind will our country succeed in achieving its object. I know that the differences which have been created by a century of this system of Government cannot very soon be eradicated and, therefore, we cannot expect our efforts to bear fruit immediately. But there can be no doubt that we have accomplished the work of

generations in months and have actually achieved what the pessimists among us considered impossible of achievement.

I do not consider the question of the Khilafat, in other words, the question of the evolution of Islamic policy, a passing phase. Just as in centuries past, it presented itself in one form or another, so will it in centuries to come. God alone knows how and when it will finally be solved. Therefore even those who do not believe in Hindu-Muslim unity in the true sense of the term must understand that even as a policy it carries centuries under its arms. It is an admitted fact that looking to the present condition of India, next to Hindu-Muslim unity in importance is the question of non-violence. How far have our efforts, or rather your efforts, been successful in that direction is shown by the progress of events. But the most striking proof of all of our success in that direction is afforded by our North-West Frontier Province where non-violence had the least chance of success. When we find our brethren in that corner of India generally opposing the shield of non-violence to the violent attacks of their opponents, we feel convinced that the spirit of non-violence has spread and is spreading satisfactorily in the country.

Doubts are entertained with regard to the United Provinces in the matter; but my own opinion is that in consequence of the death of national workers, the Congress creed has not been sufficiently explained to

the people. I feel sure, however, the United Provinces will very soon come up to the level of other provinces.

If some extraordinary or special causes have occasionally led to violence in some parts of the country they should afford no ground for despair. We should not be unprepared for such stray cases, when we remember that we have been working with a limited number of workers in the midst of a population of 33 crores and working for eighteen months only. At the same times we should not minimise the significance of such occurrences and concentrate all our efforts on preventing their recurrence. Unity of the races inhabiting India non-violence are the two essential conditions for the success of the present movement.

*Khaddar*, too, no doubt is of invaluable help to us in the achievement of our objects. It will demonstrate our unity and show us how far we have advanced towards Swaraj. I do not think that picketing is so necessary for popularising *Khaddar* as the country considers it to be. The country considers it a short cut and spends its limited time over it, although, as you yourself have observed, the real work lies in creating in the minds of our people love for home-made things. But so far as I think our Congress committees have not sufficiently devoted their time and attention to it. This is the reason why they want to make up for this neglect by adopting the comparatively easier method of picketing. I, however, hope that in future the various Congress committees would

adopt it as their ideal to persuade people to use hand-spun and hand-woven *khaddar* and prefer it to picketing.

You have also touched upon the question of untouchability in your letter. On the face of it, it might appear to be a communal question. It is really a national question, for, the country as a whole cannot progress until and unless its component parts progress too. It is the duty of every person who has the interest of the country at heart to interest himself in all such questions as affect our national growth. Consequently, everything which comes in the way of the material or moral progress of the country must engage our attention. It is therefore, as much a Muslim question as a Hindu. Similarly, if the Mussulmans are backward in education, every good Hindu should think of their educational advancement, for every step in that direction is a step towards the educational advancement of the country as a whole, even though it may superficially appear to be to the advantage of one community only. I hope, therefore, the country will pay to the question of untouchability the attention that it deserves.

Bardoli and Delhi resolutions invite the country to concentrate its efforts on the constructive programme laid down by you. I hold that if we were to start civil disobedience, we would not have the necessary atmosphere required for the success of the constructive programme. It is very difficult to find a *via media*. I

trust the **Working Committee** will fully consider the question and adopt a proper and-suitable course.

Now that we are starting constructive week we should reorganise the Congress office to suit to our requirements. We should divide the work and create separate departments for different works, each under a member of the **Working Committee** selected for the purpose.

In the end, I join you in your prayers and wish to assure you that though my failing health will not enable me to be of very great service to my country, it will be my earnest endeavour to discharge my duties until **Mr. C. R. Das** is once more amongst us. May God help us in the sacred work which you and the country have undertaken for truth and justice and may your going to jail lead to the achievement of our triple goal.

Yours sincerely,

**MOHAMMAD AJMAL KHAN.**



**OPINIONS OF EMINENT MEN OF INDIA  
ON THE ARREST AND CONVICTION  
OF MAHATMA GANDHI.**

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LIBRARY

**Hakim Ajmal Khan, President of the  
Congress, issued the following appeal  
on the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi.**

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DELHI,

12—3—1922.

Mahatma Gandhi is arrested at Ahmedabad. The veneration and love with which all sections of the Indian people regard him owing to his great services and rare qualities are too well known. It is, therefore, natural for the country to feel deeply hurt at his arrest. But if the country has sincere regard for him and loves him truly then it is our bounden duty to act religiously according to the wishes repeatedly expressed by him. To quote his own words "There should be no *hartals*, no noisy demonstrations, no processions. I would regard the observance of perfect peace on my arrest as a mark of high honour to me by my countrymen".

If the country would carry out his instructions I am certain it would considerably strengthen our sacred cause. I hope that all the Provincial Congress Committees and the various Congress organisations in the districts would consider it their primary duty to employ their energies in maintaining peaceful and non-violent atmosphere in their respective spheres

and in pursuance of the Bardoli programme spare no pains to secure their quota of Congress Membership, to enrol volunteers strictly according to the prescribed pledge, to push the campaign of Swadeshi with all vigour, and convince the country of the economic and moral necessity of wearing hand-spun and hand woven cloth and to introduce the necessary improvements in national education and panchayat as well as to remove the sin of untouchability. This would enable us to take our next forward step with every confidence.

**Interview Granted by Mr. V. J. PATEL,  
the General Secretary of the All India Congress  
Committee, to a Representative of the "Bombay  
Chronicle" on the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi.**

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BOMBAY, MARCH 12.

What was the programme now before the country after Mr. Gandhi's arrest Mr. V. J. Patel said: We should continue and consolidate the constructive work of the Congress (1) Swadeshi should be developed by the spread of hand-spun *Khadi*, by introducing more looms for weaving hand-spun yarn and by making the spinning-wheel more universal.

(2) The untouchables should be taught cleanliness, they should by gentle persuasion be weaned from meat-eating and especially carrion. Every untouchable child should be accounted for and induced to come to national schools.

(3) Friendship between different classes should be cultivated by each understanding and sharing the difficulty of the other.

(4) Non-violence should be inculcated as the virtue of the strong.

(5) Panchayats should be organised and the people should be weaned from the lawcourts.

(6) National schools should be properly organised.

(7) Drink-evil should be completely eradicated by practising among those who are addicted to the vice and by peaceful picketing if necessary. Ladies should be enlisted as special volunteers for the purpose of visiting families where the vice is prevalent.

(8) Workers cannot rest till every adult male and female in the country has been registered in the Congress-ledger.

(9) Collection of the Tilak Swaraj Fund for this year should be immediately undertaken and all Congressmen and sympathisers should be approached by the workers to induce them to contribute one per cent. of their income towards the Fund.

Mr. Patel:—"no picketing in respect of foreign-cloth shops, liquor-shops or law courts should be resorted to unless *absolute non-violence can be insured.*"

Questioned as to the effect of Mahatma Gandhi's arrest on his followers, Mr. Patel said 'I believe, people will now see their way to concentrate more on the constructive programme of the Congress'.

Questioned as to the desirability of carrying on the civil disobedience movement Mr. Patel said: No, in my opinion the two lists of volunteers sanctioned by the Working Committee in pursuance of the Congress resolutions should continue. But care must be taken that no one who does not conform strictly to



the requirements of the Congress should be enrolled. At the same time the existing lists of volunteers in all provinces should be purged of the names of those who should not have been there. The All-India Congress Committee at Delhi has directed the suspension of mass civil disobedience. But in regard to individual civil disobedience (both offensive and defensive) the Committee gave full powers to each province to deal with the question as it likes. I have no hesitation in saying that individual civil-disobedience of an aggressive character should not be for the time being undertaken by any provinces. I am equally clear that individual civil disobedience of a defensive character should be undertaken only where it is absolutely necessary, at any rate for the present. In any case, side by side with the working out of the constructive programme, provinces should continue the enrollment of volunteers in accordance with the resolutions of the Working Committee and the All-India Congress Committee.'

## MAULANA HASARAT MOHANI'S

### APPEAL.

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Maulana Hasarat Mohani who arrived in Bombay from Ahmedabad, issued the following appeal on the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi.

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The inevitable has come and the bureaucracy have once more asserted themselves. They have arrested our revered leader Mahatma Gandhi. They believed that this was the best opportunity to arrest him. They thought that after the Bardoli decision the people have turned against the Mahatma and he has lost his influence and popularity. They forgot that Mahatma Gandhi was not a political leader of the ordinary type. His hold upon the educated classes and the masses is so firm, so genuine and so complete that no differences of opinion, however acute they may be, can lose him his popularity. He has endeared himself so greatly to the people by his saintly conduct and advice and his selfless devotion to the cause that even what some believe to be his mistakes can have no effect whatsoever. There was no difference between Mahatma Gandhi and myself on principle. We differed only in the matter of working

details. I have always held Mahatma Gandhi in profoundest veneration because he deserved our veneration and our affection. I urge and beg the people to follow the wishes of our great leader unflinchingly and to work zealously along the lines of the Bardoli programme with special emphasis on the rigid observance of Swadeshi, support to the Angora and Khilafat Funds and the boycott of foreign cloth. The programme must be strictly followed until the adoption of any new programme by the All India Congress Committee.

Lying and absolutely groundless statements are circulated by a so called "Information Bureau" of Calcutta as to my doings at Ahmedabad last December. I never spoke a word against Mahatma Gandhi nor against Hindus generally. Hindu-Muslim unity has been my life-long aim and I shall be the last person to say or do anything which may imperil it in the least. This is my cherished object.

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The following letter was sent by MR. K. NATARAJAN to Mahatma Gandhi at Sabarmati jail.

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BANDRA,  
March 12, 1922.

Dear Mahatma Ji

Just after the Bardoli meeting of the working Committee of the Congress, Mr. V. J. Patel, the General Secretary, suggested to me that I should join the Bombay Suburban Congress Committee, adding that he did so at your instance. I replied that I would wait to decide until after the meeting of the All India Congress Committee at Delhi.

It was my wish and hope that the Delhi meeting would result in an endorsement without modification of the Bardoli programme and that then the way would be open to me to join the Congress. Unfortunately, this did not happen notwithstanding the earnest efforts made by yourself and Panditji

I was very glad, however, that you had since thrown the great weight of your personal authority on concentration on the essentially social programme outlined at Bardoli, and that your advice had been generally accepted, thus practically discarding the Delhi modifications. Still, I should not have felt myself free to join the Congress, dissenting as I do

from the bulk of the programme by the majority of its adherents, though, as I understand, it is not a condition of Congress membership.

Your arrest and prosecution, however, at the present time, when you have so largely arrived at nearly the same position as those with whom I have been associated in an endeavour to bring about a peaceful settlement of our national problems and, as a consequence, incurred some loss of popularity with your party, present the question to me anew and in a somewhat different light. It is irresistibly borne in upon me that quite apart from the policy and merits of the present prosecution, it is the duty of every one who values the pre-eminently social programme at Bardoli, which is now for practical purposes the working programme of the congress organisation, to endeavour, irrespective of differences on other points, to supply, in however small a measure, the immense loss of strength which cannot but accrue to it by your withdrawal even for a short time. I shall, therefore, take the necessary action to be enrolled as a member of the Bombay Congress Committee.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) K. NATARAJAN.

## MAULANA ABDULBARI'S MESSAGE

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The following message was sent to Mrs. Gandhi by Maulana Abdulbari of Firingi Mahal.

LUCKNOW,  
March, 16th. 1922.

I have sent my nephew. Maulvi Sibhtulla to Ahmedabad to meet you and to congratulate you on my behalf on the arrest of your worthy husband, who has proved himself to be a great man in Asia and has by his sincerety and services to the masses won a matchless place in the hearts of the people.

As a token of sincere affection and regard I send you a piece of cotton thread spun by me since the arrest of Gandhiji and also a piece of cotton thread spun by my sister and I hope you will kindly accept them. I am thankful to Providence that inspite of the issue of warrants to the Surat and Ajmere police Mahatma Gandhi found an opportunity to come to Ajmere to see me. If this interview had not taken place misunderstandings would have remained and I could not have felt so hopeful of Mr. Gandhi's programme as I feel now. It is quite true that Providence is helping us and we are at the gate of our final success. I feel confident that the arrest of Mr. Gandhi



will give the desired impetus to the use of Khaddar. Even those who hesitated to use Khaddar will now take it themselves with zeal and also induce others to use it. I have requested the Jamiatul-ulama to urge on their volunteers in their pledges the use of Khaddar instead of Swadeshi cloth.

MR. M. R. JAYAKAR SENT the following letter to Mahatma Gandhi in Sabarmati Jail on Friday the 17th March 1922.

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Dear Mahatmaji,

You must have by this time, received the wire I sent you this afternoon, saying that I was confined to bed with fever and that my wife would see you in jail tomorrow. Accordingly, she has gone, taking with her our united wishes for your health and happiness during your absence from our midst. I am sure the country will rally round your message. I regret very much that I will not be able to see you tomorrow. I can only make amends for it by recalling the noblest verse in the Gita "O, Kaunteya, know thou for certain that My devotee perisheth never". It is the singular fortune of India that, at this crisis, her greatest leader is also the humblest Bhakta. That fact must secure for his noble mission the blessings and Co-operation of Divine Providence. I am reminded of the episode in the Mahabharat, when the Pandavas elected in favour of the solitary presence and help of Shrikrishna as against his mighty and powerful hordes asked for. We shall try to be worthy of this tradition during your absence. I won't say good-bye, but only revoir.

With affectionate regards,

Yours sincerely,

(sd.) M. R. JAYAKAR.

# HOW MAHATMA CAN BE RELEASED.

## MRS. GANDHI'S APPEAL

Ahmedabad,  
March 18th, 1922.

My dear countrymen and countrywomen,

Mr. Gandhi has been sentenced today to six year's simple imprisonment. While I cannot deny that this heavy sentence has to some extent told upon me I have consoled myself with the thought that it is not beyond our powers to reduce that sentence and release him by our own exertions long before his term of imprisonment is over,

I have, no doubt, that if India wakes up and seriously undertakes to carry out the constructive programme of the Congress we shall succeed not only in releasing him but also in solving to our satisfaction all the three issues for which we have been fighting and suffering for the last 18 months or more. I, therefore appeal to all men and women who feel for me and have regard for Mr. Gandhi to wholeheartedly concentrate on the constructive programme and make a success.

## SPINNING WHEEL.

Among all the items of the programme Mr. Gandhi laid the greatest emphasis on the spinning wheel and Khaddar. Our success in this will not only solve the economic problem of India in relation to masses but also free us from our political bondage. India's first answer, therefore, to Mr. Gandhi's conviction should be that :

- (a) All men and women give up their foreign cloth and adopt Khaddar and persuade others also to do so.
- (b) All women make it a religious duty to spin and produce yarn every day and persuade others to do so.
- (c) All merchants to cease trading in foreign piecegoods.

## HOW TO RELEASE MR. GANDHI

—o—

By convicting Mahatma Gandhi the Government has challenged our right to live as free and self-respecting human beings. The action of the Government is an open threat not only to the liberties of India, but to the liberties of the world. Will Imperialism be permitted to keep humanity in chains of slavery? India must supply the answer. The eyes of the world are turned towards us and the souls of our ancestors are anxiously watching us. Every Indian worth the name must proclaim the truth from every housetop and withdraw his or her support from this unjust and wicked Government. The honour of the country and the liberties of the generations yet unborn are at stake and every person, whether Indian or Englishman, who remains in the service of this Government, whether military or civil, is guilty of most heinous crime against humanity. Let all resign their posts under this Government for, then alone can they prove that they are true to their God. Let us all discard foreign cloth and take to Khaddar. Let us close all cloth importing houses. Let us organise our ranks by enlisting one crore new members of the Congress and ensuring perfect Non-violence and real and sincere Hindu Muslim unity;

and God willing, within six months, we shall bring out of prison Mahatma Gandhi and thousands of other brave and distinguished sons of India, both Hindus and Musalmans, who are suffering for their country and for their faith.

ANASUYA SARABHAI.



**From Borodada**

Writing on the conviction of Mahatma Gandhi  
Sjt. Dwijendra Nath Tagore says:—

“The present Government appears to me to be bound hand and foot by the evil precedence of the high-handed British rulers of the past and the short-sighted ill-advisers of the present times, so that it is incapable of doing towards the people of India anything that is wise, good, just and humane. On the contrary, it is always ready to do anything that is unwise, evil, unjust and inhuman at the bidding of a handful of mercantile adventurers and those favourite priests of Jehova whose god is the merciless God of Joshua and his gang rather than the Heavenly Father of Jesus Christ, so far as it can do so with impunity. Hence it is useless to expect anything good or great at the hands of the present Government. The only way which is open to us is to choose from amongst ourselves a resolute and capable man for our captain who is endowed by Providence with sufficient wisdom, goodness, energy and divine grace to steer the storm-tossed vessel-India as we see it today—to a safe harbour. And this man is, I doubt not, Mahatma-Gandhi.

Yours Sincerely,

DWIJENDRA NATH TAGORE.

**Hakim Ajmal Khan's ( President of the Indian National Congress) congratulations.**

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Mrs. Gandhi has received the following telegram from **Hakim Ajmal Khan** :-

“ Country's truest servants, your dear husband's conviction for no other offence than his uncompromising devotion to motherland can't fail to give most powerful impetus to our vital national activities and is sure to prove in the future foundation of Swaraj. I, therefore, congratulate not only yourself and your family, but the whole of India on Mahatma's conviction”.

**AJMAL KHAN,**

## “CARRY ON WORK”

### **Mahatma's Appeal to Bi Amman.**

Mahatmaji sent a farewell message soon after his conviction through Mr. Moazzam Ali to Bi Amman which runs as follows:—

“Tell Bi Amman to pray for me and for all of us and to carry on the work which we are leaving behind. Her prayers and work will be quite sufficient to ensure our quick release and success.”

### BI AMMAN'S REPLY.

Bi Amman appeared to be very much affected after receiving this message and said that she was feeling Mahatmaji's arrest and conviction as much as she did the arrest and conviction of her sons and has sent the following telegram to Mrs. Gandhi.—

“I am much touched receiving Mahatmaji's farewell message to me through you. I desire to assure him of carrying on his work to my best capacity in this old age until the achievement of our triple goal. Mahatmaji's incarceration in the Khilafat cause has still further strengthened Hindu-Muslim unity and much enabled our common religious and national struggle. I shall fervently continue to pray for his release as I do for my sons Shaukat and Mohammed

and all others who are in jail. Please convey my love and benedictions to him and Shankarlal his disciple and companion. By your noble struggle with him in South Africa you are already much seasoned home. You will not much brood over his absence from you and the children. God willing, he will soon be restored to us in greater glory. Love to Ramdas Devidas and grandchildren. I shall come to Ahmedabad after visiting Bijapur."

### APPEAL TO MUSLIM AND KHILAFAT COMMITTEES.

Bi Amman appeals to all Mussalmans of India in general and all workers and Khilafat Committees in particular to gird up their loins and work with tenfold zeal and energy. "Stand firm, prepare yourself fully to face the situation with undaunted courage and determined will. The greatest man in the world has sacrificed himself for the cause of Islam and the Khilafat. Let his incarceration in the path of truth and righteousness infuse fresh spirit in you and enable you to achieve our common goal with accelerated speed. When the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs are redressed and Swaraj attained, you will earn an everlasting fame in this world and handsome reward from God in the hereafter." She urges upon people to boycott foreign cloth and use Khaddar and keep Hindu-Muslim unity in tact. Bi Amman is shortly proceeding on Berar and Kathiawar tours after visiting Bijapur.

## SWAMI SHRADDHANAND'S APPEAL.

Swami Shraddhanand issued the following appeal to the country on the conviction of Mahatma Gandhi.

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DELHI,  
20—3—1922.

The last scene at the Ahmedabad Sessions Court manifested not only Mahatma Gandhi's personal triumph but great victory of non-violence over brute force. Not only should the Congress concentrate its energies solely on full constructive work but the whole country should respond to Mahatmaji's call by producing Khaddar, maintaining unity, removing untouchability, avoiding law courts, organising national education and maintaining non-violent atmosphere throughout. Let the Government, also, help by stopping repression and withdrawing repressive laws.

SHRADDHANAND.

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“MAINTAIN PERFECT UNITY.”

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MAULANA ABDUL BARI'S MESSAGE.

(From our Correspondent.)

Lucknow, March 20.

The following is Maulana Abdul Bari's message on Mahatma Gandhi's conviction:—

Mahatma Gandhi has been sentenced to six years. He has attained his object. I am convinced that all political Prisoners will suffer equal terms of imprisonment; they have received sentences in proportion to their services in national cause. Mahatma Gandhi deserves a heavier sentence than six years. Let us see who deserves transportation or death. There is every prospect that Non-co-operation will now gain greater force. I earnestly advise people to bear the sufferings patiently, using nothing but *Khaddar* popularising *Charkha*. But the most important thing, which I emphasised in my last speech is the maintenance of perfect unity between Musalmans and Hindus, as well as complete harmony between all classes of people. In the absence of this condition all movements will be paralysed. I pray God will help us to remain united.



MR. RAMCHANDRA RAO, elected member of the Madras Council and Member of the Liberal League.

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The arrest and incarceration of Mahatma Gandhi is a great political blunder that Government have committed. Even many of those who disapproved of Mr. Gandhi's political propoganda have expressed the view that the direction for prosecution was a great mistake. The incarceration of Mahatma Gandhi is likely to have an opposite effect on the people to that intended by Government. In the present circumstances the situation is full of anxiety. Nobody can say what the course of events is likely to be. Mr. Gandhi is the only man who can control the mass mind of India and has a remarkable hold on the muslim section of the Indian population. His incarceration has taken away from the scene the one man who can control the situation in case of an outbreak of violence.

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MR. RAMALINGAM CHATTIAR, Member of  
Madras Council.

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The conviction was a blunder; firstly because in his opinion, it is not going to stop the sort of agitation Mahatmaji was responsible for, and secondly because he is the one man who is really responsible for securing peace and order so far. The commanding hand of Mahatmaji having been removed, there is anxiety as to the future of the country.

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MR. KRISHNA NAIR, Member of Madras Council  
and leader of the Non-Brahman party in the Council.

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The arrest of Mahatma Gandhi at the present time is a mistake. Latterly Mr. Gandhi was attempting to check the activities of his unthinking followers. If the Government had arrested and prosecuted him a few months earlier there would have been nothing surprising in it; but why the Government thought of arresting and prosecuting him now was not quite clear. It is difficult to say what the consequence of his imprisonment will be; but it is not likely that it will lead to any disturbances or rioting in the country.

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## TRIBUTE TO THE MAHATMA.

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### PRESENT BITTERNESS.

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## Government of India Responsible

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### PANDIT MALAVYA'S APPEALS FOR A KHADDAR FUND.

At the Marwadi Vidyalaya last night, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya spoke on "The demands of the situation" in the presence of a very large gathering.

