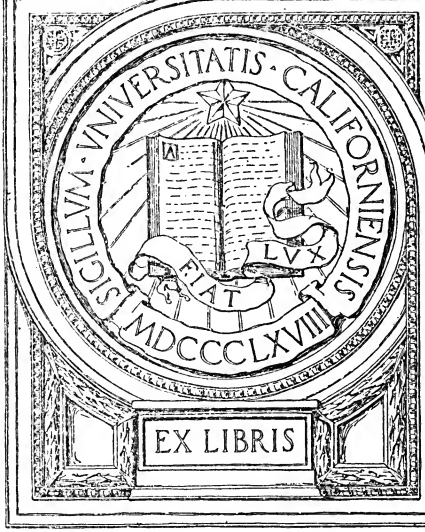
THE PILGRIMS' MARCH: THEIR MESSAGES

"TRUTH, LOVE and COURAGE

that is all you need to learn, all that you need to remember. FAITH, FORTITUDE, FIRMNESS, will they falter and fail and fade at the hour of trial, in the moment of despair, or will they, tried and tested, emerge from the fire of life radiant strengthened, ennobled, purified? . . . Would that courage, unfailing courage, unbent courage, such as thine, be the proud possession of all? For naught but courage secureth soul's freedom, man's noblest, highest prize. Let courage, then

BE THY GIFT, O GOD"

GANESH & CO., PUBLISHERS, MADRAS



THE PILGRIMS' MARCH

THE PILGRIMS' MARCH : THEIR MESSAGES : : :

We must widen the gates of prisons and we must enter them as a bridegroom enters the bride's chamber. Freedom is to be wooed only inside prison walls and sometimes on the gallows, never in the council chambers, courts or the schoolroom - M. K. GANDHI.

Foreword
by D. G. UPSON.

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CONTENTS

CONTENTS

FOREWORD

Let the reader not mistake the purport of these messages from imprisoned and other leaders. They are not messages of complaint but of triumph and achievement. Non-co-operators have every reason to rejoice at the Government's adoption of the policy of repression, for it has been frankly the aim of non-co-operation to force this policy on Government. It is as in a game of chess the skilful player thinks ahead and forces his opponent to move according to the more skilful player's plan of campaign and the opponent plays into the victor's hands. It is as in a war, the skilful general at his pleasure forces the enemy to advance and attack that the latter might be defeated the more comprehensively. When the Indian nation resolved on non-co-operation with the Government it anticipated and desired repression, for there can be no non-co-operation without it. There can be no passive resistance if there is nothing to resist. The nation's strikes must be directed against the Government's laws, and while that Government exists that Government must resort to repression to enforce its laws. When repression ceases

non-co-operation will be at an end; for, the cessation of repression will spell the defeat and abdication of the Reformed Government of India—it will spell *Swaraj*. It were therefore, rank hypocrisy in nationalists to protest ever so faintly against repression, or indeed to do anything but welcome it. It is a signpost on the pilgrims' road to *Swaraj* telling them that the journey's end is in sight. The nation most emphatically does not desire the release of those leaders who have been imprisoned ; nor do the leaders themselves wish this until such release comes automatically with the abdication of the Reformed Government of India in favour of a *Swaraj* Government. The most dangerous opponents of Indian national freedom are not those Governors who like Lord Ronaldshay are filling the gaols with non-co-operators, but those Satraps who like Sir George Lloyd of Bombay, are resisting the temptation to play into Mahatma Gandhi's and the nation's hands. But eventually even the Government of Madras and Bombay will be compelled by the people to follow the example and policy of the Government of Bengal, the United Provinces and the Punjab. Their only alternative will be unconditional surrender to, and in favour of provin-

cial *Sawraj*. With the above facts clearly borne in mind the reader will not be tempted to regard this book as a pathetic monument of suffering. Its message is one of good cheer and of encouragement; for, it is a record of successful achievement. Contrast the brave optimism and firm purpose of every word with the halting apologies for a truce uttered by Lords Reading and Ronaldshay. If clarity of thought and confidence of success breed immediate victory, if hesitation and doubt spell early defeat, the contrast is eloquent of the fact that victory is already ours, and that the pilgrims' march to *Swaraj* has in the gaol all but reached its goal.

24th Dec. 1921.
"BOMBAY CHRONICLE"
OFFICE
MEDOWS STREET,
BOMBAY.

D. G. UPSON.

THE PILGRIM-BAND.

(1)

I hear their voices in the Wind
Rushing through the reeds on the river-bank;
I hear their Song in the surge
Of the Sindhu, Ever-flowing, Ever-full :—
India the First-born,—
India the Ancient,—
India is fettered ;
To live is to cast away fear and be Free.

(2)

Comrades! Will ye still be slumbering.
Afraid of the Light?
Will ye still be sheltered in weakness
Dreaming away your powers in passion and pride,
While a Procession of the pure who are strong.
And the brave who are meek,
Moves on to the music of love a-singing :—
" India the First-born, soon shall be Free."

What is the lure
In this thraldom or that strife?
Behold the Pilgrim-Band!
In the Procession are some who stood apart
Shunning the crowds' applause,—
And Soldiers of Freedom,
Proclaimers of the Faith.
In India the Ancient, India the Free.

(4)

And singers of the Secret
Of Holy Hindusthan,—
And silent worshippers
Of Her sacred Name,—
And servants of the Truth that slays,—
Sing at this hour
As the storm is blowing:—
"India the First-born, soon shall be Free,"

(5)

In their hearts is a memory and music
Of the Day when she nourished the Nations;
Their song is swift with the message of the Sindhu:
"To live is to cast away fear and be Free,"
Comrades! our comfort-houses are prisons;
'Tis time to go forward; else we go down;
Comrades! let's have courage and find the Charter of Freedom
In the Defeat of the day.

(6)

Comrades! Can we forget the ancient Legends?
And the Sages and their Songs?
And the Days of India's glory.
When Krishna the Saviour worshipped village-folk
With music and the fadeless flower of love?
Can India's History speak to our hearts
And we yet hesitate to join the ranks of Her Pilgrims
Whom the world calls the Vanquished?

(7)

Comrades! There is sorrow in Her heart,
For Her sons give worship to power and pride.
Comrades! the Procession calls us.
Let us out with our harps and our songs.
And tune the music of old for the healing of the new.
Let us salute the Sages and Heroes.
And sing with the Pilgrims and the Winds and the Sindhu :—
"To live is to cast away fear and be Free."

T. L. VASWANI.

MESSAGE TO HIS COUNTRYMEN.

Have faith in Him and glory and victory shall be ours.

The Punjab wrong, Khilafat treachery and Chirala Perala tragedy are but the *Avarohans*, the descending ones, in the even song of *Swaraj* whose Arohanas, the ascending ones, are the establishment of Swaraj in India and also in England, which awaits you in your on-coming struggle. I am destined to deny myself the sharing of your pangs in suffering and sacrifice: but may yet share your joy when it is settled and becomes the *Rasa* of Universal love. I embrace you all and exit to my cell.

DUGGIRALA GOPALAKRISHNAYA.

CLARION CALL TO BUREAUCRACY

".....You shall immediately inform your Government that they expedite the establishment of Swarajya by sending thousands and thousands of my countrymen into the Training Colleges of patriotism and self-fulfilment, your jails. Delay is dangerous—my Lord Sree Ramachandra has sanctioned the prosecution of three hundred millions of my countrymen, in the Civil disobedience resolution at Hastinapura (Delhi), the cremation ground of many an Empire of egoism, the outskirts of Kurukshetra and His Inspector General the Lord of Ramdandu, Mahatma Gandhi awaits to execute it. My incessant prayer is that thus shall it be. Swasthi Sri Ramarpanamastu."

DUGGIRALA GOPALAKRISHNAYA.

THE PILGRIMS MARCH

THEIR MESSAGES

MAHATMA GANDHI'S MESSAGE.

REMAIN NON-VOILENT

The following message was sent by Mahatma Gandhi from Waltair :—

Maulana Mohamed Ali was arrested at Waltair under sections 107 and 108 to be called upon to give security, to be of good behaviour for one year. The place and date of trial is unknown.

The Begum Saheba and Mr. Hayat were permitted to see him after arrest.

He and I were going to address a meeting outside the station. He was arrested. I continued going to the meeting and addressed them.

There is no cause for sorrow, but every cause for congratulation. There should be no hartal. Perfect peace and calmness should be observed. I regard the arrest as a prelude to Swaraj and the redress of the Khilafat and the

Punjab wrongs, if we can remain non-violent. Retain Hindu-Muslim Unity despite the madness of some Moplahs, and fulfil the Swadeshi programme.

I hope every Indian, man or woman, will completely boycott foreign cloth and take up spinning or weaving during every spare minute.

By striving like the Maulana, be insistent on religious and national rights.

Let us earn imprisonment. I am conscious of the Maulana's innocence and I am sure the imprisonment of the innocent will enable the nation to reach the cherished goal.

The Maulana was quite calm. So is the Begum Saheba. She accompanies me during the travel. So does Maulana Azad Sobhani.

MAULANA MAHOMED ALI'S MESSAGE.

On the eve of his arrest my loving and beloved chief Maulana Mahomed Ali ordered me to convey the following message from him to his Hindu and Muslim friends and admirers in the country:

"Whosoever has any love or regard for me must take my arrest in a calm and peaceful spirit and give expression to that love and regard in two and only two ways. First by contributing all that a Mussalman possibly can towards the Smyrna Relief and Angora Munitions Fund; and, secondly, to discard all foreign clothes and wear pure Swadeshi. I trust my arrest will give greater courage and hope to my friends and followers, who, I expect, would carry on the programme of non-violent non-co-operation with tenfold zeal, energy and firmness, undeterred by fear of repression but hopeful of God Almighty's choicest blessings in this righteous cause. Insha Allah! victory is ours and is in sight."

(Sd.) H. M. HAYAT,
Private Secretary.

The following messages have been addressed by Maulana Shaukat Ali and Dr. Kitchlew:—

Dr. KITCHLEW.

Obey the Commandments of God.
Follow the dictates of your conscience.
Love India above everything else. May God bless you.

MOULANA SHAUKAT ALI..

ALLA-HO-AKBAR.

Bombay the beautiful must lead in the campaign. Stand by Mahatma Gandhi our great and beloved Chief and God will give us victory. Face all calamities and even Death with "Eyes Front"—no more crawling on bellies—Love to all.

ALI BROTHERS' MOTHER AT KARACHI
"I AM READY TO SACRIFICE ALL"

A mass meeting took place on the Idgah Maidan where more than 15 thousand people were present. Many ladies including Muslim ladies also were present. Some stirring national songs were sung by Mai Sarasvati Devi, Mr. Fatehchand and Jamal-ud-din. The latter's song was very highly appreciated by the audience and there were loud cries of Alla-ho-Akbar. Devi Bai of Swaraj Kanya Vidyalaya occupied the chair.

The President said :—In ancient times mothers like Kunti sacrified their sons, and this is the time when Ali Mata has come here to sacrifice her two sons. (Here came in the old but brave mother of the Ali Brothers. There was great enthusiasm and many Muslim men and women began to shed tears.) The sacrifice and bravery which this mother has shown is inexpressible. But it is a matter of deepest regret that the people have not even discarded foreign clothes. The Ali Brothers are so brave that even the Government is having so many regiments. When such brave sons and brave

mothers are in our midst why should we be afraid? The order of our leaders about Charkha is not a trifling thing. This Charka means Hindi-ki-Jai. I appeal to you that for the sake of honoring this brave mother's pledge yourselves to wear Khaddar only—even if *only* to honor this brave mother. Swaraj can be got only by action not by words. The time of sacrifice is come. Learn to die with smiling faces.

The Government is afraid of two of your brave men. Why are you afraid of those who are afraid of you, I wonder. The bureaucracy would at once go; only, if you wear khaddar. You are responsible for the dominance of the bureaucracy yourself. Only be Swadeshi, and you have solved the problem, my dear brothers.

Even monkeys felt the insult of Sita's being taken away by Ravan but you being men, do not even feel the insult of so many of your sisters and mothers at Jallianwala.

Begum Sahib then rose and there were shouts of Alla-ho-Akbar. She said :—

" I have unveiled myself since 3 days because all are like *my* sons and brothers. Now I have thrown up the veil and come as a man before you who are men, but I wonder why *you* are becoming women? Let my two sons go. Be

men. They are gone in the path of God. You be men. Let hundreds take the place of those two. We are 33 crores. How many Jails will be filled? I am also ready with you for jail. Do not be cowards. I really say I am ready. No one can take the life of another. Everyone dies when God wishes, So, do not fear as long as God is with you. At once non-co-operate with the Government. I do not only *not* care for Mahomed and Shaukat but keep my all ready for the sake of Islam and the country. Be united, therefore. We have been all one since 900 years. I do not preach violence but fear no one but God. He has given us lives and only *he* can take them off.

I see no difference between Hindus and Musalmans. We have lost all. What has remained to us? Do you not see? Why are there so many famines? I wonder at the cowardice of Muslims and Hindus. If Kaba Sharif and Madina did not remain, to you for what are you living, Oh Musalmans?

There are two powers in your heart, wrong and right. Follow the right and not the wrong. This is the time when both Hindus and Muslims are suffering, be united and wear Khaddar and spin all day. No Muslim should interfere in the

religious duties of any Hindu. Let Muslims act according to their religion. But in the cause of the country both should unite. Why do you not wear Khaddar? Did I not once wear thin clothes? Do I not find this Khadar thick? Did not the ancient Hindus wear Khaddar? Did not the Prophet wear a cloak of Khaddar? Oh, my brothers, may you all walk in the right path and become Sipahis for the country. Be brave. May God give you honour."

Lala Lajpat Rai in the "Tribune"

THE LESSON OF BOMBAY.

