GANDHI
AND THE
PUNJAB
Harjot Singh Randhawa
Principal Project Investigator
U.G.C. Research Project on Sikhism
Sector 16, Chandigarh
GANDHI
AND
THE PUNJAB
GANDHI AND THE PUNJAB

By
S. L. MALHOTRA, M. A., Ph. D.
Reader, Department of Gandhian Philosophy
Panjab University, Chandigarh

General Editor
I. D. SHARMA
Lajpat Rai Professor of Political Science
Panjab University, Chandigarh

PANJAB UNIVERSITY
PUBLICATION BUREAU
CHANDIGARH
FOREWORD

All over the world the Gandhi Centenary Year evoked the gratitude of the people for the apostle of non-violence who opened a new vista of peace and good will among men and nations. For the people of India particularly it was a year of remembrance redolent with the memories of the great man and his monumental achievements. Nation-wide celebrations put in focus the wide spectrum of reforms carried out by the Father of the Nation and gave a call for dedication to his ideals. In academic and scholastic circles the accent was on publications relating to his life and work from a wide variety of view-points in a spirit of inquiry guided by Gandhi's own love of truth.

The Panjab University participated in this programme by bringing out a monograph on a highly topical theme, entitled "Gandhi and the Punjab." This monograph seeks to bring out the tremendous impact which Gandhiji made on the Punjab in the nascent years of his leadership and in turn the terrific effect which the tragedy of the Jallianwala Bagh and related happenings produced on the sensitive mind of Gandhiji. This study in interaction covers highly formative years in the history of the national struggle for freedom and is possibly the first work of its kind.

(v)
The task of preparing this monograph was appropriately entrusted by the Gandhi Centenary Celebrations Committee of the Panjab University to Dr. S. L. Malhotra, Reader, Department of Gandhian Philosophy of the University. Dr. Malhotra, I am happy to say, has worked hard on the project and has produced a very well documented book which captures the mood of those historic times.

I am happy to commend this work to scholars and laymen and hope they will find its reading both interesting and rewarding.

Suraj Bhan
Vice-Chancellor

Panjab University
Chandigarh
GENERAL EDITOR'S NOTE

When the Gandhi Centenary Committee of the Panjab University was drawing its program of celebrating the Gandhi Centenary the Chairman of the Committee Vice-Chancellor Suraj Bhan suggested that the Committee publish a book on Gandhi which should highlight his contact with the Punjab. Consequently, the Committee under his guidance approved the preparation of ‘Gandhi And The Punjab’ which covers the period 1919-1922, which though brief is important in the contemporary political history of the Punjab.

The book may not have seen the light of the day but for the interest taken and encouragement given by the Vice-Chancellor and I take this opportunity to thank the Vice-Chancellor on behalf of the Committee.

I am grateful to Dr. S. L. Malhotra for having acceded to my request to undertake this work and completing it. His has been a difficult task honestly done.

I. D. SHARMA
Panjab University  Lajpat Rai Professor of Pol. Science
Chandigarh

(vii)
PREFACE

This work examines the role that the Punjab played in the freedom movement under the leadership of Gandhi mainly during the period between 1919 and 1922. These years witnessed an unprecedented political upheaval in this area that left a deep mark on India's struggle for freedom. The tragic events in the Punjab following the Rowlatt Act agitation completely changed Gandhi's outlook towards the British Empire and brought him on the Indian political scene which he dominated till his death like a colossus.

This political phenomenon marks a watershed in the history of the Indian National Congress, for, the movement launched by Gandhi for the redress of the Punjab wrongs transformed the character of the Congress as well as changed its method for attainment of its goal of independence of the country.

This study, therefore, is important not for the people of the Punjab only but also for all the Indians. It was really an exciting and unique experience for the country when the virile people of the Punjab wielded successfully, under the leadership of Gandhi, the weapon of non-violence in their struggle against political and social wrongs under which they had been suffering for a long time.

(ix)
The author is extremely grateful to Shri Suraj Bhan, the Vice-Chancellor of the Panjab University, for his deep interest in this project and his generous financial grants without which this work would not have seen the light of the day.

It is his pleasant duty to thank Dr. I. D. Sharma, Lajpat Rai Professor of Political Science and Head, Departments of Political Science and Gandhian Philosophy, whose encouragement, able guidance, valuable suggestions and painstaking perusal of the draft have improved the quality of the work.

Thanks are also due to Shri K. L. Malhotra, Secretary to the Vice-Chancellor, who not only took keen interest in this work but also placed at the disposal of the author his valuable material on Rambhuj Dutt.

Thanks are due to Shri Bal Krishna, Secretary, Publication Bureau, Panjab University, Chandigarh for the pains he took in the production of this book.

Chandigarh

S. L. MALHOTRA
## CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. N.</th>
<th>Chapters</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>A Co-operative Agitator</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Ripples over the Waters of the Five Rivers</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>The Two Powers</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Beginning of the End</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>The Great Transformation</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>The Mahatma and the Lion</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Punjab Leadership and Gandhi—I</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Punjab Leadership and Gandhi—II</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Non-Cooperation Movement in the Punjab</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Programme of Renunciation and Purification</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Might of the Meek</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Non-Violence of the Valiant</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Epilogue</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Index</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
“I find it impossible to forget the frankness and the plain living of the Punjabis, their simplicity and magnanimity of heart, nor can I forget their sufferings. I feel that I have been purified by sharing, in however small a measure, in their tribulations.”

—Gandhi
CHAPTER I

A CO-OPERATIVE AGITATOR

"Partnership in the Empire is our definite goal. We should suffer to the utmost of our ability and even lay down our lives to defend the Empire. If the Empire perishes, with it perish our cherished aspirations. Hence the easiest and the straightest way to win Swaraj is to participate in the defence of the Empire."

—Gandhi

India was faced with many thorny political problems when Gandhi returned home in January, 1915 after his successful struggle in South Africa against the policy of racial discrimination of the government there. His long absence from India had made him unfamiliar with the problems in India. So Gokhale, whom he regarded as his political ‘guru’, advised him to acquaint himself thoroughly with the political conditions in India. As a result of the advice given by Gokhale, Gandhi went round the country to feel its political climate.

India had been dragged into the War without her consent. There was hardly any protest against this action of the British Government. In fact there was an effusion of the sentiment of loyalty to the Empire. A deputation of the Indian National Congress which happened to be in England in connection with
the proposed Reforms when the War broke out, promptly offered on behalf of the people of India their ready and willing cooperation to the British in the War.\(^1\) The representative of the Indian nationalist opinion, the Indian National Congress, endorsed this policy at its Madras Session, December 1914.\(^2\) Gandhi was one with the policy expressed in the resolution of the Congress at its Madras Session.

He reached England two days after the declaration of the War and volunteered himself for non-combatant service in the War. His offer was accepted by the Government. Consequently, he organised an Indian Ambulance Corps for the wounded in War as an expression of the anxiety of the Indians to help in the crisis which had come upon the Empire.\(^3\) In a letter to the Secretary of State for India, he wrote, “The one dominant idea guiding us is that of rendering such humble assistance as we may be considered capable of performing, as an earnest of our desire to share the responsibilities of membership of this great Empire, if we would share its privileges.”\(^4\) On arriving in India, he even participated in the work of recruitment to the army. Unable himself, as a votary of non-violence, to serve Britain as a combatant on the battlefield, he insisted that those who were not trammelled by such convictions, should take up arms and rally to Britain’s call. Though this involved

---

him in apparent inconsistency and created doubts and misgivings among his followers about his devotion to non-violence, Gandhi had full faith in the rightness of his action, for he sincerely believed that unconditional help rendered by India to England would not only bind them in a spiritual bond but would be a source of spiritual comfort to the whole world.\textsuperscript{5}

These outbursts of loyalty to the Empire did not weaken India's struggle for freedom. In fact, they stimulated national consciousness. It was a matter of pride for the Indians that their influence was being counted in determining the fate of Europe. Most of the Indians believed that by rendering help to the British in their difficult hour, they were strengthening their claim for self-government, since it would put the latter in deep obligation to accede to the just demand of the former. Even the Congress, which was dominated by the Moderates, though vociferous in its manifestation of loyalty, made no secret of the fact that it demanded political rights as the price of Indian loyalty. This is evident from the resolution passed by it in 1914 declaring that in view of the profound and avowed loyalty that the people of India had manifested in the present crisis, the time had arrived to introduce further but substantial measures of reform towards the attainment of self-government.\textsuperscript{6}

The Extremists, on the other hand, were more vocal in demanding self-government as a condition for helping Britain. Their ideas flowed into the Home Rule Movement started by Tilak and Annie Besant. Tilak was released in 1914 after undergoing internment in Mandalay for six years. Mrs. Besant crossed over from theosophy to politics the same year. This at

\begin{itemize}
\item[5.] Ibid., p. 565.
\item[6.] Annie Besant \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 586-87.
\end{itemize}
once added colour and strength to the ranks of the nationalists in India. On her entry into Indian politics, Mrs. Besant started making efforts for bringing the Moderates and the Extremists together on the platform of the Congress, since, she believed, that unity in the ranks of the nationalists was essential for speeding up movement for freedom.

Both the groups were members of the Congress before its Surat Session in 1907 when the Extremists were compelled to leave it on account of their sharp differences with the Moderates who dominated it. The former were called Nationalists while the latter styled themselves as Liberals. But these designations hardly distinguished the one from the other. For both were nationalists as well as liberals. The Moderates were as much animated by the love of the country as the Extremists. No one could question the deep and lofty patriotism of Dadabhai Naoroji, Pherozeshah Mehta, Surendranath Banerji, Gopal Krishna Gokhale etc. Similarly the Extremists like Tilak, Aurobindo and B.C. Pal were no less devoted to the tenets of liberalism, i.e., freedom, equality and representative institutions, than the Moderates. But it was their different outlook with regard to India’s connection with the British Empire and their reliance on different methods for the attainment of their goal of self-government that distinguished them from each other.

The Moderates had deep faith in the British sense of justice. They sincerely believed that what India really needed for attaining self-government was a lucid and balanced presentation of India’s case before the British people and their Parliament. They, therefore, favoured means which can be summed up as ‘Pray, Petition and Protest.’ Self-government, they held, would be attained by the Indians through the gradual liberalisation of
the British institutions and as a result of apprenticeship under British tutelage.

But the Extremists had no faith in such methods. The overbearing attitude of the British bureaucracy and their little regard for the sentiments and aspirations of the Indian people brought home to a large section of the Indian National Congress to devise more effective methods for bringing about pressure on the British. As a consequence passive resistance was adopted for the redress or removal of grievances, political, economic or social. Boycott, Swadeshi and National Education were the means on which they relied for attaining their goal. These methods were tested in the agitation following the partition of Bengal in 1905. But the Moderates did not want the Congress to commit itself to such methods, for they regarded these as unconstitutional. This cleavage between the two groups in the Congress resulted in a split at the Surat Session in 1907, and the Extremists had to leave the Congress. The Government, too, came down heavily upon them since it feared that they posed a challenge to its authority. A number of Extremist leaders were imprisoned.

With the release of Tilak, the Extremists were rejoined to their leader. Mrs. Annie Besant knew that the admission of the Extremists to the Congress would revitalize the organisation for, with their exclusion, it had practically become a pocket borough of the government. The death of Gokhale and Pherozeshah Mehta in 1915, who had been consistently preventing the entry of the Extremists to the Congress, made her task easier and she succeeded in her efforts when at the Bombay Session of the Congress in December, 1915, its constitution was so altered as to make it possible for the Extremists to join it.
The ideologies of both the groups influenced Gandhi in the shaping of his political outlook and programme. He returned to India as an acknowledged disciple of Gokhale, the doyen of the Moderates, in whose guidance he showed full faith. During the War (1914—18) he evinced loyalty to the Empire and hoped to raise the political status of India with the help and co-operation of Britain. No wonder that at that time Gandhi appeared to many as a Moderate of Moderates. Gandhi was ready to pursue his ends even in opposition to the British if co-operation with them failed to yield the desired results. Time was to come when as a leader in the struggle for freedom he would adopt the methods of the Extremists. But he would employ them with a faith which was characteristic of the outlook of the Moderates, for he believed that ultimately Britain would submit to the just claims of India.

The political atmosphere of the country also augured well for the unity between the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League. Indian Muslims drifted away from the British when the ruler of Turkey, the Caliph of Islam, became the ally of Germany in the War against England. The arrest and detention of several Muslim leaders for their pro-Turkish activities acted as an incentive to the Muslim League to come to an understanding with the Congress. Both the organisations held their annual sessions in 1915 and 1916 in the same city, viz., at Bombay in 1915 and at Lucknow in 1916 and about the same time in order to have an opportunity of joint deliberations. These efforts resulted in the adoption by both the organisations of a joint scheme of reform known as the Congress-League Scheme. Despite its defects, the Scheme was a landmark in the

history of Indian national movement, for it could be presented to the Government as a national demand.

These circumstances were favourable to the Home Rule campaigns of Mrs. Annie Besant and Tilak. A new wave of enthusiasm for national liberation rippled through the country. The Home Rule idea spread like wild fire and the Home Rule Leagues were established all over the country. The Government began to have a feeling of nervousness. The Government of Madras interned Mrs. Besant, G.S. Arundale and B.P. Wadia in June 1917. Similarly restrictions were imposed on Tilak. But this policy of oppression had an opposite effect on the movement, for it intensified the agitation for Home Rule. Mr. Jinnah joined the Home Rule League immediately after the internment of Mrs. Annie Besant. The action of the Government, in fact, added to the popularity of Annie Besant in the country. She was elected by the Provincial Congress Committees as the President of the ensuing session of the Congress.

When the Home Rule agitation was at its height Gandhi was making an experiment with his new weapon of non-violent resistance to authority for alleviating the misery of the poor peasants of Champaran in Bihar, who had been subjected to several illegal exactions in connection with indigo plantations. It

was their general grievance that growing of indigo was not profitable to them, but they were compelled to do it by the European planters who had secured, on temporary or permanent basis, large tracts of land from the Zamindars of the district in the nineteenth century.

These poor peasants on the indigo plantations appealed to Gandhi who reached Motihari in April 1917 and was going to visit a village when he was served a notice by the authorities to leave the district. Gandhi decided to defy the quit order. Consequently he stood for his trial. But at the instance of the Lieutenant Governor of Bihar, the prosecution against him was withdrawn and he was allowed to proceed with his enquiry into the system which had brought untold misery to the peasants. His efforts resulted in the appointment of a commission by the Government consisting of the representatives of the planters, landlords, tenants and the Government. The tenants were represented by Gandhi. The Commission submitted a unanimous report and considered many of the complaints of the tenants as valid. Thus the grievances of the tenants which had failed to secure redress for a number of decades were removed in a few months.

Hardly had Gandhi finished his work in Champaran when he was called upon to test the efficacy of ‘Satyagraha’ over a dispute between the workers and the mill-owners of Ahmedabad. The former demanded a rise in wages but the latter not only refused to raise the wages but even turned down a proposal for reference to arbitration. Gandhi advised the workers to go on strike on the condition that they would remain completely non-violent. For some time both the sides stood their ground but the employers yielded when Gandhi undertook a fast unto death as an expiation for the weakness on the part of the workers who started breaking
their pledge of not returning to work unless their demand was met.

At this time the miserable plight of the peasants in the Kaira district in the Bombay Presidency came to the notice of Gandhi. Near famine condition had risen there on account of the widespread failure of crops. It was the normal custom in this area to grant remission of rent in the year in which yield was less than one-fourth of the normal produce. The peasants claimed that the situation entitled them to a suspension of the assessment on the ground that the crop did not exceed one-fourth of the normal yield. But the Government turned down the demand on the ground that the yield was more than one-fourth of the normal produce. Gandhi advised the peasants to stop payment of rent. Thus Satyagraha in the form of no-rent campaign was started which invited the wrath of the authorities and there followed a series of repressive measures such as seizure of goods, attachment of standing crops of the peasants. After four months of arduous struggle the Government conceded the demand of the people by the grant of suspension of assessment to poor peasants but without making any public announcement thereto. This action on the part of the government saved its prestige, but the episode provided an opportunity to the people for training in non-violent resistance to government.

All these campaigns vindicated the efficacy of non-violent resistance to an unjust authority whose physical might appeared to be unchallengeable. Nevertheless all these situations that invariably placed Gandhi in opposition to the British Government did not alter his position with regard to his loyalty to the Empire. He rather believed that Champaran and Kaira affairs were ‘direct, definite and special contribution’ to the War, since by resisting
injustice and tyranny he had shown the ultimate supremacy of the British justice.\textsuperscript{10} The Government of India, too, had not as yet lost all hope in him. He was invited to Delhi War Conference convened by the Viceroy in April 1918, while Tilak and Annie Besant, the Home Rule leaders, were excluded. Gandhi, of course, was very sorry for the exclusion of these leaders whose hold over the masses, according to him, was undisputed and unchallenged.\textsuperscript{11} He, however, supported the resolution for recruitment to the army,\textsuperscript{12} though he reminded the Government that nothing short of very substantial evidence of the near advent of Home Rule would secure the real co-operation of the people.\textsuperscript{13} Thus in Gandhi’s view the demand for Home Rule was synonymous with the loyalty of Indians to the British Empire.

About this time the British Government of India announced their proposals for reforms in the Indian administration. These proposals came to be known as the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms after the names of E.S. Montagu, the Secretary of State for India and Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy. These proposals provided for the introduction of a dyarchical system of government in the provinces under which representatives of the people would be given charge of certain departments in the government of the provinces. At the Centre the proposed Reforms contemplated no change. These Reforms, as is well known, failed to meet the expectations of a large section of the Indian nationalist opinion. The Moderates regarded them as substantial though they also felt that the proposed Reforms could certainly be

\textsuperscript{11} Ibid, xiv, p. 372.
\textsuperscript{12} Ibid, xiv, p. 375.
\textsuperscript{13} Ibid. xiv, p. 373.
improved upon, while the Extremists found them, as a whole, 'disappointing and unsatisfactory.' Gandhi, though not entirely satisfied with them, was not in favour of their rejection. He wrote to Srinivasa Sastri on July 18, 1918 that the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme deserved a sympathetic handling rather than summary rejection, for he had full faith in the honest intentions and efforts of the Secretary of State and the Viceroy. He was substantially in agreement with the approach of the Moderates towards the Reforms. But his understanding of and attitude to the British rule in India got a rude jolt by the events in the Punjab in April 1919 and entirely changed not only his understanding of the character of the British rule, but also his political personality.

CHAPTER II

RIPPLES OVER THE WATERS OF THE FIVE RIVERS

"Historically the Punjab may be considered the most important province of India. It was here that the Aryas of Vedic times first made their home. It was here that the hymns of the Rig Veda were first chanted. It was to this province, at the great University of Taxila, that seekers after knowledge flocked from various parts of the world...... The Scythians and Tartars and Persians had to measure swords with the sons of the Punjab in their attempts to penetrate into India......"

—Gandhi

The Punjab has been the gateway as well as the sword-arm of India since ancient times. The successive swarms of invaders, foreign pilgrims in search of spiritual knowledge and foreign merchants in pursuit of precious goods, all entered India across the wide plains of the five rivers from which the province took its name.

Under the British as an administrative unit, like other administrative units in the country, the Punjab underwent territorial changes from time to time. In February 1858, the Divisions of Delhi and Hissar were formally incorporated into
RIPPLES OVER THE WATERS OF THE FIVE RIVERS

it. But in 1911 Delhi was constituted into a separate administrative unit. In 1901, a new province, the North West Frontier Province, was carved out of it.

The Punjab like the rest of the provinces of India had its share of Indian States, of which the States of Patiala, Nabha, Jind, Faridkot, Malerkotla and Bahawalpur were most important.

The Punjab including the States comprised an area of 86 million acres of which 60 million acres were directly under the British administration. Its population in 1921 was 20.5 millions out of which 11.4 millions were Muslims, 6.6 millions were Hindus, 2.3 millions were Sikhs and 0.3 million were Christians.¹

The dawn of the present century saw the land of the five rivers taking long strides to catch up with the national movement in the rest of the country. The sixteenth session of the Indian National Congress was held at Lahore in December, 1900 in the Bradlaugh Hall, built specially for holding the Congress Session in loving memory of a great Englishman and a great servant of India, Charles Bradlaugh. It was a creditable expression of the foresight of the people of this province, that in place of erecting a temporary structure, they built a hall that could be used permanently for public meetings after the conclusion of the Congress Session.² It became an important centre of political and social activity during the Rowlatt Act agitation and the Non-cooperation movement in the Punjab.

The session of the Congress demonstrated enthusiasm of the people of the Punjab for the activities of the Congress. Out of the five hundred sixty-seven who attended the session, four hundred twenty-one represented the Punjab. Members of the Arya Samaj, who had hitherto shown indifference to the activities of the Indian National Congress, took a keen interest in the Session. The Chairman of the Reception Committee reminded the people to rely on agitation for the fulfilment of their demands, for the alien government ruling over them, though democratic at home, was imperialistic and bureaucratic here.

A new orientation was given to the Congress at the Lahore Session (December, 1900) when it decided, on a resolution moved by Lajpat Rai and seconded by Duni Chand, the two veteran leaders of the Punjab, to set apart half a day at each Congress Session to the discussion of educational and industrial problems.

But no significant political activity can be said to have started in the Punjab before 1905. There was lull in the political atmosphere of the Punjab after the Congress Session of 1900. It did not send any delegate to represent it at the Ahmedabad Session of the Congress in 1902. But this apathy of the people of the Punjab towards the national organisation was only short-lived. Curzon's administration generated great political discontent in the country and the Punjab could not remain unaffected by it. The contempt in which the Viceroy held the Indians and

his overbearing demeanour borne out by his Convocation Address to the graduates of the Calcutta University in January 1905 evoked at once an angry and sharp reaction in this province. The agitation that followed the partition of Bengal also stirred the people of the Punjab. In a meeting held at Lahore in December 1905 to protest against this iniquitous act of the Government of India, Lajpat Rai appealed to the people of the Punjab to sympathise with their brethren in Bengal.8 One hundred and five delegates from the Punjab and North West Frontier Province9 attended the Congress Session held at Banaras in December 1905 to demonstrate their readiness to suffer with the people of Bengal in their struggle against the vivisection of their province. Seconding Resolution XIII, Lajpat Rai congratulated Bengal on its splendid opportunity of heralding a new political era for the country.10 He boldly reminded the authorities that Indians were no longer beggars but “are subjects of an Empire where people are struggling to achieve that position which is their right.”11 This courageous speech earned the applause of the delegates. As observed by a leader of the Congress in the Punjab, “he put into shade Surendranath Bannerji not because the former was a greater orator than the latter but because the Punjab lion roared more courageously than the Bengal tiger.”12 It may not be wrong to say that the national awakening in the Punjab flowed from the unpopular policies of Curzon. “Few blunders in the administration of India” said the biographer of Fazl-i-Hussain,

an important leader of the Punjab, "roused the people more from the state of lethargy than the partition of Bengal and the Colonies Bill in the Punjab." Similar was the observation made by Moti Lal Nehru in his Presidential Address at the Amritsar Session of the Congress in 1919: "Before 1905 there was practically no public life in the Punjab but the stupendous blunder of Lord Curzon in effecting the Partition of Bengal in the face of a nation's resentment not only convulsed the affected province but sent a thrill of excitement and discontent throughout the country which could not fail to arouse the public activity in the Punjab."

The Land Alienation (Amendment) Act and the Land Colonization Bill, 1900, further deepened discontent in the Punjab. The Land Alienation Act was first passed in 1900. It forbade the transfer of land from agriculturists to non-agriculturists through sale or mortgage. This Act adversely affected quite a large section of the society, particularly the Hindus and the Sikhs. As observed by a contemporary political leader of the Punjab, this Act was an off-shoot of the policy of the Government pursued ever since the annexation of the Punjab to keep this province under strict control. The reasons for pursuing such a policy were mainly political. Punjab was an agricultural province; its population comprised mostly of peasant-proprietors who were attached to their land. The purpose of the Act was to prevent the development of commercial and industrial class as well as of the landless proletariat which provide rearing ground of recruits for political life in a

This policy was designed to hit at the urban Hindu who was more politically conscious, though the Government claimed that its purpose was to rescue the poor peasants from the clutches of ever greedy money-lenders. Further, this legislation sowed the seeds of racial separatism in the social life of the province. The question as to who was or was not an agriculturist was not decided by the actual occupation of the individual but by the caste to which he belonged. Thus all Jats, Rajputs and members of Scheduled castes were declared agriculturists while all Khatris, Aroras and Banias were declared non-agriculturists. Muslims amongst whom caste considerations did not matter were not affected. An Amendment to this Act was introduced in the Legislative Council on October 25, 1906 and was passed on February 21, 1907. Similarly Punjab Canal Colonies Bill was introduced in the Legislative Council on October 25, 1906 and was passed in February, 1907. It was contrary to the then accepted notions of peasant proprietorship. It restricted the rights of the colonizers to make wills and denied them the right to cut trees on their land. At the same time Colonization Bill was introduced in order to enhance the rate of water supplied from the Bari Doab canals.

These measures were responsible for raising a political storm in the province. Public meetings were organised at different places to protest against these measures. The Secretary of State for India, Morley, reported to the House of Commons that in

15. Azim Husain, op. cit, p. 73.
18. Ibid.
June 1907 twenty-eight meetings were held in the Punjab between the 1st March and 1st May of that year. Of these, according to him, only five ostensibly related to agricultural grievances, the remaining twenty-three were all purely political in nature. The atmosphere in the province became tense. 'Pagri Sambhal Jatta' (Peasant! guard your turban!) the refrain of a song recited by Banke Dayal at the public meeting held at Lyallpur, summed up the apprehensions of the people. Students of the Khalsa College, Amritsar, staged a hostile demonstration at the farewell visit of the outgoing Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Charles Rivaz. The Manager and the Editor of the 'Punjabee' were prosecuted and this further deepened the resentment of the people against the Government. Disturbances occurred in Lahore, Lyallpur and Rawalpindi. Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh, who were pressing for the redress of the grievances of the people, were deported on the charge of fomenting sedition.

The agitation in the Punjab over the Colonization Bill came to the notice of Gandhi in South Africa. He admired the people of the Punjab for carrying on their agitation against the Government heroically, though he had no sympathy with those who were fighting to end the British rule in India. As a result of this agitation, Lajpat Rai was released and the Canal Colony Bill was vetoed by the Viceroy. The land tax and the water rates were reduced. To Gandhi this meant a great success of

RIPPLES OVER THE WATERS OF THE FIVE RIVERS

Passive Resistance. So he called upon the Indians living in South Africa to take a lesson from the heroic fight of the people of the Punjab and continue their struggle against the South African Government till the redress of their grievances. Thus the example of the people of the Punjab provided inspiration to Gandhi for his work in South Africa.