Pandit Malaviya said they were meeting there under the shadow of a great calamity which had befallen our country. He need hardly say that the arrest and imprisonment of the most revered Indian had filled the country with grief. It was unnecessary to say that the greatest proof of the influence of Mahatma Gandhi over his countrymen (cheers) had been given to us in the peace and order that had been maintained throughout the length and breadth of India in obedience to his wishes and instructions. The speaker offered his countrymen his sincere congratulation on the admirable restraint with which had borne this grief. He offered his tribute of

respect and admiration to Mahatma Gandhi for the spirit of discipline and selfrestraint which he had established over the minds of his countrymen in the short space of 18 months. There has been occasions in the past when the arrest of popular leaders had created consternation and troubles in cities and towns. But that the arrest and imprisonment of a man who was the very idol of the people, adored by the people, should be born with such calm dignity was the highest tribute to the work which Mr. Gandhi had carried on during the last 18 months. Mahatma Gandhi stood vindicated and those who had prosecuted and imprisoned him stood condemned by that very fact. (Cries of "Hear, hear" and Cheers). He hoped that out of their love for the Motherland, Indians would conduct themselves with the same calm dignity throughout the hard times which were likely to come and give them more troubles. They would not delight the heart of Mahatma Gandhi better, they would not satisfy him better than by observing absolute non-violence throughout the time of his undergoing incarceration for his country. He hoped that they follow the advice which Mr. Gandhi had given them to go on with their business silently and calmly although it was a very hard thing for them to do.

### UNJUST AND UNWISE.

Referring to the debate in the Council of State on the motion for adjournment of the House he said the Home Secretary had sought to justify and vindicate

prosecution of Mr. Gandhi. It was not necessary to say that the prosecution had been unjust and unwise. It was said by the Home Secretary that the Government could not allow Mahatma Gandhi to continue free after what had happened, that Government had waited patiently for a long time and that the time had come for when the Government felt it necessary to deprive him of his liberty in the interests of the public. The speaker said from the very inception of the programme of non-cooperation Mahatma Gandhi had insisted upon absolute non-violence; it was the very soul of non-cooperation. The speaker then gave an account of the events which took place since that programme started. Early in 1920 Government of India had proclaimed that they did not want to prosecute any man merely for preaching non-violent non-cooperation. Subsequently prosecutions were started, in the various provinces, of their leaders who wanted to vindicate their rights. Then came the apology of Ali Brothers at the instance of the Mahatma and after a time their imprisonment. Then came the visit of the Prince of Wales which was opposed by the great majority of the people in this country,—although personally he thought it was a great mistake—and the riots in Bombay for which Mahatma Gandhi had felt more than any man had performed due penance for the sins of his followers. After that the Europeans in Calcutta lost their heads completely and the Volunteers organisations were proclaimed.

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and this was done also in other provinces, as a result of which most of their great leaders like Lala Lajpatrai, Pandit Nehru and Mr. C. R. Dass were rolling in jail. It was the Government of India which was responsible for the present bitterness. Then come the crime Chauri Chaura and Mahatma Gandhi against postponed his mass civil disobedience programme against the wishes of his followers, and even in face of their opposition; he had then laid down a social programme which was acceptable to all, even to the Editor of the "Times of India" and another Anglo-Indian paper. The speaker then went on to discuss the Bardoli resolution and the subsequent Delhi resolutions which had laid down a constructive social programme. Mahatma Gandhi was however, arrested on his return from Ajmer where he had gone at the request of Mr. Chotani to preach against violence of some Muslem divines. But for his effort of his he was arrested by the Government of Bombay under the orders of the Government of India ("Shame"). The speaker asked them not to cry shame on the Government of India, but their own conditions which had brought them down to their present position. If they really felt the shame of their position then let them try to raise their country. The speaker then gave an account of the gradual change of mood on the part of the Government at the instance of the politicians and their Press in England, all of whom were crying for the head of Mr. Gandhi. Let them (Indians)

then resolve with all the strength of their soul for change in the system of Government which had made it possible for a man like Gandhi to be arrested. They must resolve that they would have full responsible Government or Swaraj, where the members of the Government of India would not be responsible to a Parliament that was six thousand miles away and who would not dare to carry orders which were, against the wishes of the people and their sentiments. That must be the resolve on the part of Indians if they wanted to see an early change in the system of Government.

### KHADI PROGRAMME.

Referring to the constructive programme he said every Indian should use handspun and hand woven Khaddar and discard all foreign clothing. He asked them to send a message to Mahatma Gandhi by raising a Khaddar Fund for the promotion and use of Khaddar all over the country. He appealed to everyone of them to contribute towards that fund if they had any feelings of respect and love for the Mahatma, in order that they might organise the production of Khaddar on a large scale. They must use Khaddar on humanitarian and religious grounds if not on political grounds. He was not apposed to the mill industry but millowners must not fix, excessive, prices. They must think it a shame to wear any kind of foreign clothes when so many of their countrymen

were dying of hunger and not fully clothed. If they could use Khaddar half the Swaraj was won, and the other half would be theirs soon.

### MONTAGU'S RESIGNATION.

Coming to the question of Mr. Montagu's resignation he said he was not a whole-hearted supporter of the Reforms and he thought his financial administration of the country had made people seriously to think. But he had resign for voicing their grievances—grievances of not only the Moslems, but also of their Hindu Brother who had stood by them. It had brought on a rebuke by Lord Curzon which he hoped, they would not forget but keep it in their memory as a reminder of the fallen position of this country, in spite of the protestation of the Government.

Coming to the question of men who had gone to jail for the sake of their principles the speaker said he had got 12,000 names of men who had been put into jails for merely technical offences and he was collecting more names, as there were more than 20,000 of their countrymen now rotting in jail.

Coming to the Reforms, he said they had in their train bought this country an additional taxation of Rs. 45 crores in addition to Secretary of States enormous borrowings at high rates of interest. With reference to Government he said the Government must know they were the servants of the people and

not their masters and as such they had no right to get angry with the people and they must not forget their share or responsibility in the attitude which people had taken up. It was a time for them to take a lesson from history that no Government could crush a spirit of a people. It was part of unwisdom to think that that the spirit of the people could be crushed by resorting to repression for a sufficiently long time. It was time for the Government to change their policy of repression.

Coming to the failings of Non-co-operation, he asked them to be tolerant of their co-operator friends and not unjustly to condemn them. Sir Dinshaw Wacha had complained to him that for fear of being hooted down he was unable to appear on public platforms. Such feelings should this appear for ever. He asked his co-operator friends to co-operate with Non-co-operators, and *vice versa*. About the construction side of the programme he asked people of all shades and opinions to join the Congress, as its creed was wide enough for all. They were drafting a scheme of complete Swaraj for the country, which would fully answer the charges of those people who said that they had no programme and that they did not know their own minds. That scheme would fully be considered by a united committee of all parties and when approved placed before the country for its acceptance. It would then be placed before the British people and the people in this country would be educated to it.

## THE JUDGMENT

(By T. Prakasam)

Mahatma Gandhi's trial and conviction on the 18th of March 1922 in the city of Ahmedabad marks out a new epoch in the history of the world. A parallel to this can be found only in the life of Jesus or in that of Pralhad. Gandhi who was described before 18th of March as "the greatest man of the world" has shown on that day, by the plea recorded by him before the Court of Law and by the message of Truth and Non-violence he sent forth to the world, that he is higher than man. He has demonstrated to the world that it is possible for man to detach the body from the soul before death and surrender it to the opponent to be dealt with as he pleased. With his dear wife and children and friends and co-workers seated round him in Court—most of them with tears in their eyes—Mahatma Gandhi in unfaltering voice claimed responsibility for the murderous riots of his countrymen, whose faces he never knew and whose identity even as his followers is unascertained, and invited the judge to inflict the severest penalty (transportation for life) on him as he had no extenuating circumstance to plead from his stand-point of Truth. If the judge were Justice Davar, the plea of Gadhi may have got him even sentence of death on a separate charge under the present system of Government. It is impossible to believe that there could be a man like this in this world. His plea for Truth drew tears of

blood even from those few who seemed to have doubted his sincerity and attributed motives to him, when he suspended civil disobedience after Chauri Chaura tragedy. The judge, Mr. Broomfield, who came on the bench with a suppressed synical smile was so overpowered after hearing Mahatmaji that he could not pause to assign judicial reasons for his conviction.

His judgment is more an apology. It is not Gandhi that was convicted and sentenced; but it is the Bureaucracy that has been condemned to death by his incarceration. The fact, about twenty-five thousand of his co-workers and followers had already gone to jail refusing to plead, is itself unprecedented in the history of the world. His trial and imprisonment and his message of love and peace ought to be sufficient to secure freedom for his country. He has rendered immeasurable service to the general cause of peace and unity, of good that forms the highest tradition of this land. It is for the country to fulfil his message and deserve the Kingdom of God, for which he has been pleading. He expect the jail gate to be opened for him by the Swaraj Parliament and it will be possible only if the country maintains the four pillars of Swaraj so well founded by him. I have no doubt the country will respond as cheerfully and promptly as possible. I am glad I have lived to work under him and witnessed what I have been witnessing these few days in this city. Personally, I feel all this is more than Swaraj.



## SIR, G. K. PAREKH'S VIEW.

Interviewed by a representative of "Bombay Chronicle" Sir G. K. Parekh regretted that the Government were forced to take action against such a saintly person as Mahatma Gandhi and said in his opinion in the whole of India there has not been a single selfless and more patriotic politician than Mahatma Gandhi.

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## MAHATMA'S ARREST IMPORTUNE.

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### SPIRIT WILL NEVER BE KILLED.

Asked his opinion in regard to the arrest conviction of Mahatma Gandhi, Mr. H. P. Mody said: In my opinion Mr. Gandhi has been arrested at a psychologically wrong moment. But I am not surprised at it because the Government of India has within the last few years developed a positive genius for doing things at the wrong moment. If the arrest had taken place immediately after say—the Bombay riot or Chauri Chaura, Tragedy then it could not well have been said that it was unjustifiable. Mr. Gandhi had challenged authority and he himself could have been the last man to complain if he had been arrested. As matters stand however it appears from the Bardoli and Delhi decisions that bitter experience was gradually forcing the conviction upon Mr. Gandhi that the country was not ripe for receiving his doctrines and carrying them into effect in the manner he desired. It appears to me therefore a singularly importune moment for arrest.

About the sentence what can one say except that the object was to get Mr. Gandhi out of the way for a number of years till the political conditions settled down to admit of his release.

Well, it does not strike me as severe. I am inclined to think Mr. Gandhi will be treated with the

greatest consideration while he is in prison. The conduct of the presiding Judge was admirable. The whole trial was conducted on all sides with dignity. Nothing has become of Mr. Gandhi during his remarkable political career so much as his extremely dignified and impressive exit from the political stage for the time being. It must enhance the admiration of all for his wonderful personality. In like manner nothing in the non-co-operation movement has impressed me so much as the admirable restraint which his followers have viewed the disappearance of the great apostle of the movement. This I am free to admit in spite of the fact that I do not believe in the Non-co-operation movement, particularly so as I belong to the school of Pherozeshah Mehta and Gokhale, sturdy patriots who never lost heart amidst the greatest discouragement.

I am of the opinion that the removal of his towering personality will rob Non-co-operation of all the tremendous driving force which lay behind his personality. However that may be, I am sure that the spirit behind the movement will never be killed, though various external aspects in which it is manifesting itself at the present moment may disappear. It is imperative therefore that some solution must be found for the three outstanding questions of the hour. It is a thousand pities that the Government of India in spite of Mr. Gandhi's ostensible unbending attitude at the Representative Conference should have

refused to meet at a Round Table the various section of Indian political opinion. In any event, after the Bardoli decision it seemed as if the necessary atmosphere the Government of India required had been created and though that decision was somewhat qualified at the All-India Congress Committee's Session at Delhi the extreme step to arrest Mr. Gandhi ought not to have been resorted to until all avenues to a peaceful settlement had been explored. It seems to me that the Government have for some years past not known their own minds. They appear to be afraid to strike at the right moment, and carry their patience sometimes to inordinate lengths but when they do strike, they sieze the psychologically wrong moment so that they often fail to carry with them even the moderate section of Indian public opinion. However that may be, I wish the Government would realize that they have not done with the non co-operation movement by simply arresting Mr. Gandhi. There are forces at work which will always threaten the the peace of the country and unless a real effort is made to understand the motive power behind them the country must continue to remain in the throes of a dangerous unrest.

## IMPETUS TO SWADESHI.

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### SIR DINSHAW PETIT ON MAHATMA'S CONVICTION.

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Sir D. M. Petit interviewed said :

Q.—Do you think the arrest and prosecution of Mahatma Gandhi was a proper move on the part of Government at this time ?

A.—No not after the Bardoli resolutions.

Q.—What do you think the effect of this prosecution will be on the public ? Do you think it will be good ?

A.—It will give a greater impetus to the use of Khaddar, and also to the Swadeshi movement.

Q.—Was it in the interest of the Government to have prosecuted and sentenced Mahatma Gandhi ?

A.—I do not think so, at this stage, even in their own interest. They might have done it earlier.

## The Unconquerable Soul.

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Mr. Marmaduke Pickthall in "Hind Mitra":—The news of the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi reached us on board the "Naldera" soon after leaving Marseilles. The news of the sentence never was made public to the passengers, but known to a chosen few, it leaked out somehow, and after Aden everyone had heard of it. These events, though not unexpected, came as a painful shock to all the Indian passengers. Some of the English seemed content with them. To me, an English lover of Mahatma, who had hoped up to the last, the British Government of India would not proceed to the arrest of such a man, it seemed and still appears a great disaster, more for England than for India, since it removes the sanest head that any struggling nation had, at a most critical moment. The perfect quiet in obedience to Mahatma's own injunctions which India has been able to preserve at such a time, shows his influence in the manner that he always wished it to be shown, in national self-discipline, and self-control. It shows that Mahatma though in prison, still remains the Soul of India, the unconquerable Soul.

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# TENSION OF FEELING IN MADRAS.

GLOWING ANGLO-INDIAN TRIBUTE.

“GOVT. SHOULD HAVE WON MAHATMAJI OVER.”

( From Our Correspondent. )

MADRAS, Mar. 19.

The news of Mahatma Gandhiji's trial and sentence reached Madras papers early last night. One Section of the public that had no authentic information entertained fears that the sentence on Mahamaji might not be six years simple but one of deportation. Tension of feeling in the public mind last night can hardly be described, and their anxiety had only too strong a basis, as it proved this morning. The morning special supplement of the "Hindu" bore the news of Mahatmaji's trial.

The "Passer-by", in his diary in this morning's Anglo-Indian paper the "Daily Express" says "Messr. Gandhi and Banker have been sent need. Six years to Mr. Gandhi is to my mind a punishment out of all proportion. Whether non-co-operation lies low or not is immaterial to our consideration, if this sentence is likely to stir feelings after all. India contains

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no more honest soul, no more patriotic publicist. It would have been far wiser for the Government to have won him over to their side. Mr. Banker has been given one year among the adherents of Mr. Gandhi. I know of no more unostentatious straight-forward, sincere, and lovable man than Mr. Shankerlal. I cannot help contrasting him with his friend, Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas. This bumptious legislator at one time cried at the top of his voice "we shall all go to goal" though he never had the courage to do so. Not similarly blatant and more capable of hard work and true sacrifice, Mr. Shankerlal to-day faces the gaol. The amount of solid achievement to his credit is great. Could he have seen his way to be out of prison and continue his constructive work it would have been so much the better for public life. I mark his incarceration with genuine regret."

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**Resolutions from Public Bodies  
in India and outside India.**

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# INDIA'S MESSAGE.

AHMEDABAD, MARCH 18TH.

The Congress Working Committee met just after Mahtmaji's conviction and passed the following resolution :—

“ This Committee while realising that Mahatma Gandhi's conviction deprives the country of the guidance of its universally trusted beloved leader rejoices that through him India delivers to the world even in her bondage her ancient message of truth and non-violence ”.

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## "CARRY OUT GANDHIJI'S WISHES."

### KHILAFAT COMMITTEE'S APPEAL.

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The Hon. Secretary of the Central Khilafat Committee's writes :—

News has been received from Ahmedabad that Mahatma Gahdhiji has been sentenced to six years imprisonment and that the "mute" and popular Secretary of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee and Swarajya Sabha, Mr. Sankerlal Banker has been punished with one year's simple imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 1000. The Central Khilafat Committee takes this opportunity to appeal to all the citizens, particularly the Musalmans of Bombay to preserve perfect peace and order in the city and to observe no hartal and to make no demonstration of their indignation and excitement. The patience and perseverance of people are, no doubt put to a very severe test, but it is confidently hoped they will come out successful in this hour of trial. Let all people peacefully carry out of Mahatmaji's programme with strict observance of non-voilence, and consider Mahatmaji's incarceration as a mark of India's freedom. Victory is won only if the people stand firm, and hold themselves under prose control at this critical time. The the greatest-man among us has done his most valuable services to our religion and country. He has



accomplished his remarkable task. He has set before us and everlasting example of self-sacrifice and fearless courage. Let us all follow in his footsteps with our heart and soul, and submit ourselves entirely to the Supreme Will. The Holy Quran says: 'Do not disappoint in God's favours'. Let us all trust in the Almighty Allah and follow his commandments up to the last. India has, today, sacrificed her greatest man for her freedom, and the greatest sacrifice will produce the greatest results. Let India's sons honour their revered and beloved leader by carrying out his commands, and wear handspun and hand-woven khadi, boycott foreign cloth, use Charkha, promote unity among all nationalities of India, and observe peacefully the programme of the Khilafat and Congress Committees.

The following resolution was passed at a meeting of the working Committee of the Central Khilafat Committee of India held at Chotany House Bombay on the 26th and 27th March 1922 under the Presidency of Seth Mian Mohammad Haji Jan Mahammad Chotani:—

This meeting while placing on record the unparalleled and magnificent service of Mahatma Gandhiji to the cause of the country in general and the maintenance of the integrity of the Khilafat in particular, which are beyond all appreciation and human praise, heartily congratulates the people of

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India on the perfect peace and order preserved throughout the country after Mahatmaji's arrest and incarceration and expresses its gratification that this atmosphere of perfect calmness clearly shows that the whole country has not only carried out Mahatmaji's wishes but has also brought nearer the goal of success by acting upon the programme of non-violence.

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PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE  
CONGRATULATE MAHATMA GANDHI.

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At a sitting of the Assam Provincial Congress Committee held at Golaghat, the following resolution, among others was proposed from the the chair and was unanimously passed :-

“That this meeting of the Assam Provincial Congress Committee, on behalf of the people of Assam, offers their hearty congratulations to Mahatma Gandhi on his arrest on the 10th of March, and expresses their deep gratitude towards him for his uncommon self-sacrifice and incomparable service to the country; and by way of showing their respects to him it affirms its strong determination to follow his advice and to carry out steadily and peacefully the duties enjoined by the Working and the All India Congress Committees at their recent sittings at Bardoli and Delhi.”

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GUJRAT PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

Gujrat Provincial Congress Committee in its March 26th meeting has resolved that Mahatma Gandhi has enhanced the glory of India and placed Gujrat under heavy debt by accepting imprisonment while serving the country with signal devotion.

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## COUNCIL OF STATE.

### MOTION FOR ADJOURNMENT.

#### CONVICTION OF MR. GANDHI.

Delhi, March 20.

After question -time Syed Raza Ali asked for leave to move for adjournment to discuss the policy of the Government, as evidenced by the prosecution of Mr. Gandhi and its effect on the country.

The president wanted to know how this motion referred to a specific matter of recent occurrence.

Mr. Raza Ali maintained that it was a specific matter in so far as it related to Mr. Gandhi's prosecution and it was recent because the sentence was delivered only on Saturday, since when there had been no meeting of the Council. The arrest was, no doubt, made on the 10th of this month, but as long as the case was *sub judice* it was not open to any member to bring that matter before the Council. Now that the trial was over, the subject was one which fell within the cognizance of this House.

The hon. Mr. O'Donnell, on behalf of the Government, made it clear that the prosecution of Mr. Gandhi involved no departure from the policy of the Government. It was perfectly true Mr. Gandhi might have been proceeded against early. The Government had not done so far reasons which would

be manifest. They had hoped that the non-cooperation movement would kill itself. They were reluctant to proceed against a man of high personal character as Mr. Gandhi, a man who had not himself been guilty of direct incitement to violence and a man who had secured a hold upon a large number of people. The Government had deferred action as long as they could. They had given the non-cooperation party an opportunity of revising its attitude after the Bardoli resolutions. The non-cooperation party had not taken that opportunity and the Government, therefore, came to the conclusion that they could no longer hold their hand. The prosecution of Mr. Gandhi in no way involved any alteration in the attitude or policy of the Government. There had been a number of prosecutions of other non-cooperators precisely under the same sections as those under which proceedings had been taken against Mr. Gandhi and it was perfectly open to any member of this council months and months ago to have raised this question of policy of the Government.

Mr. Raza Ali said what he wanted to point out in the discussion were the severity of the sentence on Mr. Gandhi and the pace (?) of the reforms that were to be introduced in this country.

*The President.*—I see that Mr. Raza Ali wants to raise the general question of policy. After hearing the Hon. Mr. O'Donnell I am of opinion that there has been no change in the policy. I disallow the motion.

## **EFFECT OF MAHATMA'S ARREST.**

**ANTI-N.C.O'S JOINING CONGRESS.**

( FROM A CORRESPONDENT. )

**BANGALORE, March 20.**

The news of Mahatma's conviction reached here on Sunday morning and spread immediately throughout the town. A public meeting largely attended, was held last evening, when it was unanimously resolved to convey to Mrs. Gandhi that Mahatma's conviction was received here with perfect calmness but that in the opinion of the meeting the arrest and conviction were highly importune and sentences vindictive. The meeting was further of opinion that the conviction would greatly help in welding together all section of the people, irrespective of political differences. The meeting was glad to note that persons standing aloof up till now had readily agreed to co-operate with Congress workers to make the constructive programme a complete success.

## **EFFECT OF MAHATMA'S ARREST.**

**JUBBULPORE BOYCOTTS FOREIGN CLOTH.**

( FROM A CORRESPONDENT. )

**JUBBULPUR, March 18.**

A meeting of cloth merchants was held on the

16th to extend the period of their pledge not to send for any foreign cloth. Baboo Govind Dass and Shyamsunder Bhargava addressed the meeting. The Mahatma's arrest had produced such influence that merchants, who on similar occasions had hesitated to pledge even for a month, enthusiastically agreed to extend the period for six months. The quantity of foreign cloth which amounted to not less than rupees twenty lakhs worth in market has come down to not more than rupees two lakhs worth now. All other reconstructive work is going on with great enthusiasm.

### **NAGPUR'S PROTEST.**

NAGPUR, March 20.

The Secretary of the Nagpur Congress Committee wires, under date March 20th, to effect that there was a largely attended public meeting held on Sunday last to condemn the Government action of arresting, convicting and imprisoning Mahatma Gandhi and to resolve with firmer determination to carry out the Congress programme to its very logical conclusion of attaining Swarajya.

### **AGRA'S TRIBUTE.**

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT.)

AGRA, March 26.

A huge public meeting attended by about 8,000



persons was held last night to congratulate Mahatma Gandhi on his long sentence. Messrs. Devidas Gandhi and Rajendra Prasad of Behar, who were here delivered impressive speeches on the constructive programme of the day.

Vigorous efforts are being made to spread Swadeshi.