My last visit to Bombay has been the cause both of pleasure and pain to me. The unfortunate occurrences of the 17th and subsequent days, with the consequent rowdyism resulting in loss of life and property has given me the deepest pain. It is not merely for the actual damage caused at the moment that I deplore these disturbances, but for the far-reaching effects that they are bound to have on the successful carrying out of the non-co-operation movement. There is always an element of danger in rousing an inert mass of humanity, but we non-co-operators have been fully conscious of the risks we ran and have been endeavouring all this time, not merely to breathe life into the nation but also to keep a perfect control over the re-animated being. This control we lost for the moment in Bombay on the 17th, 18th, 19th, and 20th of November. If the disturbances had continued longer or if the end to them had come only through Government agency, I believe it would have been difficult for me to get over my fit of disappoint-

ment. But it is an ill wind that blows nobody any good and these disturbances, sad and painful as they are, have taught us a useful lesson, both as to our strength and our weakness. The way in which the non-co-operators of Bombay, have worked has been a revelation to me of the strength and intensity of the capacity for discipline and self-sacrifice which animates our workers. I cannot sufficiently praise the courage, both moral and physical, of the volunteers and other workers of the Congress and the Khilafat, who were always in the midst of the most turbulent crowds trying to calm and pacify them, meeting seething passion with a smiling face and turning away wrath with a soft word, helping and succouring the weak and the wounded and always ready to lay down their lives in their noble and self-imposed duties. They were indefatigable and worked day and night to restore peace and good order. Several had their heads broken, nearly all were wounded in one place or other and about half a dozen actually lost their precious lives. One Parsi gentleman told me that but for these non-co-operation workers coming to their rescue, many Parsi homes would have been looted and the Parsis, handful as they are, might have been

swept away if the mob had its way. Not only did they deal with the mobs, but they were always at hand whenever a fire occured and were instrumental in saving many lives. Here I wish to say with pride, on behalf of the Punjab, that Pandit Neki Ram Sharma was a host in himself. He risked his life often and often. He went to a house four stories high which had caught fire and amidst roaring flames rescued the inmates and brought them safely to shelter. I have singled him out, as he is a Punjabee but I can assure you that there are many such Neki Rams in Bombay. (In this connection it is an irony of fate that a man of such noble and humanitarian impulses should have been tried for and convicted of an offence under section 153-A, and treated from the time of his arrest up to now as one of the meanest felons). Where all have done so well it would be invidious to single out any names. But I cannot pass without mentioning that splendid type of Indian womanhood, that sweet warbler who suddenly became transformed into a woman of action. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. She was in the thick of the fight regardless of danger and of any thought of personal safety. She rushed wherever there was

most trouble, allaying and soothing all and sundry. She came in for her own share of injuries, but she loves the people so much that she is firm in belief that the hurts were accidental and not meant for her. When I think of her, my heart rejoices and there is every hope for a nation which can count woman like Sarojini among its population.

I have tried to give the bright side of this dark picture. But what is brighter than all is the rehabilitation in my mind of the belief that had momentarily been shaken, that we still can control the people and keep them in hand. Temporary aberrations there will be, but the spectacle of the different communities voluntarily making up the differences is a sign full of augury for the future. It leads me to hope, that if differences there will be, we can settle them ourselves without calling in a third party.

I am in a more chastened mood but certainly in a happier mood than when I went to Bombay. One further cause of this happiness is due to the splendid example of my Sikh brethren. People had thought that they were lagging behind in the struggle for liberty. People had also thought that, being a martial race, they would be the last to imbibe the

doctrine of non-violence. They have given the lie to both these misconceptions. They might have been a little behind others in the preliminary stages, but they made up the leeway rapidly and passed the others by over a length at the crucial moment, while as regards non-violence, with its attendant conception of self-sacrifice they have given the most amazing proofs by their behavior at Nankana Sahib on the 15th November and later at Ajnala and Amristar. They have proved themselves descendants of their great Gurus and the example they have set of self-sacrifice, calm courage, devoid of swagger and absolute self-control in the face of provocation, will be hard to beat. If I have ever thought of them as being backward I must readily apologize now.

One word more before I have done. The day of our trial is fast approaching. It behoves every one to do his best in this crucial moment and one of the first duties of every citizen is not to believe silly and alarming rumours nor spread them about, unless the facts are well authenticated. There were first the rumours about Dr. Kitchlew. Yesterday people were bandying about that there had been firing in Amritsar on Sunday last. Both these have

happily proved to be wrong. I would beseech every patriot to weigh carefully any information he receives, for it is not difficult to imagine what incalculable mischief can be done, and perhaps blood too can be uselessly shed, by false news spread about in a heedless manner. Besides, let every one steel his heart and be prepared for the worst happening to him and his friends at any moment. The late Chief Justice of England is now appearing in his true colours. He should have ample opportunities of vindicating 'the law' and coercing people in order to perpetuate the rule of his countrymen over this unhappy land.

PANDIT NEKI RAM'S TREATMENT.

The trial and conviction of Pandit Neki Ram affords another instance of the farcical nature of political trials in this country. On Saturday last when the Magistrate heard the case he seemed to be of opinion that no case had been made out under Section 153A., under which he had been charged; that although Pandit Neki Ram had attacked the Government there was nothing in his speech which could be construed as having fomented hatred between any two sections of His Majesty's subjects. By

Monday, however, the Magistrate had persuaded himself into different conclusion and sentenced Pandit Neki Ram to 8 months' rigorous imprisonment. May we ask if the treatment meted out to Pandit Neki Ram, as an under-trial prisoner, from the moment of his arrest onwards can show anything but racial discrimination as against the sons of the soil? Would a European of the position of Pandit Neki Ram have been treated similarly.

Pandit Neki Ram was handcuffed and brought to Lahore in a third class compartment. At Lahore he had to take his food in court with handcuffs on both hands, and from what I hear of the treatment since, I am compelled to say that it is only farcical to try an Indian under Section 153A, for pointing out the huge injustice done to the sons of the soil. What is the use of convicting a man like Pandit Neki Ram on this charge when the whole system of government in the country breathes the spirit of racial discrimination and when there are hardly any Indians who have not bitterly complained of it at some time or other of their life. I have no complaint to make of the British who believe in the superiorty of their race. But what fills me with humiliation and anger is the callous

attitude of my own countrymen occupying high positions in the government of the country. For these Indians to be parties to sanctioning prosecution of Indians under Section 153A, for the criticism of the bureaucracy is pure and simple hypocrisy. The Indian member in charge of jails may well be asked if in his opinion Pandit Neki Ram Sharma is not as good as a 3rd class European, and entitled to the same treatment in jail as the latter. If not, then why talk of 153A, I. P. C.?

LALA LAJPAT RAI.

TO HIS COUNTRYMEN.

Countrymen—The Provincial Congress Committee meets to-day at 2 p.m. This meeting has been convened under my instructions. This meeting is in every sense a private meeting, according to law, and cannot be termed a public meeting. The object of this meeting is that the Provincial Congress Committee, after taking into consideration the present situation, might draw up its progrmme of work and devise means to maintain peace and order in the Province in the present crisis. The Deputy Commissioner has prohibited the meeting under the Prevention

of Seditious Meetings Act, and in the meantime, I have received orders from Mahatma Gandhi that, as far as possible, I should save myself from arrest. The meeting is highly important. The order of the Deputy Commissioner is illegal and "ultra vires," and it seems that the Punjab officials do not care much for law. Under these circumstances, my conscience does not allow me to stop the meeting or to allow it to be held and myself not attend it. I have, therefore, decided to attend the meeting and get myself arrested, if the District authorities desire to take me into custody. I believe that, had he been in that position, Mahatma Gandhi himself would have acted in that manner, and that, had he known the later developments, he would not have advised me, as he has done. I quite realize that I might perhaps have rendered you better service by avoiding arrest at the present stage of our national struggle, but I also believe that for me to save myself from arrest under the present circumstances would be improper. I am sure, you would not like me to act in a manner that might render my conduct liable to be misunderstood. I am not deliberately courting arrest on account of the weakness of my heart. My faith, my conscience, my desire to do my duty—all compel me

to attend the meeting. If, under these circumstances, I am committing a blunder, I believe that you, my countrymen, and Mahatmaji will forgive me.

We have decided that in my absence, Agha Mohamad Safdar Sahib, shall act as the President of the Provincial Congress Committe. The patriotism and high intellectual attainments of Agha Mohamad Safdar are well-known to you and I believe that under his guidance and leadership all the Congress Committees and all Congressmen in the province would fulfil their duties loyally and bravely.

When I left the shores of America, I knew that I would not be allowed to remain outside the jail for a long time ; and on my departure from there, I told my friends that I would be satisfied if I were allowed to work amongst my people even for six months. But now, through the grace of God, I have been enabled to work with you for about 19½ months, and I go to jail with a glad heart and with the firm belief that what-ever we have done, we have done according to our conscience and our God. I have no misgivings or fears in my mind. I am convinced that the path we have chosen is the right path and our success is sure. I also

believe that I shall soon return amongst you and resume my work; but even if that is not to be, I assure you that I shall have nothing to be sorry for when I return to my Creator. I am a weak and frail man, and do not claim to possess the splendid spirituality of Mahatma Gandhi. Sometimes I am not able to control my anger, nor can I say that I have never harboured feelings which I ought not to have entertained. But this I can truthfully assert that I have always kept the interests of my country and nation before my mind and my actions have been directed with a sole eye to the interests of my country. I know that I have made many mistakes in the discharge of my duties, and have sometimes indulged in criticism which might have given offence to some of my country-men. For all that, I beg, for forgiveness. I hope that they will forgive me, especially my Moderate and Arya Samajist brothers.

The position of those of my countrymen who are Government servants is peculiar; and I quite realise their difficulties. I regret that the question of livelihood compels them to act in a manner which is repugnant even to their own feelings. I wish that no non-co-operator should regard these Government servants with

contempt or disdain, nor needlessly use a harsh word against them.

The success of our movement requires that:-

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

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

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

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

Women of the Panjab—I know that you, too, are imbued with a spirit of patriotism and

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

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

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

AGHA MOHAMED SAFDAR TO MY BROTHER PANJABEES.

Agha Mohd. Safdar, President of the Panjab Provincial Congress Committee, has addressed the following appeal:—

On the advice of Lala Lajpat Rai, the Panjab Provincial Committee has elected me President during Lalaji's absence. I feel I am not fit to shoulder the burden thus thrown upon me, but at the present time it is the duty of every one of us to unhesitatingly discharge the duties entrusted to him. I shall try, so far as it lies in my power, to discharge properly my duties. But my success depends on the co-operation and assistance of my brethren. So far as advice and office work are concerned, the help of every one is not necessary. Those of my friends in Lahore who have been doing the work so far are still ready to do it. But apart from this, there is other work for which I desire the assistance of every Punjabee. It is, our duty to change the present system of administration and wage a ceaseless struggle against the present system of government. In this struggle, our final victory is assured. Our path is that of righteousness. But certain conditions are necessary in order to reach a successful result. Mahatma Gandhi has chalked out for you the lines along which to carry on the struggle. The first essential is to promote amity and love among the different religions and nationalities. Out of their common love for the

Motherland let Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs stand side by side, dressed in the same uniform of hand-made cloth viz., "Khaddar" and with the sole weapon of non-violent Non-co-operation in their hands. If you do so Mahatma Gandhi will return victorious. This is the only help I demand of you. If you do not offer me this assistance, it is clear that I too shall not be able to discharge my duties satisfactorily. Therefore, in accepting responsibilities of Presidentship, I make the following appeal to you :—

Let Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs alike become soldiers in the cause of your country's freedom. Put on " Khaddar " and cast aside foreign clothes, burn them or send them out of the country. Stick to Non-violence. Do not lift your hand against any one. Do not hurt anybody's feelings.

At the present time your leaders like the Ali Brothers, Lala Lajpat Rai and Sardar Kharak Singh and many others have been arrested and are rotting in jail as a result of fighting in the cause of their country's freedom. If even now your patriotic impulses are not stirred and you are not prepared for little sacrifices in the form of boycotting foreign cloth, then I am afraid not only you will not be freed from subjection but

you will bequeath to the coming generation a legacy of this subjection. This Divine help for setting yourself free will not come again for long. This is not the time to fail.

CHITTA RANJAN DAS
"TO MY COUNTRY MEN"

The recent communique of the Government of Bengal, the order of the Commissioner of Police, and the various orders under Section 144 issued by Magistrates in different districts of Bengal, make it absolutely clear that the Bureaucracy has made up its mind to crush the movement of Non-Co-operation. The people of Bengal have therefore resolved to preserve with all their strength in the struggle for freedom. My message to them is one of hope and encouragement. I knew from the beginning that the Bureacracy would be the first to break the law. It began its illegal career at the very outset by occasional orders under Section 144. It continued the unjust and illegal application of the Section in opposition to this movement. Now that the movement is about to succeed, it has adopted forgotten laws and forsaken methods, and Section 144 is being indiscriminately used to further the same object.

Our duty is clear. The Indian National Congress has declared that Swaraj is our only goal and that Non-Co-operation is the only method by which to reach that goal. Whatever the Bureaucracy does the Nationalists of Bengal cannot forget their ideal. The people of Bengal are now on their trial. It entirely depends on them whether they would win or lose. I ask my countrymen to be patient, I appeal to them to undergo all sufferings cheerfully I call upon them not to forsake the sacred work which the Indian National Congress has enjoined.

The Congress work is done and can only be done by volunteers. Let it be clearly understood that every worker, young or old, man or woman is a volunteer. I offer myself as a volunteer in the Service of the Congress. I trust that within a few days, there will be a million volunteers for the work of the Province. Our cause is sacred, our method is peaceful and non-violent. Do you not realise that the Service of our country is Service of God? I charge you to remember that no communique of earthly Goverments can be allowed to stop God's worship.

I appeal to the people of Bengal to realise this truth. I pray to God that it may be given

to the Bureaucracy to understand, appreciate and recognise this great truth.

TO THE CONGRESS WORKERS.

My first word and my last word to you is never to forsake the ideal of Non-violent Non-Co-operation. I know it is a difficult creed to follow. I know that some time the provocation is so great that it is extremely difficult to remain Non-violent in thought, word and deed. The success of the movement however, depends on the great principle and every worker must strengthen himself to withstand such provocation. We are too apt to throw the blame on other persons. For instance, if there is a riot in a City, we say that the hooligans were provoked to commit the riot. Let us not forget that these so-called hooligans are our country men. Let us not forget that we the Non-Co-operators claim to hold the country. Let us realise that to the extent to which we do not succeed in so controlling the masses, be they hooligans or not, to that extent Non-Co-operation has failed. The responsibility is ours. It does not lie in our mouth to say that wicked people have instigated the masses to break law and order. Do you not realise that the success of our movement depends on this, that no other

people wicked or otherwise should be able to lead the masses or any section of our countrymen towards violence and bloodshed? If we fail to exercise control over the masses, how can we claim to have success? I am not discouraged. I do not want you to be discouraged. I pray to God that you may have sufficient strength to carry on this great battle peacefully never forsaking the ideal of Non-voilent Non-Co- operation in all its bearing.

THE CONGRESS AND THE BUREAUCRACY

I said the other day that the Congress must be judged by the claim it makes. As we claim to hold the country we must accept responsibility for any violence anywhere in this country. One must in fairness except those places where the message of the Congress has not been allowed to be heard. We accept no responsibility with regard to the Moplah outrage. I firmly believe that that rebellion would have been impossible, had the Congress and the Khilafat workers been permitted to carry the gospel of nonviolent non-co-operation. But the position of the Congress is different regarding the recent violence in Bombay and the application of such violence under similar circumstances. Let us

understand clearly the real issue which governs this assumption of responsibility. I have stated it before, but I find its real significance has not been appreciated.

Do we assert that the movement of non-violent non-co-operation has succeeded? If it has, is it not quite clear that it is because the Congress may be said to have established its control over the masses in this country? That is the only test of the success of this movement.