The repressive policy of the Government that followed the agitation in the Punjab gave rise to the revolutionary activities in the Province. Some young men started toying with the idea of expelling the British from India through armed rebellion and by creating a feeling of terror in them through the murder of British officers. Ajit Singh, Hardayal, Amir Chand, Rash Behari and a few others were the authors of such ideas. A number of secret organisations sprang up in the province as a result of their efforts. These organisations occupied themselves with planning the murder of notable British officers. The Viceroy Lord Hardinge narrowly escaped when a bomb was thrown at him in Delhi in 1912. Subsequently a number of persons were prosecuted and sentenced to punishments varying from rigorous imprisonment for seven years to death penalty, when a clue to the activities of the revolutionaries was provided by the explosion of a bomb on the Lawrence Road, Lahore. These severe measures, however, did not dampen the spirit of the revolutionaries in the province. In fact they led to the multiplication of terrorist happenings. The influence of the Ghadr Party which had its origin in the United States as a result of the efforts of Hardayal was an important factor in the spurring of such activities. Hailing from Delhi, Hardayal had his education in Lahore from where, after a brilliant academic career, he proceeded to England in 1905 on a State scholarship to complete his education at Oxford. But on realizing

that the English education in India had the effect of perpetuating the subjection of the Indians to the British, he surrendered his scholarship and returned to India without completing his education.²⁶ On his return to Lahore, he advocated National Education and recommended, more than a decade before the launching of the non-co-operation movement by Gandhi, "a general boycott combined with passive resistance of every kind for expelling the British from India."²⁷ Apprehending arrest, he left India in 1908 for good. After visiting a number of European countries, he reached San Francisco where he set up an organisation in 1913 called the Hindustan Workers of the Pacific Coast. This organisation started a Weekly newspaper 'Ghadr' after which the organisation came to be known as the Ghadr Party.²⁸ This organisation was designed to raise a rebellion against the British in India and to induce Indian residents abroad to go to India and work for bringing about a rebellion in India.²⁹

The humiliating treatment meted out to the Indian immigrants, who mostly hailed from the Punjab, in Canada and the Komagata Maru affair introduced the Ghadr movement in this province. In the early years of the present century a number of peasants from the Punjab had migrated to Canada. White workers resented the influx of the Punjabis since the latter were willing to work for less and for longer hours. So propaganda was let loose against them in Canada as a result of which the Government of Canada imposed restrictions on the immigration of Indians. Despite several representations by the Indians, the

British Government did not do anything to lessen the hardship of the immigrants which followed from the policy of racial discrimination of the Government of Canada. Gandhi condemned this policy in the 'Indian Opinion' on account of which the Sikhs were not allowed to live in peace in Canada. But there was hardly any effect on the Government. It went ahead with its policy of preventing the entry of the Indians into Canada. In pursuance of this policy it refused permission for landing to a large number of Indians, mostly Jat Sikhs from the Punjab, who reached the Canadian coast in a Japanese ship, Komagata Maru, chartered by Gurdit Singh, a prosperous businessman of Singapore. It was finally compelled to move into the Pacific under the threat of fire by the Canadian authorities. After passing through many hardships, it reached the mouth of Hoogly and docked at the Budge Budge harbour. But the travail of its passengers was yet not over. They were shabbily treated by the Government of India. They were ordered to go to the Punjab. They refused to obey and left the ship in a procession. The police opened fire on them as a result of which there were a number of casualties. Most of them were rounded up and sent to the Punjab.

Such incidents intensified the hatred of the Indians abroad against the British. So a large number of Ghadrites came to India and many of them were able to reach the Punjab. It was estimated that by the beginning of December 1914, nearly one thousand Ghadrites had come to India. These revolutionaries exhorted people to rise. But there was little response to their call and they succeeded only in committing a few dacoities and kill a

village Zaildar and a police sub-inspector. The Ghadrites were suppressed with a heavy hand. A large number of them were rounded up and were tried by special tribunals constituted under the Defence of India Act of 1915. As a result of these prosecutions 46 persons were hanged and 194 sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.33 By the year 1915 the daring enterprise of toppling the British Government in India through sporadic murders of British officers had flopped.

The failure of the method of the Ghadrites and the revolutionaries in the Punjab prepared ground for the favourable reception of Gandhi's non-violent technique for attaining Swaraj. Earnest members of the Ghadr Party lost faith in their own method and were drawn towards Gandhi's movement. In a letter to Lajpat Rai, a follower of Hardayal wrote, "What we need now are the leaders of the type of Mahatma Gandhi. We do not want armed resistance. We do not want passive resistance. What we want is something super, and that is what Mahatma is advocating. I have concluded that the methods which Hardayal advocated are not wise and sane for any part of the world. We want to get away from murder, assassination, conflagration, and terrorism. The foundation in the past was laid upon bloodshed and we have had enough of it, but now the foundation must be laid on justice and freedom to individuals, so that the same may be palpable in the future. . . . . The crying need of India is leaders of the type of Gandhi, staunch in their principles, which can be applied to almost every part of the World."34

The energy of the erstwhile Ghadrites flowed into the non-co-operation movement in the Punjab. Bhai Gurdit Singh, leader

33. Ibid., p. 189.
34. Lajpat Rai, Writings and Speeches, Vol. I p. 328 ; Also Gandhi, Collected Works, Vol. xvi, appendix iii, pp. 533-534.
of the Komagata Maru affair, who had been absconding for a number of years surrendered himself to the police following the creed of 'suffering' of the non-co-operation movement. This act created great commotion in the province.

During the War the Punjab made tremendous efforts to save the Empire. A large number of youngmen enlisted themselves in the army. It is estimated that at the outbreak of War there were 100,000 Punjabis including residents of Indian States, serving in the army, of whom 87,000 were combatants; and that 380,000 of whom 231,000 were combatants were enlisted during the War, making a total of 480,000 who served. This total represents over a third of the entire contribution of India towards the forces of the Empire. So the Punjab, like Gandhi, extended its maximum co-operation to the British Empire in the gravest hour of its trial.

On the termination of War, Government's apathy towards the well-being and aspirations of the people generated greater resentment in the Punjab since it had suffered more during the years of War. O'Dwyer's administration had abused the powers given to it by the Defence of India Act in suppressing all opposition to its authority. Hundreds of men with little or no cause had been interned. The press had been gagged as a result of which it became practically impossible for the people of the province to have free ventilation of their grievances. Added to

36. *Punjab Administration Report 1921-22*. According to O'Dwyer, the number of fighting men raised during the four years of War was roughly three hundred and sixty thousand, more than half the total number raised in India.
these were the underhand and oppressive methods used by the Government to raise war loans and recruit people to the army. Restrictions imposed on import and export of goods caused great harm to the trading community. While the war was still going on, all such restraints and hardships, though felt bitterly, were suffered patiently, because of the common purpose of winning the War. But the consternation and indignation of people became quite acute when, after the war, instead of withdrawing these hard, extra-ordinary measures, O’Dwyer thought of imposing more stringent measures to curb every type of political activity.\(^{38}\) His contempt for the educated classes, that acted as the vanguard of the masses, further widened the gulf between the Government and the people in the Punjab. The Governor even pooh-poohed all hope of self-government raised partly by the announcement by the British Government of introducing responsible government in India by successive stages.\(^{39}\)

But despite all such efforts of the Government of the Punjab, the national movement in the province could not be wiped out. O’Dwyer himself admitted that Montagu’s declaration of August 20, 1917, assuring India responsible Government through a gradual process, the release of Mrs. Besant, the apostle of the Home Rule Movement, and the visit of the Secretary of State to India gave strong stimulus in the Punjab to political activity, which had been quiescent since the collapse of the Ghadr rebellion in 1915.\(^{40}\) Meetings were held in Lahore in February

---


1917 to affirm the support of the Punjab to the Congress-League Scheme of Reforms.41

The same year District Congress Committees were set up to stimulate political activity in the province.42 A Provincial Conference was convened in October to which leaders from outside Punjab were invited. The Government put a ban on their entry which created a stir in the province. Even a moderate like Fazl-i-Husain, who presided over the conference, could not help denouncing the administration of O'Dwyer.43 Similarly the Provincial Conference held at Amritsar in August 1918 under the chairmanship of Duni Chand, Bar-at-Law, intensified political awakening in the province. The administration of O'Dwyer came under severe criticism in the Presidential Address.44 The Conference gave an outlet to the pent-up feelings of the people against the Government. They started taking part in politics actively as the Conference removed from their minds the fear of bureaucracy. Encouraged by the success of the Conference, the leaders of the Punjab decided to invite the Indian National Congress to hold its next session in Amritsar.45 On the acceptance of this invitation, a Reception Committee consisting of one thousand members was formed in the Province in order to create enthusiasm among the people for the object and the activities of the Congress.46 This produced a political stir in the province. It was in this atmosphere that the Rowlatt Bill was passed and the Satyagraha Movement was started by Gandhi.

41. Azim Husain, op. cit., p. 89.
42. Ibid.
43. Ibid.
45. Ibid.
46. Ibid.
CHAPTER III

THE TWO POWERS

"For dealing with a crisis, everyone has a choice between two forces—physical force & soul force or Satyagraha. India's civilization can be saved only through Satyagraha."

—Gandhi

"Remember, Raizada Sahib, there is a mightier force than soul force."¹ said O'Dwyer to Raizada Bhagat Ram, a barrister of Jullundur and a member of the Punjab Legislative Council.

The clash of these two forces raised a great storm not only in the Punjab but in the whole of the country which shook the foundation of the Empire that the Governor of the Punjab as the Head of the administration of the Province wanted to strengthen.

Strangely, both O'Dwyer and Gandhi were engaged in a similar activity during the war. Both undertook recruiting campaigns, though with different motives. The former wanted to save the Empire in order to perpetuate the domination of one race over the other, while the latter aimed at uniting the two

¹. N. N. Mitra, The Indian Annual Register, 1920 (Calcutta).
Congress Punjab Enquiry Committee Report, Vol. I. p. 44.

(26)
in a spiritual bond. Similarly the methods that they employed for the accomplishment of their mission had no affinity with one another. While O'Dwyer used force, allurement and even underhand means for the fulfilment of his task, Gandhi appealed to the sense of responsibility and gratitude of his countrymen towards the Empire by asking them to help it in its hour of trial.

Incidentally, the two also identified themselves with the peasants but again with different ends in view. The agent of an alien Government ruling over India showed sympathy with agricultural classes mostly for political reasons. O'Dwyer, according to Duni Chand (of Lahore), posed himself as a champion of rural population but he hardly did anything for them. But Gandhi, on the other hand, devoted himself to the service of the peasants as a result of his deep conviction that the rise of India depended on their uplift. The spinning-wheel was, for him, a symbol and a means for identifying himself with the dumb millions of India living mostly in the villages.

The power that O'Dwyer represented was the power that conquerors and autocrats rely on for keeping the masses under their heels. In brief, he admired the power of the bullets and bayonets.

2. In his Autobiography, O'Dwyer says, "Throughout my term of office I did what I could to further the interests of the rural masses whom I regarded as the basis of the stability and prosperity of the province." O'Dwyer, op. cit., p. 171.


O'Dwyer was the head of the administration of the Punjab from 1913 to 1919 but prior to it he had spent a number of years in this province as a junior officer. He was a stern administrator and efficiency, he claimed, was his standard of good administration. He, therefore, believed in suppressing any opposition to his authority in its infancy. He often quoted Saadi's couplet:

"You can stop a spring with a twig;  
Let it flow unchecked, and an elephant cannot cross it."  

Indians, he believed, were accustomed to personal rule and what they really desired, he argued, was stability and not any particular form of Government. He found support for his views in a speech delivered by Sir Charles Innes who was a member of the Government of India, in the Legislative Assembly.

"You may change the form of Government, but you cannot change the nature of the people of India, who like a personal rule. Indian politicians are interested only in the form of Government; but there are 240 millions of people in British India who do not care two straws what is the form of government provided it is a stable one. It cannot be stable without a strong Indian Civil Service and police."

He was, thus, a champion of benevolent dictatorship. Such doctrines as 'White man's burden' and 'England's mission in India' shaped his mental make-up. He identified himself with the words of John Lawrence, whom he regarded as a great Governor of the Punjab and later great Viceroy of India.

---

5. O'Dwyer, op. cit., p. 108.  
6. Ibid. p. 34.  
7. Ibid. p. 244.
"We are here by our own moral superiority, by the force of circumstances and the will of Providence. These alone constitute our charter of government, and in doing the best we can for the people we are bound by our conscience and not theirs." 8

As is well known O'Dwyer had no sympathy with the political aspirations of the people of India. He was well-known for his contempt for the Indian educated classes, particularly for the lawyers, whom he regarded as the authors of all political trouble. The masses, he believed, had no political ambition and, therefore, according to him, there was hardly any identity of interest between them and the educated minority, who had no other interest but to share power. This is evident from his reaction to the demand for constitutional reforms in India:

"If it is clear that the demands emanate not from the mass of the people whose interests are at stake, but from a small and not quite distinterested minority, naturally eager for power and place, we must, if we are faithful to our trust, place the interest of the silent masses before the clamour of the politicians however troublesome and insistent." 9

As a result of this thinking he entirely dissociated himself from the policy of the Home Government and of the Government of India of conceding some of the demands of the Home Rule Leaguers. He rather believed in putting down all political agitation in India with an iron hand. He relied on brute force or the power of guns and the gun-power for running the administration. This policy stemmed from the belief that fear alone determines men's action, for all their efforts are directed towards

8. Ibid. p. 407.
avoiding of physical pain. In brief, man, according to this view, is entirely a physical being.

This philosophy of life was completely at variance with that of Gandhi against whom O’Dwyer raised his clenched fist. The former had full faith in the superiority of the spirit over the body. Fear cannot touch a person who is conscious of the indwelling spirit in him, for fearlessness and freedom are the attributes of the spirit. Body, according to this outlook, is essentially a vehicle for the self-expression of the spirit. The latter is immortal and universal. It dwells in all human beings. It follows from this that all men are united in a spiritual bond. They are brothers beneath the level of conflicts and differences. It implies that man is inherently good. He commits evil as a result of ignorance or passions. It means that man will cease causing wrong to others as soon as he is liberated from passions and ignorance. But this process of liberation must not be through violence but by awakening the dormant divinity, the universal spirit, in man, which is the common element in all men. Gandhi, therefore, termed his method as the soul-force. It is also called the Truth-force, for, according to him, it is used for the vindication of the unity of life. “A truly non-violent action, according to him, “is not possible unless it springs from a heart-belief that he whom you fear and regard as robber, dacoit or worse, and you are one.” Therefore he called it ‘Satyagraha’ which literally means holding on to truth or adherence to truth. An adherent of this method makes a series of attempts to make his opponent listen to the voice of truth, instead of inflicting injury

10. Ibid, p. 44.
on him. It is the manifestation or one may say the projection of the principle that operates in resolving disputes in the family. It is the application of the rule of domestic life to the political life of the community,\(^{13}\) for the family disputes are settled by the process determined by the law of love: "A little hard thinking will show us that the standard that we apply to the regulation of domestic relations is the standard that should be applied to regulate the relations between the rulers and the ruled and between man and man."\(^{14}\) A Satyagrahi's faith in self-suffering is rooted in his conviction that his opponent is intimately related to him and so the latter cannot do any wrong to the former without causing an injury to himself. This means that the evil has to be distinguished from the evil-doer. The Satyagrahi fights the evil out of love for the evil-doer, for an injury inflicted by a person on a fellow human being is the result of his inability to realize the truth that he harms himself most in his attempt to harm others. Gandhi reminded his followers during the days of non-cooperation movement, "Whilst we may attack measures and systems, we..........must not attack men. Imperfect ourselves, we must be tender towards others and be slow to impute motives."\(^{15}\) He distinguished his method of Satyagraha from passive resistance on the ground that while love has no scope in passive resistance, hatred has no place in Satyagraha.\(^{16}\) By the same token Satyagraha does not admit of the use of violence in resolving social conflicts. Explaining the object of Satyagraha against the Rowlatt Bills, he said, "The Indian covenanters by


\(^{14}\) Ibid. Vol. xv, p. 249.

\(^{15}\) Ibid. Vol. xx, p. 135.

their determination to undergo every form of suffering make an irresistible appeal for justice to the Government towards which they bear no ill-will and provide to the believers in the efficacy of violence as a means of securing redress of grievances with an infallible remedy, and withal a remedy that blesses those that use it and also those against whom it is used.\(^\text{17}\) It was, according to him, a harmless but unfailing remedy.\(^\text{18}\) It was not the weapon of the weak, it “presupposed a superior sort of courage in those who adopted it—not the courage of the fighter: for the soldier was ever ready to die, but he also wanted to kill the enemy.” A Satyagrahi, on the other hand, was ever ready to endure suffering and lay down his life to demonstrate to the world the integrity of his purpose and the justice of his demands.\(^\text{19}\)

Such an enterprise presupposes a very high character in a Satyagrahi. Reliance on truth, faith in God, self-purification, self-discipline and fearlessness are the essential qualities of a Satyagrahi. As a form of non-violent resistance against evil, Stayagraha bears a number of features of war. According to Richard Gregg, Satyagraha “not only utilizes the military virtues, it uses also on a moral plane many of the military methods and principles, it employs many of the same psychological processes, and even retains some of the military objectives with moral modifications.”\(^\text{20}\) But it eschews violence. It is ‘War without violence.’\(^\text{21}\) Its methods, therefore, are different from

\(^{17}\) Gandhi, Collected Works, xv. pp., 121-122.

\(^{18}\) Ibid., p. 126.

\(^{19}\) Ibid.


those employed in war. A Satyagrahi adopts several forms of non-violent actions such as non-cooperation and civil disobedience. Non-cooperation may include strike, walk-out, hartal (voluntary closing of shops and business) resignation of office, renunciation of titles conferred by the government, boycott of Government institutions etc. In principle non-cooperation is withdrawal of support to a system which causes harm to Society.

Gandhi made a resolve to employ the remedy of Satyagraha for the redress of the grievances of his countrymen against the Rowlatt Bills introduced into the Viceroy’s Council on February 6, 1919. These Bills embodied recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee appointed by the Government of India in December 1917, under the chairmanship of Rowlatt, a British judge, to investigate and report on the nature of criminal conspiracies of the revolutionary movement in India. The Rowlatt Act invested the Government with extraordinary powers to suppress any kind of political agitation. It provided for the trial of seditious crime by special tribunals consisting of three judges without juries and assessors and without preliminary commitment proceedings or appeal. It denied the accused the right of defending himself with the help of a counsel. It also provided for the arrest, confinement or detention of any person without showing any cause. These drastic measures which the Act sanctioned were summed up in the slogan “na dalil, na vakil, na apil” (no argument, no lawyer, no appeal). These measures were nothing short of “Star Chamber measures of the most unjust and tyrannical character robbing the people of every vestige of political protection.”

Gandhi notified his intention to start Satyagraha in case the Bills were passed. In the Satyagraha pledge taken on February 22.

---

24, 1919, it was solemnly affirmed that in the event of "these Bills becoming law and until they are withdrawn, a non-violent struggle against them would be launched." But this hardly had any effect on the Government and the bills received Viceroy's assent in March 1919. Gandhi started searching for a suitable means of demonstrating the determination of the people to carry on a non-violent struggle against it, for the new legislation was not such as could be disobeyed or defied, unless the Government provided the opportunity. Suddenly on his visit to Madras he had a flash of inspiration at night which he communicated to Rajagopalachari the next morning: "The idea came to me last night in a dream that we should call upon the country to observe a general hartal. Satyagraha is a process of self-purification, and ours is a sacred fight and it seems to me to be in the fitness of things that it should be commenced with an act of self-purification. Let all the people of India, therefore, suspend their business on that day and observe the day as one of fasting and prayer." 

Accordingly, March 30 was proclaimed as the day of general closing of shops, suspension of business activity, fasting, prayers and meetings all over the country. For some reasons the day was subsequently advanced to April 6. Hartal, i.e., the suspension of business as a mark or a means of protest against any unpopular measure of the Government, was not new to the Indians. But the items of fasting and prayer added a new dimension to the programme. These represented the will of the people to make any sacrifice in order to achieve their ends. Self-purification

demanded of them to absolve themselves of all their evils before making an appeal to the opponent to refrain from causing harm to others. Thus it raised the level of the struggle. Its purpose was to turn the mind of the Indians from the external impediments to their freedom to their internal defects that had weakened their national vitality and thereby deprived them of their freedom.
CHAPTER IV

BEGINNING OF THE END

“It is thy will to let us rush into the thick of conflicts. Only give us thy own weapon, my Master, the power to suffer and to trust.”

—Tagore’s message to the Amritsar Congress of December 1919.

The Punjab found itself in full agreement with Gandhi in his opposition to the Rowlatt legislation. Meetings against the Rowlatt Bills were held at several places in the province as soon as the people became aware of the monstrosity of the proposed legislation. Both the moderate and the extremist sections in the provincial Congress were united over this issue though the moderate section was reluctant to join hands with Gandhi fully. The agitation against the Rowlatt Bills started in Lahore, the capital and the hub of political activity of the undivided Punjab, shortly after their publication in Gazette of India on January 18, 1919, under the leadership of Rambhuj Dutt, Duni Chand, Harkishan Lal and Dr. Gokul Chand Narang. Two protest meetings were held, one on the 4th of February and the other on the 9th of March 1919, under the auspices of the Indian

Association to protest against the introduction of the Bills.\(^2\) A
meeting was also announced for the 30th March in accordance
with the earlier programme of Gandhi but was abandoned as the
day of national protest was postponed by him to the 6th of
April.\(^3\) The hartal in the city on that day was complete and
spontaneous, notwithstanding the strenuous efforts made by the
Government and its supporters to dissuade the people from
observing Gandhi’s programme. Quite a few persons observed
fast.\(^4\) An impromptu procession, that narrowly escaped collision
with the police,\(^5\) paraded the streets during the day. A meeting
was held in the evening in the Bradlaugh Hall under the chair-
manship of Rambhuj Dutt. According to an eye-witness the
meeting drew very large crowds. The Hall was full to over
flowing with those who had come to attend the meeting, and
thousands were sitting or standing outside the Hall, for whose
benefit two ‘overflow meetings’ were held in the lawns surround-
ing the Hall.\(^6\) The meeting was addressed by leaders of all the
communities.\(^7\) Rambhuj Dutt, a great admirer of Gandhi,
explained to the people the meaning of Passive Resistance
(Satyagraha) and called upon them to be prepared for all sorts
of suffering which this technique involves.\(^8\) About the enthusiasm
in Lahore on the 6th of April, a reporter commented: “The
spectacle which met one’s eyes on Sunday would have delighted

\(^2\) Congress Punjab Enquiry Committee Report, vol. ii. (Evidence)
p. 203; Disorders Committee Report, p. 53.
\(^3\) Congress Enquiry Committee Report, vol. ii p. 203 (Evidence).
\(^4\) Ibid.
\(^5\) Ibid. p. 205.
\(^6\) Ibid. pp. 205-206.
\(^7\) Ibid. p. 206.
\(^8\) H. N. Mitra editor, Punjab Unrest, Before and After (Calcutta:
the heart of the great leader (Mahatma Gandhi). Even he could not have desired anything better. Not only was every part of his programme faithfully carried out by whole of manly, patriotic and self-conscious Lahore.........Here was an extraordinary combination of enthusiasm bordering, at points, on religious fervour, and of that dignity and self-possession which are the honest marks of strength."

Amritsar also responded with equal fervour to the call of Gandhi under the leadership of Dr. Saif-ud-din Kitchlew, a barrister and a Doctor of Philosophy, and Dr. Satyapal, a medical practitioner, who tried their best to carry on the movement in accordance with the instructions of Gandhi. Kitchlew told an Inspector of the Criminal Investigation Department that it was necessary for every person joining the movement to sign a form stating his faith in Gandhi's concept of passive resistance. His programme was implemented on March 30, and April 6, 1919 with great success. "Hartal and fast were observed, according to Kitchlew, on the 30th of March and a mass meeting was held on that day at Jallianwala Bagh attended by some 30,000 persons. Women also observed fast on that day and took keen interest in the movement." On April 2nd, Swami Satyadev, a follower of Gandhi, lectured on soul-force and endeavoured to dissuade the people from violence.

Similar meetings were held in Multan, Gujranwala, Sheikhupura, Batala, Pathankot, Ferozepur, Abohar, Hafizabad, Sialkot,

---

Rawalpindi, Jullundur, Hoshiarpur, Gurdaspur, Ludhiana, Rupar, Ambala, Faridabad, Palwal, Bhiwani, Bahadurgarh, Panipat and at many other smaller towns. At places women and children participated in the programme with religious spirit and observed fast and prayer in their homes.

One remarkable achievement of this programme in the Punjab was the fraternization between the Hindus and the Muslims. It shook the morale of the government whose domination over Indians depended upon the existing mutual hostility between the two communities. In Lahore, the Hindus put 'Tikkas' (mark) on the foreheads of the Muslims to demonstrate cordiality and unity existing between them. The Mahomedans, on their part, allowed Hindu leaders such as Rambhuj Dutt and Harkishan Lal to address them from the pulpit of the Badshahi Mosque. On the 'Ram Naumi' Day, which is a Hindu religious festival, Hindus and Muslims freely participated in the processions at Lahore and Amritsar. The distinction between the two communities, it was observed, was very much obliterated. The Muslims, according to an eye-witness, 'were vying with their Hindu brethren for promoting the success of the procession.' Members of both the communities drank water from the same cups and exchanged head-gears. "A wit said that the word 'hum' was made up (in Urdu) of letter H and M with nothing between and therefore Hindus and Muslims should allow nothing to come between them."

13. Ibid. pp. 73-79.
15. Ibid. p. 745.
18. Azim Husain op. cit. p. 117.
19. Ibid.
Nothing could be more pleasing to Gandhi than this phenomenon in Indian political life, for he viewed Hindu-Muslim unity as a manifestation of the spirit of Ahimsa (non-violence) operating in the Indian society. Promotion of Hindu-Muslim unity was, therefore, part of his programme of Satyagraha. On the eve of the Rowlatt Act Satyagraha, he wanted members of both the communities to take the following vow: ‘With God as witness we Hindus and Mahommedans declare that we shall behave towards one another as children of the same parents, that we shall have no differences, that the sorrows of each shall be the sorrows of the other and that each shall help the other in removing them.’\(^{20}\) He even regarded promoting unity between these two communities as a religious act.\(^{21}\)

Another special feature of the Ram Naumi procession that year was the cry of ‘Gandhiji Ki Jai’ intermingling with the customary cry of ‘Raja Rama Chandra Ji Ki Jai (Victory to Rama).’\(^{22}\)

The success of Gandhi’s programme in the Punjab made the Punjab Government nervous. It saw in it a conspiracy to destroy its authority. This assumption\(^{23}\) led it to let loose a reign of terror in the province that threw thousands of innocent people, young and old, into a vortex of suffering. Events started moving fast. Gandhi, who had been invited by Dr. Satya Pal to explain to the people the doctrine of Satyagraha, was arrested at Palwal and was sent back to Bombay Presidency.