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## **BURHANPUR'S TRIBUTE.**

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( FROM A CORRESPONDENT. )

BURHANPUR, March 22.

The news of the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi and again his sentence had a profound effect on the people, and they implicitly obeyed the instruction regarding the avoidance of any demonstrations.

Last night, there was a mass meeting at Gandhi Chowk, at which Maulana Abdul Kayum proposed, and after seconding, passed a resolution congratulating Mahatma Gandhi in appropriate terms.

Loyal Congress and Khilafat workers announced the formation of regular Panchayat courts which work was hitherto carried irregularly. This news has created sufficient enthusiasm and workers expect more constructive work now.

## Resignations as a protest.

“BANDE MATARAM”

March 27th 1922.

Lala Har Dayal M. A., LL. B., Senior Sub Judge, Kambelpur (Punjab) having 22 years service to his credit resigned his post on 23rd March 1922 as a protest against incarceration of Mahatma Gandhi and the repressive policy of the Government.

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“BOMBAY CHRONICLE”

March 14th 1922.

Mr. H. B. Shivādasani, I.C.S., Assistant Collector, Southern Prant Surat, has rendered his resignation as a protest against the action of Government in arresting Mahatma Gandhi.

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AS PROTEST AGAINST MAHATMAJI'S  
CONVICTION.

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SURAT,  
March 27th, 1922.

Mr. Dinanath K. Ingreji, a member of the Surat Bar gives up his practice as a lawyer, as a protest against Mahatma Gandhi's incarceration. He is the first member of the Surat Bar who has given up his practice.

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# MAHATMA'S IMPRISONMENT.

## HARTAL IN ZANZIBAR

### LADIES TAKE SWADESHI VOW.

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT.)

ZANZIBAR, Mar. 15.

On receipt of the cable news of the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi, the Indian National Association, Zanzibar, proclaimed the following programme to be observed by the Indian communities of Zanzibar, with the strict injunction to maintain absolute non-violence:—

Sunday the 13th March—Hartal. Monday the 14th March public prayers by the various Indian communities in their respective places of worship in the morning and in the afternoon a public meeting in the Shaksi compound to offer congratulations to Mahatmaji on his arrest for the cause of the country and pray for him and those arrested in the cause and an early peace compatible with the dignity of the Mother-country. Thursday the 16 Hartal.

The programme was so perfectly and enthusiastically observed that there is an impression that

never before in Zanzibar was such a public demonstration seen.

The meeting, which was well attended, was presided over by Mr. Yusufali A. Karimji. Many persons took the oath to wear Swadeshi clothes. The principal speakers were Miasaheb Sheik Ibrahimji, Mr. Anantani and Mr. S. R. Dikshit.

On Tuesday a public meeting of Indian ladies was called in the Shakshi house of the Mahale Hasani Bohora School. A very large number of Hindoo and Moslem ladies attended. Mr. Anantani addressed the meeting. More than 50 ladies, including Purdah ladies of the Mahomedan community, took oath never to use foreign clothes in future. One Mahomedan lady by name Banu Sherbanu, whose principal business is to deal in foreign-made clothes for ladies, took the vow to abandon that business altogether and leave wearing those clothes herself.

Many ladies are reported to have burnt foreign clothes independently in their respective houses and gurfas.

Complete peace and quiet prevailed throughout.

The following resolution was adopted at the public meeting:—

That this mass meeting of the Indian communities of Zanzibar held under the auspices of the Indian National Association tenders its heartfelt congratulations to the foremost Indian passive resister the dicator

o the Congress, and the greatest leader in the present righteous struggle for the freedom of India, Mahatma Mohandas Karmchand Gandhi, on his arrest in the cause of the Motherland India and places on record its sense of great concern for the present policy of the Government in the interest of India and the Empire and prays for an early peace compatible with the National dignity of India and Empire.

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## MESSAGE FROM DURBAN

( SOUTH AFRICA )

BE TRUE TO MAHATMA GANDHI.

DURBAN, March, 18th 1922.

The mass meeting of the Natal Indian Congress trusts men and women of India will be true to the ideal and teaching of Mahatma Gandhijee in his absence, practising nonviolent non-cooperation, respecting life and property. The Indians are proud of Mrs. Gandhi—a noble example for India's womanhood and an inspiration to the patient and long suffering Indians to be true to themselves and their country.

Tuesday was observed as the day of prayer. All business closed.

FROM ZECRUSTTUL.

"Indian community deploras and protests the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi and fully support his aims. Convey our sincere congrats to Mahatma. Indian Community.



## NAIROBI INDIAN'S CONGRATULATIONS

### ON MAHATMA GANDHI'S ARREST.

A Nairobi message dated 19th instant states that at a mass meeting held there on Tuesday last under the auspices of the Indian Congress resolutions were adopted congratulating Mahatma Gandhi and Kasturi Bai on the former's arrest and regarding its conviction that Mr. Gandhi's arrest was sure to hasten the attainment of Swaraj by India. A second Resolution strongly protested against the arrest of Mr. Gandhi as he did no criminal act but was carrying the most honest and open fight for Swaraj, Khilafat wrong and Punjab atrocities. Another resolution strongly urging the Imperial Government to grant Swaraj to India to remove Khilafat injustice and to make amends for the Punjab atrocities at the earliest possible moment, thus removing all causes of friction between the people and the Indian Government and release all political prisoners. A further resolution recorded the sense of gratitude for the unique services rendered to India and Indians overseas by Mr. Montagu as Secretary of State for India and keenly felt the loss of his service.

*Delhi,*

17-3-22.

## **MESSAGE FROM AMERICA.**

NEW YORK,

March 22nd.

The Indian residents of New York send Mahatma Gandhi their whole hearted congratulations on the arrest. They hope will mark the beginning of India's freedom.

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## Mr. GANDHI'S ARREST.

### MEETING OF INDIAN STUDENTS IN LONDON.

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT.)

LONDON, March 16.

Mahatma Gandhi's arrest was confirmed here late in the evening of the 10th March, and in response to the great popular demand for a meeting of the Indian students in London to express their sense of grief and their participation in the sufferings of the nation, a meeting was held at the Indian Students' Union and Hostel on Saturday, the 11th. After an appeal from the chair at the outset to those assembled not to do or speak anything that Mahatma Gandhi would not wish for, approve of, and to show no ill-feeling or hatred, even so much by a word, resolutions were passed to observe a complete fast and to hold two meetings for prayer, wherein all should join, on Sunday the 12th. It was also resolved to collect contributions for the Tilak Swaraj Fund during the next week. A committee of eight, representing various part of India, was appointed to draft and send a cable to India, and to consider the advisability of organizing a public demonstration. The committee, which met immediately after the meeting, sent the the following cable to the All-India Congress

Committee:—'London Indian students share nation's suffering'. As to the demonstration, it was decided in view of the fact that a similar organisation was being considered by the London Indian Association on a much bigger scale, that no separate demonstration should be undertaken

Sunday, the 12th was a day of complete mourning. The lounge of the Shakespeare Hut, which is very much alive, and full of merriment on every Sunday, though crowded today, was pervaded all day by a strange calmness and unuttered grief. Every one moved and spoke quietly, almost in whispers. The restaurant, a bigbooming, buzzing rendezvous, was almost completely deserted. A meeting was held for prayers at midday. Collection for the fund was carried on all the afternoon.

In accordance with Mahatmaji's advice the usual programme of the evening was not interrupted, and the evening lecture and discussion took place as usual, with the exception of the concert programme. Instead a meeting of the Indian men and women in London, and of several European friends, was held, prayers were offered in Zind, Sanskrit, English, etc. by Parsees, Mahomedans, Hindus and Christians and the proceedings terminated with the singing of *Vande Mataram*. The scene was the most impressive in any Indian's memory in London. Before the day was over nearly £ 100 ( Rs.1,500 ) was collected for the Tilak Swaraj Fund.

**Press comments on the Arrest of  
Mahatma Gandhi.**

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“*Bombay Chronicle*” March 13th 1922.

### PRESERVE PEACE.

Mahatma Gandhi has been arrested. He is charged with sedition. He will be tried. He will not defend himself and may be sent to jail. His trial will not consist in the proceedings in the Court, but in the manner in which the people throughout the Country conduct themselves. “It would be a sad commentary upon my preaching of, and upon the Congress and Khilafat pledge of non-violence”, he says in his article in the current issue of *Young India*, “if my incarceration was to be signal for a storm all over the country”. If even in a single village in the country there is an outbreak of violence, that reprehensible manifestation of misguided love for him will break his heart. His incarceration, as he himself says, will give him a quiet and physical rest which no one in the country deserves more than he. It is, therefore, not so much he as the people who are on trial. There is no Indian who does not love him. There is no Indian who does not honour him. As Mr. Sastri wrote of him recently:—

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“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 ways or stone images: they may cleanse us, if they do after a long period. A saintly man purifies us at sight”,

How shall, then, we, whether non-cooperators or cooperators, prove that the homage we pay such a man is genuine? There is only one way—that is, by obeying his last injunction. As he himself says, he would regard the observance of perfect peace on his arrest as a mark of high honour paid to him by his countrymen. And we can best preserve peace by concentrating all our efforts on carrying out the work to which he intended to devote himself—the constructive programme of the Congress framed at Bardoli—a work in the performance of which all of us whatever our political differences can combine. If that work is to be done well, perfect peace must be preserved. Therefore, we must all conduct ourselves as though nothing has happened. There must be no hartals, no demonstrations and no processions. Peace must be maintained at all cost. As we love our country, let there be no outburst of anger. As we love our leader, let there be no violence, no hatred, no illwill. Let us all carry on the work in peace and in the service of the country.

"*Bombay Chronicle*" 17th March 1922.

THE MAHATMA'S MESSAGE.

Mahatma Gandhi is the most consistent of men. His remarks to the Ahmedabad Millowners' representatives who interviewed in the goal might well have been anticipated by the interviewers—as indeed might be the case in regard to any interview with Mahatma at any given moment and under any circumstances. Mahatma Gandhi is a man of one idea. That idea, however, is a comprehensive one and embraces all the truth of life—and indeed life itself. The Mahatma leads India and the world to a new order in which the force of love and not of hate, will govern the destinies of men and nations. Wherefore, in his interview in Ahmedabad goal with prominent millowners the Mahatma was careful to lay the greatest possible stress on the one paramount duty of practising and preaching complete non-violence. The next move of the nation is to preserve non-violence. This is the Mahatma's advice, and the Mahatma remains the nation's leader even when he is incarcerated in Ahmedabad goal. If the nation can make this move successful, it will have progressed far on the road along which the Mahatma leads it. And, happily, for India's cause up to the time of writing India as a whole has responded most loyally and nobly to the Mahatma's appeal. Though the danger period has not yet passed, we are of opinion

that it will pass without any manifestation of the spirit of violence which alone has hitherto stood in our path blocking the way towards Freedom. And even as the maintenance of non-violence under the suspicion of our critics that we are indifferent to passing events, is a great test of our self-control, so also must we come successfully through the test which enjoins us to boycott foreign cloth. When we have won these victories over ourselves we will have won Swaraj. That is the Mahatma's message. It has been his message from the beginning.

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### *Young India*

#### ARREST AND AFTER.

The long expected has happened at last. The wished for, longed for consummation has been reached. Mr. Gandhi pined for his arrest and imprisonment by the Government under which it became intolerable for him to live. His heart's desire has been fulfilled. He now feels himself free, though imprisoned.

Even from the 8th instant the rumour of his arrest began to thicken. He left for Ajmere that day on an urgent invitation from Mr. Chhotani by an afternoon train, and it was even whispered that he

might be arrested on the way. Nothing however happened then. In the meantime the rumour was growing from hour to hour. A suspicious telegram from Ajmere made Mr. Gandhi and some others to run up to the Sabarmati station to see him safely return. He reached the *Ashram* in the afternoon of the 10th as free as ever and as if bursting under the weight of his simple and child-like joy.

At the *Ashram* the rumour of the last two days was being received with calm and stolid indifference. For, there have been so many final partings since he had decided to start civil disobedience in November last that the ideas of arrest, imprisonment or even worse became quite common and familiar. So the daily routine of work of the *Ashram* was not disturbed in the least by these rumours. Only when the day wore on, the evening came and the bell rang out the hour of prayer, there was a sudden hush all around as all the *Ashramites* proceeded with anxious and hasty steps to join their *Bapu* in his last prayer, perhaps for a long time to come. He was unusually light and happy and played with the children like one of their own spreading the contagion of his lightness and happiness all round.

After the prayer he returned to his work as usual and dictated replies to some correspondence. During this time, friends continued to come to see him from the city, bringing tit-bits of news all of which went to confirm the prevailing rumour.

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### INCIDENTS OF ARREST.

Mr. Gandhi arose at about quarter to ten for his last ablutions before retiring and the small assembly that had all this time surrounded him began to disperse. Mr. Banker who had come with Mr. Shvaib and Mrs. Anusuyaben to confirm the strength of the rumour also departed at that time. A few minutes after, Mr. Shvaib returned with Anusuyaben and brought the news that Mr. Banker was arrested and that the superintendent of police was waiting on the road for Mr. Gandhi's arrest. The news spread in a minute throughout the *Ashram* quarters and almost all the inmates, men, women and children, hastened to Mr. Gandhi to bid him farewell and have his blessings. At his desire, his favourite Gujarati hymn which describes the qualities of a true *vaishnava* was sung in chorus. After this he accosted each one of the *Ashramites* in suitable terms, encouraged them all by his sprightliness and abundant joy and then prepared to surrender himself. While proceeding from his residence to the police officer on the road he expressed himself several times that he felt very happy and gratified over the arrest.

### A HAPPY MEETING.

Maulana Hasrat Mohani who travelled with Mr. Gandhi from Ajmere by the same train and stopped at Ahmedabad came to the *Ashram* just before the arrival of the police commissioner and when Mr.

Gandhi had retired for his ablutions. Mr. Gandhi was supremely happy when he met the Maulana just before his arrest. They embraced each other with feelings of mutual esteem and regard. The Maulana seemed to have been deeply moved by this and assured Mr. Gandhi that he would give his whole-hearted support to the cause of nonviolent non-cooperation.

#### INSIDE THE JAIL.

Both Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Banker were taken to the Sabarmati jail. Mrs. Gandhi with a small company of four or five was allowed to accompany them and see them lodged in their quarters, which consists of a row of eight rooms with an open verandah about 10 feet wide and a fairly large courtyard with a line of small trees in the middle. The two rooms given to them are furnished each with an iron cot, a mattress, two sheets, a pillow, a blanket and a carpet. Light is provided in the evening. The doors of the rooms are made of wooden frames, the planks about six inches wide with thick iron bars fixed in them, the distance between two bars being a little over an inch. The whole place was scrupulously clean.

#### BEFORE THE TRYING MAGISTRATE.

The next day they were produced before the trying magistrate, Mr. Allan Brown I. C. s., who held his court at the commissioner's office, outside the city proper and under the shelter of the cantonment and easily accessible by rail from Sabarmati. The news



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was kept a secret. Yet a good many spectators who were permitted by the magistrate attended the trial. Five witnesses consisting of D. S. P. Mr. Healey, the Registrar of the Bombay High Court. Mr. Dinshaw Gharda, Mr. Chatfield, the district magistrate of Ahmedabad, a sub-inspector and a C. I. D. subordinate of police were examined by the prosecutor on the Government side. There were two issues on which these evidences were taken and articles from *Young India* were read before the court, viz., (1) proving the editorship and (2) proving the intention of the articles. These were simple issues upon which several precious hours of the day were uselessly spent simply to keep up the forms of law. But it appeared to me unreasonable that so much time should be taken to prove a selfevident fact. There was also an air of artificiality or theatricality about the whole business. The dignity and aloofness maintained by the trying magistrate even while taking down statements from his friends, colleagues and superiors had an element of acting which was admirably done: similary the deference shown to the chair of justice irrespective of the person who may occupy it for the time being. Perhaps these are matters of tradition which grow upon those whose daily duty is to practise them. But to a new observer they appear incongruous, out of place and unnatural, although dignified and invested with gravity and splendour.

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*Justice.*

We cannot help remarking that his arrest at this particular juncture strikes us as a step which lacks full justification in view of the recent pronouncements of Mr. Gandhi and the changed angle of vision that was perceptible in his writings. We could have understood his arrest when civil disobedience was started at Bardoli. Even later when the Congress Committee met at Delhi and resolved upon individual and group civil disobedience, his arrest could have been justified. But his arrest at the present juncture, we hold, is inexpedient and inopportune. If we turn to the latest issue of *Young India* of the 9th instant in an article 'If I am arrested', we see Mr. Gandhi suspending civil disobedience in *toto*. The article as a whole gives us the impression that Mr. Gandhi was slowly coming to realise the danger of the present crisis and swerving round from the position he had originally maintained. He gives sufficient evidence in that article that he is fully aware of the dangers of the situation and shows an inclination to retrace his steps. Taking into consideration the fact that Mr. Gandhi, apart from those who subscribe to his politics, has succeeded in winning many admirers in the country, not a few of whom are men of light and influence, and considering also the general economic discontent that prevails in the country, we think it would have been more in keeping with the liberal

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traditions of the British race to have abstained from this hasty step of dubious utility.

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*Daily Express*

As the definite reasons of the Government for their latest step are not before us, we are not in a position to comment fully on the developments. We can only reiterate that there is much to be said for the view expounded by Sir J. D. Rees in Parliament that 'Gandhi arrested may be more dangerous than Gandhi free, Matters have come to such a pass that it is not a solitary individual but the spirit of anarchy that non-cooperation has let loose that has to be grappled with by true statesmanship. We are constrained to express our belief that the step now embarked upon by Lord Reading's Government is not a step in the right direction. It is not likely to act as an extinguisher it may perhaps snuff up the candle to a violent splutter. The last two or three issues of *Young India* show clearly that the conviction has been growing steadily upon Mr. Gandhi that non-cooperation from beginning to end has been one long folly. And as few people have the courage of their conviction to such a degree as Mr. Gandhi, who knows but that he might even have tried to

achieve the impossible and undo as far as it was possible for mortal man to do, the mischief he has done? But it is no use speculating on the might have been Mr. Gandhi has been arrested and time alone must show how, if at all, his arrest will affect the situation.

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### *Bengali*

At the time and under these circumstances we do not think that the arrest of Mr. Gandhi can be justified. Rightly or wrongly he enjoyed the reputation for great sanctity in the eyes of the enormous majority of the people. That he has laboured and suffered in the cause of the country no one will venture to deny; that he has evoked a new spirit in the Indian masses hitherto regarded as silent and apathetic is writ plain on the pages of Indian History for the last two years. Past actions and circumstances cannot justify the arrest of a man like him at the present moment. Unless the Government is able to place before the public new facts, it would be idle to pretend that his arrest will not be looked upon as dictated by the reactionary party in England. If this cannot be done and if the arrest is based upon writings and speeches delivered long ago, we think the Government has been guilty of a grave blunder. Those who

are accustomed to read the future in the entrails of the present, will be forgiven if they see great trouble ahead, trouble which we fear has been needlessly courted by Government by its action at a time, when it can be hardly justified.

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*Madras Mail.*

Mr. Gandhi has been arrested. This is the best news we have been able to give our readers for many a long day. It is news which if the Extremists really mean what they say when they affect to rejoice at the prospect of imprisonment, will be received with joyful throughout India. Loyal and law-abiding citizens, lovers of peace and freedom, will acclaim it as removing a menace to their most cherished possessions. It is cheerful news, but not unexpected. The arrest of Mr. Gandhi has been inevitable ever since the day on which the Extremist Congress Committee at Delhi passed resolutions annulling the Bardoli decision to postpone Civil disobedience. It seems that we have entered on a new era in India, an era of the firm enforcement of the law, of suppression of coercion and intimidation and coercion whatever form it take, and of decisive representation

by the Government of the nation's views. If this be really so, India is fortunate indeed, and her Government will enjoy the wholehearted support of all loyal citizens. For a country is weary of indiscision and weakness, the characteristics of the Government's policy in the recent past.

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“*The Leader*” Monday 13th March 1922.

#### MR. GANDHI'S ARREST.

The arrest of Mr. Gandhi will not cause surprise. The wonder was that while so many others had been arrested Mr. Gandhi was left free. He himself had been expecting it for a long time. The Government, it must be admitted in all fairness, had been very indulgent to him. He was allowed the greatest latitude of speech and actions, and it must be said to the credit of the Bombay Government that it allowed him a free hand to carry on subversive activities at Bardoli preparatory to the starting of mass civil disobedience. But Chauri Chaura providentially intervened and Mr. Gandhi stayed his hand. He called a halt to all aggressive activities throughout the country in order to consolidate his non-violent movement. The change in his attitude

led to the suspension of the decision for his arrest which had been previously arrived at. It was probably no easy thing for Lord Reading's Government to postpone the arrest, for it is an open secret that there was tremendous pressure from above for his arrest. Bitter feelings had been aroused in England against Mr. Gandhi for the boycott of the Prince of Wales he had brought about. Lord Reading and the members of his Government showed great strength in resisting that pressure and rightly decided to leave Mr. Gandhi alone. But the Bardoli resolutions were radically altered at Delhi and Mr. Gandhi was a party to the change, though subsequently he tried to explain it away and in fact took steps to prevent the starting of individual and group Civil disobedience sanctioned at Delhi. He showed thereby that he was anxious to preserve a calm atmosphere. In his article in *Yong India* on the All India Congress Committee's resolutions he showed a clearer appreciation of the realities than ever before and it was expected the Government would wait for fresh cause of action to restrict his liberties specially in view of the fact that he was being discredited by his own followers. His influence was distinctly on the decline and he was becoming a spent force. He has practically finished his work, namely, that arousing the masses to a new consciousness of their rights and self respect. His removal from the scene of public life will not materially alter the situation. It may

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render it worse, at least for some time. Without his restraining and purifying influence his movement may rapidly degenerate in ideals and methods. He did his best to keep on the right path, but he expected too much of human nature. With the respect we feel for Gandhi's great moral qualities, his courage, his clean methods of fight, his sublime though impractical ideal of non-violence, his selflessness and simplicity and purity of character, we cannot but feel sorry that such a one for reasons of state should be proceeded against. On deep thought and close analysis, it will appear that the measure of the failure of the existing system in its economic and political aspects and any physical restraints imposed upon him will not remove the root causes which are responsible for the present unrest. That he has been a powerful instrument in instilling ideas of lawlessness among the people which has led to deplorable results no one can deny. That his non-violent movement has generated a widespread spirit of violence and hatred will also be generally admitted. Whether his arrest will lead to the restoration of a normal atmosphere in course of time and to peace is yet to be seen. The portents are not auspicious. The wisdom of the act can only be judged by results.

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*Leader.*

Date 17th March 1922.