The continuance of such control is the measure of our success, its discontinuance must be the measure of our failure. This is also the standard by which the bureacracy must be judged. The bureaucracy claims to hold this country. I am attaching no importance to its claim, so far as that claim is based on physical force. If that had been the only basis of its enormous claim I would have unhesitatingly declared that the bureacracy was no more. I am dealing only with its claim so far as it depends only on the moral control which it may still exercise. Our rulers are never tired of quoting Mahatma Gandhi's assumption of responsibility as an admission of the failure of the Non-co-operation movement. That great soul never expresses himself in the faltering accents of half truth and un-

truth. If there has been a weakening of the control which the Indian National Congress has established let the fact be clearly admitted—so it was admitted. May I not point out with equal force and with equal truth that every case of violence such as was practised in Bombay proves, and must prove, the failure of the bureaucracy to that extent? If such violence proves that the Congress had lost its hold on those who were guilty of violence, to my mind it proves as convincingly that the bureaucracy also had lost its control.

This brings out the real issue. I state it once again so that my countrymen may realise its deeper significance. The struggle for Swaraj is a struggle for this control. The India of today is a country of opposing claims and uncetain control. The Indian National Congress claims to hold the coutnry. The bureaucracy makes the same claim. Are we right? Are they right? The coming events must furnish the answer.

APPEAL TO SUFFER CHEERFULLY.

"Our duty is clear. The Indian National Congress has declared that Swaraj is our only goal and that Non Co-operation is the only method by which to reach that goal. Whatever

the bureaucracy does the nationalists of Bengal cannot forget their ideal. The people of Bengal are now on their trial, it entirely depends on them whether they would win or loose. I ask my countrymen to be patient, I appeal to them to undergo all sufferings cheerfully. I call upon them not to forsake the sacred work which the Indian National Congress has enjoined. The Congress work is done and can only be done by volunteers. Let it be clearly understood that every worker, young or old, man or woman, is a volunteer in the service of the Congress. I trust that within a few days there will be a million volunteers for the work of the province. Our cause is sacred, our method is peaceful and non-violent. Do you not relaise that the service of our country is service of God? I charge you to remember that no communique of earthly Government can be allowed to stop God's worship.

TO THE PEOPLE OF CALCUTTA.

I do not know how long I shall be allowed to remain out of Jail. I repeat with all the emphasis I can command that every Congress and Khilafat worker must remain absolutely non-violent in thought, word and deed. I ask every citizen of Calcutta who has any sympathy

for the work of the Congress and Khilafat to remember that the best and the surest way to destroy this work is to help violence in any shape or form.

I ask the people of Calcutta not to gather in large numbers at street corners as they did to-day. I knew that soldiers would be posted. I was not afraid because I had every confidence in our workers. There is no doubt there will be ample provocation. You must expect it. We must withstand this provocation, otherwise we deserve to lose. I say to our workers again that they must expect to be assaulted and they must be prepared not to be provoked into violence.

Fear of Jail, fear of assaults and fear of being shot down—these are the 3 fears which every worker must conquer before we can get Swaraj. We have conquered the fear of Jail; we are about to conquer the fear of assault. It depends on the Bureaucracy when we shall succeed in conquering the fear of being shot down.

In the meantime, I charge every one to remember that our success can only depend on non-violence so real, so perfect that all Godfearing men and women must come over to our side.

'C. R. DAS'
MESSAGE TO THE PERSECUTED

What shall I say to those who have suffered, who are suffering, and to those who are prepared to suffer for the cause of freedom? I repeat the message which was delivered by a Persian Poet.

Truth, love and courage:—that is all you need to learn, all that you need to remember. Faith, Fortitude, Firmness, will they falter and fail and fade at the hour of trial, in the moment of despair, asked the Saqi in a mournful strain, or will they, tried and tested emerge from the fire of life radiant, strengthened, ennobled, purified?

Nor will I forsake them, answered the youth; not even were the heavens to fall.

Thine then, said the Saqi, is the path of glory; thine a nation's gratitude; thine the fadeless crown.

Would that courage, unfailing courage, unbent courage, such as thine, be the proud possession of all?

For naught but courage winneth life's battle, naught but courage secureth soul's freedom, man's noblest, highest prize. Let courage,

then, be thy gift, O God, to this wondrous land of Love and Light.

TO THE STUDENTS

ON JITENDRALAL'S IMPRISONMENT.

"If it is a sin to have demanded liberty for my countrymen with full and passionate intensity of soul, then I have sinned grievously, sinned beyond pardon or penitence and I rejoice that I have so sinned. If it is an offence to have asked my people to shake off the fetters of foreign servitude that degrades and dwarfs our humanity, then I am one of the most offending souls alive, and I rejoice and am thankful that God gave me the courage and hardihood to commit such an offence. And as the All-merciful gave me courage and strength in the past to speak out the truth that is within me, so I hope that He will give me endurance in the future to go through the agony of man's unrighteous persecution."

So said Jitendralal Banerjee as I find from a certified copy of his statement made to the Magistrate. We all know Jitendralal Banerjee. I have been intimately connected with him—certainly for the last five or six years of our national activity. Two years of rigorous im-

prisonment for saying what he believed to be true. A man who undergoes such suffering as this for the sake of truth must be understood and appreciated.

What is he Jitendralal Banerjee? I ask the student community to realise the essential truth of his life. His life has been lived up to the present moment practically before the students of Bengal. He passed his M. A. Examination in 1902 standing first in the First Class. After that he obtained the State Scholarship to proceed to England but he chose to educate himself and to educate others in this conntry. He served as a Professor of English in various Colleges always preferring Indian to Government Institutions. His last appointment was in the Ripon College where he served till 1911. In that year his services were dispensed with by the College authorities because he refused to give an undertaking that he would no longer take part in politics. Then began his career at the bar.

Although he had always taken part in politics from 1911-1912 he became a prominent figure in the Congress. A devoted follower of Surendra Nath Banerje, he broke away from him at the time when the whole of Bengal was

intensely agitated on the question of Mrs. Besant's election to the Presidential chair of the Congress. Since then he has been working unceasingly in support of the national cause.

There was no man in our political circle who was a more sincere friend and well-wisher of the student community. He was like a brother to every one of them who came to him, helping them with advice, with his money and in every possible way. An ardent patriot who yielded to none in his love for his country, with a heart tender and yet stern and unbending. I wish he had been among our midst at the present moment for Bengal hath need of him. We want his sincerity, we want his courage, we want his love for truth. Let his sacrifice enable us.

What is Jitendralal Bennerjee ? I ask the students of Calcutta to realise the truth of his life. Words cannot convey it. The work that he did, the life which he lived, the qualities of his head and heart, all culminating in the grand sacrifice which he had the courage to make—these are more eloquent, than any words that I can employ.

I ask again : what is Jitendralal Bannerjee ? I wish with all the craving of my heart that the

students of Calcutta knew how to answer this question. He had given up his life for the well-being of his dear devoted students. Are there none now to tell us the meaning of his sacrifice not by speaking angry words, nor by shedding idle tears but by taking up the cause he loved so well and by strengthening that cause by their own sacrifice.

Merely existing is not living. I wish I could say the students of Calcutta were living as men should live, as Jitendralal Bannerjee lived. Now that his body is imprisoned, is there no one amongst the students of Calcutta who has the heart to hear the call of his soul ?

APPEAL TO CALCUTTA STUDENTS.

The arrest of Lala Lajpat Raj has opened a new chapter in the history of our movement. To my mind the meaning of this arrest is significant. The bureaucracy is impatient of our success. It has lost its temper and naturally it has commenced to strike. Hitherto the attack of the bureaucracy has been more or less indirect. This is direct. Lajpat Rai is one of the pillars of the Congress movement. Through him the Congress itself has been struck. I welcome this direct attack. It means an open trial of strength between the bureaucracy and the Congress, and

as the Congress year is about to close, it is time for the result to be proclaimed.

In Bengal the arrests have been equally significant. They took away Pir Badsa Mian and Doctor Suresh hand-cuffed and chained together as the most eloquent symbol of the bondage and unity of the Hindus and the Musalmans. Jatindra Mohan Sen Gupta is in Jail, proving the worth and triumph of Chittagong. Nripendra one of the most popular Professors, has shared the same fate. Professor Birendra Nath Mukherji of Rungpur has already led a thousand volunteers to prison, leaving twenty thousand more awaiting the glory of arrest. Brihmanbaria in Commilla is ready with more victims than our masters want.

But what of Calcutta ? That is the question which distresses me to-day. Only five thousand workers have volunteered, only five thousand in this great City with so many schools and so many Colleges ? Today six of these volunteers were arrested. They were doing Congress work, selling Khaddi and introducing Charkas. So the bureaucracy has made up its mind to stop the work of the Congress. Only five thousand in this great City and the work of the Congress about to be stopped ! Have the stu-

dents of Calcutta nothing to say? Is this the time for study? Art and Literature, Science and Mathematics :—O! the shame of it all when the Mother calls and these have not the heart to hear.

I feel so desolate in this great City. I see thousands and thousands of youngmen all around me wherever I go, but their faces are old with wordly wisdom and their hearts are cold and dead. I wish God had given me the strength to rekindle the fire of life in their hearts so that the youngmen of Calcutta may be young again. It is the young who fought the battle of freedom in every age and in every clime. It is the young who are purer in spirit and are ever ready for sacrifice.

I am growing old and infirm and the battle has just commenced. They have not taken me yet but I feel the handcuffs on my wrist and the weight of iron chains on my body. It is the agony of bondage. The whole of India is a vast prison. What matters it whether I am taken or left.

One thing is certain. The work of the Congress must be carried on whether I am dead or alive. Only five thousand in this great City and the work of the Congress about to be

stopped! I ask again, have the students of Calcutta no answer to make?

MESSAGE TO THE COUNTRY.

CALCUTTA, DEC. 10.

Just after his arrest Mr. Das sent the following message :—

" This is my last message to you, men and women of India. Victory is in sight if you are prepared to win it by suffering. It is in such agony as that through which we are passing that nations are born, but you must bear this agony with fortitude, with courage and with perfect self-composure.

Remember that so long as you follow the path of non-violence you put the bureaucracy in the wrong, but move by a hair's breadth from the path which Mahatma Gandhi has mapped out for you and you give away the battle to the bureaucracy.

Swaraj is our goal, Swaraj not in compartments, not by instalments, but Swaraj whole and entire. Now it is for you, men and women to say whether we shall attain the goal for which we are striving.

To my Moderate friends I say this. Survey the history of the world from the beginning of all times. Has any nation yet won freedom by

pursuing the path which you are pursuing ? If the appeal should reach any waverer amongst you I ask him to consider whether he will now stand on the side of India in her conflict or with the bureaucracy ? There may be compromise in the matter of datails, but there can be no compromise in the essential question that divides us from the bureaucracy and if you do not stand by India, you assuredly stand for the bureaucracy.

And to the students I say this, you are at once the hope and the glory of India. True education does not consist in learning to add two and two to make four, but it lies in the service which you are prepared to give to the Mother of us all. There is work to be done for the Mother. Who amongst you is prepared to answer the call?

THE CORRESPONDENCE.

Mr. C. R. Das forwarded for publication the following correspondence that passed between him and Mr. W. R. Gourlay, Private Secratary to His excellency the Gevernor of Bengal :—

Calcutta, dated Decmber 4.

My dear C. R. Das,

His excellency has been out all day and so I have not had a chance to see him yet. The

Indian gentleman did not convey quite the right idea. The idea he conveyed was that you had expressed a desire to have a talk with the Governor with a view to discussing the present situation and so I rang you up to tell you that if that were so I know H. E. was always willing to see anyone who wished to discuss any matter of importance with him and I was going to suggest to H. E. that I should ask you to come along. I had thought of after-dinner to-night if I could fix it up. He is often in his study on Sunday night ; but that might be too late now. Ring me up (No. 428 Regent, my house) when you get this and let me know if you think such a discussion would be helpful at the present time. Yours very sincerely. (Sd.) W. R. Gourlay.

148, Russa Road South, Bhowanipur
dated December 4

Dear Mr. Gourlay,

I have just received your letter. As you say there must have been some mis-understanding. Maharaja Sir Pradyot Kumar Tagore asked me whether I had any objection to see His Excellency. He was under the impression that I could not do so on account of the principle of non-co-operation. I explained to him that it was my duty to see H. E if His Excellency

wished to see me. He was particularly anxious that H. E. and I should meet to discuss the question of *hartal*. I told him, should His Excellency send for me, I certainly, would consider it my duty to see him and discuss any matter which His Excellency might consider necessary.

I have now told you everything. If His Excellency wishes me to see him, kindly drop me a line.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) C.R. Das.

Calcutta December, 6.

My Dear C. R. Das,

His Excellency has learned from an Indian gentleman that in reply to a question which that gentleman put to you in the course of a conversation upon matters which are at present the subject of considerable public interest, you stated that you would be glad to act upon a suggestion which he had put forward that you should see His Excellency. Lord Ronaldshay understands that the matter under discusson at the time when you made this reply was the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. Lord Ronaldshay asks me to inform you, therefore, that if you are of opinion that an interview would be of advantage

at the present time, he will gladly see you and he requests me to ask if 6 p.m., to-morrow (Wednesday) December 7 would be an hour convenient to yourself.

Yours sincerely
(Sd.) W. R. Gourlay.

148, Russa Road South, Bhowanipur
December 7.

Dear Mr. Gourlay,

I do not understand from your letter that H. E. wishes me to see him. I explained the whole situation in my last letter. The rules by which non-co-operation is governed are rigid. If His Excellency thinks that a discussion with me on the present situation is helpful, it is for His Excellency to command and it is for me to obey. It is impossible for me to guess whether an interview would be of advantage or not at the present time. Judging from the present temper of the Government I doubt if it would help matters. But that is for His Excellency to judge.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) C. R. Das.

Government House, Calcutta December 8:—
My Dear C. R Das,

If you are free at 2-45 or at 6 p.m. this evening, His Excellency would like to see you.

The following further correspondence has since passed :—

1. From Mr. W.R. Gourlay to Mr.C.R. Das.

Government House,
Calcutta, Dec. 12

My dear C. R. Das,

The Communique has been sent to the press. Lord Ronaldshay was informed that the suggestion was made with your knowledge and that you raised no objection. He fails to understand therefore how it can be said that it was not made with your *concurrence*. It is not suggested that it was made on your *initiative*.

Yours sincerely,
W. R, Gourlay.

2. From S. J. Satyendra Chandra Mittra, Private Secretary to Deshabandhu Chittaranjan Das.

Dear Mr. Gourlay.

I am in receipt of your letter under double cover addressed to Sj C. R. Das dated the 10th of December, posted on the 11th of December at 9 15 A.M, and delivered to me at 10 A.M.

today (12th December) though bearing a Post Mark of Kalighat P.O., dated the 11th Decr., 3 P.M. I take it, you knew, at the time of writing this letter, that the Government of Bengal have taken Mr. Das into custody and I take it you also know that nobody is allowed either to see Mr. Das or correspond with him under the order of the Government. Under the circumstances, I regret I have to send back your letter. I have only to state that the correspondence in connection therewith has been now published in the press. That will speak for itself.