\(^{20}\) *Gandhi, Collected Works*, vol. xv, p. 203.
\(^{21}\) Ibid. vol. vi p. 260.
\(^{22}\) *Congress Punjab Enquiry Committee Report*, vol. ii (Evidence) pp. 6, 206.
\(^{23}\) Ibid. vol. i, p. 43.
\(^{24}\) *Congress Punjab Enquiry Committee Report*, vol. i, p. 76.
where he was interned. The two brave Doctors of Amritsar, Kitchlew and Satyapal, were deported on 10th of April. This ignited the political atmosphere in the city and people became agitated. An impromptu procession was formed that moved towards the Deputy Commissioner’s bungalow in the civil lines to protest against the arrest of the leaders. A fracas followed when police prevented the procession from entering the civil lines. There occurred some casualties as a result of police firing. This added fuel to the fire and the mob became uncontrollable. It started assaulting Englishmen. It set fire to some buildings belonging to the British concerns and the Government. Five English men were killed and an English missionary Miss Sherwood was severely assaulted. The local authorities became nervous. The town was made over to the Army. General Dyer assumed the command of the city. Accustomed to leading campaigns to dislodge the enemy from a favourable position, the General imagined that the city was under the control of the mob hostile to the British Government and therefore his task was to wrest power from it in order to save the Empire. The main disturbing factor, according to him, was the hold which Gandhi’s movement had over the people. He considered the cry of ‘Gandhi ji ki jai’, as ‘the cry of sedition’. He marched his troops through the streets to create a mighty impression on the unarmed citizens. But he was greeted with the cries of Hindu-Musalman ki jai. This appeared to him as a serious challenge to the British authority. He made up his mind to punish the people of Amritsar for all such acts of disloyalty. Jawahar Lal Nehru, who travelled from Amritsar to Delhi towards the end of 1919 in the same compartment in which

General Dyer and his companions were travelling, heard from the General that the latter had the whole town at his mercy and he had often felt like reducing the rebellious city to shambles, but he took pity on it and refrained from doing so. This was the state of mind of General Dyer when the state of emergency was proclaimed and all meetings were declared illegal. But, in the meantime, the leaders of the city had announced a meeting to be held in the Jallianwala Bagh on the Baisakhi Day. Very likely General Dyer considered it as a great opportunity to overawe the people with the show of the might of the Empire for he imagined that “The Lord hath delivered his enemy into his hand.” Twenty thousand people—men, women and children—gathered at the Bagh. General Dyer entered the place at the head of a force composed of 100 Indian and 50 British troops. The gathering was listening to a lecture when the General gave order to fire without any warning. 1600 rounds were fired and the firing stopped only when the ammunition had run out. The casualties were about 400 dead, while the wounded were more than a thousand. Immediately after the firing curfew was imposed and the dead and the dying were left to suffer the whole night at the mercy of dogs and vultures. But this was hardly enough to quench the wrath of the General. Monstrous punishments were devised. The water and the electric supply of the city were cut off. Public flogging was instituted. But all these punishments were

surpassed by the "crawling" order. Every one passing through the lane, where Miss Sherwood was attacked, was ordered to crawl on her or his belly.\textsuperscript{31}

Conditions in the rest of the Punjab were in no way better. News of the arrest of Gandhi at Palwal set the whole province ablaze. At Lahore a procession, which included a large number of students, marched towards the Government House to demand the release of Gandhi.\textsuperscript{32} The police fired on the procession which resulted in several casualties. Mass meetings of Hindus and Muslims were held at the Badshahi Mosque on two successive days that accentuated the wrath of the authorities. Popular leaders such as Rambhuj Dutt, Duni Chand and Harkishan Lal were arrested and deported. Martial Law was proclaimed and summary courts were constituted to try cases. 277 persons were tried out of which 201 were convicted.\textsuperscript{33} Nevertheless, in spite of these provocations, the citizens of Lahore did not leave the chosen path of non-violent struggle. Gandhi wrote, "The sufferings of Lahore are, in our opinion, a purer treasure in a way even than those of the people who were victims of the massacre of Jallianwala Bagh."\textsuperscript{34}

But the self-restraint observed by the people of Lahore was not followed at other places. The pent-up anti-Government feelings of the people found expression through acts of violence and arson. There were disturbances at Kasur, Khem Karan, Patti, Gujranwala, Wazirabad, Sheikhupura, Sangla, Layallpur etc. However, the violence used by the Government to meet the situation was far more than that used by the mob in frenzy.

\textsuperscript{31} Ibid. p. 60.
\textsuperscript{32} Ibid. p. 76.
\textsuperscript{33} Ibid. p. 82.
\textsuperscript{34} Ibid. p. 80.
Aeroplanes and machine-guns were employed to quell the disturbances, Bombs were dropped on innocent people. Several districts were placed under Martial Law and severe punishments were inflicted on the innocents. In the seven weeks that the Punjab was administered by Martial Law, nearly 1200 persons were killed and at least 3600 wounded. Mobile columns were sent round the villages to punish the villagers for their participation in the agitation. Hostages were taken from the villages to ensure “the good behaviour of their respective villages and for the purpose of creating a general impression.” Martial Law Courts were instituted to inflict heavy punishments on the people. The Government entirely forgot the services done by the province during the war in saving the Empire. Three types of courts came into existence during this period. In the first place, there were the four Commissions appointed by Michael O’Dwyer under Ordinance 2 of 1919 and as such were empowered to try offences committed on or after the 30th March 1919. In this way the head of the province was able to take action under Martial Law against, what was described by him, the whole ‘gang of agitators’, arrested in connection with the Rowlatt Act agitation. In the majority of cases the commissions adopted a summary procedure. Besides, their proceedings were conducted in camera and not allowed to be reported. The total number of persons tried by these commissions was 852, of whom 581

35. Ibid. p. 107.
37. Disorders Enquiry Committee Report p. 211.
38. Ibid. p. 227.
39. Ibid.
were convicted. Of the persons convicted, 108 were sentenced to death and forfeiture of property and 265 to transportation for life with forfeiture.\textsuperscript{41}

The other two Martial Law courts were the summary courts, one set of which were presided over by area officers and civil officers authorised in that behalf to dispose of cases under Martial Law Regulations.\textsuperscript{42} The other set of summary courts were presided over by officers nominated by the Lieutenant-Governor, who were authorised by notification to try offences against the ordinary law, arising out of the disturbances but committed before the declaration of Martial Law.\textsuperscript{43} These courts tried no less than 1437 men, out of whom 1179 were convicted.\textsuperscript{44}

These punishments were, of course, reduced by the Government. For instance in connection with the punishments given by the Martial Law Commission, it is recorded that out of 108 death sentences only 23 were maintained and the remaining were commuted to transportation in some cases and in the rest to sentences of imprisonment going down to one year.\textsuperscript{45}

Students suffered a great deal during the Martial Law regime as a result of their active participation in the movement. Severe action was taken against them by the authorities. The worst action taken against the Lahore college students was under an order of Col. Johnson which required the students of D. A. V. College, S. D. College and the Medical College to report to

\textsuperscript{41} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{42} Disorders Enquiry Committee Report, p. 227.
\textsuperscript{43} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{44} Pearly Mohan, \textit{op. cit.} p. 172.
\textsuperscript{45} Disorders Enquiry Committee Report, pp. 235-236.
the military authorities at varying places three or four times a day for a period of nearly three weeks. In certain cases these youngmen had to walk in all about 17 miles a day in the burning sun of Lahore in order to attend the roll-call four times a day.\textsuperscript{46} These hardships were imposed not by way of punishment but in order to keep the students out of mischief.\textsuperscript{47} Sometimes notices were put up on buildings by the Martial Law authorities and the owner of the building was held responsible if the notice was damaged. Such a notice was pasted on the building of S. D. College, Lahore. On finding the notice damaged, all the students and professors of the college were arrested and were marched to the Fort which was three miles away from the college and during the march they were ordered to carry their beddings.\textsuperscript{48}

Hardships imposed on the students at other places in the Punjab were no less. At Kasur (now in Pakistan) all the boys of the local schools were called together because some of them were suspected of having taken part in the agitation. In each school six of the biggest boys were selected and treated to six stripes each.

More than one thousand students were punished during this period.\textsuperscript{50} Besides some of them were expelled permanently from colleges and were declared unfit in future to enter any college; others were punished by being rusticated for various

\textsuperscript{46} Congress Enquiry Committee Report p. 87; Disorders Enquiry Committee Report, p. 201.
\textsuperscript{47} Ibid. p. 87.
\textsuperscript{48} Ibid. p. 85.
\textsuperscript{49} Disorders Enquiry Committee Report, p. 209.
\textsuperscript{50} Ibid. p. 201.
reasons, and yet others had their stipends and scholarships stopped.\textsuperscript{51}

But all these atrocities failed to break the will of the young-men in the Punjab. Students of Lahore, who had suffered most during the Martial Law regime, were quick to meet Gandhi in order to seek his guidance for carrying on their struggle against the authorities, when he visited the capital after the withdrawal of the ban on his entry into the province in October 1919.\textsuperscript{52}

What was Gandhi doing when the Punjab was undergoing such hardships? He was silent for sometime after his attempt to join the people of the province in their hour of trial was foiled by the Government. He could hardly do anything else, though his silence appeared irritating to some.\textsuperscript{53} The Government of the Punjab had taken all steps to keep the world in the dark about the happenings in the province. The All India Congress Committee learnt in any detail the news of the Amritsar tragedy only when it was broken to it in July 1919 in Calcutta, not only with bated breath and in whispering tones but with the charge that it should be kept strictly confidential.\textsuperscript{54} As Moti Lal Nehru observed at the Congress Session at Amritsar, December 1919, "Martial Law was enforced and for long time the Punjab was cut off from the rest of the world. All avenues of the news of happenings in the Punjab were carefully guarded. The papers in the province were placed under strict pre-censorship from the beginning of the trouble in the Punjab. Serious restrictions were placed on travelling and out-siders were not

\begin{flushleft}
51. \textit{Ibid.}
\end{flushleft}
permitted to enter the charmed area, even Mr. Andrews being turned out of the province."

But the suffering in the Punjab occupied Gandhi's mind as soon as news about the province started trickling into other provinces. He told a Punjabi that it was no joke for him to be outside the prison walls when so many leaders of the Punjab were suffering imprisonment for no fault save that of daring to serve their country to the best of their ability. In a letter to Dr. Satya Pal he assured all the leaders of the Punjab that the situation in the province was uppermost in his thoughts and actions. Similarly he conveyed to the wives of those whose husbands were undergoing unmerited incarceration that he would leave no stone unturned to secure justice.

He took several steps to mitigate the suffering of the people of the Punjab. He suspended the Civil Resistance in order to create favourable climate for the Government to withdraw harsh measures against the people of this province. This suspension of Satyagraha was a bitter pill for him but it had to be swallowed by him for the sake of the Punjabis: "...a satyagrahi has to swallow many a bitter pill and the present suspension is one such. I feel that I shall better serve the country and the Government and those Punjabi leaders who, in my opinion, have been so unjustly convicted and so cruelly sentenced, by suspension of Civil Resistance for the time being."

Secondly he boldly championed the cause of those who had been roughly handled by the authorities. With the cool

---

57. Ibid., p. 72.
58. Ibid.
59. Ibid., xv, p. 470.
logic of a lawyer and with the fearlessness of a Satyagrahi he presented the cases of those who had been wrongly convicted by the Martial Law Tribunals, irrespective of the age, status, caste and creed of the accused. Thus he took up the cases of Kalinath Ray and Radhakrishnan, editors of the Tribune and the Pratap respectively, who had been convicted for seditious writings and made an appeal to the Viceroy for their release. He ably established the innocence of Dr. Satyapal and Dr. Kitchlew in the columns of his paper and so pleaded for their exoneration. He severely criticized the Lahore judgement, whereby the foremost leaders of the Punjab, Rambhuj Dutt, Dunichand and Harkishan Lal had been sentenced to transportation for life. This judgement, he believed, was a harsh commentary on the faith of those who had been enamoured of the British sense of justice. Similarly he defended Dr. Bashir and Gurdial Singh in the columns of Young India. The suffering of the poor and the unknown equally received his attention. He championed the cause of a poor lad, Karamchand, a student of the D.A.V. College, Lahore, who had been sentenced to heavy punishment. The case of a petty trader, like that of Jagannath, also found place in the columns of Young India. The earnestness and the labour with which the convicted persons or their relatives supplied facts to Gandhi regarding their cases reveal the confidence he had gained of the people of the Punjab.

60. Ibid. vol. xv. pp. 360-361.
61. Ibid. p. 445.
62. Ibid. xv. pp. 85-86.
63. Ibid. xv. p. 473.
64. Ibid. xvi. p. 165.
65. Ibid.
67. Ibid. p. 119.
Thirdly he strove hard to give a concrete shape to the feelings of sympathy of the people in other parts of India for the people of the Punjab. Thus in response to the request of Swami Shraddhanand, the leader of the Arya Samaj, for funds for supporting the families of those who had been convicted, he made a fervent appeal to the people of Bombay to contribute liberally to the fund raised for the purpose.\textsuperscript{68} Again, he tried to raise funds for erecting a national memorial at Jallianwala Bagh in the memory of those who had lost their lives there,\textsuperscript{69} since the Bagh, according to him, was a place of pilgrimage for all the communities of India as distinguished from Hardwar which was a pilgrimage centre for Hindus only.\textsuperscript{70} As the ‘Bagh’ was to be a national memorial, he wanted that money required for acquiring it should come not from a few rich people but from people throughout the country so that all could realize its spiritual value.\textsuperscript{71}

Nevertheless, all these efforts were not enough to afford tranquillity to his anguished soul. He wanted to be with the people of the Punjab to share their grief and to strengthen their resolve to humble the pride of those who depended on the use of brute force. So within a few days after the withdrawal of the ban against his entry into the province, he reached Lahore and stayed in the house of Rambhuj Dutt who was regarded by the Government of the Punjab as their enemy number one.\textsuperscript{72}

This visit was a memorable experience for him as well as for the people of the Punjab. He was accorded a rousing

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{68} Works. xvi, pp. 2-3.
\item \textsuperscript{69} Ibid. p. 486 ; xvii, p. 26.
\item \textsuperscript{70} Ibid. xvii, p. 24.
\item \textsuperscript{71} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{72} Ibid. vol. xvi, p. 262.
\end{itemize}
reception by the people of the Punjab wherever he went. This is what he wrote about his reception at Lahore and Amritsar:

"The affection that I am receiving from men and women here in Lahore puts me to shame, while at the same time the unique faith of India and the frankness and generosity of our people enchant me." His experience was equally unique when he arrived at Amritsar. The entire area outside the station was packed with the people. He was overwhelmed by their shouts and cheers. Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs vied with one another in expressing their regard for him. He was taken to a mosque which was thronged by the members of all the communities. The Sikhs honoured him at the Golden Temple. He was pleased by the manner by which they conducted themselves at their holy shrine.

His reception at other places in the province was equally warm. Thousands coveted his 'darshan.' He was so overwhelmed by the affections of the Punjabis that even after his return to the 'Ashram' the memory of the Punjab had a dominant place in his mind. So it did not appear out of place to him to give the title to a letter written from the Ashram, "Punjab letter." In defence he wrote, "I take the liberty of calling it so because my soul is still in the Punjab. I find it impossible to forget the frankness and the plain living of the Punjabis, their simplicity and magnanimity of heart, nor

---

73. Ibid. p. 282.
74. Ibid. p. 296.
75. Ibid.
76. Ibid. p. 282.
can I forget their suffering. I feel that I have been purified by sharing, in however a small measure, in their tribulations.\textsuperscript{7}

Women of this land showed special interest in his movement. The philosophy that claimed superiority of the spirit over physical strength sent a wave of enthusiasm into their frail bodies. They thronged the meetings addressed by him. At places special meetings had to be arranged for them.\textsuperscript{78}

Gandhi was deeply impressed by the resolute determination of the people of the Punjab to stand against the tyranny of the rulers. He noticed that cruel sentences by the Martial Law Tribunals had not broken the spirit of the Punjab.\textsuperscript{79} Shraddhanand truly represented the spirit of the people when he told the delegates assembled at the session of the Congress held at Amritsar in December 1919: “The doses of Martial Law...........administered to the Punjab have........ stimulated its political activity. So far that now, having as if abridged over a number of years, it stands abreast of the other more advanced provinces. Where the idea of political unity and its privileges were known only to a handful among the educated, in that very soil of the Punjab even the remotest and the most unknown villages are now replete with a knowledge of the aims and strength of this National Assembly.”\textsuperscript{80} So Gandhi felt that the Punjab might show the way to India, for the energy generated by the suppression here, according to him, was equal to that of Niagara Falls.”\textsuperscript{81} It could illumine

\textsuperscript{77} Ibid. vol. xvii. p. 55.
\textsuperscript{78} Ibid. vol. xvi. p. 316.
\textsuperscript{79} Ibid. pp. 206-207.
\textsuperscript{80} Report of the Amritsar Session of the Indian National Congress, 1919, p. 4.
\textsuperscript{81} Gandhi, Collected Works, vol. xvi p. 298.
the whole of India if it was used properly. He thought that Punjab had awakened. It had realized the true spirit of patriotism. But it lacked, he felt, discipline, knowledge and enduring zeal.\textsuperscript{82} So this land needed his immediate attention. He must start his work here, he thought.

However, Punjab’s admiration for him and its enthusiasm for his programme failed to blur his view of the failings of the people of the Punjab. For instance, he did not like the submission of the people to the ‘crawling’ order enforced by General Dyer. In a speech at Lahore on October 20, 1920, he said: “India rose through Jallianwala Bagh but fell when people crawled on their bellies.”\textsuperscript{83}

The atrocities in the Punjab weakened his faith in the British Empire. These marked the beginning of the end of his sincere and unbounded co-operation with the British Government.

\textsuperscript{82} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{83} Gandhi, Collected Works, vol. xviii. p. 364.
CHAPTER V

THE GREAT TRANSFORMATION

"Thus, on the rock of Jallianwala Bagh was wrecked the ship of cooperation built by the Secretary of State for India, Mr. Montagu, through his sympathetic gestures and his elaborate intrigues during his visit to India in 1917-1918."

—Subhas Chandra Bose

Events in the Punjab following the Rowlatt Act agitation had given a rude shock to Gandhi. But his faith in the British Empire was not completely shaken. He still hoped that Britain would not deny justice to the Punjab if an impartial inquiry was made into the happenings in the province. That was why he welcomed the appointment of the Hunter Committee for inquiring into the causes of the disturbances in the Punjab in April 1919 and into the steps taken to control them.¹ He was confident that if the people presented facts fearlessly, truth about the atrocities perpetrated in the Punjab would fully come out.²

For the same reason he accepted to work on the Commission appointed by the Punjab Sub-committee of the Indian National

¹. *Gandhi, Collected Works*, vol. xvi, p. 102
². *Ibid.* p. 103

( 54 )
Congress for investigating the facts leading to the disturbances in the province. The Committee also included Hon’ble Fazlul Haq, Messrs. C. R. Das and Abbas Tayabji. The Committee started its work on the 17th of November 1919. It examined over 1700 witnesses. But most of the work was assigned to Gandhi on whom devolved the responsibility of organising its work as well as of conducting the inquiry at most of the places. The task of drafting the report was also entrusted to him. This was an arduous task, for he had to go to a number of places in the province to know the facts. But this gave him an opportunity to come into intimate contact with the people of the Punjab. In addition to Lahore and Amritsar, he visited Gujranwala, Kasur, Wazirabad, Akalgarh, Ramnagar, Hafizabad, Sangla Hill, Sheikhupura, Chuharkana, Lyallpur and Ludhiana.

His creed of co-operation brought him in collision with such stalwarts of the Congress as C. R. Das and Lokmanya Tilak. But he fearlessly stood by his own convictions. His speech on the occasion of moving an amendment to the resolution proposed by C. R. Das reveals his political faith: “The King-Emperor has extended the hand of fellowship...I suggest to you that Mr. Montagu has extended the hand of fellowship, do not reject his advances. Indian culture demands trust and full trust...If you accept your own civilization, I ask the author of the commentaries on the Bhagvadgita, if he accepts the

5. Ibid.
teachings of the Gita, then let him extend the hand of fellowship to Mr. Montagu.” Similarly he wrote on December 31, “The Reforms Act coupled with the proclamation is an earnest of the intention of the British people to do justice to India.” Again, “there has been much mutual distrust between us—the English and ourselves. General Dyer forgot the dignity of man and became unmanly because he was seized with distrust and consequent fear....The proclamation, more than the reforms, replaces distrust by trust.”

On his part he went a long way to remove any misunderstanding in the minds of the British with regard to the nature of his movement. Even in the face of bitter opposition of the foremost leaders of the Congress, he insisted on condemning the violent acts of the mob at Amritsar and Gujarat in April. He was ready to stake even his membership of the Congress on this issue. His speech on this subject is memorable, for it reveals the high idealism with which his technique was informed: ‘I agree that there was grave provocation given by the Government in arresting Dr. Kitchlew and Dr. Satyapal and in arresting me who was bent on a mission of peace at the invitation of Dr. Satyapal and Swami Ji (Shraddhanand)...these troubles would not have arisen. But the Government went mad at that time; we went mad also at that time. I say, do not return madness with madness, but return madness with sanity and the whole situation will be yours.’ This resolution was supported by the leaders of the Punjab, Swami Shraddhanand and Raizada Bhagat.

8. a. Royal proclamation granting clemency to political prisoners.
Ram of Jullundur.10 Seconding the resolution, the former said, "Indians must be true to their own civilization and not copy Western civilization in mob-rule. Without their own civilization they would not care even for Swaraj. They should meet hatred by love, falsehood by truth and violence by non-violence. Their excesses necessitated penance. They should admit their faults and do penance for them."11 This shows that some of the leaders of the Punjab were fully aware of the spirit of Gandhi's movement.

The Amritsar Session of the Congress was unique in many ways. For the first time a Sanyasi (Sharaddhanand) spoke from the Congress platform12 as the Chairman of the Reception Committee. It was attended by 8,000 delegates including 1500 peasants. Over 30,000 visitors were present on the occasion.13 Most of the delegates went direct to Jallianwala Bagh on their arrival at Amritsar. Some touched the blood-stained earth with their fore-heads, some took away with them a little of that earth to be preserved as a sacred treasure. Some smeared their foreheads with it.14 Gandhi observed, "The Congress this time was for many of us a pilgrimage because of its having been held in Amritsar."15

Most of all, the Amritsar Congress marked Gandhi's entrance into the Congress politics. As he himself observed, his attend-

10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
ance "at the previous Congresses was nothing more perhaps than an annual renewal of allegiance to the Congress. I never felt on these occasions that I had any other work cut out for me except that of a mere private, nor did I desire more."\(^{16}\)

According to Jawaharlal Nehru, the Amritsar Congress was the first Gandhi Congress. "Lokmanya Tilak was also present and took a prominent part in the deliberations, but there could be no doubt about it that the majority of the delegates, and even more so the great crowds outside, looked to Gandhi for leadership. The slogan 'Mahatma Gandhi ki jai' began to dominate the Indian political horizon."\(^{17}\) So deep was Punjabis' regard for Gandhi that when he thought of withdrawing from Amritsar Session of the Congress in order to evade the situation of differing with such eminent men as C. R. Das and Tilak over the Reform Scheme, Harkishan Lal, a leader of the Punjab, immediately communicated to him that his withdrawal "will very much hurt the feelings of the Punjabis."\(^{18}\) He was also assured that in case of a division over the issue in the open session, all possible arrangements would be made for taking the votes of the delegates by eliminating the visitors. Being satisfied by this assurance, he agreed to participate in the proceedings of the rest of the session.\(^{19}\)

Again, a large number of resolutions passed in that session embodied his ideals and programme. In conformity with his outlook, a resolution offering welcome to the Prince of Wales was


\(^{18}\) *Autobiography*, p. 357.

\(^{19}\) Ibid.
passed.20 So was the case with the rider to Reforms Resolution offering co-operation with the Government.21 The resolution on Swadeshi reiterated that the promotion of "Swadeshi movement to its utmost extent is essential for national progress and prosperity."22 It also recommended the revival of the ancient industry of hand-spinning and hand-weaving. Of a piece with it, or allied to it, were the resolutions on (a) the prohibition of export of milch cows and breeding bullocks,23 (b) on the amelioration of the grievances of third and intermediate class passengers,24 (c) and the protest against the hostile attitude of some British ministers towards the Turkish and Khilafat question.25

But Gandhi’s resolve to co-operate with the British Government in India gave way before the inflexibility of the British attitude towards the Punjab happenings as revealed by the report of the Hunter Commission. It was published on May 28, 1920. It was not unanimous. The Indian members differed with the English. The difference centred round the issue whether the outbreak in the Punjab was a premeditated revolt or an accidental outburst. The English members took the former view and the Indian latter. Accordingly the latter thought that Martial Law was not called for26 while the former not only justified its introduction but also exonerated most of the actions of the Martial Law administrators, though it was accepted that

21. Ibid., Resolution xiv, section (d) p. 176.
22. Ibid., Resolution xvii, p. 117.
23. Ibid., Resolution xviii, p. 177.
24. Ibid., Resolution xxxii, p. 179.
25. Ibid., Resolution xv, p. 176.
the administration of Martial Law was marred in particular instances, by misuse of power and that General Dyer did not act with such humanity as the case permitted.27

The report revealed the wide gap between the views of Gandhi and those of the British Government. The majority report put the blame mostly on his movement for the violent disturbances in the province in April, though it denied that he himself was an advocate of violence. The actual collisions between the police and the mobs, according to the official report, were found to be the bye-products of the Satyagraha movement.28

Gandhi, on the other hand, held that the disturbances were the result of deep-rooted resentment of the people of the Punjab against the high-handed methods used by O’Dwyer’s administration in collecting war loans and recruiting young men in the army during the war, which were followed by more repressive measures after the termination of hostilities in Europe.29 He believed that it was “only the wonderfully quick acceptance by the people of the principle of Satyagraha that effectively checked the spread of violence throughout the length and breadth of India."30 The report drafted by him went to the extent of saying: “We believe that had Mr. Gandhi not been arrested whilst he was on his way to Delhi and the Punjab, and had Drs. Kitchlew and Satyapal not been arrested and deported, innocent English lives would have been saved and valuable property...... not destroyed.”31 “These acts of the Punjab Government”,

27. Ibid., p. 118.
commented the Report, "served like matches applied to material rendered inflammable by previous processes." 32

The Congress Report also put the blame on the Government of India for the mishappenings in the province. It recorded that "His Excellency the Viceroy never took the trouble of examining the people's case. He ignored telegrams and letters from individuals and public bodies. He endorsed the action of the Punjab Government without inquiry. He clothed the officials with the power of indemnity in indecent haste." 33 So the report concluded that "His Excellency Lord Chelmsford proved himself incapable of holding this high office to which he was called, and we are of the opinion that His Excellency should be recalled." 34 It also demanded the dismissal of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, Col. Johnson, Col. O'Brien, Mr. Bosworth Smith, Rai Sahib Sri Ram Sud etc. for maintaining the future purity of the province. 35

The official report and the despatches, according to Gandhi, constituted an attempt to condone official lawlessness. 36 The official inquiry was nothing but a scandal of great magnitude which could not be tolerated "by a nation if it had to preserve its self-respect and become a free partner in the Empire." 37 So, he felt, that time had arrived when Indians must cease to rely upon mere petitions to Parliament for effective action. He, therefore, told the nation in unambiguous terms that "if the Parliament fails us and we are worthy to call ourselves a nation, we must refuse to uphold the Government by withdrawing

32. Ibid.
33. Ibid., p. 157.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid., p. 159.
37. Ibid.
cooperation from it.”