The news of the arrest of Mr. Gandhi has been received quietly throughout the country. It has produced about as much effect as the arrest of the Ali brothers did. If it had taken place, say, six months earlier there would have been a great deal of excitement, for he was then at the height of his popularity. Besides, the element of surprise was entirely lacking and the people were prepared for his arrest. The arrests of non-cooperation leaders have become so common and the kindly treatment which most of them have been accorded have so taken off the edge from them, that no one need be surprised at the atmosphere remaining unruffled on the arrest of the great leader of the movement. Mr. Gandhi himself thinks that his imprisonment would give him a rest which he perhaps needed and might even prove beneficial if it helps in knocking off the superstitious beliefs entertained by the ignorant masses about his divine powers. The absence of any pronounced bitterness on account of the proceedings started is as much an eloquent tribute to the efforts made by Mr. Gandhi to preserve a peaceful atmosphere as to the exemplary patience shown for long by Government in dealing with Mr. Gandhi personally. The charge that can be laid against Government is not one of precipitate haste but of taking action against him when the immediate need

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of it had almost disappeared. The charge of sedition that has been brought against Mr. Gandhi could have been laid against him any day during the last one year and a half, or more. But the Government either did not think it necessary or expedient to do so. But the policy of overlooking or temporising with seditious activities now appears to have been abandoned. This appears to us to be the special significance of Mr. Gandhi's prosecution. It probably marks a new campaign on the part of Government for rooting out disloyalty by the strict enforcement of the law of sedition. Whether it can be eradicated from the minds of the people is another question. What appears to be aimed at is to suppress the manifestation of it. The Government is entitled to assert its authority but if it really desires to strengthen its position it ought not to rest content with merely a negative policy, otherwise sooner or later the nationalist movement will take a more inconvenient form than it did in the past.

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*Englishman.*

Indian Extremists, judging by the deference he has paid to their leaders and to their views, have always considered Mr. Montagu friend, and the belief has been general both in England and in this country that Mr. Gandhi, but for Mr. Montagu, would have

been arrested long ago. Certainly the latter replying to questions in the House on the subject seemed quite willing to accept the responsibility for the liberty that had been permitted to the Congress Dictator. When asked during the trouble in the Punjab why the man who had admitted his responsibility for it was still at large Mr. Montagu replied that Mr. Gandhi had expressed his regret. Again when Mr. Gandhi was preparing his Bardoli campaign and his arrest was expected at any moment, Mr. Montagu said in the House that the arrest had not been made because the campaign had been postponed, again indicating that the Government of India was acting on his advice. Since that time, so far as the public generally are aware, Mr. Gandhi has not done anything so outrageous that even Mr. Montagu would have to change his mind about. When, therefore, almost simultaneously with the news of Mr. Montagu's resignation comes the news of Mr. Gandhi's arrest. It is natural that Congressmen should attempt to connect the two events.

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*Statesman.*

The Government of India are unfortunate in their manner of doing things. The time to arrest Gandhi was, surely immediately upon some flagrant exhibition of the effects of his mischievous propaganda.

when public opinion have been wholly with the Government. But, for some inscrutable reason, Lord Reading and his advisers have seen fit to wait until there is a lull and the atmosphere is comparatively quiet. Not that the non-co-operation movement is by any means dead; on the contrary, in the United Provinces, as well as the Punjab, it has assumed dangerous forms that may at any moment burst into flame. But people pay little heed to any but overt acts, and those who judge non-co-operation only by its manifest activities, are apt to persuade themselves that the agitation is dying, if not yet quite extinct. The enthusiasm of those daring spirits who wished to try immediate conclusions with the British Government was killed at Bardoli and could not be revived at Delhi. The whole movement began to wear a sickly look. Yet this is the time chosen by Lord Reading and his advisers to arrest the great apostle of the crusade.

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### *New India.*

We are surprised that the Government should have seen fit to make sedition the immediate ground for proceeding against Mr. Gandhi as we are not aware that he has made any special change in the tone of his propaganda which he has been carrying on during the last eighteen months. We

have yet to know the overt action Mr. Gandhi has taken in the direction of putting the Delhi resolutions into force in connection with individual or group civil disobedience which has induced the Government to take action against him. Have the Government considered the expediency of the course they have decided upon at a time when the British Cabinet has precipitated a crisis, the consequences of which may be very serious ?

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*The Bombay Chronical* March 21st, 1922.

#### TRUTH AND NON-VIOLENCE.

“How to get obedience of man is hard problem; what are to do with that obedience is less critical. To gain that obedience, the primary condition is the identity, not the union that the sameness—of what we now call Church and State,” Nowhere in Christendom has this problem been solved though Walter Bagehot enunciated its solution so clearly in the passages quoted above. By divorcing law from religion; by setting the Church and the State in separate watertight compartments so that one developed without consideration of, or relation to, the other; by drawing an arbitrary line between the things that are God’s and the things that are Caesar’s—the conviction of Mahatma Gandhi has been rendered

not only possible but the only logical course of action open to a judge trained and obliged to think limitedly on these lines. Mahatma Gandhi has on his own admission, broken the law—man's law as laid down in Section 124 A. He has not signed against the law of God. The judge when sentencing him tacitly admitted as much. But if a man, rightly or wrongly, holds that section 124 A of the Indian Penal Code is in conflict with the law of God as his conscience interprets it—if he acts on his belief he must be punished. For Caesar cannot brook that a man should render into God the things that are Caser's—even should that man believe that God's law forfeits these thing from Caser to God. Had a superman been trying the case—instead of being the accused in it perhaps the thought would have occurred to the Judge that section 124 A, was in some respect, a bad law. Every arbitrary man made law is in danger of becoming a bad law unless its terms are subject always to the Moral law. "It would be impossible", the courteous Judge told the Mahatma "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 of even saintly life". These words of Judge are the best commentary on the conviction of the Mahatma. The law of the land must be enforced in accordance with the will of the people as it must in substance



reflect their view. If Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi is a great patriot in the eyes of millions of the people how does it happen that a court of law of the country thinks it its duty to send him to prison ? The explanation is obvious that the law of sedition is defective and is not, in some important respects, in keeping with the Moral Law. It must be changed.

Meanwhile, the duty of the Indian people to-day is clear. We must effect Mahatma Gandhi's release in the only manner the Mahatma would desire us to effect it. And it is indicated in the moving appeal that Mrs. Gandhi has made to the people. If India wakes up and seriously undertakes, as she says, to carry out the constructive programme of the congress we shall succeed not only in releasing him but also in solving to our satisfaction all the three issues for which we have been fighting and suffering for the last eighteen months. That is a work in which all of us can and must unite if we love our conuntry and if we are true to the leader whom we all honour. When sentencing him, the Judge himself expressed a hope that circumstances would permit of the Mahatma being released before the expiry of his sentence. In this hope the Judge and the Indian people are at one. And the only circumstances that will permit of the Mahatma's release is the triumph of the sheer right. The Indian Nation is to-day endeavouring to win recognition of an established order in which the laws do not merely harmonise with, but are the same



as, the messages delivered by God through His prophets, servants, priests and consciences of clear-thinking men. That the order for which Swaraj will win recognition in India and throughout the world. It has been the order established from the beginning but men had been prone to shut their eyes to the truth it was one established system revealed in the Koran of the Muslims. Hindus recognises and teaches it. Christ taught it, as did Moses and braham. All the world's prophets and teachers lived this system as Mahatma Gandhi is living it to-day.

He does not ask too much of his countrymen, for he knows that they are not as he. He merely asks them to preserve non-violence, to wear Khadi, and to obey their leaders. If they do this they will give proof of their strength and secure the release of the Mahatma and those of his followers who are in jail. Nor is the freedom of these good men the only aim or the chief one. India's cause is a greater one. It aims at securing the freedom of the world—the freedom of the Orient from harsh and non-moral expilation, and the freedom of the West from the taint of oppression. It is a great cause—but the work before India is by comparison with the magnitude of the coming results, so simple of accomplishment. The accomplishment has been delay because many of us have not fully recognised that non-violence must be our last as well as first article of faith, as it is

and has been with the Mahatma. Through him as the resolution of the working Committee says, India delivers to the world her ancient message of Truth and Non-violence. In so far as we fulfil the message honestly, we shall be worthy of the great country to which we belong and shall repay, in some measure the debt we own to her greatest living son. And the fulfilment of this message requires that each of us should be able to give a satisfactory answer to the question: "Am I doing all that I can to serve my country".

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**Press comments on the conviction of  
Mahatma Gandhi.**



*Hindu.*

## **MAHATMA'S CONVICTION.**

“ It was perhaps in the fitness of things that the culminating point of the divorce between Law and Justice should be reached in the trial and conviction of India's greatest man. It is difficult to read unmoved the account of this unforgettable trial, recalling as it does another “ trial ” in which another great man suffered for the redemption of humanity. It certainly is a grim tragedy that than earlier sacrifice should have been so vain as to make the later one possible and it is the duty and the privilege of every patriotic Indian to see to it that the fresh crucifixion shall not pass into the limbo of futile martyrdoms Concerning the trial itself little need be said. Caiaphas triumphed again and before his clamour Justice had to hide her head in shame. The law has been vindicated even as was the law of the Levites and Pharisees. Nobody was in doubt as the result for in the present state of the law, arrest spells inevitable conviction. So comprehensive are the sections of the Penal Code that there is no form of political activity however innocent in its methods, however lofty in its aims, that can hope to escape through the closemeshed net of the law, if it pleases the bureaucracy to take offence thereat. The

Mahatma was therefore right in pleading guilty to the charge of disaffection. Undoubtedly his teaching and the movement he inaugurated tended to promote disaffection to the Government by law established. So, we take leave to say, does every single criticism that has been levelled at the Government, and if the Mahatma sinned against the law, so has every Indian of whatever shade of political opinion who has exercised his right of free speech. In fact, creating disaffection is the only path of progress. We know the distinctions have been drawn between criticism of individual acts of Government and bringing the Government into contempt as a whole but a constant stream of criticism is as destructive of prestige as a frontal attack. In any case as the Judge was careful to explain "disaffection" had been interpreted by the Bombay High Court as meaning political alienation or disrespect. That Mr. Gandhi and his movement have been guilty of "political alienation" and have been remarkably successful at it cannot be gainsaid and the trial consequently resolved itself into a travesty of legal formalities. As the Mahatma pointed out "Section 124-A, is perhaps the prince among the political section of the Indian Penal Code designed to suppress the liberty of the citizen. Affection cannot be manufactured or regulated by law. If one has no affection for a person or a thing one should be free to give the fullest expression to his disaffection so long as he does not contemplate

to promote or incite to violent". We repeat Mr. Gandhi was right in pleading guilty because true to his principle of non-resistance to evil he felt he ought not to try to evade the clutches of a thoroughly bad law. He was equally right in insisting that the Judge had no option put to convict him. So far we have no reasonable ground of complaint or distress. When, however Mr. Gandhi invited the maximum sentence possible it is conceivable that he may be misunderstood to have acted in a spirit of bravado. To associate anything theatrical with Mr. Gandhi is so grotesque that we need hardly be afraid that any of his followers should so mistake him but India has enemies and they will lose no opportunity of making capital out of anything. We must therefore explain that he was not telling the Judge to do his worst but suggesting that the object of the arrest and trial would not be completely fulfilled unless he was kept out harm's way for as long as a time as possible. Section 124-A is a regaled form of "letter decachet" and it has always been used as such. It is the most powerful political weapon in the armoury of the bureaucracy and its wise is always dictated by political considerations. It is not a question, when it comes into play, of preserving law and order or of carrying on the ordinary functions of Government. When criticism becomes embarrassing, when public opinion is strongly charged with feeling when the bureaucracy feels its



defences are in danger, then it falls back upon Section 124-A and smiles happily as it sits tight up on the too obtrusive safety-valve. It is in other words the main instrument in political repression and though laterly ingenuity has unearthed and forged other weapons out of the security sections it remains, in Mr. Gandhi's words, the prince among the instruments of political repression. Naturally when it is used it must be used for an adequately worthy object and must be used with sufficient weight. To crush a butterfly on the wheel is, from the point of view of the executioner uneconomic. One can understand Mr. Gandhi's suggestion therefore that a light sentence would not serve the bureaucracy's turn or do credit to the dignity of the weapon employed. And the judge correctly appreciated that point of view. He was dispensing not Justice but section 124-A and that Section is the bureaucracy's Hindenburg line. It was natural therefore, since there is no scale of values by which to adjudge the seriousness of political offences that he should be guided by the necessities of the bureaucracy. Six years would appear to most people a savage sentence. We believe Lord Morley protested with characteristic vigour against "monstrous sentences" for political offences, but times have changed and we dare say even people who protested vigorously against a certain three months internment will contemplate with equanimity the incarceration of the Mahatma for six long years. That the Judge

was guided by political considerations in the determination of the sentence is shown by the manner in which, in an attempt to be sympathetic, he gave an insight into his mental processes. Mr. Tilak had been sentenced to six years; so Mr. Gandhi could not complain if he received a similar sentence. And he added significantly "if the course of events in India should make it possible to reduce the period and released you no one will be better pleased than I" To put it in other words "you have made a nuisance of yourselves to the bureaucracy. You will therefore be put away till the bureaucracy thinks it safe to release you." That is at any rate plain speech and it ought to dispel any lingering illusions as to the nature of the rights and liberties we enjoy under the dispensation of the bureaucracy. We live in hope however that the release of Mr. Gandhi may not for long be left to the choice of the bureaucrat. We need not conceal from ourselves that the incarceration of Mr. Gandhi is a severe blow to the movement. His wise guidance and popularity are assets it will not be easy to replace. We have this consolation however that it is far severer blow to the Government. It will rely Indian opinion as nothing else can.

The trial, conviction and the sentence of six years' imprisonment for sedition on Mahatma Gandhi marks an important landmark in the policy of repression which the British Government has set on foot in this country. It is the culmination of the

series of arrests, prosecutions and convictions of political leaders and their followers which have been going on in the vain endeavour to stifle and suppress a national movement of unprecedented volume and intensity. The struggle between the Government and the people has become so acute and critical that the former has moved itself to use all the offensive weapons in its armoury to crush the national spirit. In employing all its resources against the movement, and in incarcerating for a long period a man of stainless purity of character, of lofty aims and ideals of conduct, and impulses inspired by universal benevolence and deep humility, the Government has thrown to the winds all ethical considerations in its action. The trial has revealed once more to the motherland and its people that in Mahatma Gandhi it has a reserve force of unsurpassable moral grandeur, a man of noble fortitude and unflinching courage and a patriot of the highest order. The statement along with the preliminary speech which he made in the court as an accused person puts in the shortest compass with rare force and lucidity the evils of the present system of Government, and the successive stages, through which in his life's work he passed from being a warm co-operator with the British into an apostle of the doctrine of non-co-operation. It is a simple, vigorous and sublime presentment of the present political situation which must open the eyes of all mankind to the purblind policy of the British Government of India.

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We have therefore immediately ahead of us the supreme test. If the Mahatma's imprisonment leads either to the collapse of the movement or to aberrations in the direction of violence, then is the Government justified of its action. If however, as we firmly believe the movement is too deep-rooted to be scotched even by silencing its leader, the bureaucracy's attempt would be as successful as that of Mrs. Partington in her fight with the Atlantic. It is up to the Indian people to justify by action faith that is in them.

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### *Mahratta.*

#### COUNTRY'S DEBT TO THE MAHATMA.

The greatest tribute that the country can pay to the great leader, is to follow in his foot-steps and continue his efforts to achieve Swarajya and realise the destiny of India. The country owes a deep debt of gratitude to him and it can redeem itself only if it carries the struggle for Swarajya forward every minute and every day. The Providence fulfills his objects in various ways. It seems that it was ordained to try the spirit of India and its love of freedom in the absence of the great leader. India would surely stand the test and come out of the conflict victorious. Let every man and woman resolve in the

sacred name of liberty of their Motherland, to do their bit every minute and every day for the cause and that is the secret of the advice to spin yarn. Let those who cannot do anything else, at least do this. The struggle is on and there is no withdrawing from it. It has been ordained that India ought to be free and India shall be free.

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### *Swarajya.*

That some of the best men among us consider that India must take generations before she can achieve Dominion status "is a terrible indictment of our own apathy. If we are not a sheepish people Mahatmaji's sentence must stimulate us to irresistibly energetic action. We must fulfil the pledge of Swadeshi. We would be false to the trust Mahatmaji has reposed in us, if we do not observe in all its strictness the creed of non-violence. Non-violence is the creator and cementer of unity. Swadeshi, removal of untouchability, non-violence and unity are the four pillars of Swaraj. Has not India realised that without Swadeshi there can be no Swaraj? Swaraj is not in the gift of anybody not even in the gift of God as Mahatmaji would say. We have to earn it by dint of hard fighting. It is we that are responsible for every moment of his detention in prison. When we have fulfilled the programme of

Mahatma Gandhi, we should see the prison gates open and our "humblest worker" once more among the toiling millions to teach them the true happiness of the soul. India will have to save herself by her own exertions and then she will have saved the world by her example.

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### *Mahomedan.*

#### A TURNING POINT IN INDIAN HISTORY.

Mahatma Gandhi's conviction and sentence may truly be said to mark a turning point in the history of British Rule in India. The world's greatest one of stainless character, a man whom not only the 330 millions of India, but the whole world reveres as a great saint—such as one has been branded a criminal, while culprits like those in the Khoreal Shooting case are being let off without even a warning. The state of our Laws is such that while the former are obliged to plead guilty, the latter are able to establish, their innocence. The fact of the judge found himself compelled to pronounce his judgement evidently with a palpitating hearts, and even that only after a deal of casuistical, self-consoling reflections in which he acknowledged the innate greatness and the moral probity of the Mahatma, is by itself significant.

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*Tribune*

APOSTLE OF SOUL-FORCE

This is not the time for a critical estimate of the great work of Mahatma Gandhi for his country and for humanity. Such estimate has been attempted in the past and may again be attempted in future. The present is the time for a reverential farewell, and we cannot perform that duty better than by attempting to say in a word what Mahatma Gandhi really stands for in our eyes. He cannot justly be described as the Prophet of Indian Nationalism—that role belongs to Arabinda Ghosh—or the Prophet of Indian Swaraj—that distinction belongs to his immediate predecessor in the leadership of the nationalist movement, Bal Gangadhar Tilak. Nor can the national awakening he has produced in the country by carrying the message of Swaraj to the lowly cottage in which the nation dwells be said to sum up his achievement, as so many of us seem to think, not only because it is confined to within the narrow boundaries of his own country, but because here, too, he only completed the work begun by another. Even non-cooperation does not properly describe his role, for he made no secret of the fact that Non-cooperation to him was only a transitional stage, and it was only the accident of India's political state that made him a Non-cooperator instead of being what he had always been, a whole-hearted



cooperator with all that was good. To us he is above everything else the Prophet and Apostle of Non-violence or soul-force, of fearless, uncompromising and yet completely peaceful assertion of the Truth in us, not merely, in the individual affairs of man but in the collective affairs of mankind. It was this distinctive characteristic in him that made the late illustrious Gokhale describe him many years ago as the man in whom Indian humanity had reached its high water-mark.

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*Young Indian.*

**Weighed and Found Wanting.**

The trial which took place on the 18th instant before the Sessions Judge of Ahmedabad is the most memorable trial that the world has witnessed, since the days of the great prophet of Palestine. It was not the prisoner at the bar who was on his trial. It was the system of Government represented by the learned Judge, which was on its trial; and the sentence passed against the accused was really the sentence passed against that system. It may take some time for the sentence to be executed, but the decree of Heaven has gone forth and is unalterable. The ways of Heaven are slow but they are sure. Mills of God grind slow but grind very fine indeed. More than 19 centuries ago, another empire had

similarly tried to deprive God's children of their birth-rights and trample under foot their liberties. Caesar was to rule supreme over the world. Who was God to claim a share in that rule, and who were the people of the world to talk of their rights and liberties to the mighty Roman Empire and question its divine right to rule? It crucified the messenger of God who had the temerity to talk of the brotherhood of man and preach "Blessed are the meek for they will inherit the Kingdom of God." It threw its followers to hungry lions to be torn to pieces to celebrate Roman festivals and thought that it had crushed the movement. What has been the result? The mighty Roman Empire has gone to wreck and ruin, but the voice, of the martyr prophet comes ringing down the centuries, clear and distinct even though many of his so-called followers listen it not. The countries Rome sought to subjugate have won back their liberties. That is how God administers justice.

To-day another 'Empire' built on organised force, maintained by sheer 'hard fibre' and engaged in the exploitation of the weak and the helpless, question the right of one fifth of the entire population of the world to manage its own affairs, refers to the government created by itself for the administration of the country inhabited by 300 million human beings possessing the oldest culture in the world as a "Subordinate Imperial department," interferes with

the religious liberty of people, commits the brutal atrocities of the Punjab, shamelessly breaks its plighted words and when the poor oppressed people try to defend their rights, even though it be by Non-violent Non-co-operation which is essentially an appeal to human conscience, it throws their saintly leader into prison. Can this 'Empire' escape divine punishment? The judgment was given on the 18th instant "weighed and found wanting". But there are some who have ears but there not, have eyes but see not, Such do not see the writing on the wall.

Nevertheless, the writing is there and it is a sin to help the Government, whose wickedness and bad faith are established, who has shown itself impervious to any human consideration and is bent upon trampling under foot the liberties of 300 million human beings. It is a duty that we owe to ourselves, a duty that we owe to the *English nation*, a duty that we owe to humanity and a duty that we owe to God to mend or end this Government. Every good Indian and every good Englishman must consider it his sacred duty to destroy this Government's power to do mischief and keep in bondage millions of human beings, whether in India or outside. And with this end in view, he must refuse to serve it whether in military or civil capacity. He who supports wickedness is guilty of wickedness himself.

What is our immediate duty? First and foremost,

to stand firm by our demands and observe *strict* Non-violence. Secondly, refuse to be tempted into a premature offensive. If we start civil disobedience while we have not recognised our force, we will only be playing into the hands of our enemy. It will be disastrous. He is an incompetent general indeed, who succumbs to the provocations of his enemy and launches a premature offensive. Let us consolidate our position and recognise our forces, weed out from amidst our ranks all those who do not fully believe in Non-violence in word, deed and intent, even as a policy. Let us signalise the conviction of our leader by enlisting one crore members of the National Congress. It will show to the world the extent of organised public opinion behind our demands, it will give us an opportunity to educate and prepare the masses so that the stream of national self-assertion may not run dry, for want of proper organisation and guidance. Two months intensive and whole-hearted work should be sufficient to achieve this end. Side by side with this, the whole country should adopt with *Khaddar* and see that there is no Indian home without a spinning wheel. Let not a yarn of foreign cloth be imported into the country. People do not yet realise the full economic power of this weapon. It strengthens our own power of resistance and weakens that of our own adversary. It will make us and increases the resources of millions of starving Indians. Remove untouchability for unless you

convince these 'depressed' millions that Swaraj will not mean a perpetuation of their social inferiority. they will not lend their wholehearted support to you. Convince them that the Swaraj that we want will be real Swaraj and how can we do that until we mix with them freely. Prevention of the use of liquor and the peaceful boycott of British courts by the establishment of *Panchayats* efficiently administering even-handed justice' are two other very powerful weapons. They will purify us, effect so much saving of national wealth and incidently diminish the sinews of war of our opponents. Given sufficient number of zealous workers, it should not take more than five or six months to accomplish this, after which we can start, if need be, not only individual but mass civil disobedience and redress Punjab wrong, liberate Turkey and Jaziret-ul-Arab and win Swaraj for ourselves.