I am yours sincerely,
Satyendra Chandra Mittra.

MESSAGE FROM THE LADIES

We came out fully prepared for arrest. It was torture for us as mothers to stay away when our young boys were going to jail gloriously. We entreat all our sisters to take up the work left unfinished. Let them not forget that their place is with their brothers and sisters imprisoned. Let them realize that they are practically living in prison, only a bigger one. It is more honourable to live in a real prison than to breathe the polluted air of a slave-land. We appeal to the students of Government institutions to vacate the colleges in a body and

take up the struggle for liberty. Now or never is our last word. This noble struggle will lead us either to victory or to death. Both are glorious. It must be life or death, not this slavery any more. We beseech the policemen to resign their posts at once. Let them realize that death by starvation is preferable to doing this dirty work.

Basanti Devi
Urmila Devi
Suniti Devi

SRIJUT HEMANTA KUMAR SARKAR'S MESSAGE

My message to the students of Bengal :—Come out, enlist in thousands as volunteers, Swaraj is within sight. I wish your life may be hallowed by taking part in this righteous fight for your great Motherland's freedom.

(Sd.) Hemanta Kumar Sarkar.

PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU.

ONWARD TO THE TEMPLE OF LIBERTY.

To my comrades and countrymen :

Having served you to the best of my ability while working amongst you, it is now my high privilege to serve the Motherland by going to jail with my only son. What shall I say of him to you, who know him so well? I am fully

confident that we shall meet again at no distant date as free men. I have only one parting word to say. Continue non-violent non-co-operation without a break until Swaraj is attained, and enlist as volunteers in your tens of thousands and hundreds of thousands. Let the march of pilgrims to the only Temple of Liberty now existing in India, which has escaped sacrilege at the hands of the bureaucracy, viz. the jail, be kept up in an uninterrupted stream, swelling in strength and volume as each day passes. Adieu!

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL TO HIS COLLEAGUES.

To my Colleagues of the U. P. Congress Committee :—Some days ago, you did me the high honour of appointing me General Secretary of the Committee. I have not been able to serve you in that capacity for long. To-day, a higher honour and a greater service await me; and I welcome them with the conviction that you will carry on the work of the Committee more vigorously and successfully than my co-secretaries and myself were able to do. It has pleased Providence to give this Province a chance of leading the fight for Liberty. May you, the representatives of the people, prove worthy of this high trust. The work of the Provincial

Committee must on no account suffer. Workers from the districts must come to the head-quarters and keep the flag flying at the citadel. I trust that there will be a full attendance of members at the General meeting on the 13th in Allahabad.

Theirs will be a great responsibility. May God guide their deliberations and give them strength and wisdom. One thing I would have you remember. There can be no compromise or parleying. This struggle must and can only end in complete victory for the people. Any weakening, any giving up of the principles, will be a betrayal of the thousands who have given of their best for the cause. "An revoir." We meet again, I hope, as free men.

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL TO THE CITIZENS OF ALLAHABAD

Friends,

I go to jail with the greatest pleasure and with the fullest conviction that therein lies the achievement of our goal. Forget not that there is a complete hartal on the 12th inst. and that it is the duty of every man to enlist as a volunteer. The most important thing is to preserve complete peace and an atmosphere of non-violence. In your hands is the honour of

Allahabad and I hope it is quite safe therein. I trust you will always be in the firing line in the battle of Swaraj and make the name of our city immortal in our annals.

I am your friend,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU.

PANDIT MOHANLAL
"CHOKE UP THE JAILS."

In a short Urdu message to the citizens of Allahabad the Pandit says :—

I go to jail with the greatest pleasure. The only answer to repression is to choke up the jails. It is your duty to make the hartal of the 12th an unprecedented success. Fail not. No gari should be plying on hire ; no shop should be open.

BRAVE MOTHER OF A BRAVE SON
"*Enlist in your Hundreds of Thousands.*"
MRS. MOTILAL NEHRU'S MESSAGE

Dear Brothers and Sisters,

I rejoice in the great privilege that has been vouchsafed to me of sending my dear husband and my only son to jail. I will not pretend that my heart is entirely free from the wrench of separation from my dear ones. My heart is full of it because love is a trying thing after all. The knowledge that theirs is not a

life which can stand the hardships of jail makes my heart weep. And yet my Atma whispers to me that I should rejoice with my husband and my son over their arrest. I will not disgrace them by sorrowing over the very happenings they had set their hearts upon.

I have seen it in my life that those who sleep on feather beds hardly ever know true happiness. Suffering and penance have a joy and happiness all their own. My heart trembles to think of the life of hardships that Jawaharlal has been leading, but my soul rejoices in the fact that that great capacity to lead a life of suffering is a fortune which rarely falls to the lot of the greatest of men.

That is the ancient way. Ramchandraji, Nalaraja and others found happiness by treading that path of suffering, and made the world also happy. Was Sita ever out of Rama's heart? And yet apparently for her, but for the good of mankind, God chose to enforce a life of penance on Rama. These reflections bring me joy and peace. Let them bring the same to you.

And how may I sorrow over the imprisonment of my only son? Mahatma Gandhi told me once that others in the world have also their only sons. And a time is coming when whole

families will have to march to jail. I have just heard of the arrest of the whole family of Deshbandhu C. R. Das. I hope the same good fortune may come to me and my daughter-in-law.

What message I have to give you but the one my husband has given—Go and do likewise? Enlist yourselves in your hundreds of thousands as members of the Provincial Volunteer Corps and go to jail. Let those that remain behind turn their spinning-wheels and work for peace. If we could answer the present repressive policy with firm and determined Satyagraha for just a short while, I have no doubt that Swaraj would be at our doors before the month is out.

I may say again that my heart prays that my son's and husband's life in jail may be a bed of roses. I have faith that this is a religious struggle, and suffering religiously endured must bear its fruit. God has shown us an easy way of winning our goal—Swaraj. If we but follow it cheerfully, we may never have to be confronted with the far more difficult task of laying down our lives therefor. I trust you will not fail to seize this golden opportunity. For as, Tulsedas has well said, 'What boots repentance once a great opportunity has been frittered away ?,

Saruprani Nehru.

MRS. SAROJINI NAIDU'S MESSAGE TO THE PEOPLE OF BOMBAY

At All Times-Under All Conditions-At All Costs Conquer By Love and Self-Sacrifice.

The Soul of India cannot be silent nor the Spirit of Freedom denied its mainfold miracles of self-fulfilment.

The road to Swaraj is fast becoming a pilgrimage of Joyous suffering and sacrifice, and the prisons of India the true temples of Indian liberty.

The ever-lengthening story of the arrests and imprisonment of our brave leaders and fellow-workers everywere, the poignant courage of their farewell messages, the noble gesture of their victorious martyrdom form a thrilling and immortal chapter in the annals of our national struggle and achievement.

But not less splendid nor less worthy of our tribute is the attitude of proud serenity and self-restraint on the part of the people of the stricken Provinces in the face of such a blind and bitter fury of shameless repression and tyranny.

It is alike our duty and our previlege in this great city to consecrate all our time and thought, our energies and activities to the fur-

therance of this high doctrine and discipline of inviolate and invincible peace *at all times, under all conditions, and at all costs.*

Unfaltering in our purpose, unflinching in our devotion, let us fearlessly proclaim the faith within us and prove to an incredulous world that the soldiers of Swaraj win their deliverance from bondage not by the sword of harted and destruction, but by the diviner weapons of love and self-sacrifice, in accordance with their own ancient tradition of spiritual power.

SAROJINI NAIDU,

LOVE NOT HATE.

MAHATMA'S FAITH.

Non-Violence Absolutely Essential.

BE PREPARED--BUT NOT DEFIANT.

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

I had not expected Panditji's arrest. In our discussions I used to tell Panditji that he

would be about the last to be arrested. Sir Harcourt Butler would not have the courage to lay hands upon him and his friend Rajasaheb of Mahmudabad would decline to retain his office if he was to be arrested. I marvel at Sir. Harcourt Butler's philosophic courage. Panditji has been working against tremendous odds. He has been battling against his old enemy asthma. I know that he has never worked for his rich clients nor even for the afflicted Panjab as he has slaved for pauper India. I have pleaded with him to take rest. He has refused to do so. I rejoice to think that he will now have respite from the din that was wearing him out.

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

But my joy, which I hope thousands share with me, is conditional upon perfect peace being observed whilst our leaders are one after

another taken away from us. Victory is complete if non-violence reigns supreme in spite of arrest. Disastrous defeat is a certainty if we cannot control all the elements so as to ensure peace. We are out to be killed without killing. We have stipulated to go to prison without feeling angry or injured. We must not quarrel with the conditions of our own creating.

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

In the moment of our trial and our triumph let me declare my faith. I believe in loving my enemies. I believe in non-violence as the only remedy open to the Hindus, Musalmans, Sikhs, Parsis, Christians and Jews of India. I believe in the power of suffering to melt the stoniest heart. The brunt of the battle must fall on the first three. The last named three are afraid of the combination of the first three. We must by our honest conduct

demonstrate to them that they are our kinsmen. We must by our conduct demonstrate to every Englishman that he is safe in the remotest corner of India as he professes to feel behind the machine gun.

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

was the definite process of purification we commenced last year at Calcutta.

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

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

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

We must hold the Congress at any cost in spite of the arrest of every one of the leaders unless the Government dissolve it by force. And if we are neither cowed down nor provoked to violence but are able to continue national work, we have certainly attained Swaraj. For no

power on earth can stop the onward march of peaceful determined and godly people.

M. K. GANDHI.

Sabarmati,

8th December 1921.

HIRALAL GANDHI'S LETTER.

Dear Shyam Babu,

The arrest of Mr. Das, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and others fills me with both grief and joy. My duty, I am sure, is now clear. I am offering myself for arrest this evening. I was about to leave for Bombay in a day or two to be with my dear mother and children after a long absence from them. I however, feel that in Bengal, where with my Bengali friends I have shared in their pleasures and very little in their pains and amogst whom I have earned my bread and butter, lay my duty. At this juncture therefore, I cannot leave the spot. If I am mistaken, my Ba and Babu, I have no doubt, will forgive me.

The Government say we defy them as enemies. I beg to differ. Our courting imprisonment, in my humble opinion, is only by way of humble protest against the manifold grievances the existence of which no one can truthfully deny.

Adieu to all my beloved friends and well wishers.

MESSAGE OF B. N. SASMAL

The call has come at last and I obey. There can be no fixed hour for the call, so can there be none for the response. But I have been preparing myself for it these last few months. In this day of rejoicing when I am just retiring unto myself I cannot but acknowledge with gratefulness the kindness shown to me by my Maker. This forward march is indeed coming back to *self*. To my mind it is no going away, but by the grace of the All-Merciful, I am first approaching the Swaraj Asram at last. From other's land I am going back to my own; I shake off my fetters and become master of my own. My own language fails me to give adequate expression to my heartfelt love to and reverence for God. The baser elements of my nature which had hitherto served to show off the grandeur of my outer life to my fellow beings fail me at this hour in revealing my innermost thoughts to the Greater Man within me.

It is not that my heart does not bleed for the attainment of Swaraj and the redress of the Khilafat and Punjab wrongs; perhaps it does more than many other's. But I did not join in

this great struggle for Swaraj, the Khilafat, and the Punjab only. The path society has trudged on so long everywhere is not the right one. Man himself will have to bring back man from this path full of sorrow and misery. For this has the Man within me aspired to become a real man and for this have I joined the great struggle. Society will be purged of its sin and suffering by penance in the shape of sell-sacrifice by us all. Therefore every true man must prepare to sacrifice himself. My one request to my countrymen is that they retire into the inner reality day in and day out from the outer manifestations of these days. Swaraj and the redress of the Khilafat and Panjab wrongs they will gain undoubtedly, but they will also gain something without compare in this world. I believe firmly that by the self-sacrifice of the men of India will be blessed the man of this world.

The East has always given the West its religion. Today also will it be the religious teacher of the West. Politics will henceforth be based upon religion. It is absolutely necessary therefore, for the whole of Bengal, and specially Midnapur, to take to the Charka. Wherever I may be and however placed, I shall never forget Midnapore.

WARNING AGAINST VIOLENCE

MOULANA ABDUL BARI'S MANIFESTO

Lucknow, Nov. 25.

We do not at all desire to inflict any insult or bodily harm on the Prince of Wales. We only wish to save him from being deceived by official prestige and to show him the real feelings of India and its people. The means we have adopted is to declare a *hartal*, from which all violence should be excluded. We have adopted the doctrine of non-violence after great deliberation. We believe that it is the only way of success. Unfortunately there is a party which does not believe in this and is apparently working with us. We request this party to adopt our principles while it works with us or to wait till our methods have proved futile before it puts its own principles into practice. I was very much grieved to hear the troubles in Bombay. The only result was to mitigate the effect of calm and self-control, displayed by the people on the arrest of our renowned leaders. We consider the Bombay Riots to be opposed not only to our political creed but also to our Sharah. By our religious law a Muslim is forbidden to destroy the wine of a Non-Muslim, is bound to compensate the party aggrieved. If

the Sharah is so stringent with regard to wine we can well imagine what its orders are with regard to other property. At the present moment we have a quarrel with British Bureaucracy and with no one else in India. Under such conditions the honour and property of all, be they Muslims, Hindus, Parisis, Jews or Christians should be safe in our hands. We should remain firm to our religious commands. I fear that if such disturbances are not prevented in future,the minorities will no longer have faith in the Indian democracy and they will be forced to rely on a foreigner for their defence. Then it will be very difficult for us to attain our object. At the same time, I request these minorities not to be deceived by this interested help of the Bureaucracy. They should bear in mind the deplorable results which may arise by a too heated desire of retaliation and should, therefore, bring themselves under control.

MAULANA ABDUL BARI'S MESSAGE

(From a Correspondent.)

HYDERABAD (sind), Dec. 6.

"God has at last blessed us with the cherished desire of mine and Ali Brothers that Almighty has chosen a man from Faranghi Mahal for the sacrifice in the cause of Islam

Maulana Salamatullah has topped the list. Convey congratulations to his relations and the members of Faranghi Mahal family. I hope they will feel as happy as I do. I am painfully feeling my absence at this juncture, but God destined so. Tell my brothers to rely on God and to strictly adhere to the creed of Non-Violence. I am Starting at the earliest opporttunity.

MR. ASAF ALI'S MESSAGE.

DELHI, Dec. 13.

Mr. Asaf Ali, who was arrested on Monday along with 50 volunteers left the following message:

I am too ill to hope that I shall survive the rigours of jail life; but, I am proud to say that I have deliberately sought it for the sake of my conscience and my country. I have the profound satisfaction of feeling that I am, in my own humble way, fulfilling my duty towards the cause of Liberty.