Thus Punjab wrongs turned a confirmed co-operator into a mighty non-co-operator. Subhas Chandra Bose observed, “There can be little doubt that if the Government of Lord Chelmsford, the then Viceroy and G. G. of India, had in 1920 taken drastic action against the author of Punjab atrocities, the confirmed co-operator Mr. Gandhi would not have been forced to the path of non-cooperation; nor would the Indian National Congress have set aside the resolution adopted at the Amritsar Session in December 1919.”

The Punjab atrocities and their sequel, he added, made a rebel of the once loyal Mr. Gandhi.

The Khilafat issue added to Gandhi’s disappointment. On several occasions he told the country that non-cooperation was adopted for the rectification of Punjab and the Khilafat wrongs. He reprimanded his admirers at Agra for taking him in a procession which was accompanied by a band to the meeting place on the plea that “India was in mourning for the 1500 killed at Jallianwala Bagh and he could not tolerate the idea of music and procession while in mourning.”

The foremost leader of the Punjab, Lajpat Rai, felt that the acceptance of the Punjab question as the basis of non-cooperation had broadened the issue, for, unlike Khilafat, “it was neither communal nor sectional. It was national.”

38. Ibid., p. 483.
40. Ibid., p. 42.
42. Ibid., p. 15.
CHAPTER VI

THE MAHATMA AND THE LION

"In the person of Lala Lajpat Rai the Government have arrested one of the greatest of us. His name is known all over India. His self-sacrifice has enshrined him in the hearts of his countrymen. He has laboured as very few have for non-violence side by side with the freest expression and organization of public opinion."

—Gandhi

"Lala Lajpat Rai was styled by them (Punjabis) as 'the Lion of the Punjab' and a lion was never satisfied with morsels of grass."

—Gandhi

"Never before in the experience of living men did a leader so successfully and unfailingly appreciate the genius of his people and felt their pulse as M. Gandhi has done in the course of the last three years."

—Lajpat Rai

Lajpat Rai watched from the U.S.A., at once with amazement and joy, the progress of Gandhi's movement in India following the declaration of the Rowlatt Bills. Satyagraha
appeared to him superior to all the methods tried by the Indian people earlier to liberate themselves from the foreign yoke. He wrote to the Mahatma from New York on June 20, 1919, "I want to say that, although I do not fully agree with your line of thought, I am in substantial agreement with your conclusions as to what we should do. Never before have I been more convinced of the futility of attempts to bring about a forcible revolution in India. Terrorism, too, in my judgement, is not only futile but sinful. Secret propaganda and secret societies may have some justification in the Government's desire to prohibit and penalize this kind of open work, but in the long run this ends in the demoralization of those who take part in them." These words added strength to Gandhi's faith in his own technique, for it was received at a time when the events following the Rowlatt Act agitation had made many in this country sceptical about the effectiveness of Satyagraha against the British Government. He was so delighted that he published it in his paper even without waiting for the permission of the author. Further, he requested him to write more on the subject for publication. He regretted that a person of the calibre of Lajpat Rai should have to remain outside India at that time. The latter yielded to the former's request and wrote three letters which were published in 'Young India' during the last two months of 1919.

In the first letter of this series, he told Gandhi that 'while no

1. Lajpat Rai, Writings and Speeches, Vol I, p. 327: See also Gandhi, Collected Works, Vol. xvi, appendix III.
2. Gandhi, Young India, 13.8.1919.
4. Ibid., p. 52.
5. Ibid.
safeguard ought to be neglected for avoiding manifestations of lawlessness and recourse to violence, the movement for freedom must be accelerated by personal risks and individual or group suffering."

His "Message to the Punjabis" on August 15, 1919, reflected the same outlook: "We are neither fit nor ripe for a militant revolutionary struggle. We want a revolution but not force or violence." He further advised the Punjabis to organise the middle class, the peasants and the workers and to follow Gandhi.

On his return to India he reminded the people in a speech at Allahabad in April 1920 that they should be grateful to Gandhi for having placed in their hands a weapon without which they could not succeed in winning political freedom. He frankly told the extremist and moderate sections of the Congress that the masses of India had been able to realize their strength as a result of Gandhi's movement.

Lala's approval of Mahatma's method added force to it, for the former had been not only the foremost leader of the Punjab, but wielded great influence over all sections of the Indian National Congress, though his political convictions brought him closer to the Extremists. He relied on self-sacrifice and self-help for attaining freedom, for self-government, according to him,

8. *Ibid*.
10. *Ibid*. 
“is not a thing to be gifted or granted.”¹¹ His own life bore testimony to his faith in such exalted principles.

His association with the Arya Samaj marked the beginning of his public life. It aroused in him pride for the achievements of the Hindus in ancient times. Through its teachings he learnt to love the Vedic religion, “to be proud of Aryan greatness and make sacrifices for the country.”¹²

Lajpat Rai’s ideals of public life had some similarities with those of Gandhi. Although he was a successful lawyer, he was never at peace with himself, for his conscience always pricked him for pursuing things which carried him away from his true mission of life; for to “amass wealth was not the object of my life, to enjoy luxury was not my goal, to win official honours was not my ambition......I wanted to sacrifice myself for my people and my country as the moth burns itself on the candle-flame.”¹³

Similarly, like Gandhi he tried to identify himself with the masses. Constructive work with a view to promoting the good of the down-trodden had greater appeal for him than any other political or social activity. He ardently devoted himself to the uplift of the Untouchables,¹⁴ promotion of Swadeshi¹⁵ and National Education.¹⁶ In a letter to Gandhi he observed that the Congress in its earlier phase had failed because it ignored

---

11. Lajpat Rai, Ideals of Non-co-operation and Other Essays, (Madras : S. Ganesan, 1924), p. 44.
13. Ibid., p. 45.
15. Infra.
16. Infra.
the masses. The greater need of the country, according to him, was economic uplift of the masses accompanied by the universal education of the right sort. This high ideal of service that he kept before himself was partly responsible for keeping him aloof from the Congress during the last decade of the nineteenth century since the Congress, according to him, in its early phase, had very few persons who were inspired by the ideals of self-sacrifice. On the same ground, ideals and programme of the Extremists had greater appeal for him than those of the Moderates. He was a great admirer of Tilak and so founded a school in his memory in Lahore during the non-cooperation days to train Indians for political work and to enlighten them about the economic and political problems of the country.

At the Banaras Session of the Congress in 1905, he joined hands with Tilak in opposing the resolution, welcoming the visit of the Prince of Wales, that infuriated the Moderates. Rift, of course, was averted by Gokhale's personal appeal to Lajpat Rai. It is this devotion to public good, even at the cost of personal interest, that brought him in confrontation with the Government of the Punjab over the Colonization Bill in 1907 and resulted in his deportation. This act of self-sacrifice of the leader of the Punjab had its effect on Gandhi fighting to secure justice for his countrymen in South Africa. On November 16, 1907, he wrote in the 'Indian Opinion' "We believe that Lala Lajpat Rai in exile is on a picnic. For, his object has been achieved. It was against the Punjab Lands Act

that he gave a battle and not merely for his own pleasure. That law is wrecked; then what does it matter to Lajpat Rai whether he lives in Mandalay or in Lahore? Many know how to be wise and discreet in speeches but people do not pay attention to all that they say. But the man who follows up his word with deed, who abides by his promise will be listened to by everyone......

Lajpat Rai's devotion to public good and self-sacrifice made him an eminent all-India leader. After his release, the Extremists considered him as the right choice for the office of the President of the 23rd Session of the Congress. But Lajpat Rai refused this offer in the interests of the unity of the national organisation since the Moderates were reluctant to accept him as the President of that session. But despite this refusal, "he was the central figure", records the official historian of the Congress, "round which the events of 1907 turned." He put all his weight to avert the split at Surat but events turned stronger than his efforts.

The split slackened his interest in the Congress but his public activities hardly had any rest. He devoted himself whole-heartedly to the famine relief work in the United Provinces. The campaign was well-organised and met with remarkable success. The Depressed Classes received his special attention during his campaign.

22. Indian Review, December 1907, p. 960. He wrote "I will be the last person to allow myself to be made the reason or occasion of any split in the national camp."
He associated himself with Gandhi’s struggle in South Africa during this period. He vigorously advocated the cause of the Indians in South Africa at the Congress session at Bankipur (Patna) in 1912. Similar performance was made at the next session at Karachi.

By resolution xviii the Congress decided at its Karachi session to send a delegation to England to represent, inter alia, Indian views on the disabilities of Indians in South Africa and other colonies. Lajpat Rai joined this delegation from the Punjab and reached England in May 1914. There he observed Gandhi participating in the British war effort and despite his political differences with him, he admired him (Gandhi) for his zeal, sincerity and organisational skill. He was present at the reception given to Gandhi, Kasturba and Kallenbach by British and Indian friends on August 8, 1914.

25. Ibid., p. 15.
   The resolution which was seconded by Lajpat Rai runs as follows:
   a. “That this Congress enters its emphatic protest against the provisions of the Immigration Act in that they violate the promises made by Ministers of the South African Union, and respectfully urges the Crown to veto the Act and requests the Imperial and Indian Governments to adopt such measures as would ensure to the Indians in South Africa just and honourable treatment”.
   e. “That this Congress expresses its warm and grateful appreciation of the heroic struggle carried on by Mr. Gandhi and his co-workers, and calls upon the people of this country of all classes and creeds to continue to supply them with funds.” Annie Besant, op. cit., pp. 562-563.
Being aware of the stature and calibre of Lajpat Rai in the public life of India, Gandhi tried to enlist his support in his efforts to organise Indian Voluntary Corps to help Britain in the War. Lajpat Rai became its member at Gandhi’s request. But Lajpat Rai did not endorse Gandhi’s policy of unconditional support to Britain in the war, for he wanted Britain to abandon its policy of racial discrimination against the Indians joining the army as a first condition for obtaining the whole-hearted support of the Indians in the war. He did not like Indians to support England in the war as mercenaries. On account of this conviction Lajpat Rai decided to go to the U.S.A., instead of returning to his country, for he neither could expect good treatment at the hands of the British Government in India, nor was he sure that he would be rightly understood by his own people on account of his attitude towards the War. But he carried on the struggle for the freedom of his country during his stay in the U.S.A., where he actively propagated Home Rule for India.

The realization by Lajpat Rai of the need of Hindu-Muslim unity as an essential pre-requisite for attaining self-government took him closer to Gandhi. During the period between 1919-1920 he made fervent appeals to both the communities to close up their ranks and regard themselves as the children of a common motherland. Earlier, as a member of the Arya Samaj, he had mostly identified himself with the interests of the Hindus. But his participation in the national movement

30. Ibid.
broadened his outlook. On his return from England in 1905, he called upon Hindus and Muslims to form a united front against the foreign power. In June 1919 he urged them to take mutual pride in the achievements of both Hindu and Muslim heroes and saints: "If Mother India had an Asoka, she had an Akbar too; if she had a Chaitanya, she had a Kabir also. For every Hindu hero, she can cite a Mohammedan hero...... Similarly in December 1919, he wrote "With 70 million Moslems, India is the most important centre of Mohammedan sentiment. With Christians as their present rulers the Hindus and Mohammedans of India are coming to realize that their best interests require a closing up of their ranks. There is no doubt that, come what may, their relations in future will be much more cordial, friendly and mutually sympathetic than they have been in the past." Again, he modified his championship of Hindi in the interest of Indian unity and suggested Hindustani as the national language for India. On his return from the United States he continued his efforts for Hindu-Muslim unity and stressed that it should not be adopted as a measure of political expediency.

Both the Mahatma and the Lion of the Punjab were leaders of great stature. Coincidently, in May 1914, both were proposed as candidates for the presidency of the twenty-ninth session of the Congress to be held in Madras. Lajpat Rai declined the invitation on account of his differences with most of the leaders

35. Ibid., Dec. 1919, pp. 608-609.
36. Ibid., October, 1919, p. 383.
38. Ibid.
and Gandhi had not yet decided to return to India.

Despite the broad identity of their basic approach some differences on certain issues were bound to appear between two so powerful personalities. Though agreeing with Gandhi that the freedom movement in the country must be carried on non-violently, Lajpat Rai did not maintain any doctrinaire approach to non-violence.

In an article published in the Modern Review of July 1916, he criticised Gandhi for preaching the doctrine of absolute non-violence and lamented over his reported statement wherein he had said that “we can only guard the honour of those who are under our charge by delivering ourselves into the hands of the men who would commit the sacrilege and that this requires far greater physical and mental courage than delivering blows.”

Manliness, according to Lajpat Rai, is as good a virtue as Ahimsa. He believed that “individual as well as national interests made it incumbent that the weak should be protected against the strong, and that the aggressor and the usurper, the thief and the scoundrel should be prevented from inflicting injustice and doing harm.” Ahimsa, he added, “over-done and misapplied is a gangrene that poisons the system.” In 1922 he said, “I do not believe in non-violence as an absolute article of

39. Ibid.
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid. In reply, Gandhi wrote in October in the same Journal that "had Lajpat Rai first ascertained what he had actually said on Ahimsa, his remarks in the Modern Review of last July would not have seen the light of the day."
faith to be respected and practised under all circumstances and in all conditions.”

Earlier, in the Introduction to his autobiography written in November 1914 in New York, he praised terrorists in India for their valour and patriotic sacrifice. In particular, he extolled the vengeance of Narendra Gossain, the approver in the Alipur Conspiracy Case, who was murdered in jail by two revolutionists who were later executed, and hoped that “a day will come when people will take wreaths of homage to their statues.” Similarly he believed that “the man who threw a bomb on Lord Hardinge on the occasion of Delhi Durbar in 1910 did a memorable deed unique for its valour.”

But it is not correct to infer from his admiration for the courage of the terrorists that he approved of their plans to oust the British from India by means of sporadic murders or by violent revolution. This is evident from his attitude towards the Ghadrites in the United States. When pressed by a leader of the terrorists in the U. S. A., to speak in a meeting of the Indian student members of the Hindustan Association in New York, Lajpat Rai said, “I am an Indian patriot and I wish freedom for my country. I have no sympathy with the Germans nor have anything against them. Considering our present circumstances we will rather stay in the British Empire as a self-governing part than go out to be governed by another nation.” He showed his disapproval of the programmes of the terrorists in the letter to Gandhi quoted above.

---


45. *Ibid*.


47. *Supra*. 
The differences between the two also appeared on the execution of the programme of non-cooperation. Though mainly endorsing Gandhi's method of non-violent struggle for attaining Swaraj, Lajpat Rai was not in favour of launching the whole programme of non-cooperation framed by Gandhi at a time since, according to him, the masses in India were not yet fully trained for it. He, therefore, held that the programme of non-cooperation should be introduced gradually. The item of the boycott of Councils in this programme, he believed, should take precedence. 48

Further, he could not endorse Gandhi's programme of indiscriminate withdrawal of children from government or government-aided schools and colleges. Initially he favoured the withdrawal of students from Arts and Law Colleges only. 49 At the special session of the Congress over which he presided, Lajpat Rai avoided his own commitment on non-cooperation in the Presidential Address on the ground that this question had divided the country into two opposing camps and, therefore, as President of the Congress the proper course for him was to refrain from expressing his opinion on the subject. 50 However, Gandhi's resolution on Non-cooperation was approved by a majority vote, though Lajpat Rai later expressed doubts with regard to its full acceptance by the Congress. 51

49. Lajpat Rai, Presidential Address at the All India College Students Conference held at Nagpur on 25th December 1920, (*Writings and Speeches*, Vol. II, p. 84).
When the Congress met at Nagpur in December 1920 to ratify the Non-cooperation resolution passed at the special session at Calcutta in September, Lajpat Rai was initially opposed to Gandhi's programme. He rather leaned on the side of C.R. Das and Madan Mohan Malaviya. In view of the opposition of such stalwarts of the Congress, Gandhi modified his programme that met some of the objections of Lajpat Rai. This change, coupled with the pressure from the delegates of the Punjab, majority of whom were inclined towards Gandhi's programme, led Lajpat Rai to endorse the programme of non-cooperation. The agreed resolution was moved by C. R. Das and seconded by Lajpat Rai. This added strength to Gandhi's programme. As observed by Sitaramayya, "Before Nagpur session the programme of N. C. O. was resting on but one leg. At Nagpur, it stood on all its four legs with perfect equipoise. Gandhi and Nehru, Das and Lalaji were all for it."

After its approval, the burden of organising the non-cooperation movement in the Punjab fell on Lajpat Rai. He admirably justified the trust put in him by Gandhi. On the day before his arrest on December 3, 1921, he wrote to Gandhi, "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."

The withdrawal of the non-cooperation movement by Gandhi infuriated Lajpat Rai. The latter was disillusioned with former's

---

53. Sitaramayya, op. cit., p. 207.
ideology and technique. Subhas Chandra Bose reports that he wrote a 70-page letter to Gandhi in protest against the withdrawal of the movement.\(^55\) He also addressed a lengthy letter to the Congress Working Committee in February 1922 on this issue.\(^56\) But Lajpat Rai was not the only leader who felt disgusted at this action of Gandhi. Moti Lal Nehru, C. R. Das, Subhas Chandra Bose, Jawahar Lal Nehru and many others felt sorry for this action of Gandhi. Subhas Chandra Bose who was with C. R. Das at that time reports that the latter was “beside himself with anger and sorrow at the way Mahatama Gandhi was repeatedly bungling.”\(^57\) Jawahar Lal Nehru recorded, “We were angry when we learnt of this stoppage of our struggle at a time when we seemed to be consolidating our position and advancing on all fronts.”\(^58\) To Bose it was nothing short of a national calamity since their General had sounded “the order of retreat just when public enthusiasm was reaching the boiling point.”\(^59\)

Later, differences with the Congress and Gandhi over various political issues led Lajpat Rai move away from Gandhi’s ideology and technique.

---

\(^{55}\) Subhas Chandra Bose, *op. cit.*, p. 74.


\(^{57}\) Subhas Chandra Bose, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

\(^{58}\) J. L. Nehru, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

\(^{59}\) Bose, *op. cit.*, p. 73.
CHAPTER VII

PUNJAB LEADERSHIP AND GANDHI—I

THE TWO MAHATMAS

"Swami ji (Shraddhanand) was a hero among heroes, the bravest of the brave. He had astonished the nation with an unbroken record of bravery. I am witness of the pledge he had taken to sacrifice himself at the altar of the country."

—Gandhi

"Main khara hun, goli chalao"1 (I am standing: shoot). These were the memorable words of Swami Shraddhanand that sent a wave of enthusiasm in the country when Gandhi announced his programme of Satyagraha against the Rowlatt legislation. Under the guidance of Shraddhanand, the people of Delhi made arrangements to observe March 30, 1919 as a day of humiliation and prayer to protest against the passing of the Rowlatt Act. Everything went off quietly till midday when some of the over-enthusiastic demonstrators roaming about the streets proceeded to the Railway Station to persuade the Station stall-keepers to close their stalls. On their refusal to do so, a fracas

followed. The police intervened and arrested two persons. On the insistence of the demonstrators to release the arrested persons, the police opened fire. A similar encounter took place between the police and the demonstrators in the Chandni Chowk as a result of which there were a dozen casualties. Next day Delhi was in mourning en-mass. Swami Shraddhanand led a procession which was again fired at by the Gurkhas. He immediately went up to them to ask why they were firing at the innocent people. Two soldiers pointed their rifles at him. He boldly stepped forward and bared his chest for the soldiers to shoot, when a British officer appeared on the scene which made the Gurkhas withdraw and the procession passed sadly and silently to the end of the Chandni Chowk where it peacefully dispersed. Gandhi was deeply moved by this act of heroism on the part of his comrade and immediately expressed his admiration for him in a telegram on April 3, 1919, “Read scrappy accounts tragedy. Read also your spirited statement press. Feel proud of it.”

Swami Shraddhanand, who was also known as Mahatma Munshi Ram before he changed his name after taking ‘Sanyas’ in 1917, had contacts with Gandhi even before the latter returned to India from South Africa. Born in 1856 at Talwan in Jullundur, Munshi Ram worked as a Naib Tehsildar in Bareilly. Repelled by the racial arrogance of the British officers he resigned his job and came to Lahore where he studied law and practised as a lawyer from 1885 to 1902.

2. Ibid.
5. Ibid., p. 296.
He joined the Arya Samaj and became a leader of its Mahatma Group which was opposed to meat-eating and aimed at starting educational institutions in conformity with the ancient Indian tradition of 'Gurukul'. Imbued with these ideas he founded such an institution near Hardwar. He refused to get it affiliated to any University in order to safeguard its independence and to keep it beyond the control and influence of the alien Government. He, thus, anticipated Gandhi's scheme of national education incorporated in his programme of non-cooperation. This accounts for Gandhi's admiration for the Gurukul. Speaking on its anniversary on March 20, 1916, he observed, "I have now twice visited the Gurukul............. perhaps the best result of the activity of the Arya Samaj is to be seen in the establishment and the conduct of the Gurukul. Though it depends for its vitality entirely upon the inspiring presence of Mahatma Munshi Ram, it is truly a national and self-governing and self-governed institution." He admired it for being totally independent of Government aid or patronage. Its war chest, he added, is filled not out of money received from the privileged few, but from the poor many who make it a point of honour from year to year to make a pilgrimage to Kangri and willingly give their mite for maintaining this national college."

Munshi Ram not only imparted education to his pupils in accordance with the high ideals of this land, but also inculcated in them love for the motherland and the spirit of self-sacrifice. As a result of his teachings, the Brahmacharis (pupils) of this institution collected rupees fifteen hundred by working as ordi-

6. Ibid., p. 306.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
nary labourers and by practising economy in their food for Gandhi’s Satyagraha in South Africa on the call of Gokhale in whose eyes this sum was equal to fifteen thousand on account of the spirit of self-sacrifice and self-effacement that its collection involved. C. F. Andrews, Gandhi’s close associate in South Africa, was equally impressed by the ideals and training of the pupils at Gurukul. He included Munshi Ram among the three great men whom Gandhi ought to see in India. Addressing him as Mahatma, Gandhi wrote to Munshi Ram from Natal in South Africa in March 1914: “Mr. Andrews has familiarised your name and your work to me. I feel I am writing to no stranger. I hope therefore that you will pardon me for addressing you by the title which both Mr. Andrews and I have used in discussing you and your work. Mr. Andrews told me also how you, Gurudev (Tagore) and Mr. Rudra* had influenced him. He described to me the work your pupils did for the Passive Resistance and gave me such word-pictures of the life at Gurukul that as I am writing this I seem to be transported to the Gurukul.”

Fascination for Munshi Ram’s ideals and work led Gandhi to send his Phoenix ‘boys’ to Gurukul before the latter set up his own Ashram at Ahmedabad. On his return to India he paid a visit to Gurukul in April 1915, and in accordance with his characteristic humility touched the feet of Swami Shraddhanand

* Susil Kumar Rudra; Indian Christian Educationist, Principal, St. Stephan’s College, Delhi, 1909-23.
on his first meeting with him.\(^\text{13}\) The inmates of the Gurukul presented an Address of Welcome to him and probably for the first time Gandhi was addressed as Mahatma in the Welcome Address.\(^\text{14}\) Thus both of them regarded each other as great souls guiding the destiny of India. The Address reminded Gandhi that “at a time when the garments of the Motherland were torn and her body was pierced with thorns, she was looking at him with love and hope to raise her high in the eyes of the world.”\(^\text{15}\) Replying to the Address, Gandhi told Munshi Ram that he was indebted to the latter for addressing him as brother in a letter, and added, “I have come after 28 years to my country.........I have come to seek guidance and am ready to bow down to anyone who is devoted to the service of the Motherland and I am ready to lay down my life in the service of my country.”\(^\text{16}\) Gandhi was impressed by the ideals, organisation and working of Gurukul. It appears that he sought Shraddhanand’s guidance in setting up his own Ashram at Ahmedabad, for in a letter dated June 14, 1915, the former wrote to the latter that a Hindi version of the rules of his Ashram would be sent to him for his opinion.\(^\text{17}\)

Again, both the Mahatmas had similar views on various fundamental political questions.

Both believed that duty takes precedence over rights; real Swaraj, according to Swami Shraddhanand, would be attained only if Indians acquired control over themselves.\(^\text{18}\) Lamenting

\(^{13}\) Satyadeva, *op. cit.*, p. 371.
\(^{15}\) *Ibid*.
\(^{16}\) *Gandhi, Collected Works*, xiii, p. 46.
\(^{17}\) *Gandhi, Collected Works*, xiii, p. 106.
\(^{18}\) Satyadeva, *op. cit.*, p. 471.
over the Surat split, he wrote, "Today you have no control over your senses. How can you obtain your rights from others if you have no control over yourself? Haven't you heard the word 'duty'? Is there any place for rights where duty alone assures you protection?" 19 "The true source of rights, according to Gandhi, is duty." 20 If we all discharge our duties, he added, "Rights will not be far to seek." 21

Further, both maintained similar attitude towards the British Empire before the passing of the Rowlatt Legislation. Like Gandhi, Munshi Ram was an admirer of India's connection with the British Empire. His views in 1907 with regard to the obligation of the Indians to assure loyalty to the Empire reminds one of Gandhi's 22 plea on this point in 1914. "If we have rights as subjects of British Empire," Munshi Ram argued, "we equally have certain duties." 23 So the Lieut.-Governor of U. P., James Meston, personally assigned to him the task of arranging a meeting between Gandhi and Mr. Curtis in order to bring the Indians round the scheme stated in Marris-Curtis circular. 24 The latter, it was widely believed, had an important hand in framing the Reforms Scheme in 1916.