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### *Bengali.*

The arrest of Mr. Gandhi at a time when the non-co-operation movement was losing its strength automatically, and the Congress Committee had called off the propaganda for mass civil disobedience, was a grave political blunder: his conviction and punishment for six years' imprisonment must be set down as nothing short of having the appearance of judicial

vindictiveness. It is true that Mr. Gandhi had started a revolutionary movement in India which it has almost become impossible to suppress now, and that he had made himself responsible primarily for the outburst of an anti-British propaganda which is burning through the country like a prairie-fire. There can be no doubt that he has laid himself open, not once but on several occasions, to a serious charge of sedition, and that, but for his zeal and enthusiasm, the movement that has paralysed the hands of the Government and made the maintenance of law and order practically a hopeless task, might have been taken well in hand. But conceding all this, we must say that the Government allowed the psychological moment for his arrest to slip by last year' and trapped him into the meshes of law when he was beginning to see the error of his ways and turning out as one of the sincerest and most loyal allies of the present Government and perhaps the stoutest supporter of British connection with India. Mr. Gandhi is not only the greatest Indian living but perhaps the saintliest human being now alive in any part of the world, and to have trapped him into jail for such an unconscionably long period as six years must be pronounced as the greatest political and judicial blunder under British Rule. Mr. Gandhi free would have now been a great friend of law and order: Mr. Gandhi in jail may prove the beginning of the end of the present scheme of constitutional development.

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It is evident that Mr. Gandhi was arrested under pressure of English opinion, both in Parliament and the Jingo Press, specially as the result of the insulting treatment meted out all over India to the Prince of Wales, during his recent visit to this country, but the English Press has no idea of the great mischief it has done to India by egging on the Government of India to commit the greatest blunder since Plassey. Mr. Gandhi's conviction and punishment may not matter to him the least, as he had invited this fate with his eyes wide open, but it does not require much of a prophet's vision to see that it will bring the present Government to grief beyond all their wildest speculation."

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### *Catholic Leader*

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#### **Futile Imprisonment.**

Mahatma Gandhi has been sentenced to 6 years simple imprisonment on a charge of spreading disaffection against the Government. Mahatma Gandhi pleaded guilty to the charge and we think rightly for his writings and teachings and the movement engineered by him, certainly tended to promote disaffection against the existing system of Government. The offence is one for which many thousands



of people all over India are in prison, and it is only the fear of the consequences that delayed Mahatma Gandhi's prosecution and conviction for the last 2 years. The sentence is an unduly severe one and Mahatma Gandhi's prolonged incarceration may place the Government in an exceedingly uncomfortable position and accentuate the present state of discontent in the country. Mahatma Gandhi's written statement is a masterpiece of logic, clearness, and conciseness. He traced in it the history of his relations with Government and pointed out the causes that led him to pass from an ardent co-operator with the British to a staunch apostle of Non-cooperation. There is no trace of bitterness or malice in it against any individual though it contains a vigorous denunciation of the present situation in India. We do not think, the imprisonment of Mahatma Gandhi will kill the movement he has inaugurated; it will rather tend to initiate an era of intensified agitation.

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*Englishman.*

The best thing that can be said for Mahatma Gandhi might as well be said at once. He has met the disaster that has overtaken him with really fine courage. The least part of that disaster is the sentence of imprisonment that has been passed upon him by the British Government. Mahatma Gandhi's

career was practically ruined on the 1st of January when his followers, then to be counted by the million, became aware that his promise of *Swaraj* by the end of the year was not to be and could not be kept. Mahatma Gandhi then made one tremendous effort to keep the confidence of the masses by putting forward a certain programme of non-payment of taxes which if completed would certainly have ruined the Government. But this move failed also and with what are styled the Bardoli resolutions the unexampled hold which Mahatma Gandhi had over multitudes came to an end. The arrest and the trial, and the sentence have been received with indifference. But Mahatma Gandhi has kept up his courage.

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*The Pioneer*

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**Mr. Gandhi's Record.**

The sentence of six years' imprisonment passed on Mr. Gandhi is the inevitable outcome of the fruits of his teaching during the last three years. Throughout this period Mr. Gandhi has attempted to combine methods of agitation which are mutually incompatible. He has persistently emphasised his aversion from violence, while at the same time inflaming the passions of the illiterate masses by his diatribes against a "Satanic" Government. Experience should have

taught him that this course could not fail to lead to outbreaks of violence, but he has obstinately refused to profit by experience. The Satyagraha disturbances of 1919 convinced him that there were clever and unscrupulous men working in the background and exploiting his agitation for ends of their own which he could not approve. Mr. Gandhi thereupon pleaded guilty to a "Himalayan error," but the effect of his disillusionment soon wore off and before long he had resumed his subversive propaganda against British officials and the British Administration. The year 1920 was by no means free from disturbances in almost every Province, most of which could be attributed directly or indirectly to the teaching of Mr. Gandhi and his followers, and to the effect of that teaching in weakening the respect of the masses for law and order and for constituted authority. At the beginning of 1921 agrarian disturbances broke out in the Rae Bareilly and Fyzabad districts of Oudh, accompanied by extensive looting and loss of life. Giridih, Malegaon, Dharwar, and Howrah provided further landmark in the violent progress of this professedly non-violent agitation. The Moplah rebellion and the ghastly horrors perpetrated under the so called "Khilafat Raj" in Malabar, can be directly attributed to the preaching of Mr. Gandhi and his co-adjutors the Ali brothers, though Mr. Gandhi, with characteristic reluctance to face facts, disclaims responsibility for the atrocities committed by these fanatical savages.

On this point, however, the Hindu population of Malabar, who were the sufferers from these excesses, may be regarded as better judges of cause and effect than the apostle of soul force. Even Mr. Gandhi could not deny that the riots at Bombay and Madras during the Prince of Wales's visit were instigated by non-cooperators. The United Provinces Government clearly state in their recent resolution that the massacre of the small police force at the Chauri Chaura thana and the riots at Bareilly were "directly attributable to the non-cooperation movement". Their view is confirmed by reports from non-official sources, and is not disputed by Mr. Gandhi, who publicly proclaimed his sorrow and humiliation.

The foregoing is merely a brief outline of the long record of violence and bloodshed which have been associated with Mr. Gandhi's agitation from its inception. It is idle, in the face of this record, for Mr. Gandhi to point to the excellence of his motives and to his abhorrence of violence in any shape or form. These have been the fruits of his teaching and it is by their intentions, that men are judged. Well may the Sessions Judge, in passing sentence, exclaim:—"I do not forget that you have consistently preached against violence, or that you have, on many occasions, I am willing to believe, done much to prevent violence. But, having regard to the nature of those to whom it was addressed, how you can have continued to believe that violence would not be the

inevitable consequence it passes my capacity to understand." If Mr. Gandhi seriously believes still in the possibility of restraining his followers from violence in the teeth of his experience to the contrary he must be an incorrigible optimist in his view of human nature. In his apologia at the trial he declared that to preach disaffection towards the existing system of Government had become almost a passion with him. He has awakened the masses from their lethargy and has succeeded in imbuing some of them at any rate with his passion for disaffection, but his gospel of non-violence has fallen upon ears which are not fitted to receive it. Now and then a glimmering of the truth appears to enter his mind; even his optimism is shaken for a time by events like the Chauri Chaura murders; but his faith in human nature would seem to be proof against any disillusionment, and he always returns to the same methods of agitation which have produced the results which he deplures.

It cannot for a moment be alleged that the Government of India have been precipitate in deciding to take action against this disturber of peace of the country. A Calcutta contemporary which professes to be an exponent of Liberal opinion regards the arrest of Mr. Gandhi as "a grave political blunder," and avows its conviction that "the non-cooperation movement was losing its strength automatically." Unfortunately we can discern no grounds for this

belief. In at least three Provinces there are disquieting features for those who have eyes to see. In Oudh the dangerous possibilities of the Aika movement have led the Government of the United Provinces to place the Commissiner of Lucknow on special duty to investigate it. In Bihar and Orissa unrest and disaffection are rife, as was shown clearly in the recent speeches of Mr. Macpherson and Mr. Hammond in the Legislative Council at Patna. In the Central Punjab the situation is such as to arouse the gravest misgiving. When Mr. Gandhi allowed himself to be captured at Delhi by the extreme wing of his followers and to agree to the reinstatement of the full non-cooperation programme suspended at Bardoli, mass civil disobedience alone being temporarily excepted, the Government had alternative but to take action at once if they wished to avert further outbreaks of disorder. It was not mass civil disobedience that led to Chauri Chaura. It was merely the ordinary programme of non-cooperators which was in force befor the Bardoli resolutions. For the time being arrest and conviction of Mr. Gandhi seem to have had a good effect, and the Working Committee of the Congress advocate a return to the Bardoli resolutions. To what extent they will be able to impress this view upon the provincial committees, who were given discretionary powers at Delhi, remains to be seen.



*The Leader*

the 22nd March 1922.

We deeply deplore the heavy sentence of six years that has been passed upon Mr. Gandhi as a result of his prosecution under section 124A of the Indian Penal Code, particularly when none of the more prominent of his followers, including even the Ali Brothers, have received a higher sentence than that of two years, and it is still more unfortunate that this sentence should have been passed upon him at a time when he was actually a restraining influence in the Congress camp. The majesty of outraged law may have been vindicated but it is questionable whether it has rendered the task of solving the problem of Indian unrest any the easier or brought it any the nearer. The attitude of the judge was very considerate throughout and the whole trial seems to have been conducted in an atmosphere of perfect cordiality and good will, quite in contrast with the scenes that marked the Karachi trial of Ali Brothers and others. The judge himself seems to have regretted the passing of the sentence on Mr. Gandhi and quote the parallel case against Mr. Tillak in which a sentence of six years was passed against him. But so much change has come over Indian conditions since then that the same sentence need not have been inflicted to satisfy the ends of justice. 'If the course of events in India should make it possible to reduce

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the period and release him,' remarked the judge, 'on one would be better pleased than I'. It will be the devout wish of every Indian that that day should come sooner than we expect. That the present tension should continue for so long is unthinkable.

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### *New India*

#### A MADRAS HOPE.

We are glad that the Judge spoke so generously, and that he expressed the hope that, if events in India made it possible, the sentence might be reduced. It ought now to be clear that, on Mr. Gandhi's own showing, his teaching produced the widespread hatred and unrest and the tragedies which have occurred—though he omitted the Malabar tragedy, as directly traceable to him as any other—and that no Government could permit the continued spread of a movement which bore such fruits, and was producing them in ever-increasing profusion. Mahatma Gandhi's frankness has cut away the ground from under the feet of the advocates for having him at large. We can only re-echo the hope of the Judge, that the total abandonment of his fatal agitation may hasten the time of his release.

*"New Times"—Karachi.*

## **Gandhi The Spirit of "New India."**

The millions of Gandhi's countrymen will meditate on the meaning of his long conviction, the meaning of this system that must exist with a Gandhi within the four walls of the jail. By this time India knows that there is no greater believer in non-violence than Mahatma Gandhi. Yet this man must be shut in because he instills into the minds of his countrymen a sense of self-respect, an instinct of daring, a will to suffer, and a spirit of unity which threatens to defy constituted authority in India—an authority antagonistic to popular will. India must be preserved safe from such a man for six years. But his spirit will work for India's uplift behind the jail walls, for Gandhi is no longer the mere name of a person. It is the embodiment of certain ideals which the nation cherishes and must pursue towards its cherished goal of Swaraj.

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*The Indian Mirror.*

23—3—1922.

## **THE GANDHI EPISODE AND ITS MORAL LESSON.**

THAT MOST PROPHECIES ABOUT MEN AND events are miscalculated is shown by the fact that Mr.

Gandhi's conviction, which means his segregation from mischief for the next six years, has involved the Empire in no physical disaster, as some imaginative people apprehended. Sir J. D. Rees declared in Parliament some time ago that "Gandhi arrested may be more dangerous than Gandhi free". Common people in India regarded his person as sacrosanct and laboured under the belief that any inconvenience caused to it was bound to have a dangerous effect upon the Government, Commoner people even believed that no earthly power could place such a supernatural being under restraint. He was, in their eyes, unconquerable like god Hanuman of the Ramayana. He would break through the walls of the strongest fort, would destroy his captors by a mere wave of his hand, would reduce a whole arsenal into dust; so forth and so on. To-day, these people stand amazed, and a good bit enlightened also. They have heard of the great Mahatma carried off to prison; they have looked round and seen Nature functioning as usual. Could it be possible that the being at whose feet they were piling flowers, could not save himself?

He went to jail, as many hundreds of people, who break the law, do daily. The heavens did not fall down: the Himalayas did not burst; the great rivers did not dry up; the corn fields did not wither; the cattle did not perish; there was a not even a cyclone or storm to express the wrath of the *devas*. Could he be the same Mahatma whose name they shouted

day after day whose idol they worshipped in their homes ?

The phenomenon described above is not rare in India where superstition holds the masses tightly in its grip. About a hundred and fifty years ago, there was a man of the name of Nuncomar, who played an important part in all the revolution which in his time took place in Bengal. To his high and pure caste as a Brahman he added the weight of wealth, talents and experience. His physical organisation was similar to that of Gandhi, feeble to effeminacy; weak even to helplessness for purposes of manly resistance; but his mind was such as to move the children of sterner climate to admiration. Macaulay has given a vivid description of this 'great Brahman'. It is said that he sat up in his palanquin to be conveyed to the place of execution, and looked round him with unaltered serenity. He had parted from those who were most nearly connected with him. Their cries and contortions had appalled the European ministers of justice, but had not produced the smallest effect on the iron stolidity of the prisoner. He mounted the scaffold with firmness, and gave the signal to the executioner. Then let us recall what the historian says: "The moment that the drop fell, a howl of sorrow and despair rose from the innumerable spectators. Hundreds turned away their faces from the polluting sight, fled with loud wailings towards the Hugly, as if to purify themselves from the guilt

of having looked on such a crime." There are many point of contact between Nuncomar and Gandhi. One was regarded as holy by virtue of his high birth: the other was considered sacrosanct by reason of his supposed supernatural powers derived from the practice of asceticism. One wanted to plunge the country into incalculable suffering by means of revolution; the other was working in the same direction by scattering the poison seeds of racial hatred and disloyalty to Government. Nuncomar purposed to destroy the Musalman administration and to rise on its ruin. Gandhi attempted to destroy British power and to rise a Swaraj. Both worked by the same methods—finesse, Intrigue and misrepresentation.

Just as over a hundred years back Calcutta did not melt into the Hugli because of the execution of the first Brahman, so India has not dissolved into atoms because the law has done its work in regard to the first Mahatma of political India. The people look upon the episode with calmness, not because they have been told by the Mahatma not to be noisy and violent but because they have awoke to the Majesty and power of Law. Such is human nature. What cannot be taught by the Sermon on the Mount is enforced by the Penal Code. A hundred years hence. India will recall the present episode with only that academic interest which attaches to the life of an adventurer like Nuncomar or a pretender like Birsa Munda.

## VERNACULAR PRESS OPINIONS.

*“Jam-e-Jamshed”*

### Extremely Severe

Mr. Gandhi gave a curt reply to the Judge, and in order to save the time of the Government and the public he admitted his own guilt. His offence and his reasons for doing so are quite apparent from his well-known and lengthy statement. The Government and other administrators and the Anglo-Indians of the O'Dwyrian creed will, we hope, read the statement of Mr. Gandhi very carefully and commit every word, written in it, to memory. Not only that but they should carve it on their hearts. What did Mr. Gandhi say in his statement? He said that he was one of the supporters of the British Government. He had rendered great services to the Government and which had won for him medals. But the Rowlatt legislation changed his mind. The crawling order of the European officers, tried considerably the patience of Mr. Gandhi. At last the breaking of the pledge given to Moslems by the Premier was the last straw which compelled him to play the roll of a Non-Cooperator. He is the worshipper of non-violence. He took upon his own shoulders the responsibility for the violent deeds which some of his followers had been instrumental in doing. He has been sentenced by Mr. Broomfield to six years' simple imprisonment. This

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announcement the Indian public have heard with profound regret. Notwithstanding the fact that the sentence is simple, it is, to our mind, "extremely severe." Mr. Gandhi wanted relief and he has now got it.

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*"Praja Mitra and the Parsi"*

**THE ONLY RIGHT WAY.**

The case against Gandhiji was, as he himself has admitted, according to law, and that his punishment was in a milder form than what he expected it to be. There may be two opinions with regard to the prosecution launched against Gandhiji, but nobody can point a finger of scorn at the impartial decision of the Court. Persons who did not follow in the footsteps of Gandhiji have now come to realise their responsibility at the eleventh hour. The only right way is to show real respect towards Gandhiji. And we hope that the followers of Gandhiji will follow in his footsteps.

*Bombay Samachar.*

**Nation on Trial.**

Mahatma Gandhi's countrymen must realise that their trial began the moment the Mahatma's



judicial trial was over. The first and foremost duty of the nation is as he says, to keep perfect non-violence. We have said that there are factors involved in the trial that make it unique. One of them is the test it provides for the subsequent conduct of the nation. The nation is now confronted not so much with the conduct of the Government or of that of the Mahatma but with its own conduct—the conduct of the people who will decide its future. The Government having examined the Mahatma will turn to the nation. It will very soon be the people's turn to pass the ordeal. Is it prepared? That is the vital point at issue. The warning given by the Working Committee of the Congress to the Provincial Committees in respect of Civil Disobedience, Mass or Individual is, under the present circumstances, an imperative necessity. The caution it recommends is absolutely indispensable. The nation cannot afford to waste time after vain quarrels, excitement, anger, resentment and violence. It cannot afford time even for that silly luxury of brooding. The present is the time to think and work. There is more than ample scope for both in the national programme continuously placed before the people by the Mahatma and now once again endorsed by the Working Committee of the Congress. Will the nation respond? Will the Mahatma's countrymen pass the ordeal? We have, from the way they

have conducted themselves upto the moment of this writing, scarcely any doubt.

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*Sanj Vartman*

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**“A blessing in disguise.”**

Our pain is poignant and we believe that India could ill spare its captain at this moment. But, we think, all this is within the game. We all know that a day must come when India will have to do without its Mahatma and that day has now come and with the advent of this day commences the real trial of India and her people. Mahatma Gandhi's imprisonment will be, after all, a blessing in disguise. His presence in our midst was inspiring. The people have now to show that even during his enforced absence, they have learnt the lessons of his teaching so well, that they could follow his precept fully and live and work for India as he wished and directed. If India, during this moment of its supreme trial, rises to the urgency and gravity of the occasion, she will be true to her leader, and what is better still she will be true to her own self.

We have no hesitation in saying and we have said it repeatedly in the past, that before the passing of the Rowlatt Act, India was slumbering.

It was still hugging at the thought that everything in India would be well in the near future. This slumber was rudely disturbed by the passing of the Act and the conversion of Mr. Gandhi from a staunch loyalist and cooperator into an uncompromising disaffectionist and non-co-operator, was, by no means, a solitary example. There were thousands of loyalists whose old belief in the Government was not only shaken but it was completely gone. Thus, for the present discontentment in the country the Government and the Government is solely responsible. They sowed the seed and they are now reaping the harvest. Mr. Gandhi was simply the finger-post that pointed how the Government erred and now this pointer is removed. Who will suffer most by this deprivation. Let those whom it might concern answer impartially.

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*Hindoostan*

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**Indians Hearts Lacerated**

We received on Saturday afternoon the news of the sentence passed on Mahatma Gandhi and Bhai Sankerlal Banker by Mr. Blomfield, the Session Judge, Ahmedabad. The man, who had taken vow to free the 33 crores of the people of India, the man who was eager to see the economic condition of India,

improved—for which he sacrificed his precious time wealth and energy—the man who with the hope of seeing his movement progressing and successful did not even care to have his daily food and toiled and toiled day and night, was removed all of a sudden from their midst which action has doubtless lacerated Indians' hearts.

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*Nation (New York.)***TRIBUTE TO MR. GANDHI.****An American Paper's view of his  
Arrest.**

Mr. Gandhi has been arrested. The British Raj has answered the old question. What shall we do with our saints and prophets in the orthodox way of a policy which has illustrated once more to futility of a belated and hesitant liberalism in time of crisis. That policy was an inept compound of concession and repression and its guiding principle was: Divide and govern. We credit both Mr. Montague, until recently Secretary of State for India and Lord Reading, the Viceroy with liberal intentions. Their delay in the arrest of Mr. Gandhi even more than their support of the parliamentary institution set up by the Reform Act was gall and wormwood to the old-time burcaueracy, but it did not satisfy India.

They tried to strengthen their Government by importing the Prince of Wales, to obtain a welcome for that amiable young man but it proved necessary to arrest 5, 209 persons in Calcutta alone. Repression became more and more the order of the day, and repression, as always has been attended by extra legal cruelty. But in vain were Indian leaders imprisoned; the ferment only increased. Finally as a last desperate measure came the India Government's note urging the adoption of uncompromising Moslem demands for the restoration of the Turkish Empire.

The immediate effect of the publication of the note was the enforced resignation of Mr. Montagu, a political tempest in England, and the arrest of Mr. Gandhi in India as token of the definite adoption of the policy of the iron hand. For the present we are concerned neither with the justice and practicability of the Moslem demand which the Indian Government endorsed, nor with the plight of the British Empire, but with the Indian situation. The Viceroy's note which Mr. Montagu made public bears unanswerable testimony to the extent and power of the Nationalist movement. To disrupt it by buying off Muslim adherence to the national cause was the sole reason for the Government's unprecedented act. English opposition frustrated the payment of the bribe to the Moslems; it did not frustrate the arrest of the one man whose teaching has heretofore prevented violent revolt. When an alien Government

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arrests a national hero who, its own apologists admit, is the mostly saintly figure in the modern world, no further proof is required that it rest its case on naked force.

Even so, the protagonists of imperialism, English and American, assure us that there was no other course open to the Government. However clouded England's title, she and she alone, it is asserted, protects India from external invasion and internal chaos and strife. She has brought justice and modern civilization to a country where they could not exist but for her strong arm. The argument is not convincing; it clearly overstates both the evil conditions prior to the British conquest and the blessings of British rule. It attributes material progress solely to alien rule rather than to the general march of science which has coincided with the period of British dominance. At best the imperialist case smacks too much of the argument of the burglar who would justify his continued occupation of another man's house by saying: 'I keep order in the household and I keep other burglar out.' The Indians are willing to take the risk of doing that for themselves. They believe they can end the economic drain of an alien rule which has multiplied famines, increased illiteracy and reduced the people of land which was once a synonym for wealth to the poorest on earth. They are weary of seeing their some enlisted and their property taken to fight England's wars. They passion-



ately affirm that in losing native government they have not even gained good government.

This India's indictment with some changes lies not alone against Great Britain, but against Western civilization wherever it has been enforced on weaker peoples. Every imperial Power—and none more than our own—needs to consider its justice. One may admit a considerable services rendered by the rule of the British Raj and a real danger in its instantaneous collapse, and yet believe that it has earned the doom that lies before it. Indeed the question of the balance of good or evil in Western rule is almost academic in view of the plain fact of Eastern hatred of it. The exploited peoples of Asia and Africa are aroused; they are on the march; whether the force that challenges the West will be primarily national or racial, or a revival of Islam, the certainty of that challenge is plain. As well argue with the north wind as talk to Tripolitans or Indians of the blessings of hospitals and railroads when they feel that their pride is outraged by the conqueror. For some time—no man knows how long—the superior material equipment of the West will assure its victory. But if the future is to be one of stark conflict, we face intolerable tragedy both for the imperial powers and those who are rising against them. At best the future of the relations between the races is dark. The great hope is in such leadership as Mr. Gandhi offered—and this the British despised.