Our bones may lie bleaching in obscure dungeons, built of sand and maintained with our nation's money, but over our unknown graves shall rise the noble edifice of our country's Freedom. We can vanquish the sin of selfishness and the crime of violence by selflessness

and the negation of violence. Suffering innocence has God's own might on its side.

PROF. VASWANI'S APPEAL.

The Khilafat and Congress workers are trying their best to maintain peace and order. Appeal to the people to face the situation with the strength of nonviolence and faith in the value of suffering. "A mighty unconquerable moment, will come if in thousands and tens of thousands we will, with love in our hearts, practise passive resistance and fill the jails with truth and honour, and we shall stand in the presence of Liberty."

MR. YAKUB HASSANS' MESSAGE.

The prison door is the key to Swaraj. "Don't soil the white flag of freedom with blood stained hands. Enough blood is being shed in the homeland of Turks. Help the Mujahideons there to the best of your ability and gain double reward of participation of peaceful Jehad at home and armed Jehad abroad."

WOMEN'S PART BY MAHATMA GHANDI.

The women of Calcutta have obstructed the gentelmen of Calcutta by trying to sell Kahdi and a telegram in the newspapers has announced that they have been consequently arrested. The company includes the devoted partner of the President Elect, his widowed sister and his niece. I had hoped that in the initial stages, at any rate, women would be spared the honour of going to jail. They were not to become aggressive civil resisters. But the Bengal Government in their impartial zeal to make no distinction even of sex, have conferred the honour upon three women of Calcutta. I hope that the whole country will welcome this innovation. The women of India should have as much share in winning Swaraj as men. Probably in this peaceful struggle woman can outdistance man by many a mile. We know that she is any day superior to man in her religious devotion. Silent and dignified suffering is the badge of her sex. And now that the Government of Bengal have dragged the women into the line of fire, I hope that the women all

over India will take up the challenge and organise themselves. In any case they were bound, when a sufficient number of men had been removed, for the honour of their sex to step into their places. But now let it be side by side with men in sharing the hardship of gaol life. God will protect their honour. When as if to mock man, her natural protectors became helpless to prevent Draupadi from being denuded of her last piece of cloth, the power of her own virtue preserved her honour. And so will it be to the end of time. Even the weakest physically have been given the ability to protect their own honour. Let it be man's privilege to protect woman but let no women of India feel helpless in the absence of man or in the event of his failing to perform the sacred duty of protecting her. One who knows how to die need never fear any harm to her or his honour.

I would suggest to the women of India, quietly but without loss of time, to collect names of those who are ready to enter the line of fire. Let them send their offer to the women of Bengal and let the latter feel that their sisters elsewhere are ready to follow their noble example. It is likely that there will not be many forthcoming to brave the risks of a gaol

life and all it must mean to women. The nation will have no cause to be ashamed if only a few offer themselves for sacrifice in the first instance.

Men's duty is clear. We must not lose our heads. Excitement will not protect our women or our country. We have asked the Government neither to spare women nor our children. It certainly did not in the Punjab during those martial law days. I consider it decidedly more civilized that the officials in Calcutta should, under a legal pretence, arrest our sisters in Calcutta for what they consider is a crime than that a Bosworth in the Punjab should spit upon, swear at and otherwise humiliate the women of Manianwala. We did not offer our women to be insulted thus wise. But we do offer our women for imprisonment if they will arrest them in the prosecution of public service. We must not expect the Government to look on with indifference whilst the women are spreading the gospel of Swadeshi and undermining the very basis of its existence,—its traffic in foreign cloth and the consequent ability to exploit India's resources. If therefore we, men, allow our sisters to take part in the Swadeshi agitation we must concede the right of the Government to imprison them equally with men.

We must therefore control our anger. It will be cowardly to challenge a duel and swear at the adversary for taking up the challenge. Men must fill the gaols. Men must prove to the Government that the awakening is not confined to a few men but it has permeated the masses, that the spirit of non-violence possesses not merely a select number but that it possesses the best part of India. We must show by our conduct that the sudden eruption was an exception and not a symptom of a general disease. And now, when the cause for irritation is almost the greatest, is the time for showing the greatest forbearance and self restraint. I modify the adjective by using an adverb before it. For I do not think the greatest irritation has yet been offered I can conceive occasions which may cause irritation to the straining point. If we are to gain freedom and vindicate the honour of the Khilafat and the Punjab we must pay a much higher price and not lose equanimity in the midst of the greatest possible irritation. Let us prepare for the worst and give credit to the Government for decency by expecting the least. Let us acknowledge frankly that in most cases they are obeying the laws of war by being courteous. If they handcuffed Pir Badshah Mian and

Dr. Suresh Banerjee, they have not done so in the case of the Ali Brothers, Lala Lajpatrai, Moulana Mohiuddin or Pandit Motilal Nehru nor would I quarrel with handcuffing if they imposed it on all. It is a gaol regulation to handcuff a prisoner. I should certainly have loved to travel to Allahabad to see Pandit Motilal Nehru and his son being handcuffed together and made to walk to their destination. I would have loved to watch the radiant smiles on their faces in the consciousness of their handcuffs hastening the advent of Swaraj. But the Government did not provide any such treat. What I do not expect, what I do not want for the sake of man's dignity, is a repetition of petty and degrading insults of the Punjab or the unthinkable inhumanities of the Moplah death wagon. But non-co-operators have stipulated for no such immunity. We have conceived the possibility of the worst happening and under a full sense of our responsibility pledged ourselves to remain non-violent. Swaraj is within our grasp; let it not step away from us by self forgetfulness.

With leaders in gaols, there should be hartals wherever the Prince goes. No Meetings are necessary to organise them. The people have sufficient training for spontaneous action. Let

the Government realise that it was not force but willing response that brought about hartals. There must be nowhere any unauthorised or ill conceived civil disobedience. Every forward step must be taken with the greatest deliberation and calmness. The people can discuss things in their own homes. The merchants meet a thousand times for business. They may easily discuss and decide matters arising out of the situation as developes hourly. But whilst I would like *hartals* to follow the Prince, I would take no risk of violence and would not countenance the slightest exercise of force or threat of it. Absence of prescribed hartal would somewhat discredit us, but an outbreak of violence would retard our progress and may even indefinitely postpone Swaraj.

I hope too, that every vacancy in the ranks of delegates will be filled and that there will be a full attendance at the Congress of members who will have made up their minds as to what they want and how they will have it.

Whilst this was being printed, advice was received that the three ladies were discharged after a few hours detention. Nevertheless I allow the writing to go to the public as the argument holds good in the main. I observe, too, that the ladies have been discharged with a caution !

MOSLEM'S DUTY IN THE PRESENT CRISIS.

LEADERS APPEAL TO THE COMMUNITY

Non-Violence and Readiness for Jail.

Bombay, Dec. '12.

Mr. Seth Chotani, Mashhulmulk Hakim Ajmal Khan and Dr. Ansari have issued the following appeal to the Mussalmans of India:—The policy of Government towards the movement of the country is no longer a secret now. Our prominent leaders who peacefully carried out the movement and successfully kept the people within proper control are being put into prison. A new situation has therefore arisen in the country. We deem it absolutely essential to explain their first and foremost duty to our national workers and people at large in these circumstances. We all know that human nature sometimes quickly yields to external influences and consequently requires stern rules and regulations of perfect organisation and discipline which should have a firm hold on the mind of the people. Man is a rational being, as such is expected to act wisely. With a well disciplined will

he should march in the path of progress with firmness of purpose and unconquerable determination without allowing his passions to override his senses. If he keeps his animal power in subordination to, and within the control of, the spiritual power he is sure to win. The present circumstances have put our human nature to a very severe test. We hope all our brethren in faith will come out successful in their hard trial. Our just and religious demand still remains unfulfilled while our popular leaders are being arrested and sent to jail for their freedom of faith and conscience. Repression has gone beyond all limits and has no doubt created greatest excitement and indignation among the public.

Under these provocative circumstances we earnestly appeal to all our coreligionists to keep the sacred cause in view and not to resort to any kind of violence whether in deed or in word. It is our firm conviction that any violence on the part of the people is highly detrimental to the sacred cause of the Khilafat. General repression so vigorously started by Government which has resulted in the arrests of even the most prominent and peace-loving leaders like Pandit Motilal Neheru, Lala Lajpat Rai, Mr. C. R. Das, Maulana Abul

Kalam Azad and Maulana Salamatulla is likely to disturb the public mind but it must be remembered by adopting repressive measures Government have challenged not individual leaders and workers but the very movement upon the success of which freedom of our faith and our national existence solely depends. Let therefore every Mussalman, whether young or old, engrave on his mind that if he loves his religion and country he should face the situation boldly with undaunted courage and perseverance and in entire submission to the peaceful programme of non-violent non-cooperation.

Mussalmans of India have made a compact with Mahatma Gandhi to follow his programme peacefully and let that compact be fulfilled up to the last. Every young man should be prepared to go to jail cheerfully and work should be unceasingly continued with accelerated speed.

All Khilafat Committees are requested to empower their presidents to fill up the vacancy immediately at their own discretion without undergoing the formality of calling a meeting, whenever any of the office bearers or workers is arrested, so that work may not suffer owing to the delay in making a new election. A list of workers should be kept ready beforehand and a

gap should be filled immediately whenever the necessity arises. Mussalmans should vie with their Hindu brethren in facing the repression with the utmost firmness, patience and fortitude and should cheerfully fill the jails one after another. This is a struggle for existence and let the Mussalmans give proof of their traditional strength, energy and self-sacrifice. Victory is ours only if our people stand firm. The Khilafat cause has awakened united India and let the Mussalmans champion the great cause and take the lead in gaining Swaraj by peacefully following the country's programme even under the gravest provocation, so that when Khilafat wrongs are redressed and Swaraj attained the good name of Mussalmans should ever shine on the horizon of history as saviour of the freedom of their faith and country.

DELHI ARRESTS.

TEXT OF MASSAGES

Lala Shankarlal's :

My message to my fellow countrymen and young workers is that I desire to do away with the calamities that have bound India with chains of slavery. Young men ought to enlist as volunteers in their hundreds and follow me. Our Lord Srikrishna who came into the world for our

salvation, was born in jail. I assure you, prisons will burst before they accommodate thirtytwo crores of persons. Our revered leaders Lala Lapat Rai, Pandit Motilal Nehru and some of our dear mothers and sisters have led the way. Young workers, will you remain complacent onlookers ? I am going to jail now and my desire is that at least 1,000 volunteers should step into my shoes. This will thoroughly satisfy me and will convince me that the national work in Delhi has borne the desired fruit. I have one more request to make and this is that you should for everything that is dear to you, give up the use of bideshi cloth and take to charka and khaddar. I finish this humble message of mine in the firm belief that on 1st of January 1922, the sun will dawn on Swaraj of India.

The message of Lala Hanwant Sahai:—"Beloved patriots, while going to jail, my Prarthana is that you should use *Khaddar*. This is the key to Swaraj. My next wish is that *Acheet* should disappear altogether from our midst without the least delay. I shall ask you my dear young workers, to prove your love of country and God by joining the ranks of volunteers fearlessly. I hope you will not lag behind those mothers and sisters of ours, who have shown us the way to Swaraj."

SIR. P. C. RAYS' LETTER

My Dear Sister, I am so much choked up with feelings that I can scarcely give vent to them. Ever since his historic defence of Sjt. Aurobindo Ghosh, which will always rank as one of the classics in state trials, your husband has loomed large before the public. His abundant charity, his lofty patriotism, his high idealism, his heroic and chivalrous defence of the weak, have always evoked our admiration.

Though I do not see eye to eye with him in some matters, I have always felt attracted to him and I do not at all wonder that his striking personality should capture the imagination of young Bengal or for the matter of that of young India. Even those who differ from him in political matters cannot withhold their admiration for the unparalleled self-sacrifice he has made. Our hearts go out to Chittaranjan in this hour of trial. I know the limitations of the expert and from my position of isolation and detachment, I am afraid, I fail to realise the full significance of his life's mission. Has not the poet said—

"The man of science is fond of glory and vain.

An eye well practised in nature is but a spirit bounded and poor."

Possibly exclusive lifelong devotion to my favourite subject has blurred my vision and my spirit has become circumscribed. I can assure you, however, dear sister, in serving my favourite science I have only one idea in my mind, namely, that, through her, I should serve my country. Our aspirations are the same. God knows I have no other object in my life. Cheerfully and heroically you have been bearing your tribulations and set an example to modern Bengal and woman-hood which has been rarely met with since the days of Rajput Glory.

"I sincerely hope that the dark clouds which have overshadowed our dear motherland will soon be dispelled and your husband restored to us."

SJT. C. RAJAGOPALACHAR

HOPE AT LAST

"But things are shaping themselves beautifully without our having to force the pace" so writes Mahatma Gandhi on 10th instant. When otherwise, in December, men would have doubted whether we had done well or failed. When we were anxiously thinking how to shape our programme in order that we might get greater momentum, Providence has led our rulers into a policy which, if met by a little courage, on

our part and a little sacrifice, will surely take us to the promised land in less than a month.

Civil disobedience was inevitable, but the danger of disorder made us draw a distinction between mass and individual disobedience. We were striving to find out what law or orders were best fitted for civil disobedience. We laid down conditions, moving most cautiously. When we were thus anxiously feeling our way, our rulers have come to our help. The hand of God is clearly seen in recent events. Clean simple Civil Disobedience, with all the advantages of individual as well as of mass disobedience, with the risks of violence reduced to a minimum, has been rendered possible by the wholesale prohibitions of Congress executive work which is now being promulgated as law in province after province.

We made the mistake of giving our honorary Congress Workers a bad English name. We called them *Volunteers* and the Government is taking full advantage of the word. "Volunteer" suggests guns, sticks or at least, some amount of drill. Under the pretence of supressing a potential army of revolutionaries, which in European countries would call itself by such a name, Government is trying to make illegal all congress work such as Swadeshi or

temperance or organisation of branches and even to make it practically impossible to see to the physical needs of our meetings and gatherings. To such a wide prohibition, no nation with a further before it, can submit. The young men of this province have tarried too long. A chance is now offered to them. In hundreds and thousands, I expect them now to come forward, give their names as congress volunteers, and go to prison if the government is resolved to send to prison, men whose main and only object is to make men peaceful, non-violent, industrious, brave and godly.

There is no more time to be lost. God has taken away wisdom from our rulers and guided them into the path of folly, so that we might have our birth right. Only, we should purify ourselves with a little sacrifice and a little courage. The Criminal Law amendment Act will bring us Swaraj within the year, if our young men wake up now.