But the Rowlatt legislation placed him in opposition to the British Empire. He was one of the first leaders of India who

19. Ibid., p. 472.
21. Ibid.
23. Satyadeva, op. cit., p. 266. Defending the expression of gratitude by Arya Samaj on Edward's birthday he said, "We take advantage of protection assured by the British Government. We, therefore, must show our gratitude at least once a year."
24. Ibid., p. 468.
signed a Satyagraha vow in response to Gandhi's call.\textsuperscript{25} At a meeting with Gandhi in Delhi before the beginning of Rowlatt Act Satyagraha, the Swami suggested to Gandhi the boycott of courts and their replacement by the Panchayats as a part of the programme of Satyagraha. He also hinted at Civil Disobedience in the form of refusal of payment of land revenue. He assured Gandhi that he would prepare five districts in the Punjab for this programme by October 1919 and asked Gandhi to prepare an equal number of such districts in Gujarat.\textsuperscript{26}

Swami Shraddhanand played an important role in the Rowlatt Act agitation and the non-cooperation movement in the Punjab and Delhi. He spoke for the first time on a political platform on March 7, 1919 at the Delhi Conference that met to make preparations for the Rowlatt Act Satyagraha.\textsuperscript{27} His entry into the movement paved the way for the members of the Arya Samaj to join it.\textsuperscript{28} His support to Gandhi equally worried the authorities which is evident from the telegram of the Viceroy to the Secretary of State with regard to the strength of Gandhi's movement.\textsuperscript{29} He was the main spirit behind the Satyagraha in Delhi. As a result of his earnest efforts Hindus and Muslims of the city were brought close to each other. It was certainly a memorable day for Delhi when a Sanyasi with saffron clothes spoke from the pulpit of the Jama Masjid and delivered the message of peace, freedom and unity.\textsuperscript{30} Though Gandhi regarded the Swami as his esteemed co-worker,\textsuperscript{31} the latter could not

\textsuperscript{25} Ibid., p. 475.  
\textsuperscript{26} Ibid., p. 476.  
\textsuperscript{27} Ibid., p. 477.  
\textsuperscript{28} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{29} Ibid., pp. 477-478.  
\textsuperscript{31} Gandhi, Collected Works, vol. xvi, p. 385.
endorse all his actions in conducting the Satyagraha movement. On the suspension of Satyagraha by Gandhi on account of the outbreak of violence in Delhi, Shraddhanand resigned from the Satyagraha Committee on the ground that the former had held the people of Delhi partially responsible for the firing. But despite these differences he assured Gandhi in his letter of resignation that as a Sanyasi he would continue his work of "preaching......of the eternal principles of Dharma which include Satya, Ahimsa and Brahmacharya." Also he would devote himself to the task of promoting national unity, Swadeshi and national education. Further, his resignation did not alter his position with regard to the Rowlatt Act agitation and he was determined to disobey it whenever the situation demanded. Thus his resignation hardly signified any intention to isolate himself from the storm that was looming large on the Indian horizon. The suffering in the Punjab during the period of Martial Law put heavy strain on his nerves, for he dedicated himself with courage and zeal to the task of helping those who had been roughly handled by the Martial Law Administration. He organised relief work in the Punjab which claimed Gandhi’s enthusiastic support. The latter acknowledged his services to the province at a time when there was widespread panic among the people of the Punjab as a result of the repression by the Government. On September 7, 1919, he wrote in the Navajivan, "With the help of volunteers, the Sanyasi (Swami Shraddhanand) is active, sharing with the afflicted families in their sufferings. Plenty of money is needed for this work. We hope that all

34. Satyadeva, op. cit., p. 486.
35. Ibid.
Gujaratis will contribute their mite to this meritorious cause."  

Again, it was the result of his efforts that the Indian National Congress met at Amritsar in December 1919 under the shadow of the Jallianwala Bagh massacre and Martial Law atrocities in the province. Shraddhanand took over the whole responsibility for the success of the session when the President of the All India Congress Committee, M. M. Malaviya, showed reluctance to hold the session there on account of the difficulties involved. For the first time, a Sanyasi became the Chairman of the Reception Committee and arranged everything to the satisfaction of the delegates despite innumerable hurdles and odds. His Welcome Address was marked by courage, sobriety, far-sightedness, large-heartedness, religious fervour, and catholicity and cosmopolitanism. It breathed the spirit of Gandhi's philosophy of life. Naturally it won Gandhi's acclaim. Giving an account of the session in the Young India he wrote, "The speeches of Swami Shraddhanandji, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, and of the Hon’ble Pandit Moti Lal Nehru, were models of sobriety and breathed an earnest spirit. Each bore the individuality of its author. The Swami’s had a religious ring about it. He was full of goodwill towards mankind." "How can we hate Englishmen," said the Swami "if we love Andrews, Wedderburn, Hume, Hardinge and others ? We must conquer the English with our love." This outlook was in conformity with the underlying principle of Satyagraha. His support to Gandhi’s resolution condemning the excesses committed by the people in the Punjab and Gujarat even in the face of provocation

38. Gandhi, Collected Works, xvi, p. 373.
39. Ibid.
by the Government was equally in agreement with it. Similarly like Gandhi he identified himself with the uplift of the so-called untouchables. In his Welcome Address to the Amritsar Congress he made a passionate appeal to the Hindus to extend equal treatment to their unfortunate brethren in their educational institutions as well as in their social intercourse.

Both of them were equally agreed on the issue of non-cooperation. At the Calcutta Session Shraddhanand stood by Gandhi both in the Subjects Committee meeting and in the open session. He threw himself heart and soul into the movement, for he believed that the freedom of the country would be thrown five decades back if Gandhi's movement failed. He was present at the Nagpur session that finally endorsed the resolution on non-cooperation. Unfortunately he was taken ill after the session and was confined to bed for more than a year and thus was deprived of the opportunity of active participation in the non-cooperation movement during its most stormy days. He, of course, attended the Ahmedabad Session that invested Gandhi with extraordinary powers to carry on the movement. Both the Punjab and Delhi delegates desired Swami Shraddhanand to give them the lead at that time but he decided to go to Delhi on Gandhi's advice where he organised the movement for boycotting the visit of the Prince of Wales.

Again both the Mahatmas devoted themselves to the propagation of Hindi. Gandhi admired Munshi Ram for his love of and proficiency in Hindi. "When Mahatma Munshi Ram,

40. Supra.
41. Report of the Amritsar Session, p. 84.
42. Satyadeva, op. cit., p. 504.
43. Ibid.
serene and sublime, like the Himalayas, speaks in Hindi,” he told his audience, “men, women and children alike enjoy listening to him and follow him. He has reserved his English for his English friends.”

He was the first Chairman of the Reception Committee who delivered his Address in Hindi.

Nevertheless, the Swami never took Gandhi’s claim seriously that Swaraj would be attained within a year. Nor did he want people to be fed on such false hopes. Similarly he warned Gandhi that the cry of Jehad of the Muslims against the Kafirs in the Khilafat conferences was not only against the principle of non-violence but it could be worked up against the Hindus, too, any time.

46. Ibid., p. 505.
CHAPTER VIII

PUNJAB LEADERSHIP AND GANDHI—II

"And Jesus said unto Simon, Fear not; from henceforth thou shalt catcheth men."

—New Testament

Many eminent leaders of the Punjab, other than Lala Lajpat Rai and Shraddhanand, were also drawn to Gandhi's technique of winning Swaraj. Among them were Chaudhry Rambhuj Dutt, Dr. Satyapal, Dr. Kitchlew, Lala Duni Chand of Lahore, Lala Duni Chand of Ambala, Bhai Parmanand, Sardar Kharak Singh and Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshar. Describing the contemporary political situation in the Punjab, a biographer of Mian Fazl-i-Husain, a Muslim leader of the Punjab, commented: "Among the educated the majority did not subscribe to the passive resistance movement, but a minority led by Duni Chand, Dr. Kitchlew, Dr. Satyapal and Pt. Rambhuj Dutt were prepared to follow Gandhi's lead."

Chaudhry Rambhuj Dutt and his wife, Sarala Devi, grand-niece of Rabindranath Tagore, became followers of Gandhi in

1. Azim Husain, op. cit., p. 115

(88)
1919 and sent their son Dipak to Gandhi's Ashram for education. Gandhi admired them for their patriotism and spirit of self-sacrifice. He told the people of Gujarat that the message of Rambhuj Dutt which, according to him, was also the message of the entire Punjab, was fearlessness. "It asks you never to accept defeat, come what may, to love God and work on with patience and fortitude." His devotion to Swadeshi raised him in the estimation of Gandhi. His decision to exclude all foreign cloth on the marriage of his son received Gandhi's notice. The latter stayed with Sarala Devi on his first visit to Lahore when her husband Rambhuj Dutt was lodged behind the bars.

A lawyer by profession, Rambhuj was drawn into the Congress movement early in his life. He was one of the few leaders of the Punjab who took keen interest in the activities of the Congress during the early period of its development. At its Lahore Session in 1900 he seconded the resolution moved by Surendranath Bannerji condemning the exclusion of Indians from higher Public Services. Similarly he supported Tilak's resolution on famine, poverty and land revenue at its Banaras Session in 1905. At its twenty-third session in 1908, he moved a resolution demanding that careers in the army might be thrown open to Indians in its higher ranks. Again, he represented Punjab on a committee appointed at the twenty-fifth

session of the Congress at Allahabad in 1910 to prepare an Address to be presented to His Excellency, Lord Hardinge, the Viceroy and Governor-General of India.\(^9\) The resolution thanking the Government of India and the Secretary of State for annuling the partition of Bengal passed at the twenty-sixth session in 1911 also received his support.\(^10\) He condemned the policy of racial discrimination of the Government of Canada at the 28th session of the Congress in 1913 at Karachi.\(^11\)

Like Lajpat Rai and Swami Sharaddhanand, Rambhuj Dutt was a prominent member of the Arya Samaj. He was a forceful advocate of National Education and in pursuance of it he sent his eldest son to Gurukul for his education. He was also engaged in the programme of the Arya Samaj for the uplift of the Depressed Classes and struggled hard to eliminate discrimination against them through education and propaganda. His work in Gurdaspur district in this connection received the approbation of the people.\(^12\) His opposition to the Rowlatt Legislation that carried him close to Gandhi followed from his study of the condition of the Despressed Classes and the criminal tribes which, according to him, was the result of the harsh measures taken against them under the Hindu rulers in the past.\(^13\)

He came into close contact with Lajpat Rai during the agitation following the passing of Punjab Land Alienation Act Amendment Bill and Colonization Bill in 1907. He addressed several meetings at different places in the province in protest

---

against the proposed legislation which brought him into clash with the authorities.\textsuperscript{14} He went to England in September 1908 to explain to the British Government the cause of the unrest in the province and he considered his mission a success.\textsuperscript{15}

The misuse of the Defence of India Rule made by O'Dwyer's administration during the War and after the restoration of peace made Rambhuj Dutt apprehensive of the measures proposed by the Rowlatt Bills. He, therefore, took a prominent part in the agitation against this legislation. He composed a song at this time the refrain of which was "Kadi Nahin Harna, Bhaven Sadi Jan Jave," (We shall never give in, even if we have to die). This song caught the imagination of the people of the province. He presided over the memorable meeting at Bradlaugh Hall in Lahore on April 6, called to protest against the Rowlatt Act.\textsuperscript{16}

Addressing a public meeting of 25,000 people in Badshahi Mosque at Lahore on April 11, he exhorted his audience to stand fast in the face of extreme danger.\textsuperscript{17} He raised the slogan "remove our sufferings or we close our shops, suspend our business and we ourselves shall starve."\textsuperscript{18} Gandhi considered this as an admirable formula and wrote, "When the masses have imbibed the message of Satyagraha, we shall repeat from a thousand platforms Chaudhari Rambhuj Dutt's formula."\textsuperscript{19} His fearless attacks on the Government added to his rising popularity and the Government arrested him on

\textsuperscript{14} Ibid. p. 737.
\textsuperscript{15} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{16} Supra.
\textsuperscript{17} Government of India, Home Department Judicial Deposit (Proceedings, August 1919, No. 26.)
\textsuperscript{18} Gandhi, Collected Works, Vol. xv, p. 474.
\textsuperscript{19} Ibid.
April 14, 1919, along with Harkishan Lal and Duni Chand (of Lahore) under the Lahore Conspiracy Case as a result of which he was sentenced to transportation for life. He was described as the ‘Chief Spokesman of the Conspiracy’ by the prosecution. As already stated, Gandhi forcefully condemned the sentence passed on him. He was released under the general amnesty proclaimed by the Secretary of State, Montagu, to create favourable atmosphere for the introduction of his Reforms Scheme.

He plunged himself again in the political agitation after his release and took a prominent part in the Amritsar session in December 1919. A song composed by him which was sung at the opening of the session appeared to Gandhi as a fit song for Satyagrahis. Gandhi published this song in the columns of the Navajivan. His speeches delivered during the session on several resolutions demonstrated his earnest desire to promote the unity of the country at a time when it was preparing itself for a grim struggle against a mighty power. Speaking over Gandhi’s amendment to the resolution of C. R. Das characterising the Reforms as disappointing, Rambhuj Datt appealed to the leaders to refrain from quarrelling over words. Similarly, supporting the resolution protesting against the hostile attitude of some of the British ministers towards the Turkish and Khilafat question, he said, “The Hindus were bound as brethren to feel for the Muslims and it was also their duty as British subjects to tell the King Emperor and his ministers that any disregard of Muslim

feelings in the matter was bound to give rise to bitter discontent.\textsuperscript{23}

Rambhuj Dutt's characteristic fearlessness was again demonstrated by the part he played during the non-cooperation movement in the Punjab. At the time of the arrest of Lajpat Rai, Santanam and Gopichand Bhargav for convening a meeting of the Congress Committee in December 1921 in defiance of the orders of the authorities, Rambhuj carried on the proceedings of the meeting and got a resolution passed congratulating the arrested leaders.\textsuperscript{24}

He also played a significant role in the civic affairs of Lahore. He was a member of the Lahore Municipality, in the deliberations of which his impressive oratory and aggressive posture were a constant headache to the authorities.

\textbf{Bhai Parmanand}, another leader of the Arya Samaj, came in close contact with Gandhi during his visit to South Africa as a missionary of the Arya Samaj. He stayed with Gandhi for nearly a month as his honoured guest.\textsuperscript{25} He also visited England and the American Continent where he met Hardayal, the founder of the Ghadr Party. On his return to India he was arrested for his alleged complicity in the Ghadr Conspiracy or the First Lahore Conspiracy and was sentenced to death which was later commuted to transportation for life.\textsuperscript{26} As a result of the efforts of Gandhi and his friend Andrews, he was released in 1920.\textsuperscript{27}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{23} \textit{Ibid.} p. 159.
  \item \textsuperscript{24} Mitra, Annual Register, 1922, p. 320 (d).
  \item \textsuperscript{25} \textit{Gandhi, Collected Works}, vol. xvi, p. 303.
  \item \textsuperscript{26} Sen, \textit{Punjab's Eminent Hindus}, p. 238.
  \item \textsuperscript{27} \textit{Gandhi, Collected Works}, xvi, p. 303.
\end{itemize}
He attended the Calcutta Session of the Congress where he noticed the immense popularity of Gandhi. All eyes, according to him, were fixed on Gandhi, for he alone had message for the future. All the rich and the poor, men and women, young and old, peasants and town-dwellers had acquired fascination for him. No Hindu Avtar, he observed, had as much hold over the people as Gandhi had. This unusual popularity of Gandhi, he believed, stemmed from the latter’s unbounded love for all, irrespective of their religious affiliations. While Dayanand, he added, aimed at uniting India under the fold of one religion, Gandhi tried to raise the structure of united India on the foundation of universal love that took under its fold all religions.

During the non-cooperation movement in the Punjab Parmanand took over the charge of the programme of National Education in the Punjab. He worked as the Chancellor of the Qaumi Vidya Peeth (National University) in an honorary capacity for more than five years.

Later he developed differences with Gandhi on account of the latter’s attitude towards Muslims and he devoted himself to the task of uniting the Hindus (Hindu Sangathan).

As already noticed, Satyapal and Kitchlew were the two important leaders round whom the events at Amritsar revolved during the Rowlatt Act agitation. It was on the invitation of

28. Parmanand, Kale Pani Ki Karavas Kahani (in Hindi) (Lahore: Rajpal and Sons, Samvat 1968), pp. 243-244
29. Ibid.
30. Ibid. p. 244.
31. Ibid. p. 246.
the latter that Gandhi decided to visit the Punjab in April 1919.

Dr. Satyapal had a brilliant academic career. He was B.A. M.B. of the Punjab University. Dr. Satyapal had a brilliant academic career. He was B.A. M.B. of the Punjab University. He offered himself for military service in 1915 and was granted a temporary commission as a lieutenant in the Indian Medical Service. He was posted at Aden where, under very trying circumstances, he worked for one year to the satisfaction of his superior officers and won high praise for his work and conduct from them. In 1918 he again volunteered himself for service but the arrangement fell through on account of the termination of hostilities in Europe. He devoted himself to the mitigation of the sufferings of the residents of Amritsar when influenza and malaria epidemics broke out in the city and was awarded non-official sanads for his services. His devotion to the public good raised him high in the eyes of the people of Amritsar. Under his leadership the city decided to observe Gandhi’s programme of protest against the Rowlatt legislation. He made earnest efforts to comprehend the lofty principles of Satyagraha and tried hard to make people understand them. According to Gandhi’s observation, Satyapal preached the gospel of truth and non-violence whenever he spoke on a public platform during this period and unceasingly warned the people against losing their temper. In his evidence before the Disorders Inquiry Committee, Gandhi stated that Satyapal had immense liking for Satyagraha; but, having been conscious of the fact that neither he himself nor the people were fully aware of its principles, he invited the former to Amritsar to throw light on these principles.

37. Ibid. p. 401.
During the Rowlatt Act Agitation, he signed the handbill calling a meeting in protest against the Act on March 30. His successful agitation against the stoppage of the issue of platform tickets to Indians at the Amritsar Railway Station increased his popularity. Being apprehensive of his rising influence among the people, the authorities decided to take severe action against him. He was prohibited from taking part in any public meeting by an order under the Defence of India Act and was interned in Amritsar. His arrest along with that of Dr. Kitchlew sparked off trouble in the city. On his conviction Gandhi pleaded for his release on the ground of his innocence and also met his wife at Amritsar in order to give her comfort when her husband was lodged in jail. On his release he worked for the success of the session of the Congress and participated in its activities. He moved the resolution in appreciation of Sankaran Nair’s resignation from Governor General’s Executive Council as a protest against the promulgation and maintenance of Martial Law in the province. He was arrested again during the non-cooperation movement. Gandhi included him in the list of the greatest prisoners who won their spurs during those days. During the major part of the period between 1920 and 1935, the best years of his life, he was incarcerated in different jails.

38. Ibid. p. 85.
42. Ibid. p. 316.
43. Report of the Amritsar Session, p. 82.
45. Duni Chand, op. cit., p. 111.
Dr. Kitchlew was the co-worker of Satyapal in Amritsar during the Rowlatt Act agitation. Saif-ud-din Kitchlew was a Barrister enjoying a considerable practice. He was a Doctor of Philosophy and a graduate of Cambridge. During his five years' stay in England he also acquired the degree of Bar-at-law and started practice at Rawalpindi on his return in 1912. Later, he shifted to Amritsar where he became active in the political and social activities of the city. He attended the annual sessions of the Muslim League and the Indian National Congress. He tried to bring Hindu and Muslim representatives of the Municipal Board on a common platform and his move, though unsuccessful, to get an Hindu commissioner elected as the Chairman of the Board against the earlier practice of electing the Deputy Commissioner as the chairman caused a flutter and resentment in official circles.

His name was included among those who extended invitation to the Provincial Conference to hold its session at Amritsar in 1918. The success of the Provincial Conference encouraged the citizens of Amritsar to invite the Indian National Congress to hold its session there. The invitation extended by Kitchlew was accepted by it at its Delhi session.

He was also drawn towards Gandhi's Satyagraha. In a speech on March 30, 1919 in a public meeting he called upon people to be ready for any sacrifice that the Satyagraha movement involved. Again, he and Satyapal were mainly responsible for bringing about fraternization between Hindus and Muslims.
in Amritsar. So both of them received great ovation from the people on the Ram Naumi day.\textsuperscript{50}

Consequently, his activities, devotion to and enthusiasm for public work invited the attention of the authorities and he was served with an order prohibiting him from addressing any public meeting and interning him in Amritsar.\textsuperscript{51}

As already stated, both Dr. Satyapal and Dr. Kitchlew were arrested and deported on April 10, 1919. Dr. Kitchlew was sentenced to transportation for life but was released in December 1919. He gave up practice in order to devote himself to work for the Khilafat and the Congress\textsuperscript{52} movements. He collected large sums of money at Amritsar and carried on the work of national organisation on the lines of the Congress and the League mandates.\textsuperscript{53}

Duni Chand was one of the few leaders of the Punjab who shaped the national movement in the province in its infancy. He was known as the Grand Old Man of the Punjab Congress. He formed the Indian Association of which he was the “Organiser Secretary, President and everything,” for nobody else dared to associate himself with him during those days in the movement aiming at the freedom of the country.\textsuperscript{54} Like Lajpat Rai and Rambhuj Dutt he took an active part in the political movement

\textsuperscript{50} Ibid., p. 47.  
\textsuperscript{51} Ibid., p. 46.  
\textsuperscript{52} L. R. Khushish, The Punjab’s Who is Who (Lahore: Indian Marketing Co.,) p. 34.  
\textsuperscript{53} Mitra, Indian Annual Register, 1921, p. 144.  
\textsuperscript{54} Abdul Majid Khan, Duni Chand of Lahore, Tribune, March 26, 1957, p. 4.
of 1907 in the province. At the Lahore session in 1900 he was elected a member of the Industrial Committee of the Indian Congress Committee for the year 1901. He presided over the Provincial Conference at Amritsar in 1918 where he boldly criticised O'Dwyer's administration for its reactionary and repressive policies. He called upon the British Government to recall M. O'Dwyer and impeach him as was done in the case of Warren Hastings.

He took a prominent part in the Rowlatt Act Agitation and the non-cooperation movement. He was described as the uncrowned king of the Punjab by a British officer on account of the faith that the people put in him. He was one of the accused in the Lahore Conspiracy Case and was sentenced to penal servitude for life with forfeiture of property. The sentence was later reduced to 3 years' imprisonment but he was released in December 1919. In compliance with Gandhi's resolution on non-cooperation, he suspended his practice. Similarly in accordance with the programme of non-cooperation he did not participate in the elections for the first Legislative Council in spite of the fact that strenuous efforts were persistently made to have him in by the offers of ministerial office. He was the main figure behind the Lawrence Statue Satyagraha in Lahore. He proposed resolutions in the Municipal Committee for the removal of the objectionable statue. Later he was arrested and

55. Ibid.
58. Abdul Majid Khan, op. cit. p. 4.
59. Ibid.
60. Ibid.
61. Ibid.
sentenced to eight months' imprisonment, when he made arrangement for picketing the statue.\textsuperscript{62}

Another prominent Punjabi, Lala Duni Chand of Ambala, also came under the influence of Gandhi during the non-cooperation movement. He gave up practice at the Bar and joined the movement under the magnetic spell of Gandhi and Lajpat Rai.\textsuperscript{63} "Mahatama Gandhi," he wrote, "is the only man who has very much risen above human weakness and human passions."\textsuperscript{64} "There may have been," he added, "greater men than he in the past, but I cannot comprehend if any other great man in the past has been a higher model of humanity."\textsuperscript{65}

Gandhi equally acknowledged Duni Chand's spirit of self-sacrifice and devotion to public work. The citizens of Ambala, Gandhi wrote in the columns of the \textit{Young India}, were feeling the advent of Swaraj as a result of his self-sacrifice.\textsuperscript{66} He was arrested for picketing the auction sale of liquor contracts in the court premises during the non-cooperation days.\textsuperscript{67}

The leaders of the Sikh community also fell under the spell of Gandhi. Sardar Kharak Singh and Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshar could not resist Gandhi's magnetism and took part in the non-cooperation movement. As a result of their efforts and self-sacrifice the Sikhs were brought into the fold of national movement. Both of them were leaders of the Sikh League as well as of the Provincial Congress Committee. Sardul Singh was

\textsuperscript{62} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{63} Duni Chand, \textit{op. cit.} p. 78.
\textsuperscript{64} Ibid., p. 78-79.
\textsuperscript{65} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{67} Ibid., p. 308.
elected Secretary of the League and the Provincial Congress Committee in 1920 while Kharak Singh succeeded Aga Mahomed Safdar as President of the Provincial Congress Committee on the latter’s arrest. Commending this choice of the Committee, Gandhi wrote, “In honouring Sardar Sahib, the Committee has honoured itself. The election of Sardar Kharak Singh is also a delicate compliment paid to the Sikhs for their bravery, sacrifice and patriotism.”

Similarly, Gandhi described Sardul Singh as one of the bravest of non-cooperators. The former portrayed the latter as a man of fine culture with a reasoned faith in non-violent non-cooperation. Though a staunch nationalist, Gandhi wrote, he held Sikh religion as dear as his life. His devotion to non-violence, he added, was similar to that of Ali Brothers. He regarded it not as a final creed in everything but as a good weapon for India’s salvation.

For Sardul Singh Gandhi’s method revealed to the Indians that the salvation of their country lay in their own hands. The great merit of his method, he added, was that it was available to every Indian who wanted to adopt it. He was arrested in Lahore on May 27, 1921 and was sentenced to five years’ imprisonment.

Thus it is evident that the Punjab had eminent leaders whose intellectual equipment and long participation in the public life

---

70. Ibid, xx, p. 328. (Shardul Singh in Gandhi’s works).
71. Ibid.
had fully qualified them for giving a lead to the people of the province. Unfortunately none of them could inspire confidence in all the communities in the province. In spite of the efforts of the leaders of the Indian National Congress in the Punjab to promote national unity on the basis of equal treatment to all irrespective of their religious affiliations, no leader commanded the respect of all the communities. Undoubtedly Lajpat Rai had acquired a political stature in the country equal to that of Gandhi even before the arrival of the latter on the Indian political scene. He wielded influence over both the extremist and moderate sections of the Indian National Congress. But in his own province his influence was confined mostly to the Hindus despite his earnest endeavours to promote Hindu-Muslim unity particularly after his return from the United States in 1920. According to the biographer of Fazl-i-Husain, the only leader of all-India stature that the Punjab has ever produced was Lajpat Rai. But in his own province, he adds, his followers were confined to one section of the Arya Samaj.\textsuperscript{74} Similarly, Duni Chand of Ambala, who had been a great admirer of Lajpat Rai, admitted that the influence of Lajpat Rai was mostly limited to the Hindus who constituted a minority in the province.\textsuperscript{75}

The Punjab, therefore, needed a leader who could command the confidence of all the communities at a time when the foreign bureaucracy threw a challenge to the national pride and self-respect of the people of the Punjab by attempting to coerce them to submission with the help of the military power at its command. Gandhi was fully qualified for this task on account of his religious catholicity, simplicity, humility, fearlessness, devotion

\textsuperscript{74} Azim Husain, \textit{op. cit.} p. 72.
\textsuperscript{75} Duni Chand, \textit{op. cit.} p. 35.
PUNJAB LEADERSHIP AND GANDHI—II

He promised hope of mobilising the energy and efforts of all the people in the province in their struggle for their rights against the foreign Government. Consequently, all leaders and the people of the Punjab turned to him for guidance and inspiration.
CHAPTER IX

NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT IN THE PUNJAB

ON THE POLITICAL FRONT

"No country has ever risen without being purified through the fire of suffering.......Will India rise out of her slavery without fulfilling this eternal law of purification through suffering?...................."

"We must refuse to wait for the wrong to be righted till the wrong-doer has been roused to a sense of his inequity. We must not, for fear of ourselves or others having to suffer, remain participators in it. But we must combat the wrong by ceasing to assist the wrong-doer directly or indirectly."