Consider the man. In the space of a few years he has done more for his people than any government in centuries. He has been the bearer of new hope and human dignity to the untouchables; he has been the weaver of bonds of unity between the Moslems and Hindus whom the British would keep asunder; he has fought the liquor traffic which was debasing people and the infamous opium monopoly by which, for its own profit, the British Government menaces not only India but all mankind. He has given to revolution non-violent instruments which promise the release of humanity from the reaming necessity of wars for freedom. He has sincerely preached love for the enemy. Not he but Lord Reading, by his refusal to abandon repression, prevented the proposed round table conference which might have furthered the peaceful settlement of grievances. Even on the vexed question of the Caliphate we believe that Gandhi's voice might have been potent in persuading his Moslem friends to grant to non-Moslem communities the justice they seek for themselves. And it is this hope which the British Government has almost shattered—apparently with the consent of those British liberals who would approve the deportation or imprisonment of Gandhi while they praise his saintliness! Yet that hope is not dead while Gandhi's spirit is powerful in India. How long the people will follow the way he pointed out, we do not know, already there are signs of revolt.

But this we know; If the Indian people, like the oppressed of other lands, finally take the way of the sword, the primary blame for the tragedy that will follow must rest not on those who have preached freedom and justice or even on those who seek them by violence, but on those who have made violence the very foundation of their continuing dominion over unwilling subjects.

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*“Challenge”* (London).

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## “THE FIRST MARTYR NATION”

None among them (current events) has given us such deep misgiving as the news of the arrest of Gandhi. No Christian Englishman who takes an interest in the wider issues of his religious life can have felt wholly at ease over the problem of our relationship to India. Ever since the war it has been evident that India and Ireland were the touch-stones of our international conduct. Awkward questions affecting not only the character and sincerity of our policy, but our whole right to rule, could not be dismissed. They were raised not only by Irishmen and Indians, and by foreign critics of our Empire, but by all who hoped and believed in idealism and our mission to the world. And in India, even more plainly than in Ireland, a moral issue of an unusually

clear kind challenged us, an issue raised by the personality and spiritual grandeur of the Nationalist leader.

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The Khilafat agitation and the pledge to the Moslems are on a lower plane. We gave an undertaking under stress of war which, in our opinion ought never to have been given : for even in order to win the help of our Mohammadan fellow-subjects we do not believe that we ought to have supported the retention of the Turk in Europe or his claim to control the sacred places. For political ends we acted wrongly, and are now being faced with inability to fulfil our promises. To resolve the dilemma, to decide whether morality bids us to maintain or to repudiate our pledge, is a matter for grave heart-searching. For ourselves greatly as we dislike the results, we believe that we are bound by our obligation : but the issue is one for the casuists. Ought a promise, extracted under duress and in itself deplorable to be held binding.

The case of Gandhi is far simpler. Here is a man of whom all those who know him testify that he is singularly.

Christ-like one who has based his whole position upon the ultimate supremacy of moral over physical force, one of whom the the worst that can be said is that he is a visionary whose dreams could not in the present state of human society, be realised.

Unpractical—"My Kingdom is not of this world"; an agitator—"He stirreth up the 'people'"; better arrested—"It is expedient that one man should die for the people". We have read with growing conviction of the parallelism, the attempts of the Press to justify our Government's action and hitherto, apart from the mass of libel and abuse which all reliable evidence of the Mahatma's character and actions shows to be irrelevant, have found nothing which could not have been written with equal accuracy by an apologist for Caiaphas or Pilate. And the result has given us a shock, the more unpleasant because here, also it is not the particular wickedness or failure of any one individual, but the unchristian quality of the whole system that is revealed. We do not believe that any special persons are individually to blame; it is simply that our accepted outlook and standards have come into conflict with a singularly pure and sincere idealist. We have judged him, and, in doing so, have condemned ourselves.

There is, indeed, one line of defence open to us, though it has been seldom stated. Making every acknowledgment of the nobility of character the purity of motive, the condemnation of violence the appeal to moral force which the mahatma has shown, we may still maintain that his ideal is mistaken and that for this mistake alone his condemnation is just and inevitable. For ourselves we are included to accept this position; but if we are to do so it must be

with frank recognition of the meaning of his campaign  
What is the Gandhi policy and how has it been  
reached ?

Put briefly, the case is as follows :—Gandhi had for years spent himself in generous efforts to redress the admitted wrongs of his countrymen and to promote wherever possible a righteous partnership between India and Britain. This aim he pursued right through the war, when his personal sacrifices and influence were devoted to the service of the wounded, in the belief that such evidence of goodwill would strengthen the unity of the two peoples and help to secure a response to the hopes of India for a larger measure of self-Government. Up to the point he had shared the ideals of his most enlightened fellow-countrymen, who were working for a genuine fellowship of nations and for the right of India to make a full and free contribution to that fellowship. After the war his hopes were shattered by successive proofs of our unwillingness to recognise what he regarded as our obligations. On several concrete points, our treatment of Turkey, the Rowlatt Acts, the Punjab disturbances, he saw us apparently repudiating our obligations. Cases of gross exploitation, such as that in the jute industry, and of preferential treatment emphasised the same doubts. The effect of industrialism, the moral failures of our civilisation and the Westernising of his own people had already filled his soul with dismay. And on weighing up the

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whole, he decided that the ideal of partnership must be abandoned, and that only by "contracting out" of international life and surrendering at once the advantage and the contamination of contact with the West could India realise the fulness of her spiritual heritage. He would not appeal to force; he sternly and repeatedly forbade it to his followers. Non-violent Non-cooperation, a complete policy of passive resistance, was to be the means. India was to cut herself off from the recognised and indisputable evil. It is the ideal of the hermit applied to a people familiar of old with such withdrawal from the world. It is an ideal which, in these days when the disastrous effects of corporate guilt are so evident, few of us, save the superficial and the worldly, will care to condemn off-hand. For there comes a Point where acquiescence in compromise intolerable. Gandhi has called upon India and sharing in others sins becomes rightly to be the first "Martyr Nation." His arrest is a challenge to us all.

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# **Impressions on trial.**





# The Law of the Land.

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## THE ONLY TRUE PARALLEL.

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 Shankar Lal 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 deserving of our praise alike for his brave and resolute sense of duty, his flawless covrtesy, his just preception of a unique occasion and his fine tribute to a unique personality.

The strange trial proceeded and as 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 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 anew that the lowly Jesus of Nazareth cradled in manger furnished the only true parallel in history to this sweet invincible apostle of Indian liberty who has 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.

SAROJINI NAIDU.

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## THE HISTORIC TRIAL.

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### IMPRESSIONS.

The trial Mahatma Gandhi will ever, remain the most memorable of its kind. The scene was the ugly, unpretentions, and white buildings of the Circuit Houses Ahmedabad,—the focus of the whole world. The very simplicity of the setting—the ordinary wooden platform, the more ordinary, table, the lack of dock and rail and witness boxes and the usual paraphernalia that lend majesty to a court of Justice—was a silent, unconscious tribute to the gospel of the Mahatma and his message to the world. Long before the hour appointed for the trial, the little room was crowded to suffocation. At 11-40, there was a stir people whispered to one another, and stood up with one accord as Mahatma Gandhi and Sjt. Shankerlal Banker, were conducted to their seats.

Just below the judge's platform, and a little to the left sat Mahatma Gandhi, smiling his charming smile, as if he were in his own Satyagrah Ashram. On his right sat Mr. Banker and next to him Pt.

Malaviya, full of care and anxious thought. On the left of the Mahatma sat Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Mrs. Gandhi—a living testimony that India's womanhood is in the forefront of the struggle for Swaraj,

One missed the gentle Hakim Ajmal Khan, and the untiring Dr. Ansari—both away in Delhi on urgent work. Except these every provincial leader was present. Mr. Vallabhai Patel, sitting just behind the Mahatma, seemed at peace with all the world and seeing him one felt confident of Gujarat rising to her opportunity. Next to him sat Rajendra Pershad, his tall, gaunt figure towered above the rest, his eyes, throughout the trial fixed on the Mahatma. I doubt if any man loves the Mahatma better. He has steeped himself in the Mahatma's philosophy, and Behar knows no better worker. If the *khaddar* programme is to be carried out, the yong worke would do well to borrow a page from Rajendra Prashad. A little below sat Mr. N. C. Kelkar. He had grown familiar with such scenes. Over and over again he had seen one trusted leader after another taken away, and, for no fault of his, he had been left behind. In the last few months had gone C. R. Das, and Motilal Nehru, Lalaji aud Konda Venkatappiah; Rajgopalchariar and host of others. He exchanged frequent glances with Mahatma. I intercepted one such glance and I knew that as far Maharashtra was concerned, the Mahatma was convinced that it would soon go into the forefront of the struggle.

He turned round to Mr. Vallabhai Patel, drew his attention to Mr. Kelkar, and all the three burst out laughing.

All these and more were there : grim determined, withal good-humoured and happy.

The judge came, bowed, and sat down. He looked at Mahatmaji through the corner of his eye, clasped his hand, wiped his brow, and tried to look at ease. His was undoubtedly a difficult task but in fairness I must say that he acquitted himself worthily honourably, and well. He was courteous, yet dignified; free but restrained, and he obviously seemed to wish that this task had fallen to another. No man could have done better.

The trial commenced. Rao Bahadur Girdharlal read out the Mahatma's articles in "Young India" on which the charges had been framed.

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### THANKLESS TASK.

The reading of the articles over the Hon Sir T. Strangman opened the case for the prosecution. I suppose that he found himself performing an unpleasant, onerous, thankless task. His usually bright face was a little clouded, his usually keen and hawk like eyes were dim and restless; his usually vibrant, clear voice was so low that it could hardly be heard, his manner was uneasy, his delivery uncertain

his charges unconvincing. He made no speech. He made no attempts to make a speech. It seemed that he only read out the points he had noted down. Only the points nothing more. He said (in almost as many words) (1) that mahatmaji's disaffection was not confined only to the articles in 'Young India' (2) that he was also responsible for the terrible occurrences of Bombay, Madras and Chauri Chaura, and (3) that he would like a deterrent punishment meted out to Mr. Gandhi, (Both counsel and judge always referred to Mahatmaji as Mr. Gandhi.) The last sentence asking for a heavy punishment was said with down cast eyes and in a voice that hardly rose above a whisper. He then sat down. The case for the prosecution was over!

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### MAHATMA READS STATEMENT SITTING.

In response to the judge, Mahatmaji said that he would say a few words before he read his statement, which, with the judge's permission he would read sitting. There was now a stillness in the hall, a deep hush, and uncanny quietness. Then in a full, loud voice speaking slowly, distinctly Mahatmaji made his statement. It has been my good fortune to listen to the Mahatma times innumerable. I have heard the best orators of India and England, and a few of France; but



for delivery, concentration, pointedness, clearness, gravity and conviction, Mahatmaji's statement transcended all that I had heard or am likely to hear. He first referred to the Advocate-General's first charge and endorsed every word of it. But when he came to the second charge of his share in the tragic occurrences Bombay, Madras and Chauri Chaura, confessing that he was guilty of them, his voice though now low was so sad, so full of grief and pathos, so heart ending that everyone present knew that the Mahatma regarded them as the greatest blow of all. Would that we had listen to him Would that we had like him made non-violence the first and the last article of our faith. How greatly has the Mahatma suffered our crimes! The poignant agony he was undergoing, the shame the humiliation of our misdeeds he was suffering rage out so clearly and convincingly we hung our heads in shame as he said slowly painfully.

“Thinking over these things deeply, and weeping over them night after night, and examining my heart I have come to the conclusion that it is impossible for me to dissociate myself from the disbolical crimes of Chauri Chaura or the mad outrages of Bombay.”

That was it. 'He had been put to shame and pain by the mad violence of the people who in their mistaken love of him had committed such

violence and cruelty that his whole being suffered. In our love, we had pained him, hurt him, and almost killed him.

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He then read his written statement.

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### MAHATMA RADIANT WITH JOY.

The judge had been listening attentively. He took the indictment of bureaucratic rule with downcast eyes. When Mahatmaji had finished, he gathered himself to pronounce judgment.

As the learned judge himself observed (and obviously felt) his task was as difficult as a judge could ever have to face. Nevertheless he performed his duty courteously and well. His conduct could not be surpassed. Having raised high hopes (in the Mahatma) that a long sentence would be pronounced by saying that he would follow the precedent of Lok. Tilak's case, the judge proceeded: "You will not consider it unreasonable, I think, that you should be classed with Mr. Tilak." The Mahatma was all smiles and radiant with happiness but when the judge explained: "that is a sentence of two years simple imprisonment" Mahatmaji's face was downcast with sorrow. *Only* two years—when hopes had been raised that a heavy sentence was to be given; but as the judge proceeded: "two years simple imprisonment on each of the counts or six years in all", the cloud

disappeared, and with the broadest smile that I have ever seen, his face beamed with happiness, he was radiant with joy.

But what of us ? I cannot speak for others. I felt like an orphan—an orphan left with the greatest heritage anybody could ever receive but an orphan all the same.

The judge bowed and left. The Advocate-General followed with a sad look.

Was it because the sentence was too long ?

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“BHAJ. KHADDAR PHEJO.”

For an hour after we surrounded him, hundreds had their *durshan*, and then he went away. He went with quiet dignity to the car that was to take him away from us to the prison—a free man ! The last I saw of him was a smile that stretched from ear to ear.

One thing more. A little thing, but very, very important. As the people came for their *durshan* in single file he said to every one “ *Bhai Khaddar Phejo ben rentia chala.* ” That is our immediate task. If we want to see him again soon that is what we must do “ *Wear khaddar and ply the spinning wheel.* ” Let us not fail.



# **Mahatma Gandhi's Treatment in Jail.**

# Mr. Gandhi Treatment in Jail.

MR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR'S INTERVIEW,

Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, along with Mr. Devadass Gandhi returned to Bombay on April 3, after seeing Mahatma Gandhi in the Yeravda Jail on the 1st April. Interviewed by a *Bombay Chronicle* representative Mr. Achariar said:—

Mr. ~~Devadas Gandhi and myself went to Poona~~ on Friday last to see Mahatmaji who, we were informed by Mr. Thakkar of the Servants of India Society that the superintendent had orders to allow only one interview in three months. Mahatmaji's son, Mr. Devadass, accompanied by Mr. Thakkar and myself went to the jail and requested the superintendent to allow us to see Mahatmaji. We were told that only one of us two—Mr. Thakkar or myself—could accompany Mr. Devadass. Mr. Thakkar resigned in my favour.

The prisoner was brought down by a warder to the superintendent's room and we were called in. The superintendent was in his chair, Mahatmaji standing in front of his table. He had to continue standing throughout the interview.

In answer to questions about his food, Mahatmaji said that he was given goat's milk and bread. The milk being given all at a time, he had cut down his three meals to two. Asked what he did for fruits, he said he was given 2 oranges a day. Raisins which he had mentioned as a part of his usual diet had not yet been ordered to be given. The superintendent, however, promised to allow this. Mahatmaji's milk is heated for him on a stove in the yard which some Arab prisoners are using.

#### FORCED SECLUSION.

Mahatmaji is not allowed to see Mr. Shankarlal, who is in the same prison or any other prisoners. Mahatmaji is kept in one of the cells intended for solitary confinement and locked in during nights. The cell has two ventilators, one near the roof and another at the floor. It has a verandah, besides which in the day time an area marked out for him in the yard is allowed for walking. The nightpot has to be in the same little cell during nights. At our interview the superintendent promised to replace the crude pot by a commode.

No articles are allowed from outside. Mahatmaji is not allowed even his own bed. He is given the usual two jail blankets. I was curious to ask if he had any pillow. He said he had none. When I expressed surprise the superintendent interposed that a pillow was a luxury. For utensils Mahatmaji has



the usual jail mug and dish. He is, however, allowed his own spoon.

Mahatmaji is given no newspapers. The superintendent said that no books of his own would be allowed, not even purely religious books. Mahatmaji appears to have strongly remonstrated on this subject. The superintendent said during our interview, that if Mahatmaji applied, he would forward his petition to Government. He has not been deprived of his writing paper and pen, which he is just now using only to learn Urdu by himself.

Mahatmaji was in his usual single loin cloth. He did not seem to us to be in good health, though the jailor told us that he had gained in weight.

It is clear that except in the matter of food, to the limits extened mentioned by me, Mahatmaji is treated strictly as a common prisoner under the Bombay Jail Code, which in many respects, is worse than the codes of other provinces. Of course, Mahatmaji told me that he did not want any complaints to be made about his life in jail. But the fine words uttered by the judge at the famous trial at Ahmedabad had led us all to hope that the Government of Bombay would treat the great prisoner, if not exactly as he deserved and as we would want, at least as civilised Governments would treat their more important prisoners of war. Our interview, however, rudely

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awakened to the realities of British Indian administration.

### Government note.

With reference to the statement recently made by Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar regarding the treatment meted out to Mr. Gandhi in Yeroda jail, the director of information has issued the following note :—

Mr. Gandhi is given precisely the same diet to which he was accustomed when he was free, namely, goat milk, bread, oranges, lemons, sugar, tea and raisins. He brought his own raisins to the prison with him which he used until they were finished and a fresh supply was provided for him by the jail authorities. It is untrue to say that he is locked in at night. He has separate quarters of his own, one cell to sleep in and the other to work in during the day. He is allowed to keep the sleeping cell open at night. Half the yard is reserved to him for exercise and there is ample space for the purpose, as Mr. Gandhi himself stated to the authorities on several occasions. Mr. Gandhi has not asked for any newspapers and his request to be allowed to retain some of his private books was granted as soon as it was made. A pillow in addition to the usual bedding

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was supplied when it was asked for. A commode for use at night was placed in the cell on medical grounds for the benefit of the prisoner.

It should be added that Mr. Gandhi has been seen by the inspector-general of prisons on several occasions and has each time made no complaints, but, on the contrary, expressed himself on completely satisfied with the treatment he is receiving. Moreover, on the occasion of an interview which some of Mr. Gandhi's friends had with him and of which distorted accounts have appeared in the press. Mr. Gandhi distinctly stated that he did not want his prison life discussed in the papers but only that it should be stated that he was quite well.'

### **Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar's Rejoinder.**

Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar gave an interview to a *Bombay Chronicle* representative about the contradiction of his statements concerning Mahatma Gandhi's treatment in the Yavavda Jail given by the director of information.

It answer to a question whether he had seen the note issued by the director of information in connection with his interview with Mahatma Gandhi, he said ; 'Immediately I saw it yesterday at Ahmedabad I sent a reply to be published in *Young India*, which I believe you will extract for the readers of the *Chronicle*..

Every item in the Government note which pretends to contradict my statement is based on arrangements made subsequent to my interview; and in some cases probably only after the publication of facts. The director's note is so worded as to mislead the public to believe that these arrangements had been made all through and that my information is incorrect. As a matter of fact if Mahatmaji's son and I had not sought the interview, which we did somewhat unwillingly, I am positive that the state of things I described would have continued uninterrupted.

Q.—Do you mean to say that Mahatma Gandhi was looked in his cell at night till after the publication of your interview?

A.—Yes. In spite of the Government equivocations, I repeat that up to the time of my interview Mahatmaji was made to sleep in a solitary cell locked in at night and had only two jail blankets for bedding and no pillow.

Q.—Are the present arrangements, as revealed in the Government note, satisfactory?

A.—A careful reading of the Government note will show that even now the following points are not clear.

1. Whether Mahatmaji is to continue as a solitary prisoner or whether he will have the company of Mr. Sankerlal Banker or others.

Persons undergoing simple imprisonment under the ordinary jail code are not deprived of human association except by way of special punishment. Such segregation would be an executive act of state but cannot be justified by the sentence passed on Mahatmaji.

2. What facilities for interviews or writing of letters will be permitted.

3. Whether any newspapers will be allowed.

4. Whether necessary articles, such as private bedding from outside, will be permitted.

The main question, whether Mahatmaji is to be treated as a common prisoner with modifications on medical grounds, such as are open in the case of every prisoner, or whether the Government will treat Mahatmaji and other political prisoners as of a different class is not cleared in this note. What appear as concessions in the Government note are no more than an ordinary prisoner is entitled to receive in similar circumstances on medical grounds.

Q.—Do you think non-cooperators should be treated differently from common prisoners ?

A.—All the civilised world over political prisoners are treated differently from common prisoners. Mahatmaji and all non-cooperating prisoners are, however, quite prepared to be treated as common

prisoners. But let there be no pretence of civilization on the part of the Government.

Q.—How has Mahatmaji taken the treatment accorded to him ?

A.—It is said that Mahatmaji is completely satisfied with the treatment he is receiving. This is so because, as he told me at the interview, he does not expect the jail authorities to know anything about what a human being needs, apart from the requirements of his animal body. He was completely satisfied' even when he was made to stand throughout the interview. When I referred to a pillow he smiled and said it was not necessary. But such treatment accorded to a man of that character even for a single day, whatever improvements may hereafter be made, shows the mentality with which we have to deal. I do not see that Government have made any concession.

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## PALPABLE EVASIONS.

### MR. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR'S STATEMENT.

The following statement by Mr. Rajagopalachariar appears in *Young India* of Thursday the 6th April 1922:—

Judge Broomfield said to Mahatmaji when he stood before him as prisoner: 'It will be impossible to

ignore the fact that you are in a different category from any person I have ever tried or am likely to have 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 of even saintly life.'

These beautiful words falling from the lips of an apparent enemy led India to rest in the belief that despite the exigencies of warfare, the soul in man had triumphed over the brute and that the officers to whom Mahatmaji's body was to be entrusted according to the sentence would realise their privilege. We believed that the superintendent and the jailor of the prison that was to hold Mahatmaji within its walls would feel proud of this great charge and carry out the punishment not in a spirit of revenge or pettiness, but in a noble spirit. We had reason to hope that the punishment that was voluntarily sought and accepted by Mahatmaji in double atonement of the sins of our rulers as well as all the crimes of the people who had misused the strength to which he had opened their eyes, would be carried out in a spirit of worship and not that of the jail manual.

But our hopes have received a rude shock. Devidas, Mahatmaji's youngest son, and I, who were at our respective posts of duty and therefore, had not the privilege of being present during the

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great trial, went to Poona on the 1st of April and applied to see Mahatmaji in accordance with the rules as to interviews' of prisoners. In a few minutes as we were at the gate looking through the bars, my heart leapt as I saw the old and familiar source of inspiration and joy. The frail formed clad in a single loin-cloth jumped into the gate passage from inside through the wicket door. He was immediately led up the stairs into the superintendent's office room and we were called in. As was right and proper according to the code of official dignities and prestige, the prison king, the superintendent, was in his throne; and the prisoner was kept standing all the time during our talk, which on account of the superintendent's justification and explanations and the jailor's interruptions, took longer than we had expected.

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### WHAT WE SAW.