S. SRINIVASA IYENGAR'S MANIFESTO.

As a protest against the policy of Repression pursued by the Government in other parts of India and in this province I feel bound to relinguish my title of C.I.E. and to resign my seat in the Legislative Council of Madras as representing the University, as a Nationalist, following Moderate methods of activity and believing that unity is the sole method of achieving immediate and full Dominion Status which is the object of all Nationalists. I have difference and I still differ from Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress as regards the programme of boycott of schools, Courts and Councils and their adoption of Civil Disobedience, but this policy of repression directed against the Indian National Congress and its leaders and workers and the extention of the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1908 to the Madras province are in my humble judgment such an unconstitutional interference with the liberty of citizens as to compel Nationalists like me to enter my protest. I hope the Graduates of the University to whom I shall always be grateful for the overwhelming majority of votes they gave me will approve my

resigning my seat in the Council. Not only have the Ministers and one or two prominent men belonging to the party in power supported this policy of repression but the Legislative Council as a whole by not giving leave to discuss the application of the Criminal Law Amendment Act to the Madras Province have made it plain that they support the policy of repression.

In these circumstances I cannot be a member of a Legislative Council committed to this policy. Such European and other Moderate friends as I still might have will, I hope, appreciate my inability to retain a title conferred by Government when I wholly disagree with the fundamental policy of Government towards my country. May I appeal to the men of all parties who do not approve of the triple Boycotts and of Civil Disobedience immediately to adopt full Swadeshi and pledge themselves to total prohibition and to an uncompromising scheme of national education and above all to a Brahmin-non-Brahmin—Adi Dravida unity and non-co-operator—co-operator unity as well as to Hindu-Muslim unity.

PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU'S APPEAL TO STUDENTS.

"NOW OR NEVER."

Cawnpore, Dec. 14.

Pandit Motilalji and Tondonji delivered their message to all the dear students in schools and colleges to give up their studies now and enroll themselves as volunteers. Now or never was the time to respond to the call of ***Bharat Mata.***

MR. JINNAH.

"Every responsible citizen in India must look upon the present position taken up by the Government as thoroughly unjustifiable. The Government have justified the present measures on the ground that law and order must be maintained, to which no exception can be taken. But it is not possible to maintain law and order either by force or by Statutes, when it is a matter of common knowledge, that intellectual and thoughtful public opinion is not respected and satisfied. It pains all to think that H. E. Lord Reading, after nine months' personal study

of the Indian grievances, is not able to find a solution that can satisfy the intelligentia.

"The non-co-operation movement is only a symptom and expression of general dissatisfaction, owing to the utter disregard of public opinion and of outstanding grievances. In my opinion, the only course open to the Government is to come to a settlement of the three questions, the Khilafat, the Punjab and Swaraj, —on reasonable lines. No Government has ever succeeded in fighting against the people, and repression will only make matters worse. There will be no need on the part of the Government to make special efforts to maintain law and order, if Lord Reading will only meet the reasonable demand of the people, which has been placed before him by more than one responsible leader. Every country has got an extreme section of opinion, but it will be impossible for that section to make any headway if the bulk of the people are satisfied. And my reading of the Indian situation is that, leave alone the bulk of the people, even the intellectual and reasonable section is far from satisfied with the present policy of the Government. It is often said that sober people should rally round the authority. How is it possible for them to

support or stand by the Government, when the Government has paid no heed to what even they have urged upon Lord Reading and his Government for the last nine months?"

PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU.

A message from Pandit Jawaharlal given on behalf of Pandit Motilal and others now in Lucknow District Jail to the men and women of the United Provinces.

"We are in jail but we are most happy for we know you are carrying on the great fight. We know you have responded to the great call. Great cities like Lucknow, Allahabad and Benares have demonstrated your determination. You are to-day making a history which your children and your children's children, freed for ever from a foreign yoke, will glory in and unborn generations will bless your name. We pray for you. May the Lord bless you and give you strength to fight on till victory crowns your sacrifices! To our own city of Allahabad, what shall we say? How shall we, who are of it, congratulate it

or us? Brave citizens! The great and peaceful hartal, the march of hundreds of its children to jail and the enrolment of thousands in the army of Swaraj fill us with joy and hope. Our hearts are too full for many words. We can but offer our prayerful thanks to the Giver of all strength. May the flag of freedom Allahabad has unfurled ever fly and the sons and daughters of our city come forward in an unending stream to sacrifice themselves at the altar of Swaraj."

BABU SHYAM SUNDER CHAKRA BUTTY.

OUR STUDENTS.

Students of Bengal! You have ever been her hope and strength. It is you who have always felt, worked and suffered for her; you have obeyed her call, regardless of consequences; you have held your country dearer than prospects in life; you have been shadowed, spied on, insulted, imprisoned and exiled with hardly a word of love, sympathy or commiseration breathed for you. You have been misunderstood, misrepre-

sented and maligned, but you have not swerved from your duty. You have fed the famished, relieved the flood-stricken, regulated the rush of pilgrims during festivals, furthered the cause of peace and progress, received encomiums of the guardians of law and order, but at the next moment been handed over to the tender mercies of the police as criminals and culprits of the basest type. You have known many ups and downs, but have never been unduly elated or depressed. I am one of those who have an intimate knowledge of what you had to pay for your self-less devotion to your country. I am one of those who drained with you the bitter cup to the dregs. I know the stuff that is in you, I feel the pulse that beats in you, I dream the dream that sustains and inspires you on your dreary march. Will you then fail the country in this supreme crisis when she has just begun to go your way? The stern discipline of suffering, the salutary schooling of experience, the example and precept of the greatest living Indian have at last set you on the right road to salvation. Bring therefore to the altar of the Mother the offering of your holy ardour and enthusiasm. What is your education

and instinct worth if interested cry is suffered to pass for public opinion, if sycophancy is suffered to masquerade as citizenship, if tales of petty personal inconveniences are suffered to flaunt themselves as correct reports of national happenings, if an honest appeal to national self-respect is suffered to be stigmatised as coercion and intimidation, if the proud man's "ipse dixite" are suffered to be elevated to the rank of facts and truths, if the most unwarranted restriction of your commonest right—the right to speak, write, associate and serve—is suffered to assume the sanctity and majesty of law? Will you allow the God in you to be thus insulted? If not, then accept this challenge to your divinity; if not, then call up the spirit in you, if not, then meet hatred with love, misrepresentation with becoming silence, and persecution with noble self-suffering. You are out to teach how wrong ought to be righted, how the very germ of evil is to be killed by goodness, how to make the creed of suffering and sacrifice the established creed of the world, in short, to vindicate the innate dignity and majesty of your soul. One supreme effort is called for. Think and act.

HELP JUSTICE.

Brothers!—Up till yesterday have I been a practising lawyer; to-day I step over the threshold of the jail. The feeling that has influenced me to this step is this: We are pledged to help justice but when injustice in the name of law and order seeks to impose itself on men, their conscience rebels. Then comes the time when we should ensure the reign of justice by opposing the encroachments of the so-called upholders of law and order. Under the impulse of the idea have I stood against the recent order of the Government of Bengal encroaching on our right of association, and persuasion "Bande Mataram."

Mrs. C. R. Das

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

AN APPEAL TO THE COUNTRY

Awake: Arise: Hear ye not your mother's call? Oft, in days gone by, she came to you and spoke to you and you heard her not. She stands before you again to-day and speaks in accents clear and irresistible. And should she speak in vain? Would you still hide your face in fear or would you, a free being as you are, rise and respond to her stern and imperious call?

The national Congress sits on the 26th of December. Many of its trusted leaders and workers, young and old, will be absent from its deliberations for reasons which are known to you. These high-souled and selfless patriots, though absent, will be present there in spirit. Should you not be there to be cheered and inspired by their presence? The President's Chair will remain vacant. What then? His message to the Congress he has left with me and on the eve of his arrest he charged me, his wife, with the sacred duty of delivering it to you. Poor and unworthy as I am, I shall try to discharge

that sacred duty. That is my husband's wish, That is Mahatma Gandhi's wish. Will you not come and stand by me in this my solemn hour of trial? Remember that for the last 40 years the Congress has been the only national institution and its pandal the chosen field of our action. Here it is that our fathers decided to give battle to the powers that be. Here it is that the Swaraj Flag was hoisted and kept flying by those who have gone before us. Shall we abandon the flag at this critical moment and allow it to be captured by our opponents to be trampled on to our eternal shame? I know you will not suffer it. Forget your differences, Come in your thousands. Rally round the Congress and keep the Swaraj Flag flying: sacrifice yourselves, if need be, on its sacred ramparts. The last call sounds: Hark—"Arise": "Awake"

Men and women of Bengal: I am proud of what you have achieved during the course of a week. I glory in your sacrifices unstintedly and ungrudgingly made for the cause. Who can read the long roll of arrests and imprisonments but with a thrill of joy and hope? Who can witness the cheerful march of the pilgrims to the "Swaraj Ashram" but with tears of admiration in his eyes? The fight has just begun. The fight

will be long and arduous. If soul-force counts for anything in the world, the victory is ours.

The Congress has decided that a Hartal should be observed in Calcutta on the 24th of December. In this no insult is intended to the Prince. I, as a mother should be the last person to hurt the feelings of one so young and tender, and also brave. But the nation has decided that it is unable to extend to the Prince any welcome as a nation. It is your solemn duty to observe the Hartal. But remember that the Hartal is an expression of our national mourning. Observe it in a spirit of reverence and humility, above all, non-violence.

To you, my younger brothers and sisters, I say: you are your Mother's hope, her pride, her joy. March onward to victory and to glory.

Dec. 16, 1921.

BASANTI DEBI

MR. PATEL ON NATION'S DUTY.

WILL THEY RESIGN NOW?

Fear of Jail Fast Vanishing.

A public meeting under the auspices of the Mandvi Ward District Congress Committee was held on Wednesday when Mr. Patel delivered the following thoughtful speech on the present situation.

Friends,—In opening the proceedings of this meeting you will allow me to speak what is uppermost in my mind and I believe in the mind of every one of you: namely, the present situation. I have no heart in the business which has brought us together this evening. Repression is in the full swing in the country. Every day every wind that blows brings some news of the arrest in every nook and corner in our country of our prominent coworkers. Two ex-Presidents and the President Elect of the Congress not to talk of several hundreds of our countrymen are already on a jail pilgrimage. I frankly confess I was not prepared for this feat of the bureaucracy, particularly at a time when our future Sovereign is touring in our midst.

You will pardon me, therefore, if I, instead of talking to you on the ensuing Municipal elections, talk of our duty at this critical juncture. The situation in the country is of the gravest character and danger. The attitude of the authorities that be is unmistakable. They are determined to "see the matter through at all costs" to use the words of Sir Harcourt Butler. The mentality of a section of our countrymen who have seceeded from the Congress and are now co-operating with the Government is also equally certain. Sir Binode Mittra, with full knowledge of the arrests of the three ladies of the President Elect's family, pledged the fullest support of the Moderate-party to the ex-Chief Justice of England in an after-dinner speech only the other day at Calcutta. Pandit Motilal Nehru is sentenced to six months and yet the Raja of Mahmudabad retains his seat on the U. P. Executive Council. Lala Harkishanlal sticks to his post in spite of the arrest of Lala Lajpatrai. I know there is some feeling of resentment here and there even in the Moderate party over this mad policy of the Government. It has been reported that an M. L. C. or an M. L. A. left the dinner party held in honour of the Viceroy at Calcutta immediately after the

news of the arrests of the three brave ladies reached them. So also Mr. Raza Ali, member of the Council of State, has sent a telegram of warning and protest to the Viceroy. Four M. L. A.'s have issued a statement to the press under their signatures urging Government to call a round table conference of leaders of all shades of political thought in the country. Mr. A. C. Banerji writes to the press that Sir Surendranath Banerji has authorised him to state that the latter has no hand in the repressive policy inaugurated by the Government of Bengal. If this be true, I do not understand how Sir Surendranath can remain in office and at the same time authorize Mr. Banerji to publish the statement. But what is the good, pray, of these protests, manifestoes, statements, and resentments if they are going to hold fast to their posts notwithstanding? Did not Mr. Samarth speaking on behalf of the Moderate deputation, tell the Parliamentary Joint Committee that if certain demands which he named were not granted there would be an agitation in the country of such a character that it may stagger imagination? Mr. Samarth's prophecy has no doubt come true; but alas where is Mr. Samarth? Did not

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad and Sir Ibrahim Rahimutulla raise their voices and vote against the Bombay Government's sanction to prosecute the Ali Brothers: but they are there still co-operating with the Government. Who does not know that if our Moderate friends rise in a body from the Government and the Councils, even now, the bureaucracy would have to yield in no time? Let us only hope that these good friends of ours will belie their past traditions and rise to the occasion at this grave crisis. But what is our duty at this juncture and under these circumstances? Our first and most sacred duty at this vital juncture is that we Congress men should sink all our differences and present an organized and united front. I want you to bear in mind that three things are essential for the success of this great and novel experiment. I use the word "Novel" because I know of no precedent in human history where a nation has obtained freedom by means of civil disobedience. If we are successful in this experiment our achievement will be a lasting object lesson to the whole world. The first essential condition of our success is that we should remain perfectly nonviolent in thought, word and deed. We are out to suffer and

not to inflict sufferings. It is by self-suffering that we hope to bring about the desired result. The issue is plain. The bureaucracy wants to impose its will on us by repression and oppression. We on the other hand wish to impose our will on the bureaucracy by our suffering. Heaven only knows the extent and the intensity of the suffering that is in store for us in this process. The other two conditions, therefore, are that the fear of jail and the fear of death both must disappear from our minds. Congressmen in their thousands must be prepared to go to jail and also to lay down their lives if necessary. I have no doubt that if India can give a million soldiers for this purpose success is sure. It is a matter of sincere congratulations to know that the fear of jail is fast vanishing away and the events of the last few days are indeed an indication of a very hopeful outlook. In spite of the arrests of our first rank leaders as also the indiscriminating arrests of hundreds of our co-workers in different parts of India the country has remained perfectly non-violent.

LALA LAJPAT RAI

LETTER TO MAHATMA GANDHI.

The following is the text of Lala Lajpatrai's letter to Mahatma Gandhi just on the eve of Lalaji's arrest :—

Dear Mahatmaji,—I am writing this to you so early as in all probability I will be arrested by this evening. I am sorry I may look to have disregarded your wishes but the circumstances are such as leave me no alternative. We have called a meeting of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee for to-day 2 p.m. The Deputy Commissioner calls it a public meeting. Yesterday we received a notice from him asking us for the agenda and an assurance that no business not in the agenda would be transacted. We have refused to comply, maintaining that the meeting is not public and that it does not come within the Act. Most probably he will prohibit the meeting. He has also served us with a notice calling *ward meetings* of ward Congress Committees also public. This means an entire stoppage of work. His orders are illegal, and if we had the option of fighting we might have won. But this is not to be.