—Gandhi

Gandhi had announced to carry on his programme of non-cooperation even before its approval by the Congress. He formally inaugurated it on the 1st of August 1920.¹ He along with Ali Brothers toured the country to create a proper climate for its success. His scheme signified the departure from the

traditional constitutional paths to which the Congress had been committed since its inception. So the adoption of his programme was considered as an issue big enough for a special session of the Congress which it had already been decided to hold and which was held at Calcutta from September 4 to September 9, 1920.\(^2\)

The opinions given by the Provincial Congress Committees on this subject before the inauguration of the Session revealed the division in the ranks of the Congress on this issue. The Andhra Congress Committee and the Punjab Congress Committee recommended the adoption of the policy of non-cooperation but would defer the programme till after the special Session. Bengal and C. P. Committees considered non-cooperation as the only effective weapon left with the people in the circumstances but did not favour the boycott of new legislative bodies which Gandhi's programme involved. Bihar, Orissa and Bombay Committees only accepted it in principle but had not as yet taken any decision with regard to the various items of the programme. Madras approved a policy of non-cooperation but voted against Gandhi's programme. The United Provinces approved and formulated a detailed programme, adding boycott of the welcome to H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught.\(^3\)

Thus there was stiff opposition to Gandhi's programme at Calcutta. It was passed in the Subjects Committee meeting by a narrow margin.\(^4\) Gandhi himself observed, "Never perhaps has the Congress witnessed such determined opposition as was offered to the non-cooperation resolution......Again never has

4. \textit{Ibid.}
there been such united opposition shown to a Subject Committee resolution by the noted leaders of the people."5

However, the resolution was passed in the open session with a convincing majority. Punjab was one of the few provinces that favoured Gandhi's resolution with overwhelming majority. Out of 346 delegates from the Punjab, 254 supported Gandhi's resolution while only 92 favoured the amendment to his resolution moved by Bipin Chandra Pal.6 The opposition to his resolution came mainly from Madras, Bengal, C.P. and Bombay, U.P. Andhra and Delhi strongly supported him. The following table shows the voting position of each province:7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>For Gandhi's Resolution</th>
<th>For Amendment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bombay</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madras</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengal</td>
<td>551</td>
<td>395</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.P.</td>
<td>259</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andhra</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sind</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bihar</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burma</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. P.</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berar</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1855</td>
<td>873</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7. *Ibid*. 
Gandhi's programme was finally endorsed at the Nagpur Session in December, 1920. The Congress adopted the following resolution:

"Inasmuch as a beginning should be made by the classes who have hitherto moulded and represented public opinion and inasmuch as Government consolidates its power through titles and honours bestowed on the people and through schools, controlled by it, its law courts and its legislative councils, and inasmuch as it is desirable in the prosecution of the movement to take the minimum risk and to call for the least sacrifice compatible with the attainment of the desired object, this Congress earnestly advises:

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

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

(c) gradual withdrawal of children from schools and colleges in various provinces.

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

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

(f) withdrawal by candidates of their candidature for election to the reformed Councils and refusal on the part of the voters to vote for any candidate who may, despite the Congress advice, offer himself for election;"
(g) boycott of foreign goods.

To make the last clause practicable the resolution advised the adoption of Swadeshi in piece-goods on a vast scale, and immediate stimulation of manufacture on a large scale by means of reviving hand-spinning in every house.\(^8\)

The A.I.C.C. in its meeting at Bezwada on the 31st March 1921 and 1st April also resolved (i) to collect one crore of rupees before 30th of June for the Tilak Swaraj Fund; (ii) to put on the Congress register one crore members; (iii) to introduce into villages and houses 20 lakhs of charkhas.\(^9\) The committee congratulated the country on its spontaneous response to the principle of self-purification underlying the movement of non-violent non-cooperation by taking up the campaign against drink-evil.\(^{10}\)

Gandhi’s programme of non-cooperation brought different communities of the Punjab on a common platform and the unity that his movement accomplished, according to Lajpat Rai, was no mean achievement for a “people so helplessly divided and hopelessly devoid of national consciousness as we were before Gandhi came to the stage.”\(^{11}\)

The Arya Samaj, which was one of the most politically conscious sections of the Hindus, furnished the movement with leaders and volunteers. “Up to the launching of and even during

---

9. *Indian National Congress 1920-23*, being a collection of resolutions of the Congress and All India Congress Committee of the Congress from 1920 to Dec. 1923 (Allahabad: 1924) p. 60.
the continuance of the non-cooperation movement” the Arya Samaj, according to Duni Chand, made valuable contributions to the ranks of the Congress, which was committed to Non-cooperation. The Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, Sir M. O’Dwyer, whose policies and administration were mainly responsible for the disturbances in the Punjab in 1919, observed: “It should be noted in fairness to the orthodox Hindus that while the Samaj (Arya Samaj) does not include perhaps more than five per cent of the Hindu population of the Punjab, an enormous proportion of the Hindus convicted of sedition and other political offences from 1907 down to the present day are members of the Samaj.”

Earlier, Valentine Chirol had charged the Samaj with seditions activities.

The Arya Samaj was founded by Dayanand in 1875 in Bombay. But it took its final shape in Lahore in 1877. It was there that its principles were finally revised and the constitution reframed and finally agreed. Though the founder of the Arya Samaj belonged to Gujrat, Punjab became its real home.

Originally, the Samaj was a religious and social reform movement. It aimed at reconstructing Hinduism on its pristine purity which, according to it, was represented by the Vedas. It therefore repudiated all customs, traditions and institutions of the Hindus that could not claim their origin in the Vedic Samhitas. It stood against idolatry, polytheism, Brahmanical

ascendancy, hereditary caste system and untouchability. It, thus, aimed at radical changes in the thought and life of the Hindus.

In the field of education the Samaj made substantial contribution to the life of the province. It maintained a net-work of educational institutions for boys and girls and stood for Swadeshi and promotion of Hindi.

Gandhi had all praise for the zeal and the spirit of self-sacrifice shown by the members of the Samaj. Their service to Hindi and National Education received his admiration.\(^16\) He gave credit to Dayanand for making a revolutionary interpretation of the Vedas.\(^17\) He regarded the founder of the Samaj as one of the foremost spiritual teachers of India and acknowledged his influence over him.\(^18\) But he could not reconcile himself to the programme of Shuddhi of the Samaj which, according to him, was not only an unnatural way of promoting a religion\(^19\) but it also bred intolerance in a community.\(^20\) He did not favour the readiness of some of the members of the Samaj to enter into religious controversies unnecessarily and to wound the susceptibilities of the followers of other religions.\(^21\)

The Sikhs were drawn into the nationalists movement in 1919 as a result of Gandhi’s efforts. The Central Sikh League consisting of nationalist Sikhs which was inaugurated in the winter of 1919 bore the imprint of his personality.\(^22\)

\(^{16}\) Gandhi, Collected Works, xiv. pp. 11, 13.
\(^{17}\) Ibid, xiii, p. 187.
\(^{18}\) Ibid.
\(^{19}\) Ibid, xii, p. 325.
\(^{20}\) Ibid, xvi, p. 474.
\(^{21}\) Ibid.
\(^{22}\) Khushwant Singh, op. cit. pp. 167, 197.
first visit to Amritsar, Gandhi was specially honoured at the Golden Temple (Durbar Sahib) where the discipline observed by the crowd gathered there greatly pleased and impressed him and he expressed himself by saying that he liked to see such a disciplined gathering at all religious festivals in India.\(^23\) He attended the second session of the newly formed Sikh League at Lahore in October 1920 and garlanded the President-elect, Sardar Kharak Singh, who had come under his influence.\(^24\) He had a long conversation with the leaders of the League during which he impressed upon them to eschew violence.\(^25\) The Sikhs acquired faith in him on account of his sympathy with their aspirations and his admiration for their religion. The contribution of Guru Nanak to the Punjab received Gandhi's admiration as early as 1905. “The Punjab”, he observed, “produced Guru Nanak, the founder of Sikh religion.......who drew upon Kabir for his doctrine and added to it militant Hinduism. He offered the olive-branch by respecting the Muslim susceptibilities, but if that was not accepted, he was equally ready to defend Hinduism from the Muslim aggression.”\(^26\)

The participation of the Sikhs in the non-cooperation movement was a new phenomenon in the Punjab politics. Prior to the inauguration of the Sikh League under Gandhi's inspiration, the interests of the Sikhs were looked after by the Chief Khalsa Diwan which was pledged “to cultivate loyalty to the Crown.”\(^27\) The institutions managed by it had the patronage of the

\(^{23}\) Gandhi, Collected Works, xvi, p. 297.

\(^{24}\) The Tribune, October, 21, 1920.

\(^{25}\) Gandhi, Collected Works, xviii, p. 482.


\(^{27}\) Khushwant Singh, op. cit. p. 145.
Government. It supported the action of the Government against the Ghadrites and issued a manifesto exhorting the Sikhs to be loyal to the Government. General Dyer was even given presents of Sikh baptismal symbols from the Akal Takhat after the Jallianwala Bagh massacre.\textsuperscript{28} This action, of course, offended a large number of the Sikhs who revolted against the loyalists and decided to form a new organisation in order to wrest control of their religious and educational institutions from the hands of the Chief Khalsa Diwan. The Sikh League aimed at Swaraj. It endorsed the programme of non-cooperation and joined hands with the Congress in carrying it out. Sardul Singh Caveseshar became the General Secretary of both the Congress and the Sikh League in 1920.\textsuperscript{29} The contribution of the Sikhs to the non-cooperation movement impressed Lajpat Rai. While all classes in the Punjab, according to him, had proved worthy of the faith put in them, the Sikhs” he added, “deserved our special gratitude for having given the lead.”\textsuperscript{30}

Gandhi relied on both the Sikhs and the Arya Samaj for the success of his movement in the province. “The Arya Samajists and the Sikhs,” he said, “had a splendid organisation. They had wealth too. They were both small and compact communities of puritans, and if they would but dedicate their puritanic zeal to the country’s cause, they would contribute not a little to the movement for gaining Swaraj during the year. They could easily nationalise all their educational institutions, their Vakils could without difficulty suspend their practice.”\textsuperscript{31}

\textsuperscript{28} Ruchi Ram Sahni, Struggle for Reform in Sikh Shrines (Amritsar : Sikh Itihas Research Board), p. 60.
\textsuperscript{29} L. R. Khuahish, op. cit. p. 109.
\textsuperscript{30} Lajpat Rai, Writings and Speeches, Vol. II, p. 91.
\textsuperscript{31} Gandhi, Collected Works, Vol. xix, p. 409.
Gandhi’s involvement in the Khilafat issue, his religious catholicity and his earnest efforts to promote Hindu-Muslim unity brought the Muslims all over India closer to him. His association with the All India Muslim leaders such as Ali Brothers, Hakim Ajmal Khan and Dr. Ansari added to his popularity among the Muslims. In the Punjab too, Muslims looked to him for inspiration and guidance. On his first visit to this province, he was honoured in their mosques.\(^{32}\) Events in the country had prepared ground for the favourable reception of Gandhi’s movement by the Muslims in the Punjab. A rapprochement between the All India Muslim League and the Indian National Congress had its impact on the Punjab. Muslim sympathy with the Congress divided the Punjab League into two groups, Progressives and Reactionaries led by Mian Fazl-i-Husain and Mian Mohammed Shafi respectively. The former denounced the leadership of Shafi on the ground that he was acting as an obstacle in the way of solidarity of the Indian Muslim League and the Congress. As a result of these developments a new Muslim League was formed under the leadership of Fazl-i-Husain.\(^ {33}\) The old League led by Mohammed Shafi was disaffiliated from the All India organisation and its leader was removed from the Vice-presidentialship of the central body. Instead the new Punjab Muslim League was affiliated\(^ {34}\) which later adopted the programme of non-cooperation even in the face of fierce opposition of its leader Fazl-i-Husain.\(^ {35}\)

Fazl-i-Husain was the prominent leader of the Congress as well as of the Muslim League before the inauguration of the

---

non-cooperation movement in the country. He presided over the fifth Punjab Provincial Conference held at Lahore in October 1917 where he vehemently criticised O'Dwyer's administration and the British bureaucracy for thwarting the efforts of the Indians for self-government. He championed the cause of Hindu Muslim unity and persuaded the Muslims to join the Congress. "He therefore seemed to many Punjabis at that time the symbol of its desire for liberation and its very voice, brain and arm." 36 For, "it seemed that he would lead the Punjab to the goal of self-government through the path of Hindu-Muslim unity and that the coming generations of the Punjab would hail him as their deliverer." 37 But all these hopes came to naught, for this "gallant gentleman who had arraigned bureaucracy in such strong terms became himself afterwards a very powerful supporter of this bureaucracy." 38

Fazl-i-Husain styled himself as a 'Moderate Unionist,' aiming to bring together the Extremists and the Moderates. But being a constitutionalist of the school of Moderates he regarded the Civil Disobedience Movement as an inexpedient means of achieving political advancement. He, therefore, looked upon the leaders of the non-cooperation movement as impractical persons and regarded their programme as fraught with grave dangers to the masses who, according to him, could not grasp or practise the idealistic doctrine of Ahimsa. 39 Therefore, Fazl-i-Husain opposed Gandhi's method of Satyagraha. Even during the early days of the agitation against the Rowlatt legislation in Lahore,

37. Ibid.
38. Ibid., p. 642.
he made special efforts to get a resolution passed at a meeting held on March 9, 1919 which would not commit the assemblage to Gandhi’s Satyagraha vow.\textsuperscript{40} Similarly he opposed the non-cooperation resolution at the Punjab Provincial Conference in 1920. He did not merely stand aloof from the struggle that followed the inauguration of the movement but worked against it in his own “unfussy and subterranean manner.”\textsuperscript{41} Gandhi met him in December, 1924 on his visit to Lahore and gave the following account of his meeting with him, “I had a very pleasant time with the Mian Saheb. His manners were most charming. He was reasonable and plausible in his conversation.”\textsuperscript{42}

Similarly an influential Hindu leader of the Congress, Harkishan Lal, opposed the non-cooperation movement in the Punjab. He was an eminent industrialist and financier of the province. He had his education at Lahore and Cambridge where he studied for the Mathematical Tripos but devoted a great deal of his spare time to Economics.\textsuperscript{43} He returned to India in 1890 with new ideas regarding the development of commerce and industry in his country.\textsuperscript{44} With the help of his friends, he established several companies and industrial organisations in order to improve the economic condition of the people of the Punjab. The first fruit of such efforts was the Punjab National Bank. It was followed by the Bharat Insurance Company in 1896. It was the first effort to promote an All India Insurance Company which was solely owned by Indian

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{40} I\textit{bid.} p. 115.
  \item \textsuperscript{41} D. C. Sharma \textit{op. cit.} 642.
  \item \textsuperscript{42} \textit{Gandhi, Collected Works}, Vol. xxvi, p. 54.
  \item \textsuperscript{43} N. B. Sen, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 154.
  \item \textsuperscript{44} Lajpat Rai, \textit{Autobiographical Writings}, p. 96.
\end{itemize}
share-holders. During the period from 1901 to 1906 several other concerns, such as Panjab Cotton Press Company Ltd., The People's Bank of India Ltd., The Amritsar Bank of India Ltd., The Cawnpore Flour Mills Ltd., were promoted and organised by him.

Like Lajpat Rai, Duni Chand and Rambhuj Dutt, Harkishan Lal came in contact with the Congress quite early in his life. He actively took part in its organisation. He worked on several committees appointed by the Congress from time to time at its various sessions. For instance, he worked as the Secretary to the Industrial Committee of the Indian Congress Committee for the year 1901 and was also appointed member of the Indian Congress Committee for the same period. Similarly he was also a member of the committee appointed by the Congress at its Twentieth Session to frame its constitution. At the Kashi Session in 1905, he was included in the Standing Committee for promoting the objects of the Congress and for taking such steps during the year as might be necessary to give effect to the Resolutions of the Congress. As the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Twenty-Fourth Session, he welcomed the delegates to Lahore in 1909.

His participation in the Rowlatt Act agitation in the Punjab raised him to the pinnacle of glory and brought him closer to

45. N. B. Sen, op. cit., p. 156.
46. Ibid., p. 157.
47. Annie Besant, op. cit., p. 331.
48. Ibid., p. 413.
49. Ibid., p. 440.
50. Ibid., p. 491.
Gandhi who pleaded his innocence in the columns of the *Young India* when he was sentenced to transportation for life by the Martial Law Tribunal. On his release under the Proclamation of Amnesty, he was given a rousing reception at Amritsar and, according to the assessment of his son, his popularity had, reached to such an extent that even the Presidentship of the Congress was not beyond his reach. But this popularity subsided as a result of his opposition to the programme of non-cooperation and he decided to join the reformed Council as a minister against the advice of Gandhi. When the non-cooperation movement was launched, he ranged himself against it and created difficulties for Lajpat Rai who was assigned the task of organising it in the Punjab. Gandhi hoped that being true and brave, Harkishan Lal would come round on perceiving the inherent weakness and untruth of his position.

Several other Hindu leaders having leanings towards the constitutional methods of the Moderates also remained aloof from the non-cooperation movement in the Punjab.

The Punjab started making preparation for the non-cooperation movement even before its programme was accepted by the Congress at Calcutta in September 1920. Lajpat Rai revised his earlier stand of working the Reforms and initiated propa-

ganda for the boycott of the Councils.\textsuperscript{56} He announced in his paper 'Bandematram' that he would not seek election to the Council,\textsuperscript{57} since, for him, boycott of the Council was the most important item of the programme of non-cooperation. The Punjab Provincial Congress Committee accepted the principle of non-cooperation at its meeting of August 8, 1920. The Punjab Provincial Conference endorsed the programme of non-cooperation in its session in October 1920. A non-cooperation committee was formed in the province as a joint venture of the Congress, the Muslim League, the newly formed Khilafat Committee, the Sikh League, the Home Rule League and the Indian Association.\textsuperscript{58} Gandhi himself visited several places in the province to acquaint people with the technique of non-violent non-cooperation. Addressing a meeting at Rohtak he plainly told the people that "real freedom is in jail."\textsuperscript{59} At Amritsar he reminded them that they could not free India by burning houses and by committing murders.\textsuperscript{60} For him, "there were two conditions precedent to winning Swaraj : complete unity and sacrifice." The latter, he added, was only possible if they decided upon non-cooperation with the Government.\textsuperscript{61} He, of course, congratulated the people for having boycotted the Councils which, according to him, were nothing but weapons for snatching their freedom.\textsuperscript{62} Similar views were expressed by him in a speech at Bhiwani during this tour.\textsuperscript{63}


\textsuperscript{57} \textit{Gandhi, Collected Works}, Vol. xvii, p. 521.

\textsuperscript{58} \textit{The Tribune}, October 30, 1920.

\textsuperscript{59} \textit{Gandhi, Collected Works}, Vol. xviii, p. 337.

\textsuperscript{60} \textit{Ibid.}, Vol. xviii, p. 384.

\textsuperscript{61} \textit{Ibid.}

\textsuperscript{62} \textit{Ibid.}

\textsuperscript{63} \textit{Ibid.}
As observed by Gandhi, Punjab devoted itself most vig­erously to the boycott of Councils. Voters were asked not to get themselves registered. As a result the registration of voters became slack.\(^64\) In Amritsar alone, out of two hundred and thirty nine persons qualified to be voters, only six presented themselves for registration as voters. On account of the boycott of the election practically by all the parties, a large number of persons who had announced their intention to contest, withdrew from the contest.\(^65\) The boycott was equally successful at Lahore. Only 3·5 per cent of the total registered voters exercised their right to vote in a non-Muslim urban constituency.

Similarly at the Chakwal polling station none of the Hindu voters appeared at the polling station. All the Sikhs except one boycotted the poll and only a few Muslims voted. At Sangla only one Christian, three Hindus and 657 Muslims voted. At Hoshiarpur 85 voters out of 2953 voted. In Raikot only two Sikh voters out of the total of 226 cast their votes.\(^66\) Thus the programme of the boycott of Councils received good response from the people of the Punjab.

After the endorsement of non-cooperation resolution at the Nagpur session, the movement was pressed forward in the province. Lajpat Rai replaced Harkrishan Lal as the President of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee. At Amritsar Dr. Kitchlew collected rupees five lakhs and was pushing forward with the work of national organisation on the lines of the Congress and Khilafat Mandates.\(^67\) Lajpat Rai was moving

---

65. *Ibid*.
up and down the province to secure support for the programme of non-cooperation.\textsuperscript{68} Meetings were held at various places in the province to rouse the people to actively come forward to make the movement a success. A rural conference was held at Bhiwāni under the presidency of Lajpat Rai on February 15, 1921. It passed resolutions in favour of Non-Cooperation Movement and renunciation of intoxicating drugs. The presence of Gandhi in this conference added to the enthusiasm of the people.\textsuperscript{69} In a speech at the Rural Conference at Rohtak on February 16, 1921 Gandhi impressed upon the people that the essential attribute of his movement was fearlessness.\textsuperscript{70} He also visited Rawalpindi, Gujranwala, Multan, Lyallpur, Lahore, Amritsar, Jullundur, Hoshiarpur, Hariana and Ambala. On account of the intimate knowledge that he acquired of this province through these visits, Punjab, according to him, had become a second Gujarat to him.\textsuperscript{71} On the termination of this tour on March 8, 1921, he exhorted the people of the province to quicken their pace in Non-Cooperation.\textsuperscript{72}

The rising tempo of the movement deepened the anxiety of the authorities and led them to adopt stringent measures to suppress it. All public meetings were banned by the Seditious Meetings Act. A Government notice characterised the success of the Civil Disobedience Movement as “an education of the criminally inclined among the population in methods which they would be naturally ready to put into practice against any kind

\textsuperscript{68. Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{69. Gandhi, Collected Work, Vol. xix, p. 360.}
\textsuperscript{70. Ibid., p. 369.}
\textsuperscript{71. Ibid., p. 453.}
\textsuperscript{72. Ibid., p. 409.}
of Government, present and future." The Government also warned that "it will be impossible to allow any incitement to pass unnoticed, or to tolerate any dabbling in this form of mischief by Government servants or pensioners. Further, Congress and Khilafat volunteer organisations were declared unlawful. The Government also threatened that the Civil Disobedience Movement would be met by measures more systematic and rigorous than any which had hitherto been adopted.

In pursuance of this suppressive policy on the part of the government, several arrests were made. Sardul Singh and Kitchlew were arrested on May 27 and September 17, 1921 respectively. At Lahore, Police searched the premises of local vernacular papers and the houses of the leaders of the non-cooperation movement such as Rambhuj Dutt, Prof. Ruchi Ram Sahni on December 10, 1921. At Sialkot several Congressmen were lodged behind the bars. Six Akali leaders were apprehended in the province for violating the Seditious Meetings Act. The Police even adopted novel methods to deal with the processions of the Satyagrahis. Processions, were broken up by turning on them water hoses.

73. Duni Chand's letter to Gandhi, quoted in Gandhi, Collected Works, xx, p. 248.
74. Ibid.
75. Indian Annual Register, 1922, p. 61.
76. Ibid., p. 70.
77. Ibid., p. 43.
78. Ibid., p. 60.
79. Ibid.
80. Ibid.
81. Ibid., p. 68.
But all these measures were overshadowed by the decision of the Government to ban the meeting of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee to be held on December 3, 1921. As the President of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee Lajpat Rai, in turn, made up his mind to disobey the order and informed Gandhi of his intention. “Under the circumstances,” he wrote, “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 your approval.”

The Punjab Provincial Congress Committee refused to obey the order of the government to ban its meeting and consequently it was declared illegal and Lajpat Rai, Gopi Chand Bhargava and Santanam were arrested. But this action of the authorities, instead of disheartening the people, added to their enthusiasm. A large number of people gathered at the place of the meeting to cheer up their leaders and spontaneously offered themselves for arrest. Colonel Gregson, who was present there for carrying out the orders of the Government, was faced with a strange and unprecedented situation. On seeing Girdhari Lal of Amritsar at the exit of the building with garlands of flowers in his hand, the Colonel asked him for whom they were meant. The latter replied, “I am willing to garland you provided you arrest all of us.”

The action of the committee received Gandhi’s approval “Lalaji,” he wrote, “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 Congress.* But in the circumstances that

---

83. I. A. R. 1922, p. 320 (f).
* Ahmedabad Session held towards the end of December 1921.
faced him, he could not avoid attending the meeting without hurting the cause. A general ceases to be a general when he shirks battle that is offered to him. In every action of Lalaji I see nothing but thoughtfulness and calm courage.”

Acts of suppression could not arrest the pace of the movement. Arrests were regarded as acts of achievement. People flocked to meetings held for passing resolutions to congratulate the arrested leaders. Again, remarkable proofs of courage and endurance were shown by the volunteers at Amritsar and Lahore. A party of 21 Satyagrahis who offered themselves for arrest, was beaten mercilessly by the police in the Hall Bazar on December 14, 1921, in the presence of a large crowd gathered there. The blows were borne by the volunteers calmly and silently and the people gathered there also remained unprovoked. “The sight, according to the report of the President of the District Congress Committee, “was most provoking.” “What I admire most,” he added, “is that the volunteers undauntedly began their procession again with smiling faces although their bodies were smarting with the pain of the blows.”

At Lahore a similar treatment was meted out to the volunteers there. They were beaten on their backs with the butt-ends of the police batons. Later on they were set free in batches one or two miles away from the city at 2 o’clock in the night. Their coats were removed. Nothing more could be more inhuman in

---

85. I. A. R. 1922, p. 43.
87. Ibid.
the severe winter of Lahore. But despite all this the morale of the people remained high. A correspondent from Lahore wrote, "The general atmosphere is very good. People are fearless and non-violent. The City Congress Committees are sending out volunteers to hold meetings in different parts of the town at the same hour to read out the same written speech and to sing the same song and disperse within ten or fifteen minutes." "Sometimes twenty such meetings were held in a day." The fear of the arrest, the same correspondent observed, had vanished.

A novel method was added to the programme of Civil Disobedience by the volunteers in the Punjab. The defiance of law was demonstrated by some Satyagrahis by staging plays proscribed by the Government. For instance 'Zakhmi Punjab' was staged at various places in the province that resulted in the arrest of the actors. Normally the participants in the play informed the Government in advance about their programme and showed their readiness to bear all the consequences of the defiance of law.

Gandhi was greatly impressed by the acts of heroism of the volunteers in the Punjab. "God," he wrote, "will soon reward the patience of the Punjabis who are bearing their sufferings in the bravest manner." The Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee appointed by the Indian National Congress to

88. Ibid.
89. Ibid., p. 14.
90. Ibid.
91. Ibid.
93. Ibid., p. 75.
examine the achievements of the non-cooperation movement in the country came to the conclusion that the movement in the Punjab was non-violent and so congratulated the martial people of the Punjab for this great accomplishment.  