We had a peep into the truth, and it was disappointing in the extreme. The curse of vulgarity and ignorance rendered ugly what otherwise would have been the most beautiful thing in the world. We saw at once that the superintendent and the jailor of Yarvada had failed to realise their great opportunity. They had not the eyes to see what the cultured judge of Ahmedabad had seen. They did not see that they were honoured with the privilege of being custodians of a man greater than the Kaiser;

greater than Napoleon of St. Helena, greater than the biggest prisoners of war, a man of world-value, one whose fellows in history and companions in heaven will be Buddha, Socrates and Jesus and others of that class. Mahatmaji's jailors cannot claim the ignorance which had blinded the persecutors of Jesus or Socrates, for times have so far changed that even during the life time of the great Indian seer, his worst enemies have understood and explained to the world his purity of purpose and his greatness. The crime of the people to whose charge an indifferent government has entrusted him is all the greater. Food Mahatmaji has. The little bread and goat's milk his body wants is no doubt given to him. They give him also two oranges a day as it was notorious he lived mainly on fruit. They may even improve the quantity and quality when they learn by and by what he was all these years used to. They have not given him his own bed, but make him sleep on regulation jail blankets without a pillow. We will presume they will now give him even a pillow. His solitary cell has ventilators. He can use the verandah during day time, though at nights he has to sleep in the little space locked in with a commode. The food, air and water that the animal functions of his body require, he no doubt has, or they will soon be supplemented adequately. Even otherwise, the body will adjust itself after perhaps some trouble to the

conditions laid down. But what grieves us is that we saw indifference and blindness where we had believed there would be full recognition of their great duty. The human soul is not recognised by the jail code. But we had expected Government would not leave it in this case to the poor jail officials to find out their duties towards their great prisoner from the articles in the jail manual.

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We know that jail single cells are constructed for condemned murderers and recalcitrant and dangerous felons. But if necessary, it is not too much for a great and powerful Government to build afresh to find suitable prison accommodation for one whose life and self-inflicted punishment are thing standing in a category apart altogether from the jail manual. All prisoners should be locked in at night; but, surely, Government ought to be able to find a verandah for Mahatmaji to sleep in as he has been all through doing after his pleurisy. Barred and locked if they think it necessary to prevent his escape ! He is asked to petition and obtain orders from Government to have even his own religious books. He is not given such human companionship as even ordinary prisoners have. Such simple imprisonment is indeed worse than hard labour.

The whole story is sad and disappointing. But what is the thing to be remembered ? Our great leader's indomitable spirit cannot be broken by such or even worse treatment. About that all may be certain. But

it is a severe test of our strength and our faith. Anger would be a fatal outlet for the resentment which the nation must feel at Government's indifference and pettiness. Restraint at all cost must be our watchword now. Otherwise, the great sacrifice would indeed be fruitless.

A grim determination to clothe India in white *Khadi* and silently organise the nation into a disciplined army of nonviolence is the only worthy form which our great resentment should take.

#### GOVERNMENT CONTRADICTIONS.

I have just been shown the note issued by the director of information, Bombay :—

It was stated distinctly by me that goat's milk and bread were given. I stated also that he had two oranges a day ( which is insufficient in quantity but I avoided this aspect of the matter ). Mr. Gandhi does not take tea. There must be some mistake here which is however, immaterial now. As for the raisins I repeat what I have already stated that the superintendent noted the request only at the interview and said he would give them.

It is untrue to say that he is locked in at night.....; the sleeping cell he is allowed to keep open at night.'

I assure the public that Mr. Gandhi was locked in at night and that the cell in which

he slept was *not* allowed to be kept open at night till the time of my interview.

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### CLEVER EVASIONS.

The superintendent and jailor discussed this matter with me at some length and so there can be no mistake about it. I shall be glad if Government since then have allowed Mr. Gandhi to sleep in the verandah as he has been accustomed to for so long, and which I believe is necessary for his health. But the director of information, if he gave dates, would have to admit that this was done only after my interview. The evasion is perfect. 'It is untrue to say that he is locked in at night,' perhaps now; but it was quite *true*, upto the 1st of April, when I saw him.

'He has separate quarter of his own.'

Here also it is a clever evasion to make the privation of human intercourse look like a privilege. Is Mr. Shankerlal Banker who was sentenced with Mr. Gandhi allowed to see or live and sleep with him, or any other prisoner for that matter? Let the Government make it clear that Mr. Gandhi is not compelled to suffer absolute seclusion.

'Half the yard is reserved for him to exercise.

Here too it is a reservation, not a limitation!

'Mr. Gandhi has not asked for any newspapers.'

This is truly a wonderful statement to make. The superintendent and jailor were both particularly

persistent in refusing all private books, even though they may be purely religious, and as for newspapers, none was allowed. Here too the director evades dates.

A pillow in addition to the usual bedding was supplied when it was asked for.

Note the double evasion here. When was the pillow given? Had he one during the ten days he was in Yervada jail till I saw him? Did not the superintendent raise objections even during my interview, when I expressed painful surprise at their having allowed no pillows? Again, what is 'usual bedding'? In it Mr. Gandhi's own bedding which a prisoner undergoing simple imprisonment is, according to my understanding of even jail code, entitled to? The director evades this question.

'A commode for use at night, etc.'

When? After my interview, but the director's note is silent. The director's note is silent again as to interviews and letters. It is desirable that this matter as well as that of the enforced seclusion from all fellow prisoners, are all made clear without evasion or equivocation. We have all to doubt that Mr. Gandhi will express himself 'completely satisfied' with any treatment; but this does not in his case absolve a civilised Government from its duties. It is true that Mr. Gandhi told me that he did not want his prison life to be discussed in the papers. But I told him he should trust my judgment in the

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matter. I consider it my duty to state the truth in a matter of such public importance and could not find my way to suppress or evade. It may not be easy hereafter to obtain interviews or correct information and we may have to rely on such evasions as I see the director of information of Bombay has been guilty of (and he adds insult to injury by charging me with having made misleading and untrue statements.)

Treatment such as I found after thorough cross-examination of Mr. Gandhi as well as of the superintendent and the jailor, has given us an insight into the spirit of the whole thing. Details do not matter. Subsequent mending in this or that trifle is not what we are concerned about. The evasive note issued in reply to my statements and the bold charge of untruth on the top of it do not improve the position.

C. RAJAGOPALCHARIAR.

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# **APPRECIATIONS.**



# THE WORLD SIGNIFICANCE OF MAHATMA GANDHI.

BY REV. JOHN HYNES HOLMES.

( Extracts from a Sermon preached at the Lyric Theatre, New York, on March 12th, the day following the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi.)

As I enter this morning upon the discussion of Mahatma Gandhi, of India, and of the universal significance of the work which he is doing in the native country, I am irresistibly reminded of the day, which was not so long ago, when I first had the pleasure of presenting this man to this congregation, and of declaring my conviction, the same now as it was then, that Gandhi is incomparably the greatest man now living in the world. How the situation has changed in these few months! At that time Gandhi's name was practically unknown outside the borders of India. I hit upon it by the merest chance; and, although I came to feel upon the instant that here was a creative spiritual genius of the first order, my information was of the meagrest description. Further-more, all endeavours to get additional information met with failure. To-day, however, Gandhi's name is appearing on the first pages of all newspapers. Scores of articles have

been published in the magazines and reviews of this country, England and the continent. A great journal, the New York World, sends its leading correspondent to India to "spy out the land," and he returns to write of Gandhi and his policy of non-violence and non-cooperation. From almost utter obscurity, this man mounts in a few months to a fame which is as universal as it promises to be immortal. He holds to-day the centre of the world's attention. That position of primacy held so proudly Woodrow Wilson in 1918 and 1919, and by Nicolai by Lenin in 1920 and 1921, is now occupied by a little Oriental who has never any official position, who seeks neither glory nor power, and who languishes this day behind the bars of an English jail.

### **A Spiritual Leader.**

To those who understand what it means in terms of inward purity and outward devotion, his name falls on the heart "like the gentle dew from heaven." From another and more important point of view, however, these events must be regarded as unfortunate, for they are tending to present Gandhi to the world simply as leader of a nationalistic cause. They are teaching men to classify the Indian Mahatma with such historical figures as William Tell, William Wallace, Robert Emmett, Kosciusko, George Washington, and Garibaldi, as the champion of the liberties of an enslaved people. This, of course,

he is ! Gandhi stands to-day at the forefront of his nation's life, as we have seen, and matches in heroic service of freedom the achievements of any of the great nationalistic leaders of the past. But it is a deplorable mistake to look at Gandhi exclusively or even primarily from this standpoint. He is more than the leader of a movement for national independence—his task is nobler even than that of championing the political emancipation of a great people. Of this movement that he is to-day; and if this movement ended to-morrow, in defeat or victory, Gandhi's real work would still go on to its appointed end. That there must be something wrong with an idea which classifies this man with Wallace, Washington, and Garibaldi, all of whom were soldiers who drew blood on the field of battle, is shown, conclusively by the fact that Gandhi is a non-resistant who refuses to take the sword even to fight for liberty, but appeals to a "higher law" than that of violence, namely "strength of spirit." What we have here in the case of Gandhi, as always in the case of the non-resistant is a religious leader, a man not of local, or national: but of universal significance. It is in the realm of spirit that Gandhi "lives and moves and has his being." It is not primarily with kings and premiers but with God and the soul of man, that he does business. Above and beyond the political liberation of his own or any other people, he seeks the

spiritual redemption of mankind. If we would classify him with any of supreme figures of human history, it must be with such august religious prophets as Confucius and Lao-tse, Buddha, Zoroaster and Mahomed, and, most truly of all, the Nazarene! Out of Asia, at long intervals of time, have arisen these inspired witnesses of God. One by one they have appeared to teach men by precept and example the law of life, and therewith to save the race. To-day, in this our time, there comes another of this sacred line the Mahatma of India. In all reverence, and with due regard for historic fact, I match this man with Jesus Christ! If the lives of these two were written side by side, as Plutarch wrote the lives of the great heroes of Greece and Rome, it would be amazing to see to what extent they are identical.

Now it is of this universal significance of Gandhi as a spiritual leader, that I want to speak to you this morning in. I find this significance most clearly typified, at least for the beginning of our discussion, in the personal character of the man. We can best get at this aspect of the problem by asking how it is that Gandhi has managed to acquire such a marvelous influence over the Indian people. Of the nature of this influence, there can be no question; it is one of the most extraordinary personal phenomena in the world to-day. As Gandhi moves from place to place great multitudes of men and women follow him, as similar multitudes followed Jesus in Palestine. When

he appears to speak in some town or city, crowds running all the way from twenty-five to seventy-five thousand people gather to hear his words. That he is a wonder-worker is implicitly believed by the ignorant and superstitious, and stories of his miracles are now the legend of the countryside. Everywhere he is called Mahatma, the "saint" or "blessed one", for already the people reverence him as one who is divine. To find anything to match this influence of Gandhi over his people, we would have to return to ancient times and remote places, and even then the parallel would be incomplete. It is the testimony of a competent and unbiased observer that Gandhi's personal following is greater in numbers, and more devoted and disciplined in spirit, than any man's history has ever known.

### **The Secret of his Power.**

If we seek for the explanation of this fact, we cannot find it, I believe, any of the ordinary aspects of personality. It does not reside, for example, in Gandhi's physical presence, which has been described as "pitifully insignificant." Thus he weighs less than one hundred pounds. He shows all the weakness and emaciation of one who has disciplined his body to an asceticism of an extreme type for over thirty years. On occasion he is so feeble that he is unable to stand, and has to address his audiences while seated in a chair.



His only impressive physical feature is his eyes, which glow with the flaming passion of a spirit which burns as though it would consume the flesh.—So, also, I cannot find that his personal influence has its origin in any extraordinary degree of intellectuality. Gandhi does not impress me as having exceptional mental powers. Certainly he is not to be compared with such an intellectual giant as Leo Tolstoi. To me, at least, it is inconceivable that the Indian could write such books as *War and Peace*, *Anna Karenina*, or even *My Religion*. Great as he is, Gandhi does not seem to move on this plane of achievement at all!—I feel the same way, also, about his gifts as an orator. I speak with some hesitancy here, for the standards of oratory, as of music, may be very different in the East from what they are in the West. What is genuine eloquence in India may not be recognizable as such at all in the United States. But I might as well confess that Gandhi, so far as I can judge from his printed addresses, does not impress me as an orator. I find in his utterances no such magic of words as we are familiar with in the case of men like Edmund Burke and Patrick Henry. I had difficulty, for example, in selecting a passage from Gandhi's writings which had the lift and beauty, the soaring grandeur of style, which made it appropriate for reading as scripture in this service. That Gandhi can work a spell

over an audience we know from abundant testimony, but it must be for reason quite apart from eloquence of speech.

What is it that the Indian see when they look upon this man, and hail him as Mahatma? Not a great physical presence, not a gigantic intellect, not an inspired orator, but a personality or character of transcendent spiritual beauty. What they see first of all, is a man who has made his life to be at one with the great masses of the people. Gandhi was well born, of a family with ample means, and was given the best educational advantages both in his own country and in England. When he returned to Bombay, he began his career as a practitioner of the law. Then he did what so few men in any age have ever done! Instead of climbing up, the ladder of achievement to wealth and fame, and thus away from the common people, he proceeded deliberately to move *down*—down to the depths of human misery and woe, down to where men toiled desperately and died miserably, down to the dark places of sweat and tears and blood. From the beginning he was resolved that there should be no suffering among men which he did not endure, no outrage which he did not feel, no cross which he did not carry. Even the "untouchable" should not be beneath his comradeship—to them he would descend, and with them share the bitterness of the world's

contempt ! The experience of men, in other words, down to its remotest horror, he made his won ; and always, in his long struggles for reform, met first himself the hazards to which he invited others. How beautiful for example is the story of his leading the Hindu "coolies" in South Africa out on to the land, in revolt against the inequities of government ! Here Gandhi was the first to sleep on the bare ground, beneath the stars ; the first to practise the vow of poverty which he enjoined upon his followers ; and the first to cultivate the land for sustenance ! How impressive also the most recent and much more famous story of the loin-cloth ! Talk with enemy of Gandhi, and almost at once he will mention the loin-cloth episode, and offer it as proof of the Mahatma's insane fanaticism. What is the episode ? Some months ago, in the prosecution of his noncooperation campaign against the government, Gandhi ordered his followers to boycott all cotton goods imported from England, destroy whatever foreign cloth or clothing they had on hand, and spin what they needed on their own domestic spindles. It soon developed that obedience to this command would cause great inconvenience and even suffering, especially among the poor, by stripping them practically naked of the little that they had. At once Gandhi appeared in public, on the country highways and even in the cities, clad in nothing

but a loin-cloth, that no man in all the land should be embarrassed by a poverty greater than his own. Such deeds are a commonplace in Gandhi's life. His whole career reveals a positive passion for community of experience with mankind. When his people look upon him, therefore, they see not a leader merely but a comrade and a brother, one who is in all things like unto themselves; and of course they reverence him as one who is divine.

### **His Self-abnegation.**

This deliberate kinship with the masses of his fellow-countrymen leads us to another quality which is fundamental in any estimate of Gandhi's personality. I refer to his self-abnegation, his sacrifice, his capacity for suffering. Very early in his career Gandhi discovered what he called "the law of conscious suffering"—the truth that the mastery of the world waits upon the man who is willing not to make others suffer, but to suffer himself; and his whole life has been a discipline to its attainment. At the outset he sacrificed his property, his social standing, his profession, everything that could separate him from entire devotion to his fellow-men. In his personal habits he began and still continues to practise an asceticism that might well be the envy of a medieval monk. In his work as a reformer he has evaded no penalty, but has accepted gladly the punishment imposed upon him as only so many

weapons to his hand. He has faced an assassin without flinching. Four times, in South Africa and in India, he has been imprisoned. Thrice he has been beaten by mobs, and once left prone in the gutter as one dead. His body bears the stripes of the whips with which he has been lashed, his wrists and ankles the marks of the chains with which he has been bound for hours together to the iron bars of his cell. Read Paul's catalogue of sufferings, and you find it a less terrible array than Gandhi's! "I have gone through the most fiery ordeals that have fallen to the lot of man" is his testimony. And all because sacrifice has been deliberately chosen as the law of his life and the sword of his fray! It is this which the Indians see when they look upon the scarred and wasted form of their leader. It is this which they remember when they think of him in some far distant part of the countryside. Imagine the stupidity of a government which hopes to break such a man, or sever him from the worship of his followers, by fresh arrest and imprisonment!

Greater than all that we have yet mentioned in the character of Gandhi, is the love with which his entire being is saturated. No man of our time, few men of any time, have risen to such heights of tenderness and compassion for mankind as this Mahatma of India. Anger, malice, resentment, hatred, have altogether disappeared from his heart, and nothing is now left but

the pure essence of love for his fellowmen. And his fellowmen include all men who live upon the earth! Like God himself, Gandhi is "no respecter of persons." He holds white men and black side by side within the embrace of his affection. He ends the long feud between Moslem and Hindu, and makes them brethren one of another. While recognizing certain social utilities of the caste system, he wipes out the barriers of separation in his personal relations, and seats Brahmin and "untouchable" at a common board and leads them in breaking bread together. Even the English are not excluded from his goodwill, for "love your enemies" is as stern a command for Gandhi as for Jesus. "Tell the British people that I love them, and want their association" is the word that he has spoken a thousand times. Think of his conduct at the time of the attempt upon his life in South Africa! Asked in the hospital, where he was hovering on the verge of death, to take action against his assassin, he refused. Why should I seek to injure or punish him, he said. The man did what he thought was right, risked his life for what he thought was right! I believe in that man; I shall love him, and win him to myself. And he did! In a few months the assassin was conquered by the might of Gandhi's forgiveness, and became straightway one of his most ardent followers—Equally beautiful is Gandhi's attitude towards General Dyer the officer responsible for the

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massacre at Amritsar. I cannot cooperate with him, says Gandhi ; I cannot recognize his authority or obey his orders. But if he fall sick of a fever, I would hasten to his beside and nurse him back to health.—There is no bitterness in this man, no last flickering spark of hatred or revenge. He is love incarnate. In every act and even gesture of these last years, when patient suffering has purified his soul, he has been a perpetual witness to the truth of his own great words, " Anger will serve no purpose. We must meet ungodliness by godliness. We must meet untruth by truth. We must meet cunning, and craft by openness and simplicity. We must meet terrorism and frightfulness by bravery."

It is qualities such as these, which have become familiar to all Indians, that give Gandhi such a hold upon the imagination and devotion of his people. It is these same qualities, also, that give to him and his work a universal significance. Gandhi is a man who has mastered the secrets of spiritual living. His soul has been lifted, by virtue of incomparable discipline, to the measures of the stature of those realities which are of God. In humility, in sacrifice, in ardent love for men, he is one of those perfect characters which come along once in a thouband, or perhaps, only in two thousand, years. And to-day he lies in prison. Such men are the judges of our world. A society



which cannot suffer a Jesus, or a Gandhi, to be at large, is a society which is not fit to live, and by this token is already doomed to die.

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A second evidence of Gandhi's universal significance is found in his doctrine of non-resistance, which, he says, "does not mean meek submission to the will of the evildoer, but the pitting of one's whole soul against the will of the tyrant." I refer more particularly to the fact that Gandhi is the first man who has succeeded in applying the non-resistant idea on a vast scale and in working out a technique for its successful operation in determining the great issues of social life. Gandhi, in other words has demonstrated the feasibility of non-resistance as a method of political and economic reform, and therewith, as definitely as Newton or Darwin, opened up a new era in human history.

Hitherto non-resistance has laboured under two very serious disabilities. In the first place, its practice has been limited in the past, to the life of the single individual, or here and there to the experience of single and isolated groups of individuals. The great non-resistants have been Jesus, St. Francis, William Lloyd Garrison, Henry David Thoreau, Leo Tolstoi—men of transcendent personality and influence, who have exemplified nobly the possibilities of non-resistance in their own private lives, but have never attempted, or been

able, to apply it on a universal scale to society at large. Occasionally, to be sure, there have appeared larger or smaller groups of men and women who have organized movements, and even whole communities, on non-resistant principles. Thus there were the Christians of the first two centuries of our era, various heretical sects of the Middle Ages, such as the Cathari, the Waldenses and the Albigenses, and such modern religious groups as the Quakers, the Mennonites, and the Doukhobors of Russia and Western Canada. But these groups, like separate individuals of the Tolstoian type, have been independent and self-contained. They have lived very largely in and for themselves, and thus are important as an example rather than as an influence. They show what non-resistance can do on a small scale, but teach nothing about its practicability as a general social principle.

The second difficulty, under which the non-resistant gospel has suffered in the past, has been its identification with a remote or other-worldly type of life. The non-resistant of the Middle Ages was the monk of the St. Francis type, who abandoned the world and went off to live alone by himself or with his group of disciples. The supreme non-resistant of modern times was Tolstoi, who characteristically cut himself off from his family, his country, his church, and lived like a kind of hermit on the land; and at the end

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fled away, like a wounded animal in the brush, to die alone. These men were sublime in their personal lives. The non-resistant in all ages has marked the highest attainment of inward purity and outward sacrifice. But with few exceptions—Garrison, for example they have achieved virtue at the expense of contact with the world of men. From the practical point of view, the non-resistant has again and again been an ineffective man. He has solved the problems of life by running away from them. Tolstoi is one of the sublimest characters in history, but he contributed nothing to the solution of those questions that vex most terribly the society of modern times.

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### A New Type of Non-resistant.

It is these two disabilities which have left the advocate of non-resistance helpless to commend his doctrine as an adequate method for meeting the contingencies of the modern industrial struggle, for example, or of international war. Non-resistance may be all right, he has been told, as a personal idiosyncrasy or as a means of escape from social responsibility, but it has nothing to offer the man who has to meet things as they are! And now, behold, comes Gandhi, a new type of non-resistant, a man who leads his people in the greatest movement of

revolt our age has known, and does it on the basis of a programme of "resist not evil." It is this programme, or technique, of non-resistance as a method of social change, as the plan of campaign in what is literally a war for national independence, that constitutes Gandhi's unique and immortal contribution to experience. Beginning with the elementary precept of "non-violence" which pledges all Indians to abstain from use of force under all circumstances, Gandhi passes on to his second and basic principle of "non-cooperation." This is only superficially a negative principle—a refusal to cooperate in any way with the English government, to accept favours or rewards, to use the courts, to send children to the schools, to buy English goods, to pay taxes, to recognize the laws. At bottom, it is a magnificently positive assertion of Indian self-sufficiency—the definite organization of a society which is politically and economically self-sustaining and therefore independent. What Gandhi is doing is teaching his people to do their own work, to manage their own affairs, to build and maintain their own institutions and to endure in patience, not only without hatred or desire for revenge but with actual good will towards the enemy, whatever sufferings this policy may bring upon them from their alien rulers. He is organising a vast programme of social revolt on the basis of love, love one for another expressed in terms of

mutual service, and love for the enemy expressed in terms of forgiveness and compassion. He is showing that no people needs to be helpless in the face of physical force, or to resist force with force to their own misery and destruction. All they have to do is to act together in ignoring it—to rise above it by discipline, to conquer it by suffering. "We must meet organization, by greater organizing ability. We must meet discipline by great discipline, and we must meet sacrifices by infinitely greater sacrifices."