Under the circumstances it is impossible for me to keep away from the meeting. It will be sheer cowardice. Please pardon me if my action does not meet with your approval. I am quite happy and cheerful and will not whine for favours. I am going to insist on being treated as an ordinary prisoner even if they are so magnanimous as to offer me some privilege which I don't believe they will. Rest assured I will not bring disgrace on your movement. Pardon me if I have ever seemed to be critical and distrustful. In all my actions only one motive has been uppermost in my thoughts, viz. that of loyalty to my country and my people. If I have erred, I have erred in good faith. Even in my criticisms of my moderate friends I have had no other motive. I believed in what I said and I believe in it still. But if I was wrong they can pardon a mistaken comrade. I believe we are on the right path and that only non-violent non-co-operation can help us in achieving our goal.

The Sikh non-co-operators have set a noble example. Of course all of them are not Congressmen and the motive force behind their present behaviour is religion. But that makes no difference so long as the spirit of suffering for a principle is there. The Sikh community

has so far kept its temper admirably well in spite of the provocations given. Most of the arrests have been made in the presence of hundreds and thousands. Please read the accounts in the " Tribune " and make your own comments. Our Sikh friends deserve all the praise one can bestow on brave, noble, sufferers in the cause of truth.

We have selected Aga Safdar as my successor in the office of the President Provincial Congress Committee and I have in consultation drawn up a programme for immediate action.

Mr. Stokes was this morning arrested at one of the roadside stations for what offence and under what law I don't know. If I am still free by this evening I shall write to you again. If not good bye and farewell.—Your devoted comrade

LAJPAT RAI.

[The reader will appreciate my sharing the foregoing with him. It is remarkable how every leader has made complete arrangements in anticipation of going to goal. Of course Lalaji could not have acted otherwise than he did. I was anxious for him, if it was naturally possible, not to seek arrest till after the Con-

gress. But in the circumstances that faced him, he could not avoid attending the meeting without hurting the cause. A general ceases to be general when he shirks battle that is offered to him. In every action of Lalaji I see nothing but thoughtfulness and calm courage. I fully endorse Lalaji's tribute to the Sikhs. Their resolute behaviour, their religious fervour, their calmness and their suffering commend my highest admiration. One sees in everything that is happening in the country the throes of a new birth. May God grant that no hasty action, no outbreak of violence impede our unmistakable progress towards our destined goal.—" Young India." M. K. G.]

BABU BAGVAN DAS.

MESSAGE TO HIS COUNTRYMEN.

Suffering for the sake of an ideal is good for the soul. The opportunity for such suffering has been sent to me also by Providence and I am thankful. The achieving of true Swaraj, true Self-Government, the Government of the Higher Self over the lower in the individual as well as the communal life is a high ideal. I have tried to express my idea of its nature and form in various writings. I hope the Congress authorities may accept it and publish it to the people in order to guide and steady the people's enthusiasm by clear vision of the goal. I hope that friends in Benares and elsewhere will help to keep alive the Kashi Vidya Pitha, my last effort with the most generous help of my dear gold-hearted friend Shivaprasad Gupta and others to establish a new centre of reformed education the foundation of reformed individual and communal life. I hope that the leaders of the various creeds will teach their followings to distinguish between the heart essentials which are common to all and the external rites and ceremonies which are special to each and accidental

and thereby bring about the mutual understanding and peace between the races and the nations. I express my deep gratitude to my brothers the English gentlemen who constitute the Government of India for making themselves the instruments of Providence to test the capacity of the Indian people for self-sacrifice which is the only foundation of true self-Government—the self-sacrifice of suffering for truth and right without retaliation which is specially becoming to the soul of India and will help to re-establish the universal religion of peace on earth and good will among men. I hope that all to whom I may have caused any hurt will forgive me. I send greetings to all Theosophist friends personally known and unknown in all countries.

Benares.

MAHATMA GANDHI.

A Puzzle and its Solution.

Lord Reading is puzzled and perplexed. Speaking in reply to the addresses from the British Indian Association and the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce at Calcutta, His Excellency said, "I confess that when I contemplate the activities of a section of the community, I find myself still, not withstanding persistent study ever since I have been in India, puzzled and perplexed. I ask myself what purpose is served by flagrant breaches of the law for the purpose of challenging the Government and in order to compel arrest?" The answer was partly given by Pandit Motilal Nehru when he said on being arrested that he was being taken to the house of freedom. We seek arrest because the so called Freedom is slavery. We are challenging the might of this Government because we consider its activity to be wholly evil. We want to overthrow the Government. We want to *compel* its submission to the people's will. We desire to show that the Government exists to serve the people, not the people the Government. Free life under the Government has

become intolerable; for, the price exacted for the retention of freedom is unconscionably great. Whether we are one or many, we must refuse to purchase freedom at the cost of our self-respect or our cherished convictions. I have known even little children become unbending when an attempt has been made to cross their declared purpose, be it ever so flimsy in the estimation of their parents.

Lord Reading must clearly understand that the non-co-operators are at war with the Government. They have declared rebellion against it in as much as it has committed a breach of faith with the Musalmans, it has humiliated the Punjab and it insists upon imposing its will upon the people and refuses to repair the breach and repent for the wrong done in the Punjab.

There were two ways open to the people the way of armed rebellion and the way of peaceful revolt. Non-co-operators have chosen some out of weakness, some out of strength, the way of peace, i. e., voluntary suffering.

If the people are behind the sufferers, the Government must yield or be overthrown. If the people are not with them they have at least the satisfaction of not having sold their freedom. In an armed conflict the more violent is

generally the victor. The way of peace and suffering is the quickest method of cultivating public opinion, and therefore when victory is attained it is for what the world regards as Truth. Bred in the atmosphere of law courts, Lord Reading finds it difficult to appreciate the peaceful resistance to authority. His Excellency will learn by the time the conflict is over that there is a higher court, than courts of justice and that is the court of conscience. It supersedes all other courts.

Lord Reading is welcome to treat all the sufferers as lunatics, who do not know their own interest. He is entitled therefore to put them out of harm's way. It is an arrangement that entirely suits the lunatics and it is an ideal situation if it also suits the Government. He will have cause to complain if having courted imprisonment, non-co-operators fret and fume or 'whine for favours' as Lalaji puts it. The strength of a non-co-operator lies in his going to gaol uncomplainingly. He looses his case if having courted imprisonment he begins to grumble immediately his courtship is rewarded.

The threats used by His Excellency are unbecoming. This is a fight to the finish. It is conflict between the reign of violence and of

public opinion. Those who are fighting for the latter are determined to submit to any violence rather than surrender their opinion.

THE WORKING COMMITTEE.

This outgoing Committee will meet for the last time under most trying circumstances. Of the fifteen members Deshabandu Das, Lala Lajpatrai, Pandit Motilal Nehru and Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad who was just appointed at Delhi in the place of Maulana Mahomed Ali will be absent being his Majesty's guests in some of those hotels called prisons. I therefore suggest that the provinces from which these patriots come should send one representative each a day earlier so that they may at least give the benefit of their advice to the Committee although they may not vote thereat. I would suggest to the other provinces also which are not directly r e presented on the Committee to send one representative each to guide the deliberation of the Committee.

ALL-INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

The eventful meeting of this Committee takes place on the 24th instant. On its decision will rest the future programme. Every member who can will, I hope, attend the meeting. Every member will be expected to give his own inde-

pendent opinion. To give one's opinion is to act according to it. No mechanical majority is of value at this moment of national history. If we vote for a particular programme we must have faith in it and we must be prepared to enforce it at the risk of our lives. *We must widen the gates of prisons and we must enter them as a bridegroom enters the bride's chamber. Freedom is to be wooed only inside prison walls and sometimes on the gallows, never in the council chambers, courts or the schoolroom.* Freedom is the most capricious jilt ever known to the world. She is the greatest temptress most difficult to please. No wonder she builds her temples in gaols or on inaccessible heights and laughs at us as we attempt to scale the prison wall or (in the hope of reaching her temple on some Himalayan height) wade through hills and dales strewn with thorns. The members of the Committee must therefore come with a fixed purpose whatever it may be. It is well with us if not believing in courting imprisonment we own the fact and suggest other remedies. I would decline, if I was the only one, to give my vote for prisons, if I did not believe in them at this stage or any other. And I would vote without faltering, for them if I believed in

them and even though I had no supporter. No leisurely programme can meet the situation. We who are outside the prison walls have constituted ourselves trustees for those who are inside those life-giving walls and we best discharge our trust by imitating our principles and getting inside those walls throwing the burden of the trust on our successors.

GOVERNMENT NON-CO-OPERATION.

Therefore if we believe in our programme, we must not mind if the Government non-co-operate with us in every particular. I hear from Mr. Rajagopalachari and Agha Safdar that they are not permitted to send full telegrams. It is a surprise to me that they permit the transmission of any telegrams at all or let us travel or meet each other. Having made up my mind to expect the worst, nothing that the Government does in the shape of curbing our activity surprises or irritates me. It is struggling for its very existence and I feel that I would have done much the same that this government is doing if I was in its place. Probably I should do much worse. Why should we expect it to refrain from using the powers it has? Only we must find the means of living and carrying

on our non-co-operation without its aid. We must keep our heads even if inter-provincial communication is denied to us. Having got our programme each province must be able to carry on its own activity. Indeed it may even be an advantage, for in the event of communication being cut off, we should be unaffected by reverses in other provinces. Thus for instance the Punjab need not be affected by Gujarat weakening and surrendering body and soul to the Government or say Assam going stark mad or becoming unexpectedly violent. Let not the reader fear any such possibility, for Assam is keeping exceptionally sane in spite of grave provocation and Gujarat will give, I hope a good account of itself in the near future. The Government of Bombay probably knows its business better than others. It has certainly greater forbearance and tact. It is giving the non-co-operators as long a rope as they want. And as the latter do want to be hanged if they do not get what they want, they are taking the longest rope. But that is by the way. Clouds no bigger than a man's hand have a knack of appearing in the Indian horizon and all of a sudden assuming dangerous dimensions. The point I wish to drive home is, that we must prepare ourselves

against and for all complications and never be baffled by them, certainly never be taken aback when the expected happens.

MOULANA ABUL KALAM AZAD

HIS MESSAGE TO HIS COUNTRYMEN

Sir,—After Moulana Abul Kalam's arrest I found the following message with some other notes among Moulana's papers, and I send it to the press as desired by him.

Yours faithfully
F.d. Ahmad
Private Secy.
to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.

BEFORE THE ARREST

To-day is the morning of the 8th instant. Last evening I received information from some reliable sources that the Government of Bengal has after consulting the Viceroy decided to arrest me and Mr. C. R. Das. As for me, the Government seems to have decided to prosecute me if I

my departure from Calcutta. A friend sent to me by the Government gave me a timely warning to this effect. But I regret that I had to disappoint the Government in this respect also as well as another as my creed at the present moment is not to obey but to disobey.

I decided this on full consideration. For many reasons my presence here was indispensable. By resaons I mean that any time that is available should not be wasted. By the grace of God the opportunity now given to Calcutta is much more valuable and important than anything else and I am sure I am not wrong in this belief.

The Government has very kindly relieved me of the great responsibility by deciding on my arrest. God alone knows how much it pained me to have remained outside the jail so far. Those who go ahead scarcely know the feelings of those left behind. Mohammad Ali, Shaukat Ali, Lala Lajpat Rai and Pandit Motilal Nehru have completed their journeys while I am still lagging behind in the way. I have now begun to feel that I am coming to the end of my journey and my heart is full of joy and happiness because I am leaving the last but a successful field behind.

I have called the present field of activity

in Calcutta "the last and successful field" and that is what I fairly believe it to be. In a short time the country will see what could not be accomplished in the last three years by the whole country, will be done by Calcutta within a few days. Of course to bring all this to a final issue only one further step was necessary but I am not now anxious on this score as I believe that the Government of Bengal will complete our work by its own actions. If both myself and Mr. C. R. Das are arrested within the next two or three days the incident will bring a new life and awakening not only to Calcutta but to the whole of Bengal. The last three years of my Liberty could not arouse Bengal from its profound sleep but I hope our arrest would do that in a moment.

In my arrest I see a new turn on the part of the Mussalmans of India and I especially look upon my brothers in the Punjab and N. W. Frontier and Behar. My Muslim brothers of these provinces have always given a willing and an affectionate ear to my words and have always believed in and relied upon them. For the last 10 years they have been the centre of all my hopes. I believe that my arrest will prove for them my last message. By my silence after my arrest they will understand fully what I

could not explain to them by my continuous speeches and writings during the last three years. Thus the Government of Bengal is rendering a valuable service not only to Bengal but to the whole of India.

FIRST CONGRATULATIONS TO MAHATMAJI.

If I am arrested the following message be sent to Mahatmaji on my behalf :—

I take the opportunity to congratulate you on your success. I hope you will not accuse me of being hasty in this respect. I am looking forward to that much longed for moment and I would not like others to surprise me in tendering the congratulations. You are every day running short of human aid as your colleagues are being frequently arrested but Divine Aid is on the other hand increasing. The recent disturbance in Bombay had caused you great pain and I felt much aggrieved to see you so unhappy and restless on that account. But Calcutta is now aroused in order to present to you the pleasant fruits of success in place of your sorrowful feelings of the past.

We had last had a talk about Calcutta on the 25th November and I am glad that the assurance given to you then has proved to be right.

I am working in Calcutta for the last 15 years and my family have been residing here for about 50 years and therefore the assurance given was based on my personal knowledge and belief. The Muslims of Calcutta have done most important work in connection with the Khilafat movement during the last three years, and in this last stage also Calcutta will take the lead. It has understood the moral of peaceful sacrifice. It will neither flare up nor extinguish but the fire will continue to burn on. It appears that the share of completing the stage of peaceful civil disobedience has fallen on Calcutta, to which it has a right.

My first message of ten years ago is also my last message of today i.e., "Be neither harassed nor sorrowful. If you can cultivate the real faith in you, you can predominate all". The foundation of our success is based upon the following four principles—viz.

(1) Complete unity among Hindus and Mussalmans, (2) Peace (3) Organization, (4) Sacrifice and firmness.

TO MUSALMANS.

I will particularly appeal to my Muslim brothers to keep in mind their religious traditions and truths and to get ahead of their Hindu brethren in these present critical times. If they lag behind it will be for them an act of utter shame and disgrace in the eyes of the forty crores of Musalmans of the world. I will also particularly ask them to be faithful to their Hindu brothers and even if one or a few of them were to do something unpleasant they would excuse them for it but not in any way hurt their feelings. They should also see that they do not commit an act which would give cause to friction in their sacred unity. Secondly they should place complete confidence in the Mahatmaji and act up to his instructions with full sincerity and firmness unless he asks them to do anything against Islam (which, I know, he would never do).

TO CENTRAL KHILAFAT COMMITTEE

As for the work done by the above Committee, I am fully satisfied. The presence of its courageous and ardent President, Saith Chhotani is in itself a guarantee of its success.

My friend, Dr Sayed Mahmood, is already working vigorously as Secretary. Mr. M. Saddiq Khatri is also there to help him. I trust the office-bearers and officials have not forgotten what I told them while last at Bombay and their united life and activities will not let our absence be felt.