The withdrawal of the movement by Gandhi on the eruption of violence at Chauri Chaura generated strong feelings of resentment and consternation in the province. As already noted, Lajpat Rai addressed from the jail a long letter to Gandhi in protest against this action. Someone from Lahore wrote to him without disclosing his identity that “the people are of this opinion that you have turned your face and become fickle-minded.” They were so much disgusted, the note continued, “that they had decided to co-operate with the Government without hesitation. The action of the All India Congress Committee endorsing his decision,” it added, “was being condemned everywhere in Lahore.” The correspondent also asked Gandhi several questions with regard to his future programme.

Through the columns of Young India Gandhi assured the citizens of Lahore in particular and the Punjabis in general that he did not give credence to the fears that they had lost faith in him and had turned co-operators as a reaction against his decision.

NON-COOPERATION ON THE MUNICIPAL FRONT

Originally, boycott of Local Bodies was included by Gandhi in his Programme of non-cooperation, but in deference to the

94. Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee Report, p. 29.
95. Ibid.
96. Ibid., p. 448.
wishes of his colleagues, this item was dropped from the programme.97 The non-cooperators, thus, planned to capture the municipalities in order to create favourable atmosphere for the success of the movement. In the Lahore Municipal election the non-cooperators won the majority of seats by defeating the old conservative councillors.98 The same thing happened in regard to the municipal elections at Jullundur, Amritsar, Gujranwala and several other places.99

The positive programme of Gandhi's movement was reflected in the policy of the Lahore Municipality. It prescribed Khadi for all its employees and directed all its departments to use as much Khadi as possible.100 Gandhi hoped that all municipalities of India would follow the example of the Lahore Municipality.101 Similarly in accordance with the programme of non-cooperation it boycotted the visit of the Prince of Wales and declined to accord welcome to him.102 This bold action again received Gandhi's commendation.103

The spirit underlying non-cooperation further found expression through the Lawrence Statue Satyagraha. The statue of John Lawrence stood on the Mall, at Lahore, with defiant look with pen in the right hand and sword in the left. The inscription underneath was "Will you have the pen or the sword?" The citizens of Lahore considered it insulting and

97. Sitarammayya, op. cit., p. 204.
99. The Tribune, April 23, 1921.
offensive, for they wanted neither the pen nor the sword imposed upon them."\(^{104}\)

As a result of the election, the Municipality of Lahore came under the control of the non-cooperators. It passed a resolution for the removal of the statue. But the Government intervened and prevented the officials of the municipality from carrying out its instructions. This produced great resentment among the people who decided to offer Satyagraha on this issue. Gandhi's advice was available though he himself was not directly connected with it.\(^{105}\) He wrote in the *Young India*, "If the Government defy the Municipality and use its brute force to prevent removal of the statue, the civil resisters can, after due notice to the Government, proceed to the site with the intention of removing the statue and offer themselves for arrest, or being shot if the Government so wishes."\(^{106}\) But this course, according to him, could be taken only "if citizens of Lahore acted as one man and observe perfect discipline." "Only a few individuals," he advised, "should go to the site at a time. They must not bluster, must not argue, but simply court arrest. . . . . . . There must be perfect spirit of non-violence prevailing among the people in order to ensure the success of such civil disobedience."\(^{107}\)

The Satyagraha for the removal of this offensive statue was started under the leadership of Duni Chand Bar-at-law, a few years later as a result of which the government yielded to the

---

105. Ibid.
106. Ibid.
107. Ibid.
demand of the people and accepted a solution acceptable to the Municipality.\textsuperscript{108}

The Jullundur Municipality equally showed admiration for Gandhi and his programme. On his visit to the city on March 8, 1921, the municipality presented him an address of welcome at the risk of earning the displeasure of the Government. This, according to the honoured visitor, was a bold step, but "treading the signs of the times, it dared." The Address printed in the Urdu script on Khadi appeared to him as a unique thing and left a deep mark on him.\textsuperscript{109}

\textsuperscript{108} Abdul Majid Khan, \textit{op. cit.}

\textsuperscript{109} \textit{Gandhi, Collected Works}, Vol. xix, p. 455.
CHAPTER X

PROGRAMME OF RENUNCIATION AND PURIFICATION

"The fact is that non-cooperation by reason of its non-violence has become a religious and purifying movement... It is a movement of self-reliance. It is the mightiest force for revolutionising opinion and stimulating thought. It is a movement of self-imposed suffering and therefore possesses automatic checks against extravagance or impatience. The capacity of the nation for suffering regulates its advance towards freedom."

—Gandhi

Gandhi's call for non-cooperation was an exhortation to the nation to make the supreme sacrifice for gaining freedom. Addressing the delegates to the Calcutta Session, he said, "I have not known of a war gained by a rabble, but I have known of wars gained by disciplined armies; and if you want to give battle to the British Government and to the combined power of Europe, we must train ourselves in discipline and self-sacrifice."

Nothing was more precious to him than the honour of his country or any part of it. "If I have to choose between the honour of the Punjab, anarchy, neglect of education, shutting out of all legislative activity, and British connection," he said, "I would choose the honour of the Punjab and all it meant, even anarchy, shutting out of all schools etc. without slightest hesitation."  

The programme of non-cooperation involved renunciation by the people of all the gains and allurements that the foreign Government offered to them to maintain its hold over them. It demanded boycott of courts by the lawyers, surrender of titles by the title-holders, withdrawal of children from Government or Government-aided schools and colleges and the renunciation of the glamour of wearing foreign cloth.

The programme of boycott of courts initially received a modest success in the province. Notable leaders of the Congress such as Lajpat Rai, Duni Chand of Lahore, Duni Chand of Ambala, Dr. Kitchlew, Aga Safdar of Sialkot and many others renounced their practice. By April 1921, forty-one lawyers had suspended their practice, of whom hardly thirteen depended upon the Provincial Committee for subsistence allowance. The Government, of course, contended that only seventeen had abandoned their practice by February 1921. This was not a mean achievement at the commencement of the movement. But the initial enthusiasm in this sphere could not be sustained and by the time the non-cooperation movement was withdrawn only

---

2. Ibid., p. 248.
50 lawyers are said to have participated in this programme. But however modest was this achievement of the people of the Punjab, it was not discouraging when compared to the efforts made by other provinces in this sphere. This is evident from the following Table.\(^5\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>No. of Lawyers who suspended practice</th>
<th>No. of those who resumed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.P.</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.P. (Hindustani)</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.P. (Marathi)</td>
<td>45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berar</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarat</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ajmer</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City of Bombay</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maharashtra</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karnataka</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamil Nadu</td>
<td>34</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerala</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andhra</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>several</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utkal</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assam</td>
<td>51</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengal</td>
<td>originally 300</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>only 110 remain</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bihar</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sind</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^5\) Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee Report, Appendix V.
Boycott of courts was only the negative side of the programme. Its positive aspect was the replacement of courts by Panchayats for settling disputes between individuals. Unlike the British courts in India, these Panchayats were to function as arbitration courts in order to dispense speedy justice to the parties.\(^6\) Gandhi declared, "We shall promote arbitration courts and dispense justice, pure, simple, home-made justice, Swadeshi justice, to our countrymen."\(^7\) The laywers who had suspended their practice in accordance with the programme of non-cooperation were expected to help these Panchayats function properly. They were to ask the parties to settle their disputes amicably, for "a nation that is bent on forcing justice from unwilling Government has little time for engaging in mutual quarrels."\(^8\) Boycott of British courts was not a novel programme for the Punjab. Six decades before Gandhi launched his non-cooperation movement, Ram Singh, the founder of the Kuka sect, had impressed upon his followers to boycott the British courts and settle their disputes among themselves by means of self-constituted Panchayats.\(^9\) Therefore, Gandhi's programme of the replacement of courts by the panchayats received favourable response in the province. Within a few months after the inauguration of the non-cooperation movement Panchayats were established in nearly 80 places.\(^10\) For Gandhi this was no mean achievement.\(^11\) The members of the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee noted that several hundred panchayats were started in the province.

---

During the period of Non-Cooperation and several were working vigorously even at the time of writing their report. In this sphere, too, Punjab figured well in the record of the country as is borne out by the following table:\textsuperscript{12}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>No. of Panchayats</th>
<th>Present situation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Some are working very vigorously</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>Several hundred were started</td>
<td>Now almost none.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.P.</td>
<td>137</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.P. (Hindustani)</td>
<td>2 or 3</td>
<td>Many have been closed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.P. (Marathi)</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berar</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarat</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ajmer</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City of Bombay</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maharashtra</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Not popular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karnatak</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Not popular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamil Nadu</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerala</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Now none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andhra Pradesh</td>
<td>130 last year</td>
<td>Not so popular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utkal</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>Popular but disappearing on account of repression.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Not popular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assam</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengal</td>
<td>Many</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sylhet 750</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Noakhali 150</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bihar</td>
<td>In almost all villages</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sind</td>
<td>Model court in Sukkar 2. Moulvis and zamindars carry on arbitration work also.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{12} Civil Disobedience Enquiry Report, Appendix V.
The boycott of Government or Government-aided schools and colleges was an important item of the programme of non-cooperation. It was rooted in Gandhi’s conviction that the Government-controlled educational system was an effective means for perpetuating the British domination over India. “It is my firm conviction,” he told the students of Banaras Hindu University, “that the main reason why the present regime goes on and continues to perpetuate the atrocities that it does, is that we have come under the spell of its education.” The main aim of education, according to him, is to inculcate fearlessness. He wanted students to become truthful and self-reliant in place of becoming simply ‘blotting sheets of civilization.’ But the present system of education, he deplored, only made us dependent upon the Government.

Punjab had become conscious of the baneful effect of the British system of education even before the dawn of the present century. The Kukas avoided the English educational institutions on the ground that these only inculcated ideals which were foreign to the Indian culture that laid stress on religion. Similarly Lajpat Rai raised the cry of national education as far back as 1883. The Arya Samaj opened a number of educational institutions, both for boys and girls, in pursuance of its programme of National Education. As early as 1886 Dayanand Anglo-Vedic School was started in Lahore which was raised to a college in 1889. The object of opening such an institution, according to Lajpat Rai, was to develop a spirit of self-help and

15. Ibid., Vol. xix, p. 37.
self-reliance in the community.\textsuperscript{18} The scheme of education of the Arya Samaj initiated the idea of Swadeshi Education\textsuperscript{19} that called upon the Indians to keep their institutions independent of Government patronage and help.\textsuperscript{20}

Similarly Hardayal wrote a series of articles in the ‘Punjabee’ against the British system of education, for he believed that it was denationalising and demoralising Indians. It had, he reiterated, made Indians dependent upon the British Government and had raised the prestige of bureaucracy.\textsuperscript{21}

Gandhi’s ideas on education found favourable soil in the Punjab. His call to the students to take to non-cooperation produced an upheaval in the student community in the province.\textsuperscript{22} A large number of students met Gandhi in Lahore on October 20, 1920 to discuss their plans with regard to the programme of boycotting educational institutions. While exhorting them to be ready for every sacrifice for the sake of their country, he reminded them that “the souls of the boys who died in the Punjab are present here and are clamouring to know what you mean to do.” “Even if you want to hang Sir Michael O’Dwyer,” he added, “you must be ready yourself to be hanged.”\textsuperscript{23} These words sent a wave of enthusiasm amongst them. They struck work and demanded the nationalisation of the colleges

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textit{Ibid.}
\item \textit{Ibid.}
\item Hardayal, \textit{Thoughts on Education} (Lahore: Text Committee, National Board of Education, Punjab, undated), pp. 82-83.
\item Mitra, \textit{I.A.R.}, 1921, p. 120.
\end{enumerate}
and schools in accordance with the resolution of non-cooperation.\(^{24}\) At Amritsar, students of the Islamia School and Dayanand School and of the Khalsa College joined the movement.\(^{25}\) To the students of the Khalsa College Gandhi said, “I have come here to ask the Sikh students whether they wish to be loyal to the Empire or to Guru Nanak.”\(^{26}\) “If you feel for the Punjab,” he added, “as much as I do, you can see that the Khalsa College gives up receiving grants, that it breaks off its connection with the municipality and so you can make it truly Khalsa.”\(^{27}\) This plea had the desired effect. The students went on strike and demanded nationalisation of their college. They asked the Managing Committee of the college to seek disaffiliation of the college and refuse aid from the Government in accordance with the creed of non-cooperation as endorsed by the Sikh League.\(^{28}\) The Khalsa College was later closed when twelve professors resigned in a body for failure of the authorities to nationalise the college and give up Government aid.\(^{29}\) This situation marked the turning point in the history of the college, for it had been started with the initiative and help of the Government which had an important hand in its control and management.\(^{30}\)

During the interval between the two sessions of the Congress in 1920 the Punjab leaders were divided over the issue of boycott

---

of schools and colleges. Lajpat Rai was opposed to withdrawal of children from Government institutions indiscriminately. He did not want students to leave medical, engineering and technical institutions.\textsuperscript{31} But at the Nagpur Session in December 1920, his doubts were removed and so he started a vigorous campaign in favour of nationalisation of educational institutions. He contributed a series of articles in his paper 'Bande Matram' in which he exhorted the students to boycott University examinations and leave Government or Government-aided colleges.\textsuperscript{32}

Similarly he addressed a letter to Hans Raj, ex-Principal of the D. A. V. College, Lahore and an important member of its Managing Committee, wherein he requested him to draw the attention of the Managing Committee to the question of converting the D. A. V. College into a national institution. Lajpat Rai impressed upon the Committee to free the College from the official control by withdrawing its affiliation from the University.\textsuperscript{33} The Managing Committee did not favour the suggestion of disaffiliation but offered to open an independent national school and a similar department in the College as soon as the parents of the students showed a genuine demand for it.\textsuperscript{34}

But students could hardly be satisfied by such gestures. They went on strike on January 24, 1921 and demanded that Lajpat Rai be allowed to address the students. The Principal evaded this demand on the plea that all meetings had been prohibited on account of the promulgation of Seditious Meetings

\textsuperscript{31} Supra, p. 74
\textsuperscript{32} Mitra, Indian Annual Register, 1922, p. 151.
\textsuperscript{33} Ibid., The Tribune, January 18, 1921.
\textsuperscript{34} The Tribune, January 22, 1921.
Act. But he allowed them to attend the Students' Conference at Gujranwala to be held on January 30, 1921. Consequently, on January 25, five hundred students of the D. A. V. College went to Gujranwala to hold conference with leaders of the non-cooperation movement. Meanwhile other colleges of Lahore also joined the movement. The Forman Christian College and the Sanatan Dharam College went on strike on 27th January and passed resolutions similar to those passed by the students of the D. A. V. College. Stir was also noticed among the students of the Government and Law colleges and the authorities had to close these institutions for several days.

There was great enthusiasm all over the province for the Punjab Students Conference held at Gujranwala under the chairmanship of Dr. Kitchlew. Raising slogans of 'Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jai' they flocked to Gujranwala from all parts of the Punjab. Some of them even went on foot. Gandhi, C. R. Das and Mahomed Ali sent a joint message to the students reminding them of the high hopes that the country had fixed on them. The conference passed a resolution welcoming the Congress resolution on non-cooperation as far as it concerned the students. Lajpat Rai placed before them his three-fold plan for those students who were ready to leave their institutions. According to his scheme, those desirous of National Service

36. Ibid.
37. Ibid.
38. Ibid., p. 153.
42. Mitra, I.A.R. 1922.
would be required to collect money up to 15th February for Tilak Swaraj Fund. Those anxious for degrees could appear at the Ahmedabad National University; while others could receive technical education in the mills.\textsuperscript{43}

In accordance with the programme of non-cooperation a number of students left their schools and colleges. Gandhi noted with satisfaction that within a few months after the beginning of the movement 350 students left their colleges for good. Of these eighty-five were among the most brilliant students, who joined the Indian National Service.\textsuperscript{44} They carried the message of Gandhi to villages. The Government viewed their activities with concern, for it looked upon them as itinerant leaders of politics.\textsuperscript{45} The threats of the authorities did not diminish the enthusiasm of these young Satyagrahis. Lajpat Rai once told his audience that young men were courting arrests in the province with great enthusiasm.\textsuperscript{46}

Similarly the programme of nationalisation of educational institutions received a moderately good response in the beginning. The Guru Nanak Khalsa College got itself disaffiliated from the University\textsuperscript{47} and adopted a system of industrial and vocational education on the lines of National Education. Eight schools, some of them of high standing, were also nationalised. Fifteen new national schools were started.\textsuperscript{48} According to Gandhi's calculation the number of students in these institutions

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{43} The Tribune, February 5, 1921, pp. 2 (4), 3 (1-2).
\item \textsuperscript{44} Gandhi, Collected Works, Vol. xx, p. 181.
\item \textsuperscript{45} Punjab Legislative Council Debates, Vol. I, p. 90.
\item \textsuperscript{46} Punjab Legislative Council Debates, Vol. II, p. 197.
\item \textsuperscript{47} Gandhi, Collected Works, Vol. xx, p. 181.
\item \textsuperscript{48} Ibid., p. 182.
\end{itemize}
was not less than five thousand. But the Government conceded that up to February 28, 1921 only three schools had expressed the desire to be disaffiliated from the Punjab University. The teachers also did not lag behind in this programme of renunciation and self-sacrifice. By April 1921, nearly twenty-five teachers had left Government institutions.

In order to promote National Education a Board consisting of Lajpat Rai, Ruchi Ram Sahni, Bhai Parmanand, Satyapal, Kharak Singh etc. was appointed. Two National Colleges were started. Bhai Parmanand became the Vice-Chancellor of the Kaumi Vidya Pith at Lahore. Ninety students were on the rolls of this College. The aim of the institution was not only to impart knowledge to the students but also to inculcate in them love for the motherland. While conferring degrees on the students of the College, Gandhi told them that for him "the acceptance of a degree only meant the undertaking of a determination to be ready to win the country's freedom by doing practical work."

Though this was not a very spectacular achievement, it was not discouraging in the light of the efforts made in other provinces to implement this part of the programme as is evident from the following table.

49. Ibid.
53. Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee Report, Appendix IV. The Report recorded that the non-cooperation movement met with a striking success amongst the student community in Bengal and the Punjab. p. 46.
## PROGRAMME OF RENUNCIATION AND PURIFICATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the Province</th>
<th>No. of Universities</th>
<th>Colleges</th>
<th>Schools</th>
<th>No. of Pupils</th>
<th>No. of Teachers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6 H. Schools</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15 H. „</td>
<td>3090</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>30 M. „</td>
<td>1290</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U. P.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1 (Inter)</td>
<td>11 H. „</td>
<td>3884</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>25 M. „</td>
<td>2701</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>71 P. „</td>
<td>2505</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. P.</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>4 H. „</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Hindustani)</td>
<td></td>
<td>4 M. „</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10 P. „</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. P.</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>28 (all) Figures not available</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Marathi)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berar</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>4 H. „</td>
<td>435</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarat</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13 H. „</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>25 (Schools below Matric)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ajmer</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>7 H. Schools</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City of Bombay</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3 H. Schools</td>
<td>737</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maharashtra</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>21 H. Secondary</td>
<td>1600</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6 P.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karnataka</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>46 (all)</td>
<td>2116</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamil Nadu</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>3 H. Schools</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>31 (lower grade) P.</td>
<td>2500</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerala</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1 H. School</td>
<td>390</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4 P. „</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Punjab's efforts for collecting money for the Tilak Swaraj Fund earned Gandhi's admiration. As already noted, the Congress Working Committee passed a resolution at Bezwada in March 1921 to collect one crore of rupees for this fund. Punjab was required to contribute at least rupees five lakhs towards this fund. The responsibility for collecting this amount in the Punjab fell on Lajpat Rai. Several public meetings were held on his initiative for impressing upon the people to contribute liberally towards this fund. Thus within a month after the passing of the

resolution, the total collection for this fund stood at rupees 2,09,081.\textsuperscript{55} Gandhi wrote, “The Punjab deserves congratulations for heading the list among all the provinces. I am not aware that even today any single province can boast of having collected over two lakhs.”\textsuperscript{56} Paying tribute to Lajpat Rai for this achievement, he said, “Next to Pandit Malaviyaji, I know no one who is so efficient in begging as Lalaji.”\textsuperscript{57} He also praised the Arya Samaj in the Punjab for inducing the middle class to contribute to political movements.\textsuperscript{58} By June 1921 Punjab was able to collect more than five lakhs of rupees for this fund in addition to rupees four lakhs earmarked for specific purpose.\textsuperscript{59} It was certainly an impressive achievement in view of the resources, population and economic condition of the province. The contribution of the Punjab ranked fourth in the list of collections made by all the provinces of India.\textsuperscript{60}

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\hline
Province & Collection \\
\hline
Bombay City & 37,72,087 \\
Bengal & 17,02,869 \\
Gujarat & 16,02,000 \\
Punjab & 9,75,674 \\
United Provinces & 3,55,616 \\
Bihar & 7,19,495 \\
C. P. (Marathi) & 1,93,694 \\
C. P. (Hindustani) & 1,32,214 \\
Delhi & 1,05,237 \\
Maharashtra & 4,94,808 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Province Collections}
\end{table}

\textsuperscript{56.} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{57.} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{58.} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{59.} Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee Report, Appendix VI
\textsuperscript{60.} Ibid; Province Collection
Similarly the response of the Punjab to Gandhi's programme of Swadeshi was equally commendable. The resolution on non-cooperation called upon the people to rely on hand-spinning and hand-weaving for meeting their requirements of cloth. Gandhi believed that "in Swadeshi consisted our Swaraj." 61 "For the country", he added, "of which the people could not well order their own needs of food and clothing was not at all fitted to enjoy Swaraj." 62 India, according to him, could free herself from the scourge of poverty and disease only by means of Swadeshi since through it she would check not only the drain on her wealth but could also offer opportunities to the peasants to supplement their income from land. "India," he argued, "was suffering from a triple curse, the curse of disease—disease not of a normal but of an abnormal kind—the curse of want of food, and, lastly, that of want of clothing. All proceeded largely from the same cause—poverty, and poverty was due largely to the economic drain. They gave to the producers outside India in 1917-1918 the enormous sum of sixty crores of rupees. And they had not in any measure worthy of consideration provided the millions of our spinners and weavers with any other occupation." 63

Thus Swadeshi, for him, had the greatest enduring value. It was not merely a political weapon. It was not directed against any particular nation. It had a constructive and positive approach. It aimed at putting the economy of the country on a sound basis. It sought to eliminate not only poverty but also all those causes that weaken a nation and throw her at the

62. *Ibid*.
mercy of a foreign country. In addition to its political and economic advantages, it also had ethical value, since the practice of Swadeshi involved preference for simple and austere life—a life of self-abnegation and endurance as India at that time could not produce all articles of comforts and luxury. Further, the programme of Swadeshi gave to all those who practised it a sense of participation in the freedom movement. Thus, not only the active workers or volunteers found place in the national movement but even old women and children who worked on the spinning-wheel in their homes with an eye on the national uplift acquired consciousness of involvement in the struggle for freedom.

Punjab had become aware of the importance of the programme of Swadeshi quite early. The founder of the Kukas, Ram Singh, laid stress on the use of Khaddar and the boycott of foreign cloth. Similarly the Arya Samaj viewed the use of indigenous goods by the Indians as essential for ensuring self-dependence of the country. An Arya Samaj leader, Sain Das, preached Swadeshi in 1881. Another leader of the Samaj, Mul Raj, was mostly clad in Swadeshi clothes. “In the Punjab the idea of Swadeshi,” according to Lajpat Rai, “had been started as early as 1877.” The motives, he believed, were economic and patriotic.” Again, at the Congress Session of 1891, a delegate from the Punjab, Lala Murlidhar, made an impassioned speech in Urdu calling upon the country to use Swadeshi goods. “Look round,” he said, “what are all these chandeliers and lamps and Europe-made chairs and tables, and smart clothes and hats,

64. Fauja Singh Bajwa, op. cit., p. 183; Khushwant Singh, op. cit., p. 135.
66. Lajpat Rai, Young India, p. 175.
and English-made chairs and tables........and all luxurious fittings of your houses, but trophies of India's misery........ Every rupee you have spent on Europe-made articles is a rupee of which you have robbed your poorer brethren, honest handicrafts men, who can now no longer earn a living." In a similar vein Gandhi said three decades later, "Not to be able to serve our own neighbours, our own kith and kin—to wrest a morsel from their mouths and put it into those of strangers, surely this would not be serving the end of life, this would not be compassion. That would only mean deserting our own field of duty." 

Several steps were taken in the Punjab for popularising the Swadeshi goods. A society was established at Lahore with the chief object of promoting Swadeshi manufactures and industries. The establishment of the Punjab National Bank in 1895 and the Bharat Insurance Company in 1896 was a part of this programme. Thus Swadeshi movement had made some progress in the Punjab long before it received impetus from the upheaval that followed the partition of Bengal. Thousands of men and women took a solemn vow in the province to use nothing but articles of indigenous manufacture. A protest meeting was held at Lahore on December 9, 1905 under the auspices of the Indian Association in which Lajpat Rai called upon the people to adopt Swadeshi. Like Gandhi, Lajpat Rai impressed upon the people that Swadeshi alone was the remedy for all the ills of the country. He equated Swadeshi with Swaraj: "I regard it as the

69. Lajpat Rai, Young India, p. 175.
70. The Tribune, January 17, 1894.
salvation of my country. The Swadeshi ought to make us self-respecting, self-reliant, self-supporting, self-sacrificing and last, but not the least, manly."  

Gandhi's programme of Swadeshi found "favourable climate in the Punjab." On his arrival in the province he felt happy to see that the spinning-wheel was very popular in the Punjab. He admitted that it made the solution of India's problem of poverty clearer to him. He was delighted to see the hand-made cloth dyed red and embroidered with silk, popularly known as 'Phulkari' (flower-work) at Jalalpur Jattan near Gujarat. Admiring the beauty of this cloth, he observed, "The beauty and the sanctity, the conservation of our resources which I see in this 'phulkari', I do not see in foreign saris. The prosperity of Indian houses lies in spinning." At Hoshiarpur he found hand-weaving cloth factories for which he congratulated the people of the city.