It is in this programme of non-resistance, applied on a vast scale to social issues, that I find evidence of a significance in Gandhi's work which far transcends the borders alike of country and of race. If the Mahatma succeeds in his great venture, non-resistance will be made for the first time in history a universal principle of life. The reproach that it is nothing more than an eccentric rule of individual or sectarian life, will be removed. The charge that its feasibility is limited to the single life, or the unwordly habit of experience, will be answered. If Gandhi succeeds, we shall see that non-resistance is a sound method of social action, that resort to violence for any cause is no longer necessary, that for defence against aggression and in endeavours after liberty, there is "the better way" than force. If Gandhi succeeds, do I say? Gandhi has already succeeded; he

has demonstrated this truth! His arrest yesterday was the final evidence of his triumph. More terrible to England than any sword, is the steadfast patience of this one little man who in the true spirit of love, "beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth things." In Gandhi, if men be wise, the era of force at last comes to its end, and the era of peace and brotherhood begins!

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### Fighting for India's Soul.

There is one final aspect of Gandhi's universal significance of which I would speak before I end this morning. I can best convey to you what I mean by referring to the charge most often brought against Gandhi by his enemies, that he is a fanatic who would destroy everything that civilization has achieved in the last three hundred years. Thus it is said that he would close the hospitals in India, rip up the railroads, smash the printing presses and cotton factories, scrap the whole intricate mechanism of modern life, in a vain endeavour to restore at one stroke the simpler ways of an earlier and more primitive day. Now, that Gandhi is thus a mad wrecker of the machinery of society as we know it to-day, is obviously disproved by the fact that he himself makes constant use of the various devices which



are the commonplace of our time. Thus when he was so desperately wounded by the assassin in South Africa, he went to a hospital and was there nursed back to health by an English woman who had come to know the kind of man he was. In India he travels constantly from place to place on the railroads. The other day, when extraordinary speed was necessary, he made the journey in a high-powered automobile. His use of the printing-press is constant and most effective.

There is truth, however, in the statement that Gandhi is fighting the machine of Western civilization in India, and seeking to restore the native and therefore primitive culture of his people. It is just this which marks, to my mind, the culminating evidence of his genius as a spiritual leader. For Gandhi, as he looks upon his country to-day sees it subjected to a two-fold yoke. On the one hand, there is the yoke of English government—the bondage of an alien political system, against which the nationalist movement is now being directed. On the other hand, there is the yoke of capitalism—that economic system which uses the vast machinery of modern invention for the exploration of the many to the profit of the few. To Gandhi, release from this economic system of Western capitalism is as important for India as release from the political system of British imperialism.



At the heart of this Western civilization of ours, Gandhi believes, is death and not life. We have created a vast machine which proves to be a Frankenstein which is devouring us. This monster has bound us to the wheel of labour, deceived us with the lure of wealth, degraded us to the base uses of materialism, levelled to the ground our standards of moral and spiritual idealism. Even in a physical sense it is a failure; for in the end it brings only such calamity as the great War. It is this system of economic ruin which Gandhi sees coming into Asia, after having conquered and ravaged our Western world. He sees it victorious in Japan, he sees it invading in China, he sees it planted at the heart of India—and *he declares war against it!* He fights the opium trade, he battles against the liquor traffic, he substitutes the domestic spindle for the factory loom, he denounces the railroad, the automobile, and the machine in general. What Gandhi is attempting to do is to save India from the blight of Western materialism by restoring her own native civilization and culture before it is too late. He is trying to preserve his land from the curse of commercialism, the horror of machine exploitation and production, the slavery of wage labour, the whole black system of capitalistic life. And he would do this not for its own sake, but for the sake of India's soul. He would save the

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spirit of his people—their simplicity, their art, their religion, their mystic comradeship with one another and with God. It is here, in this great service, that Gandhi becomes in very truth the great religious leader of whom I spoke in the beginning. It is in this work of spiritual redemption that he takes on a universal significance, for the West as well as for the East. For in saving India, Gandhi is saving the world. In staying the ravages of capitalism in his own land, he is starting a movement which, by process of reaction, will flow back into our world and restore to us those things of the spirit which we have lost. Our Western Civilization is in exactly the situation of Rome in the days of the great Caesar. It has mastered the world by the power of its arms, and is exploiting its resources and people to its own advantage. As its outward glory increases, however, its inward disintegration proceeds. At the critical moment in Roman history, there appeared Jesus and the Christian who brought to the perishing world a new source of life which preserved its vitality for a period of two thousand years. At the critical moment in our not dissimilar age, there appears Gandhi! Does he not also bring with him a new life of the spirit, and may he not therefore be truly hailed as the saviour of the world?

It is thus that I would speak of the universal significance of Mahatma Gandhi and his work

in India. The parallel with Jesus constantly presents itself. The Nazarene was a divine personality; he taught the law of love, and laid down a programme of non-resistance for its fulfillment; he sought to establish the Kingdom of Heaven on earth by dethroning Mammon in favour of God. So also with Gandhi! This Indian is a saint in his personal life; he teaches the law of love, and non-resistance as its practice; and he seeks the establishment of a new social order which shall be a kingdom of the spirit. If I believed in “the second coming,” as I do not, I should dare to assert that Gandhi was Jesus come back to earth. But if “the second coming” has no historical validity, it has at least poetical significance; and in this sense, can we not speak of Gandhi as indeed the Christ? In a little book called “The Scourge of Christ,” sent me by the author, Paul Richard, from the foot of the Himalaya mountains, where he lives, I find two remarkable sentences:

*“If Christ came again, would he not choose again to be a son of an enslaved people rather than a citizen of the empire?”*

*“The Christ, if he comes, will not be of the white race; the colored peoples could not put their faith in him.”*

Is not this the prophecy of Gandhi? Does not this prove him to be the Christ of our age?

To-day, as in the olden time, it is no longer a question as to whether Christ is here or not. It is a question only of who will recognize and follow him!

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## MAHATMA GANDHI.

### THE MAN.

BY THE RIGHT HON'BLE MR. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

Politics is not easily 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 or the rules of the mighty war; the weapons to be used in the

campaign are the weapons to be used in 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 nonviolence. Non-violence is of the heart as well as of the body. By thought, word or 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 cannot 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 first 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 booths. 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 these principles and courses of action. The numerous levies now fighting in India under the flag of non-cooperation 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 has 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, whatever the severity of the measures which such action may provoke the authorities to adopt non-cooperations, are precluded from the slightest infraction 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,

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*Satyagrahasrama*, means the hermitage of the determined practice of truth or the abode of soulforce. The *Asrama* is still small. It has had not 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 objects is conditioned by the increase of its numbers and the acceptance by the community at large of those austere ideals which are 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 possible only where the individual enjoys complete freedom. All forms of force or coercion are thus at once barred. Compulsion, authority, government—these are *anathem maranatha* to one who at bottom is a philosophical anarch. In fact, he describes the essence of his doctrine sometimes as non-violence (*ahimsa*); these terms are in his opinion interchangeable. No organized government, in the ideal world is justifiable. The merit of the British government is that it governs 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. Some time ago he applied this remedy to end a serious strike in a mill, the employers coming

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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-cooperation on the occasion of the Prince of Wales' visit entailed this form of self—chastisement on his part and by all account 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 necessaries.

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 from 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 the *khaddar* 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 order of 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 ashrama. Married couples may not be admitted unless they agree to surrender their mutual 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 one of 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 men 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 railways 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 simples 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 been already mentioned. He does not seek the medical man in sickness. He eats hard fare. He wears *khaddar* 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 *sannyasin* in all the rigor 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 exercise 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 that confidence be engendered which is the essential pre-requisite of all work of amelioration.

His non-cooperationist 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 activity. The indiscriminate 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 higher sciences and arts, the specialized forms of historical research or economic inquiry, with their glorifications 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 this *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 one 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 when near him the chastening effects of a great personality. He has derived much strength from observing the workings 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"—

## THE GANDHI MOVEMENT.

### MR. SASTRI'S ANALYSIS.

To a *Manchester Guardian* representative who saw him today and asked him for his views on the present position of the Gandhi movement and its prospects he made the following statement.

### Gandhi's Idealism

With regard to Mr. Gandhi's latest move, it was always to be expected that a man of his determination would not turn back except under iron necessity. He is, in spite of his eminent practical acumen, an idealist in his aims. To him the world of imponderable moral ideas is the only



real world. Proceedings on the material plane are not of much account except as they subserve the higher ends of spiritual advance as he conceives it. Property being in his opinion an encumbrance to the soul, the destruction of material wealth is a blessing rather than a calamity. Loss of freedom is but the loss of freedom to be a slave. The inside of a gaol is the only honourable place for a self-respecting citizen. The loss of a few thousand lives—what is it in view of the education it brings in the practice of non-violence ?

There can be no failure in a movement conducted on such principles. It may live for ever, registering moral and spiritual gains concurrently with the loss of everything that modern civilisation holds dear—industrial prosperity, ordered freedom, well-established educational system, democratic institutions, electorates and legislatures. It is a pity that sensible India has not recognised the inevitable tendency of the non-cooperation movement if left unchecked. I have not much hope that Mr. Gandhi will be persuaded to drop the movement by any negotiations for a compromise until he sees his following drop off and dwindle to nothing.

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## THE PROBLEM OF MR. GANDHI.

(BY MR. G. A. NATESAN)

And so Mr. Montagu, one of the staunchest

friends of our country and the greatest Secretary of State for India, has been sacrificed to the die-hards. In the face of the vaunted assurance of the new status of India as an original member of the League of Nations Mr. Churchill, the Colonial Minister, has decreed against the interests of Indians in Kenya and no responsible Cabinet Minister has it thought it his duty to disavow this barefaced attempt.

Taxation which is already high has been made higher still, the military expenditure as a whole consuming more than half the revenues of the state, while the assembly is utterly impotent to effect any material reduction in it. The economic condition of the people, which was bad enough before the War, has been rendered worse after it; dyarchy, the outstanding feature of the new Reform Act, is rapidly proving itself a snare and a delusion as some would describe it. The *Times* thunders and seriously talks of the necessity of going back even on the 'inadequate and unsatisfactory' Reform Act. The unwise attempt of the bureaucracy to enforce part 2 of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act has resulted in the addition of over 20,000 educated Indians to the jail population. And as if all these were not enough to cause anxiety, just at a time when some of the leading men of the non-cooperation movement have begun to object to the more extreme items in Mr. Gandhi's programme, when indeed it could be said that the movement is, for all

practical purposes, on the decline, the authorities in their wisdom have thought it necessary to arrest and clap Mr. Gandhi into jail. And who is this Mr. Gandhi who has been sentenced to six years' imprisonment? He is the man whom the convicting judge described "as a great patriot and a great leader, as a man of high ideals and leading a noble and even saintly life," the man in whom, as Gokhale aptly described, "Indian humanity has really reached its high water mark" and in whom a Christian bishop witnesseth "the patient sufferer for the cause of righteousness and mercy". Such a man has been condemned despite his public avowal of his huge mistake, his penitence for the same, his decision to suspend his aggressive programme, and his grave warnings that it would be 'criminal' to start civil disobedience in the existing state of the country. Even some of the Anglo-Indian papers have condemned the action of the Government as a blunder, and one of these has gone so far as to characterise it as 'a masterpiece of official ineptitude.' And such a criticism cannot be described as altogether undeserved or unjust, Mr. Gandhi's agitation originated with the Rowlatt Act. It received strength on account of the calculated brutalities and humiliations of the martial law regime. And the climax was reached when the solemn pledges of the British Prime Minister in regard to Turkey were conveniently forgotten at Sevres. The Rowlatt

Act has since been repealed, the Punjab wrongs have been admitted and an appeal has been made to "forget and forgive." Mr. Gandhi's bitter complaint that the British Ministers have not sincerely fought for the redemption of the solemn pledges to the Mussalmans has been proved to be well-founded. And so the three great grievances for which Mr. Gandhi has been fighting—are grievances admitted by all to be just. In the opinion of Mr. Gandhi and most of his countrymen there would never have arisen these festering sores 'if we were in our country what others are in their own,' if, in short, we too had been given 'the self-determination' for which elsewhere so much blood and treasure have been sacrificed. The whole question therefore reduces itself to one dominant problem—the problem of Swaraj. And the problem of Mr. Gandhi is no less than that. But for the lost faith of the people in the sincerity of the British, even this question would not have assumed such an acute form as we find it today.

You cannot solve this problem by clapping its best, brightest and noblest exponent, even though his methods may be novel and his activities inconvenient and sometimes dangerous. Sir. John Rees was not far wrong when he observed that 'Gandhi in jail might prove to be more dangerous than Gandhi out of it'. There is a world of significance in the warning of Professor Gilbert Murray :—

‘Persons in power should be very careful when they deal with a man who cares nothing for sexual pleasures, nothing for riches, nothing for comfort or praise or promises but simply determines to do what he believes to be right. He is a dangerous and uncomfortable enemy because his body, which you can always conquer, gives you so little purchase upon his soul.’—

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*“Al-Ahram” March 14th an Egyptian newspaper.*

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**“To Gandhi, the Prophet not only of India but of the whole East, in patriotism”.**

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“If you only knew, O great leader, what an exalted place you occupy the hearts of all the various races and communities of Orientals, it would comfort you and fill your heart with joy. We pray that Allah may prolong your life till you visit our East and see for yourself, the rank you occupy. If you visit Egypt and Syria and Constantinople, all the people will come out to welcome you in a procession, and they will carry you upon their heads with stretched-up throats. How should it not, be so when the affairs of India which engross your time have

not prevented you from looking to this oppressed and persecuted East which greedy imperialistic ambitions are now tearing limb from limb although it is the cradle of civilisation and the birthplace of three great religions—the Jewish, the Christian and the Islamic—but you cried out from beyond the seas for the rights of the Khilafat, and you said: 'The death of Turkey is the death of Asia.'

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## GREAT GANDHIJI.

The Pride of Gujrat, the Hero of Africa, the Idol of India, the Pioneer of the N. C. O. movement, the Apostle of Non-violence, the Leader of India's Regeneration, and the Promoter of Peace and good-will is now a guest of the Government of Bombay. A soul more religious and holy; a life more harmless and helpful; a leader more faithful and truthful; a humanitarian more simple and sincere—this wide-world cannot point out to-day! That the greatest man of the World today cannot remain free in his own land, speaks volumes against the system under which we groan to-day! It indicates, that Conservatism and Reaction are having an upper-hand. Please note that our khadi hits Manchester. It is Manchester, that is now on the war-path against India! Shall we help Manchester by buying her cloth? Shall we be true to Gandhiji or



Mother Hind, if we neglect churkha, if we discard Khadi and if we take to Bideshi? Pray note, that those who will go back on our pledges, will surely sadden Gandhiji, gladden the bureaucracy and delay the attainment of Swaraj. Our duty to-day is to preserve peace, promote peace, patronize churkha, put on khadi, remove untouchability and maintain by all means and at all times perfect non-violence. That is our duty to our country and to our dear, revered Gandhiji. May Heaven help us to discharge it faithfully and fearlessly, for ours is now the main responsibility to attain Swaraj for our dear country! Amen!

BUBJORJI FRAMJI BHARUCHA

## THE MAHATMA'S ARREST.

### A CONDEMNATION OF MONTAGU REFORMS.

The two questions which made Mahatma Gandhi start Non-co-operation were the passing of the Rowlatt Act and the Khilafat. On these two questions, Government have at last been converted to the Mahatma's views. The Rowlatt Act was passed the other day on the motion of the very member who had introduced it. The despatch sent to the Government of India, the publication of which



was the ostensible cause of Mr. Montagu's resignation, virtually accepted the Mahatma's demands as regards the Khilafat. In constitutionally-governed countries, the Opposition leader, whose policy on two such capital questions was accepted by Government, would as a matter of course be put in charge of the Government. A bureaucracy, however, can only imprison him. The arrest, prosecution and imprisonment of the Mahatma, I regard not as the outcome of the intention of any Governor but as the natural reaction of the bureaucratic system to any effective political pressure that is brought to bear upon it from the popular side. It accepts new ideas when it can no longer oppose them, but punishes their promulgator for daring to disturb its egocentricity. As Sir John Gorst admitted many years ago, the Indian Government system cannot tolerate tall poppies. The Montagu reforms have not altered this one bit, and that, in my opinion, is their conclusive condemnation. The tallest of us must still bend, as Mr. Gokhale used to say, to its smallest exigencies. My objection to the system is not so much that it has failed in this or that branch of administration, but that in its total and inevitable incidence it condemns our soul to a stunted, sunless life.

The remedy, therefore, is a change of the system to complete responsible government. I am glad that the Mahatma's imprisonment has been

taken calmly by the country, because in quietness is strength, and in quietness alone is there scope for deep thinking. The conversion of the present system into full responsible Government with the least delay and dislocation, can be carried out only on a definite plan steadily and persistently worked upon. Such a scheme is being drafted and will shortly be placed before the country, and I trust that it will meet with all the support it needs, and it needs a good deal. As for method, the aim being fully responsible government within the British Commonwealth, Non-Co-operation is obviously not an adequate one. The Non-co-operation programme, indeed, has only an indirect and inferential bearing on the kind of work I am thinking of. We cannot do the work of two hands with one, and for this purpose, Non-co-operation is like one who has voluntarily renounced the use of one of his limbs. We want the help of all Indians, and our scheme must be one to attract to itself the help of every Indian. As our purpose is to convert the present system into a full responsible one, we must study and understand thoroughly the working of that system, and the study that helps understanding is sympathetic study. We should take the system not merely at its weak but also and chiefly in its strong points. We should not ignore the good that it has done in our condemnation of the evil that it has wrought. I know that this attitude does not appeal, and, indeed, is not possible to many

ardent minds. I am the last to underrate the driving power of emotion. But this driving power comes only when the emotion by concentration is turned to motive, and not if it is allowed to dissipate in demonstrations. The vast pent-up emotion created by the Mahatma's prosecution should not be allowed to evaporate. It should be converted by hard thinking into the tremendous head of force it can become. Violence is not force. Effective strength always implies perfect non-violence. The Mahatma's greatest contribution to humanity is the application, which he has elaborated, of the grand principle of *Ahimsa* to the region of politics. Posterity will revere him as the teacher of this great gospel.

K. NATARAJAN

# **Mahatma Gandhi's Horoscope.**



## Reading of Mahatma Gandhi's Horoscope.

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Mr. Chhaganlal P. Nanavaty writes:—

The reading of Mahatma Gandhi's horoscope has been interpreted according to the Bhrigu Samhita, a book of predictions written by Bhrigu Rishi thousands of years ago. The Mahatmaji was born at Borbandar, a port of Kathiawar on the 12th of the dark half of the Hindu month Bhadrpada in Vikram year 1926 after 3 gharis and 12 palas.

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### Bhrigu Rishi's Predictions

His horoscope tallies with the prediction made in Bhrigu Rishi's book which speaks of the following personage:—

He will be born of a Vaishya (Bania) family, respected by a royal house, in Gujrat, in a town on sea coast (Borbandar). His ancestors will be ministers in states of good fame and nobility. His popularity will spread all over the world after completing his studies in his own country he will sail abroad to receive further education. He will remain quite firm in his religious duties. He will remain patient in calamities and never will he abandon his religion under any circumstances. He will be a greatest benefactor and be always ready for the service of his Motherland. He will be blessed with a religious, noble and obedient wife. In his

early years he will lose his father. He will be very happy under the care of his elder brother. He will not hoard money although he will earn in thousands. He will never be in want although he will spend in lakhs. He will have full glory at the age of 56, but before that he will suffer immensely taking the miseries of other upon himself. All men will revere him. He will treat the lowliest like his own brother. He will undergo many calamities and troubles between the age of 42 and 55. After that he will achieve his success in his desired efforts and enjoy his heavenly life in this physical world, and thousands of men will follow his guidance. He will acquire supreme happiness between the years 54 and 56 and that happiness would be quite indescribable. He will live for over 70 years.

—o—

*“ Young India ” March 30,th 1922.*

### **What Shall We Do Now ?**

Now that Mahatmaji has been arrested and is no longer free in body to help us with his advice, people are asking the above question among themselves—*What shall we do now ?*

The answer has been given by Mahatmaji himself in his final request to non-co-operators as embodied in his article—*“ If I am arrested ”* in the



latest issue of *Young India* (March 9, 1922), on the day previous to his arrest. This is what he has asked us to do in the circumstances which have overtaken us. " There should be no *hartals*, no noisy demonstrations, no processions. I would regard the observance of perfect peace on my arrest as a mark of high honour paid to me by my countrymen. *What I would love to see, however, is the constructive work of the Congress going on with clockwork regularity and the speed of the Punjab Express.* I would love to see people who have hitherto kept back voluntarily discarding all their foreign cloth and making a bonfire of it. Let them fulfil the whole of the constructive programme framed at Bardoli, and they will not only release me and other prisoners, but they will also inaugurate Swaraj and secure redress of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs. Let them remember the four pillars of Swaraj—non-violence, Hindu-Moslem-Sikh-Parsi-Christian-Jew Unity, total removal of untouchability and manufacture of hand-spun and hand-woven *Khaddar* completely displacing foreign cloth. "

A similar question was put to Buddha when He was about to leave His body and enter on His final Nirvan in the 80th year of His age. The disciples were weeping and asked him ; WHO SHALL TEACH US WHEN THOU ART GONE ? Buddha's answer was as follows :—

“Do not let yourselves be troubled, do not weep. Why shall I preserve this body of flesh *when the body of the excellent Law will endure* ? I am resolved ; having accomplished my purpose and attended to the work set before me, I look for rest.”

“Seeking the way, you must exert yourselves and strive with diligence. It is not enough to have seen me. Walk as I have commanded you ; free yourselves from the tangled net of sorrow. Walk in the path with steadfast aim. A sick man may be cured by the healing power of medicine and will be rid of all his ailments without beholding the physician. He who does not do what I command sees me in vain. This brings no profit. A man may dwell beside me, and yet, being disobedient, will be far away from me ; yet he who obeys the *Dharma* will always enjoy the bliss of my presence.”  
*(From pages 217-218 of Gospel of Buddha by Dr. Paul Carus, 6th edition, 1898)*

Those who have been in intimate touch with Mahatmaji, living in the same house with him, following him in his tours throughout the length and breadth of India, attending public meetings and conferences almost every two hours, sitting up late nights with him when he was besieged by representatives of different sections of the community for advice and guidance, and in the Working Committees and in the sessions of the Congress and of the All-India Congress Committees besides

seeing him writing endlessly in connection with his two weeklies and his daily correspondence know full well the amount of hard work he has had to do, to what great strain his physical frame has been put. Truly, if we his followers are not spoilt children and our hearts are not hearts of stone, we must seek at all costs not only to please him and obey his last words and requests, but we must feel supremely pleased in the thought that at any rate he will have physical rest inside the prison-walls. So long as his body was free, he was not given a moment's rest by us, but now we should be better able to understand and appreciate the following words from his pen which concluded his article "If I am arrested—" "Fourthly and selfishly it" (Mahatmaji's arrest and imprisonment) "will give me a quiet and physical rest which perhaps I deserve."

Of course to many of us, a prison is a prison—something namely, which is extremely disagreeable. But to Mahatmaji, as to all free innocent souls fighting the war of right against government alwrongdoing, a prison is the true abode of freedom, while also to others like some of us who are undisciplined and are given to bursts of passion—jail-life is extremely disciplinary in every respect, if only we know when and how to resist humiliations of the spirit degrading our manhood, which is the divine in us.

J. S. Duraiswamy.

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