TO HAKIM MOHOMMED AJMAL KHAN SAHIB AND DR. ANSARI

The present circumstances have thrown on your shoulders the burden of our duties in addition to those of yours. It seems to have been destined that all the work in the outside should be done by you. It would he well if you go to Bombay and leave Delhi to itself.

ANGORA FUND

I regret I could not get time to finish the programme of the above fund. Presumably ten lakhs have been collected by now. Formerly, the time for these collections was fixed up to the end of this month but I think it should be extended for a month more and collections continued up to the end of January. I was thinking of fixing a date at the middle of December for the purpose and work on the lines

of census work. I was to notify before hand that the collectors of this fund will go out on a particular day or days, that everybody should remain indoors on that particular day and give their little mite to the fund. It should be arranged at least once for all that the Muslim of India should make some sacrifice for the protection of Islam and the Khilafat. But when I reached Calcutta I found that the times were not suited for such a step. I now wish that a declaration to this effect be made at the Ahmedabad Khilafat Conference and date fixed for the purpose in the month of January.

JAMIAT-UL-ULEMA.

The body of the Jamiat Ul-Ulema is at present very important with a big responsibility. This is a Council of Ulemas and there is none besides them to guide the Muslims in their religious and worldly matters. The Jamiat have before them an important religious item. May God give them strength and guide them to arrive at a better conclusion with due concurrence. At the present moment I respectfully beg to remind them of the following points :—

(1) Unity among you members is the fundamental principle of our success (2) You are

not far from looking into the necessity of Hindu-Muslim unity and its importance from a religious point of view. It should be preserved at all costs, and it is entirely in your hands (3) All the Ulemas, and specially, members of the Jamiat should attend the Ahmedabad Congress and this should be arranged by the Jamiat-ul Ulema (4) Action be at once taken on the Resolution passed at Lahore, for enlisting members and bring it to the fixed number as early as possible.

TO GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL.

I would also like to say a word or two to Sir Henry Wheeler and Mr. Clerk, Commissioner of Police Calcutta, and that is that there shall be a "Complete and Successful Hartal" on the 24th and the works of the Congress and Khilafat Committees will continue with re-doubled zeal and energy after we are arrested.

TO MY COUNTRYMEN.

After four year's of my internment I was set at liberty in December 1919 and now after two years I am again going to jail. May God help and guide you and keep you all firm in the path of truth and the cause of the country.

Abul Kalam Azad.

Calcutta, 8th December, 1921.

MAHATMAJI'S VIEWS ON ROUND-TABLE CONFERENCE

DOUBTS SUCCESS OF THE CONFERENCE

"I have set forth my views in the forthcoming issue of the "Young India" but I may briefly state that the idea of the conference between persons belonging to different parties for the purpose of exchanging views or joint action is always welcome to me as it tends, if it does nothing else, to remove cobwebs and to promote mutual confidence. But I doubt the success of the conference that might be called by the Government unless the Government changes its attitude about the fundamental grievances which have brought about the crisis and unless the Government is prepared to yield to the express wish of the people. In my opinion repression is doing a world of good. It is opening the eyes of everybody and enabling everybody to see the Government in its true light. No conference convened by the Government can be successful unless it has satisfied itself that a large number of earnest men and women are ready to suffer every form of hardship without retaliation for the purpose of gaining a just end.

GANDHI ON THE SITUATION.

Ahmedabad, dec. 21.

Referring to Lord Ronaldshay's speech at the Bengal Legislative Council on Monday last, Mr. Gandhi made the following statement:—

I have read Lord Ronaldshay's speech in the Bengal Legislative Council. Whilst I appreciate the note of conciliation about it I cannot help saying that it is most misleading. I do not want to criticise those Parts of the speech which lend themselves to criticism. I simply want to say, that the present situation is entirely his own and the Viceroy's doing. In spite of my strong desire to avoid suspecting the Government of India and the local Governments of a wish to precipitate a conflict with the people, up to now all that I have heard and read leads me to the conclusion that my suspicion is justified. Whilst I do not wish to deny the existence of some sort of pressure, even intimidation, on the part of individuals, I do wish emphatically to deny that in connection with the phenomenal "hartal" on the 17th November in Calcutta there was any intimidation initiated by or on behalf of the local Congress or the Khilfat Committee. On the contrary I

am certain that the influence exerted by both these bodies was in the direction of avoiding all intimidation. Moral pressure there certainly was and will always be in all big movements but it must be clear to the simplest understanding that a complete "hartal," such as Calcutta witnessed on the 17th November, would be an impossibility by mere intimidation. But, assume that there was intimidation, was there any reason for disbanding Volunteer Corps, Prohibiting public meetings, and enforcing laws which are under promise of repeal. Why has no attempt been made to prove a single case of intimidation? It grieves me to have to say that the Governor of Bengal has brought in the discovery of swords or sword sticks in one place in Calcutta to discredit large public organisations. Who intimidated the people into observing a complete "hartal" in Allahabad, after all the leaders were arrested, and in spite of the reported undue official pressure that was exercised upon shopkeepers and gharriwalas at that place?

Again His Lordship says:—"If we are to assume that this development means there is a genuine desire to bring about improvement, there must be a favourable atmosphere, in other words, it will be generally agreed that a truce must be

an essential preliminary to any possible Conference. If responsible leaders of non co-operation now come forward with definite assurance that this is the correct interpretation, I should then say we were in sight of such a change of circumstances as would justify the Government in reconsidering the position, but words must be backed by deeds. If I were satisfied only that there was a general desire for the Conference and that responsible non-co-operation leaders were prepared to take action, then I should be prepared to recommend my Government to take steps in consonance with the altered situation."

This is highly misleading. If wherever the words non-co-operation leaders occur, the word Government was put in, and if the whole of the statement came from a non-co-operator it would represent the correct situation. Non-co-operators have really to do nothing, for they have precipitated nothing. They are over-cautious. The disturbance in Bombay was allowed to override their keen desire to take up aggressive Civil Disobedience, but in the present circumstances the phrase civil disobedience is really a misnomer. What the non-co-operators are doing to-day I claim every co-operator would do to-morrow under similar circumstances, when

the Government of India or the local Governments attempt to make our political existence or agitation, no matter how peaceful, an utter impossibility. May we not resist such attempt by every lawful means at our disposal. I cannot imagine anything more lawful or more natural than we should continue our volunteer organisation purging them of every tendency to become violent and continue also to hold public meetings taking the consequences of such a step. Is it not proof of the law abiding instinct of hundreds of young men and old men that they have meekly, without offering any defence and without complaining, accepted imprisonment for having dared to exercise their elementary rights in the face of Government persecution, and so it is the Government which is to prove its genuine desire for a Conference and an ultimate settlement. It is the Government which has to arrest the fatal course along which repression is taking it. It is the Government that is to prove to non-co-operators its bona fides, before it can expect them to take part in any Conference. When they do that, it will find that there is an absolutely peaceful atmosphere. Non-co-operation when the Government is not resisting anything except violence is a most

harmless thing. There is really nothing for us to suspend. We cannot be expected until there is actual settlement or guarantee of settlement to ask school boys to return to Government schools, or lawyers to resume practice, or public men become candidates for the Councils, or title holders to ask for the return of their titles. In the nature of things it is therefore clear that the non-co-operators have to do nothing.

Speaking personally I can certainly say that if there is a genuine desire for a Conference I would be the last person to advise precipitating aggressive civil disobedience, which certainly it is my intention to do, immediately I am entirely satisfied that the people have understood the secret of non-violence, and let me say the last ten days' events have shown that the people seem clearly to understand its inestimable value. If, then, the Government recognises that the non-co-operators mean business they intend to suffer limitlessly for the attainment of their goal let the Government unconditionally retrace its steps, cancel the notification about the disbandment of volunteer organisations, and prohibition of public meetings and release all those men in the different provinces who have been arrested, and sentenced for so-called civil

disobedience or for any other purpose given under the definition of non-co-operation, but excluding acts of violence, actual or intended. Let the Government come down with a heavy hand on every act of violence or incitement to it, but we must claim the right for all time of expressing our opinions freely and educating public opinion by every legitimate and non-violent means. It is therefore the Government who have really to undo the grave wrong they have perpetrated and they can have the Conference they wish under a favourable atmosphere. Let me also say that so far as I am concerned I want no Conference to consider the ways and means of dealing with non-co-operation. The only Conference that can at all avail at this stage is a Conference called to deal with the causes of the present discontent namely, the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs and Swaraj. Any Conference again which can usefully sit at the present stage must be a Conference that is really representative and not a Conference to which only those whom the Government desire are invited.

MAHATMAJI ANSWERS VICEROY

Ahmedabad, Dec. 23.

Writing in "Young India" Mahatma Gandhi says that, if Lord Reading was trying legitimately to suppress popular lawlessness he must study and regulate the development of his campaign which he would not even allow to be called repression.

His subordinates being interested parties had gone out of hand. He must forthwith resign or at least publicly disown and condemn illegalities and assaults and not attempt to excuse them on the flimsy plea of trying times. A Round-table conference was bound to prove abortive till Lord Reading was disabused of the idea that Non-co-operation was confined to a few misguided zealots.

If he wanted co-operation and contentment he must placate Non-co-operation.

MRS. DAS' APPEAL.

LAST WORD ON HARTAL.

An appeal of Mrs. C. R. Das, says Mahatma Gandhi has given this message to Bengal about hartal: The honour of leaders requires the

people of Calcutta to observe complete hartal. It will be proof of their confidence in their leaders and proof also of the exercise of their own free-will. Merchants of Calcutta have now a chance of showing their determination and independence by observing complete hartal in spite of withdrawal of leaders. It is more necessary than ever for people now to observe hartal on 24th. People of Calcutta cannot do better than simply keep themselves at home on 24th except volunteers whose duty it will be to protect from harm those who may choose to open their shops. I am hoping that people of Calcutta will not fail to do their obvious duty on 24th inst.

This Message also expresses our decision, our determination. It embodies also our last and and final word on the hartal in Bengal. Religiously observe hartal all over Bengal. Keep yourself at home on the 24th. Stir not out of your houses on any provocation whatever. Heed not what the Govt. of Bengal and other interested people say in the matter. Put no faith in rumours and misrepresentations which prejudice of power may invent. We leave the honour of Bengal in your hands, and we know it is safe. God help us :—*Basanti Debi.*

MAHATMA'S ANSWER.

TO

THE VICEROY'S CHALLENGE.

No yielding in Fundamentals.

I must confess that I have read the Viceregal utterance with deep pain. I was totally unprepared for what I must respectfully call his mischievous misrepresentation of the attitude of the Congress and the Khilafat organisations in connection with the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. Every resolution passed by either organisation and every speaker has laid the greatest stress upon the fact that there was no question of showing the slightest ill-will against the Prince or exposing him to any affront. The boycott was purely a question of principle and directed against what we have held to be the unscrupulous methods of the bureaucracy. I have always, held, as I hold even now, that the Prince has been brought to India in order to strengthen the hold of the Civil Service Corporation, which has brought India into a state of abject pauperism and political serfdom. If I am proved to be wrong in my supposition that the visit has that sinister meaning, I shall gladly apologise.

It is equally unfortunate for the Viceroy to say that the boycott of the welcome meant an affront to the British people. His Excellency does not ralise what grievous wrong he is doing to his own people by confusing them with the British administration in India. Does he wish India to infer that the British administrators here represent the British people and that the agitation directed against their methods is an agitation against the British people. If such is the Viceregal contention and if to conduct a vigorous and effective agitation against the methods of the bureaucracy and to describe them in their true colours is an affront to the British people, then I am afraid I must plead guilty.

But, then, I must also say in all humility that the Viceroy has entirely misread and misunderstood the great national awakening that is taking place in India. I repeat, for the thousandth time, that it is not hostile to any nation or any body of men, but it is deliberately aimed at the system under which the Government of India is being to-day conducted and I promise that no threats and no enforcement of threats by the Viceroy or any body of men will strangle that agitation or send to rest that awakening.

WE ARE NOT AGGRESSORS.

I have said in my reply to Lord Ronaldshay's speech that we have not taken the offensive. We are not the aggressors. We have not got to stop any single activity. It is the Government that is to stop its aggravatingly offensive activity aimed, not, at violence, but at the lawful, disciplined, stern, but absolutely non-violent, agitation. It is for the Government of India and, for it alone, to bring about a peaceful atmosphere, if it so desires. It has hurled a bombshell in the midst of material rendered inflammable by its own action and wonders that the material is still not inflammable enough to explode.

THE IMMEDIATE ISSUE.

The immediate issue is not now the redress of the three wrongs. The immediate issue is the right of holding public meetings and the right of forming associations for peace purposes, and, in vindicating this right, we are fighting the battle, not merely on behalf of Non-co-operators, but are fighting the battle for all India down from the peasant up to the prince and for all schools of politics. It is the one

condition of any organic growth and I see in the Viceregal pronouncement an insistence upon submission to a contrary doctrine, which an erstwhile exponent of the law of liberty has seen fit to lay down, upon finding himself in an atmosphere where there is little regard for law and order on the part of those very men who are supposed to be custodians of law and order.

I have only to point to the unprovoked assault being committed, not in isolated cases, not in one place, but in Bengal, in the Punjab, in Delhi and in the United Provinces. I have no doubt that, as repression goes on in its mad career, the reign of terrorism will overtake the whole of this unhappy land. But whether the campaign is conducted on civilised or uncivilised lines, so far as I can see, there is only one way open to Non-co-operators, indeed I contend, even to the people of India.

OUR PRIMARY RIGHT.

On this question of the right of holding public meetings and forming associations, there can be no yielding. We have burnt our boats and we must march onward till that primary right of human beings is vindicated.

"MOST ANXIOUS FOR A SETTLEMENT."

Let me make my own position clear. I am most anxious for a settlement. I want a round table conference. I want our position to be clearly known by everybody who wants to understand it. I impose no conditions, but, when conditions are imposed upon me prior to the holding of a conference, I must be allowed to examine those conditions and if I find that they are suicidal, I must be excused if I don't accept them. The amount of tension that is created can be regulated solely by the Government of India, for the offensive has been taken by that Government.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE.

The Indian National Congress
29th December 1921. * *

There is nothing in this resolution, which any one who has modesty and humility need be ashamed of. This resolution is not an arrogant challenge to anybody, but this is a challenge to an authority that is enthroned on arrogance. It is a challenge to the authority, which disregards the considered opinion of millions of thinking human beings. It is an humble challenge, and an irrevocable challenge to authority, which in order to save itself wants to crush freedom of opinion, freedom of forming associations, the two lungs that are absolutely necessary for a man to breathe the oxygen of liberty. And if there is any authority in this country, that wants to curb the freedom of speech and freedom of association, I want to be able to say, in your name from this platform, that that authority will perish, and that authority will have to repent before an India that is steeled with high courage, noble purpose and determination, till every man and woman who chose to call themselves Indians are blotted out of the earth. It combines courage and humility. *

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