His message of spinning reached the craftsmen of the province. At Ludhiana a person designed a ten-spindle spinning wheel that attracted Gandhi's attention. Two spinning-wheels made of ebony and skilfully designed were presented to him by a gentleman from Hoshiarpur. He displayed them in his Ashram at Sabarmati. Punjab's consciousness of the importance of the spinning-wheel in India's struggle for freedom

72. Ibid., p. 105.
74. Ibid., p. 335.
75. Ibid., Vol xvii, p. 29.
76. Ibid.
77. Ibid., Vol. xix, p. 406.
78. Ibid., Vol. xvi, p. 348.
played a valuable role in designing the flag of the Indian National Congress. Shri Hans Raj of Jullundur made a suggestion to Gandhi that the spinning-wheel should find a place on India’s Swaraj flag.\(^{80}\) This immediately caught the imagination of the latter. A flag with the image of spinning-wheel on it, he thought, would stir the nation to its depth.\(^{91}\) Again, under the inspiration of Hans Raj, the Municipality of Jullundur presented an Address to Gandhi on a hand-spun cloth.\(^{82}\)

The Lawyers of Amritsar decided to wear Khadi dress\(^{83}\) while the Lahore Municipality prescribed Khadi uniforms for its employees.\(^{84}\) At the Haryana District Rural Conference held at Bhiwani in February 1921, Gandhi observed that everything there was made of Swadeshi cloth.\(^{85}\) The volunteers put on Khadi dress and flags made of Khadi were displayed. The Sikh Leader Sardar Kharak Singh sent from the jail a message to all the Sikhs that they must wear Khadi.\(^{86}\)

Gandhi was pleased to find Jullundur, Hoshiarpur and Haryana as centres of spinning-wheel. He noticed that the demand for the spinning-wheel was so great in the province that the craftsmen were finding it difficult to meet it. In April 1921 the Punjab Congress Committee reported that “there are very few Punjabi homes in which there is not a charkha.”\(^{87}\)

\(^{80.}\) Ibid., Vol. xix, p. 561.
\(^{81.}\) Ibid.
\(^{82.}\) Supra, p. 128.
\(^{84.}\) Supra, p. 126.
\(^{86.}\) Ibid.
\(^{87.}\) Ibid., Vol. xx., p. 182.
"The habit of wearing khaddar clothes amongst the well-to-do classes," the report added, "is growing daily."\textsuperscript{88} Gandhi commented, "No part of India can beat the Punjab for spinning-wheels."\textsuperscript{89} Similarly he told his audience at Ambala on March 8, 1921 that in the matter of Swadeshi Punjab was by far the most progressive. The spinning-wheel was nowhere so popular as in the Punjab.\textsuperscript{90} The Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee noted with satisfaction that in the Punjab one family in five had started using the spinning-wheel.\textsuperscript{91} A few institutions were also inaugurated for teaching spinning to the people.\textsuperscript{92}

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|l|c|}
\hline
Name of the Province & Number of Spinning Wheels & Remarks \\
\hline
U.P. & 3,85,736 & \\
C.P. (Hindustani) & About 5,000 & mostly idle during the agriculture season. \\
C.P. (Marathi) & 3,804 & \\
Gujarat & more than a lakh & \\
Bombay & 5,000 & \\
Maharashtra & 14,443 & \\
Karnatak & 22,400 & \\
Tamil Nadu & 25,000 & \\
Kerala & 4,000 & \\
Andhra & 1,80,338 & \\
Utkal & 36,000 & \\
Bengal & About 3 lakhs & \\
Bihar & 2,00,000 & \\
Sind & 18,297 & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

\textsuperscript{88. Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{89. Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{90. Ibid., Vol. xix, p. 409.}
\textsuperscript{91. Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee Report, Appendix.}
\textsuperscript{92. Ibid. The number of spinning wheels introduced in other provinces is as follows:}
A campaign against the evil of drinking was a part of the programme of purification of Gandhi's non-violent non-cooperation movement, for the habit of drinking, according to him, was the root cause of all evils in man and society. "In the wake of drinking," he argued, "follow insanity, adultery, gambling etc. It depraves the mind and hardens the heart with cruelty." "I am convinced," he added, "that wine drinking has depraved the West. It is because of this that they do not shrink from wickedness and regard sin as virtue."\(^93\) The All-India Congress Committee endorsed this view.\(^94\)

This programme was enthusiastically carried on in the Punjab. A resolution against the use of intoxicating drinks was passed at the Haryana Rural Conference held on February 15, 1921.\(^95\) The campaign against drinking involved the picketing of liquor shops and the sale of liquor contracts. Duni Chand of Ambala was arrested with a number of his companions for picketing an auction-sale of liquor contracts in the premises of the court where liquor contracts were being auctioned.\(^96\) Raizada Hans Raj, President, Jullundur Congress Committee, followed Duni Chand of Ambala.\(^97\)

A representative of the *Manchester Guardian*, J. T. Gwynn, who came to India to make a survey of the situation in 1922 created by the non-cooperation movement, noted a vigorous

---

94. Resolutions of the Indian National Congress and the All-India Congress Committee from 1920-1923, pp. 60-61.
temperance campaign in Rawalpindi carried on by volunteers by means of picketing liquor shops.  

At Rohtak the picketing of liquor shops was equally successful. Fear of being arrested had vanished from the minds of the people. A report to Gandhi from Rohtak records, "The District Magistrate here does not believe in making arrests unless there is apprehension of a breach of peace. The result is that our volunteers are having their own way. No foreign cloth is being imported. No liquor contract has been sold."  

As a result of these campaigns no bidder came forward to bid for the liquor shops at several places. This affected adversely also the sale of foreign liquor.  

The Congress made a very tactful move by linking the campaign against the evil of drinking with the non-cooperation movement. This put the Government in a very awkward position, for any suppression of this campaign identified the Government with the promoters of an evil in society that weakened the moral foundations of its rule.  

Further, it added new dimensions to the non-cooperation movement, for it implied that the object of non-cooperation was not only freedom from external foes but from internal weaknesses too. More precisely its aim was to put the social structure on strong moral foundations. In this light an attempt

to eradicate untouchability from Indian society was an expression of the spirit underlying the non-violent non-cooperation movement.

Punjab’s drive against untouchability attracted Gandhi’s notice. In this sphere, too, Punjab started making efforts much before the arrival of Gandhi on the Indian political scene. The Arya Samaj in the Punjab aimed at raising the untouchables to the level of all other Hindus. “It is to be remembered, said Lajpat Rai, “that national decline has its origin in the oppression of others and if we Indians desire to achieve national self-respect and dignity, we should open our arms to our unfortunate brothers and sisters of the depressed classes and help to build up in them the vital spirit of human dignity.” In an article published in 1909, he argued that untouchability was unsound morally, economically and politically. Morally it was unjust because it meant domination of one class over another. Economically “a community that allowed so much valuable human material to rot in a state of utter depression and helplessness, could not be said to be wise.” Politically it would weaken the numerical strength of the Hindus by forcing the untouchables to break their connections with Hinduism.

As a result of the efforts of the Arya Samaj, untouchability lost much of its influence in the province. On his visit to Punjab in 1921 Gandhi observed that the practice of untouchability had no great hold on the people in the Punjab. He was pleased to find that no ‘Punjabi Sanatani’ ever considered himself polluted

by a Bhāngi’s touch. He was both pleased and surprised when he discovered that his Sanatanist friends admired his action of patting on the back of a sweeper at Multan.

The programme of the renunciation of titles and honorary offices did not receive good response in the country. In the Punjab also it failed to make any appreciable impact. The Government reported that by March, 1921 only two title holders had resigned and three persons had returned their Kaiser-i-Hind medals. Though renounced only by a few persons, titles lost their glamour as they ceased to be paraded in public and semi-public functions.

105. Ibid.
“Woman is sacrifice personified. When she does a thing in right spirit, she moves mountains. We have misused our women. We have possibly neglected them. But the spinning wheel, thank God, is transforming them. And when all the leaders and others who are in the good books of the Government have been honoured with imprisonment, I have not the faintest doubt that the women of India will finish the work left by men and that they will do it far more gracefully than men.”

—Gandhi

Gandhi had pinned high hopes on women for the success of his movement. Without the blessings of women, he believed, no ‘dharma-rajya’ could be established in this land, since men, he felt, being too much engrossed in worldly cares, often neglected dharma. So he had no doubt that the salvation of India lay in the elevation of her women.

2. Ibid., Vol. xvi, pp. 79-80.
3. Ibid.
Gandhi’s programme of non-violent non-cooperation offered immense opportunities to women to participate in the struggle for freedom. He even hoped that in his “peaceful struggle women might outdistance men by many a mile,” since woman, for him, is superior to man with regard to courage and self-sacrifice and therefore she is more fitted than man to make explorations and take bolder action in Ahimsa."

Again, Gandhi’s programme of Swadeshi, which, according to him, was the only way to Swaraj and redress of the Punjab and Khilafat wrongs, could be easily undertaken by women. His visit to the Punjab strengthened his faith in the power of women to carry out his programme of Swadeshi. “God be thanked,” he wrote in December 1919, “that the beautiful women of the Punjab have not yet lost the cunning of their fingers. High or low they still know the art of spinning.” It was really a delightful experience for him when at various places in the province women threw balls of home-spun yarn into his lap. He was also struck by the simplicity, freedom and modesty of the Punjabi women and he told the women of Gujarat that they had much to learn from their sisters in the Punjab.

Women flocked to him in hundreds and thousands wherever he went in the province. He himself recorded that “a women’s

8. *Ibid*.
meeting was held almost at every place and these meetings were by no means thinly attended; crowds and crowds of them came." 10 Practically at every place women made offerings to him of yarn spun with their own hands. At one station women stood behind the men and from there they threw ball after ball of hand-spun yarn and men in the train caught them as they came. This scene so captivated his heart that he made the following remarks, "It is my deep conviction that the women of the Punjab have understood my message. They have felt that Swadeshi is not merely a means of protecting India's wealth but that it makes for protection of women's honour, that it is a form of Ishwar-bhakti (worship of God) and that in it lies the country's best freedom. Moreover, they have been able instinctively to grasp the significance of the holy message of Satyagraha and have received from it great peace of mind and new assurance." 11 He was conscious that the profound feeling of the Punjabi women for him was not directed towards him personally. They were taken up, he believed, with admiration for him because of the truth they saw in him and the simplicity of the Swadeshi that they had come to realise. 12

Gandhi was impressed by the dexterity in spinning of the women of the Punjab. They could spin yarn superior to the machine-spun yarn. 13 In a competition in spinning with the daughters of a barrister in the Punjab Gandhi's own performance was very poor. 14 "In the art of spinning," he wrote, "the

sisters of the Punjab beat their other sisters in the country and I believe they will always do so.”

The zeal of the women of the Punjab for Swadeshi was given a concrete shape by the efforts and leadership of Sarla Devi Chowdharani, wife of Rambhuj Dutt. She was the grand niece of Rabindranath Tagore and the daughter of Mr. Ghosal, once secretary of the Indian National Congress. Born in 1872, she completed her B.A. at the age of seventeen and from then onwards she had been engaged in public service in one form or the other. Her participation in the Congress commenced quite early in her life. She edited the Bengali monthly ‘Bharati’, through the columns of which she demonstrated the power which her pen held. She was also a poetess and according to Gandhi her poetic power was of a high order. She transformed Vande-matram into a national song by making a few changes in it with the consent and guidance of Tagore. She was married to Rambhuj Dutt in 1905 and from then onwards her public activities covered Punjab, too. She carried the message of the Arya Samaj to women in the province. Her zeal

15. Ibid.
22. Ibid.
for service found expression through various types of public activities. She edited the Urdu weekly 'Hindustan'.

Along with her husband she became a follower of Gandhi. She invited him to this province when the Martial Law regime separated her from her husband. He stayed with her on his first visit to Lahore and she accompanied him to various places in the province. She carried on fearlessly a vigorous struggle against Dyerism in the province.

Sarla Devi devoted herself to the promotion of the Swadeshi movement in the Punjab. Gandhi acknowledged the impetus that the movement received from her efforts. She surprised Gandhi by wearing a Khadi sari. Several meetings were addressed by her in pursuance of her aim of popularising hand-spinning and hand-weaving. Her poetic and literary genius added colour and force to Gandhi's plea for hand-spinning. "It is at the point of spindle only," she said, "that we shall win back our freedom." "Our national soldiers," she added, "must retrace and go back to point of vantage which they left unwittingly a century and a half ago." "By simply using hand-spun and hand-woven clothes......" she continued, "we can effectively give that protection to Indian interests which have been cruelly and unfairly denied her by a foreign master." So the battery of the spinning-wheel, according to her, alone could

23. Ibid.
27. Ibid., Vol. xvii, p. 479.
29. Ibid.
bring about a "bloodless moral revolution which would withstand the doubly destructive physical and moral machine power of England."\(^{30}\)

In another speech she laid stress on the economic, political and moral gains to the country of the use of the spinning-wheel:

"The players (of charkhas) know that in terms of money the charkha (spinning-wheel) stands for 600 millions saved to the country. In terms of purity it stands for the preservation of the honour of its working women as mill labourers. In terms of peace it stands for cessation of greed in the human heart excited by every piece of foreign apparel. In terms of plenty it stands for the supplementary earnings to a needy family. And in terms of nationalism it stands for self-government through self-help, self-respect and self-sacrifice."\(^{31}\)

She regarded Gandhi as the innermost soul of India, for he, according to her, voiced forth the innermost thoughts of all Indians. So India, she believed, was under the political tutelage of Gandhi.\(^{32}\) Like Gandhi she looked upon non-cooperation as a movement of self-purification since freedom from the bonds of shame, greed, fear and illusion which the participation in non-cooperation movement involved, according to her, was the first pre-requisite for attaining political freedom.\(^{33}\)

With such high ideals, Sarla Devi threw herself heart and soul into the movement of Swadeshi in the Punjab. She founded spinning committees at several places in the province. At

\(^{30}\) Ibid., pp. 15-16.
\(^{32}\) Ibid., p. 23.
\(^{33}\) Ibid., p. 29.
Amritsar her Spinning Committee included wives of two important figures of Rowlatt Act agitation, Rattan Chand and Bugga Chowdhari, who were sentenced for Transportation by the Martial Law tribunal. In Ludhiana she set the women of the city to work for popularising hand-spinning and hand-weaving. But she concentrated her activities mostly at Lahore in accordance with Gandhi's advice. Several meetings of women were arranged at various places in the city in June 1920 by Sarla Devi under the auspices of the Punjab branch of the Bharat Stri Maha Mandal. Under her inspiration a shop for the sale of Swadeshi goods was opened in the city by women. During the non-cooperation days she arranged to send daily several groups of women to different lanes of the city to sell khadi in defiance of the wishes of the authorities. Thus as a result of her efforts the lanes of Lahore became familiar with the song:

[Verse]

Turn, turn the wheel,
The spinning wheel do turn;
Ye girls of Ind! with
Gandhi's ardour burn.

So women of the Punjab did not lag behind in sharing the suffering that Gandhi's non-violent non-cooperation involved. Gandhi admired them for their courage. He specially paid tributes to Rattan Devi, who stayed in the Jallianwala Bagh.

35. Ibid., Vol. xvii, p. 464.
36. Ibid., Vol. xviii, p. 60.
37. Ibid., Vol. xviii, p. 192.
38. Ibid., p. 20.
39. Ibid.
40. Ibid., Vol. xxii, p. 70.
MIGHT OF THE MEEK

during the frightful night of the 13th April 1919, despite the curfew order of General Dyer all alone in the midst of the hundreds of dead and the dying with her dead husband’s cold head in her lap.\textsuperscript{42} Gandhi observed that the songs narrating the story of Dyerism were on the lips of Punjabi women.\textsuperscript{43}

The contributions of the women of the Punjab towards the Swaraj Fund equally received Gandhi’s admiration. He was impressed by the women of Rawalpindi for their response to his call for money. Many of them donated their ornaments.\textsuperscript{44} “The sisters of the Punjab,” he recorded, “have disproved Lala Lajpat Rai’s fears about funds.”\textsuperscript{45} They vied, he added, with one another in giving money liberally for the Swaraj Fund.\textsuperscript{46} He told his audience at Ambala on March 8, 1921 that “the women of Punjab were not behind-hand in paying their quota of money.”\textsuperscript{47}

A number of women in the Punjab participated in the programme of picketing before the liquor shops. In Lahore picketing by women started in January 1922.\textsuperscript{48}

Above all, women were a great source of inspiration to their husbands and sons participating in the non-cooperation movement. Assessing the role of Mrs. Duni Chand of Ambala in her husband’s participation in the non-cooperation movement, Gandhi wrote, “The awakening among the women of the

\textsuperscript{42} Gandhi, Collected Works, Vol. xviii, p. 71.
\textsuperscript{43} Ibid., Vol. xix, p. 453.
\textsuperscript{44} Ibid., p. 390.
\textsuperscript{45} Ibid., p. 453.
\textsuperscript{46} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{47} Ibid., p. 409.
Punjab as elsewhere is an event whose value we are not at the present moment able to measure adequately. If the truth is to be told, it was Mrs. Duni Chand who paved the way for Lala Duni Chand's sacrifice......"\(^{49}\)

At places women plunged themselves with greater zeal in the national movement after the arrest of their husbands.\(^{50}\)

Gandhi, therefore, congratulated the women of Punjab for their industry and patriotism. The devotion, the simplicity and the faith of the Punjabi women filled him with the highest hope.\(^{51}\)

---

CHAPTER XII

NON-VIOLENCE OF THE VALIANT

"A man cannot then practise Ahimsa and be a coward at the same time. The practice of Ahimsa calls for the greatest courage. It is the most soldierly of a soldier's virtues. He is the true soldier who knows how to die and stand his ground in the midst of a hail of bullets."

—Gandhi

"A small body of determined spirit fired by an unquenchable faith in their mission can alter the course of history."

—Gandhi

Non-violence, according to Gandhi, is the weapon of the brave, for only a perfect practitioner of non-violence can display perfect courage. It is not a cloak for cowardice. It is the spirit of manliness in its perfection, for he alone can forgive who is brave.

2. Ibid., p. 12.
Sikhs belong to the martial races of the Punjab. A large number of them had joined the army under the British. During the war their number in the army rose from 35,000 at the beginning of 1915 to over 100,000 by the end of the war. So they were considered incapable of carrying on a non-violent struggle. Gandhi was even advised by some of his friends to refrain from putting the idea of non-cooperation before the Sikhs. But their performance in the non-violent non-cooperation belied all such fears. Lajpat Rai wrote to Gandhi, "The Sikh non-cooperators have set a noble example... The Sikh community has so far kept its temper admirably well in spite of the provocations given........ Our Sikh friends deserve all the praise one can bestow on brave, noble sufferers in the cause of truth." In reply, Gandhi observed, "Their resolute behaviour, their religious fervour, their calmness and their suffering command my highest admiration...." Similar was the finding of the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee. Answering the question as to why the movement had remained more or less free from violence, the report of the Committee says, "The answer, clear and conclusive, is given by the outstanding feature of the situation that it is the martial races of Northern India, both in the Punjab and the United Provinces, who, while smarting under brutal treatment, have maintained the most wonderful self-restraint."

6. Ibid.
7. Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee Report, p. 29.
The training that the Sikhs received in the use of the new weapon added a new chapter to the history of their community in the Punjab. They made use of the new technique in reforming their religious and social institutions. They applied the method of non-violent struggle in establishing the control of their community over their religious shrines known as ‘gurdwaras’ which had been under the control of individuals known as ‘mahants’, some of whom did not bear a good reputation. In a large number of cases the lands and the properties attached to the ‘gurdwaras’ were entered in their names. The income of some of the gurdwaras ran into lakhs, since large estates had been assigned by Sikh princes and nobles to their favourite shrines from time to time to enable them to carry on their religious and charitable activities. Some, like the Golden Temple, the temples at Nankana and Panja Sahib, had large jagirs attached to them. The management of the Golden Temple at Amritsar was in the hands of the head priest who was under the control and supervision of the Deputy Commissioner.

Before the formation of the Sikh League, the Singh Sabha made some efforts to gain control over the gurdwaras but being loyal to the Government it was hardly in a position to take any direct action against the Government. Its endeavours to achieve its end through petitions and redress from courts did not yield any significant success. This produced resentment and consternation in the community. An incident at Delhi in 1912 created a stir among Sikhs in the Punjab. In the course of building of the new capital the Government acquired land attached to

9. Ibid., p. 196.
gurdwara Rikab Ganj and demolished an old boundary wall. Radical elements among the Sikhs challenged the mahant's right to alienate gurdwara property and condemned the demolition of the wall as sacrilegious. But the clash between the Government and Sikhs was averted as a result of the commencement of the War. But on the restoration of peace in 1918, the agitation against the control of gurdwaras by individuals reappeared with greater vigour which brought the Sikhs in conflict with the Government despite latter's efforts to appease them.\textsuperscript{10} A new organisation of the Sikhs known as the Sikh League was formed. Its leaders decided to acquire control over the Golden Temple. The radical elements among the Sikhs organised a semi-military corps of volunteers known as the Akali Dal (army of immortals.) It was to raise and train men for 'action' in taking over the gurdwaras from recalcitrant mahants.\textsuperscript{11}

In pursuance of their aim of freeing the Golden Temple from the official control, some of the Akali volunteers broke a time-old tradition maintained by the 'mahants' by accepting the 'karah parshad offerings' from the untouchable-baptised Sikhs and presented it before the Granth Sahib against the wishes of the priests. The latter left the temple in protest. The Akalis immediately took control of the temple. The Government tried to assert its authority over the temple by constituting a committee, through the Maharaja of Patiala, of 36 gentlemen which was to recommend ways and means for the better management of the gurdwaras.\textsuperscript{12} This was interpreted by the Sikhs as an

\textsuperscript{10} Ibid., p. 197.
\textsuperscript{11} Ibid., p. 198.
\textsuperscript{12} Ruchi Ram Sahni, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 62-63.
undue interference in their religious affairs by the Government. So some of their leaders constituted a committee consisting of 175 members to be known as the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee (S.G.P.C.) for the management of all Sikh shrines.

The S. G. P. C. decided to acquire control over the gurdwara at Nankana Sahib which at that time was under the possession of mahant Narain Das who did not bear a good moral reputation. The committee announced a ‘diwan’ to be held on February 20, 1921 at a place near Nankana Sahib. The mahant employed a number of bad characters in order to resist the attempts of the Akalis to take possession of the gurdwara. In the early morning hours of the scheduled date, a jatha (band) consisting of 150 or 130 Akalis led by Lachhman Singh Dharovali entered the gurdwara. The gates of the shrine were then closed and all the volunteers were brutally murdered by men employed by Narain Das.11

The news of the outrage raised a storm in the province. Gandhi was in the Punjab at that time. He told his friends that the tragedy received his full attention.15 Since no man from the party of Lachhman Singh, that entered the gurdwara, survived to tell the dreadful tale, Gandhi could not obtain true facts about the conduct of Sikh volunteers at the time of attack on their lives. Still he was inclined to believe that the conduct of the Akalis was non-violent. The greater possibility, according to

13. Ruchi Ram Sahni, op. cit., p. 76; according to Government report the number of those killed was 130 (Punjab Legislative Council Debates, Vol. I, 1922, p. 304).
him, was that the party entered the gurdwara as worshippers and on being attacked they did not retaliate and willingly died under a vow not to use violence in connection with the gurdwara movement. In that case, he added, "the martyrs showed courage and resignation of the martyrs-order of which the Sikhs, India and the whole world had every reason to be proud." He, therefore, designated their deed as an act of national bravery.

According to Girdhari Lal, a Congress leader of Lahore, "the members of the Jatha truly followed their leader and did not use their kirpans at all but heroically and valiantly sacrificed their lives for their faith. If they had acted otherwise, there must have been greater casualties amongst the mahant’s people."

The Government tried to pacify the Sikhs by taking action against the culprits. Twenty-nine persons were arrested. The management was handed over to the Khalsa Panth. The Governor, accompanied by a number of officials, visited the place of the tragedy. The Sikh leaders, on the other hand, made use of the inflamed sentiments of the people for extending their control over all the gurdwaras. April 5, 1921 was fixed as the Nankana Sahib Martyrs’ Day. The Sikhs were asked to wear black turbans in memory of the martyrs of Nankana Sahib. Sikh leadership now passed into the hands

16. Ibid., p. 400.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid., pp. 397-398.
20. Ruchi Ram Sahni, op. cit., p. 79.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid., p. 82.
of those who favoured opposition to the Government. Gandhi's non-cooperation movement held great appeal for them. Kharak Singh, a follower of Gandhi, was elected president of the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee. The Government turned hostile to the office-bearers of the Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee on account of their avowed connection with the non-cooperation movement. In order to take control out of the hands of the new Committee, the Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar took the keys of the treasury of the Golden Temple and planned to hand them over to his own nominee. This led to an agitation by the S. G. P. C. which resulted in the arrest and conviction of about 198 persons, including three successive presidents, four successive secretaries and practically the whole of the Working Committee of the S. G. P. C. Despite grave provocations by the Government and its agents the agitation remained non-violent that made Gandhi remark, "When born fighters become non-violent, they exhibit courage of the highest order."

Ultimately the Government was compelled to seek a compromise. It offered to return the keys of the Golden Temple on certain conditions. But the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee insisted on unconditional release of all the prisoners as the first condition of a settlement. Without even waiting for all the terms of a settlement, the Government announced its decision to release all Sikh prisoners. But the S. G. P. C. insisted on the release of non-Sikh prisoners, too, who had been

arrested in connection with the agitation relating to the Key Affair. Commending this attitude of the S. G. P. C., Gandhi wrote, "The Sikh awakening seems to be truly wonderful. Not only has Akali party become a party of effective non-violence but it is evolving a fine code of honour...." 29

On the assurance of the Government that the Hindu prisoners also would be released, the S. G. P. C. agreed to a settlement whereby the keys were restored to it. Gandhi described the unconditional return of the keys of the Golden Temple as the "first decisive battle won." 30

But it was during the "Guru Ka Bagh' Satyagraha that the Sikhs' adherence to non-violence received the severest test. "The Guru-ka-Bagh Morcha (agitation)............." according to Ruchi Ram Sahni, "was an event which would live not only in Sikh history, but also in the history of Mahatma Gandhi's non-violent, non-cooperation movement." "Having been in the thick of both the movements myself," 31 he adds, "and having watched their progress from day to day from inside, I can say in all sincerity that I do not know of another instance of a large community observing absolute non-violence, in word and deed, day after day, in the face of the severest provocation...." 32

Guru-ka-Bagh was a plot of land attached to a Sikh religious shrine near Amritsar on which acacia trees were planted to provide fire-wood for the kitchen of the shrine.

32. Ibid.
NON-VIOLENCE OF THE VALIANT

(gurdwara). The mahant of this gurdwara had earlier accepted baptism and had submitted himself to the authority of the S. G. P. C. But surprisingly he made a complaint in August 1922 to the police that some Akalis were cutting timber from his land adjoining the gurdwara without his authority. Consequently, the police arrested five Akali workers appointed by the S. G. P. C. for looking after the gurdwara in accordance with the arrangement arrived at with the mahant earlier. This incident created great resentment among the Sikhs and so the Akali leaders held a meeting at the Guru-ka-Bagh in contravention of the order under the Seditious Meetings Act. The police, in turn, dispersed the meeting and arrested the leaders.33

This action of the Government, it was strongly believed at that time, was the outcome of the participation of the Sikhs in the non-cooperation movement. It followed from the general policy of repression that the Government launched after the arrest of Gandhi.34 The Sikhs took it as a challenge to them, since it was an attempt on the part of the Government to punish them for their love of freedom. Consequently, they decided to start a non-violent agitation in order to assert their right over their religious shrines. The S. G. P. C. decided to send Jathas (band of volunteers) regularly to the Guru-ka-Bagh for cutting the wood from the land adjoining the gurdwara in order to assert their control over the gurdwara and its property. This decision created great enthusiasm in the community. Groups of volunteers poured in their hundreds and thousands into the city to participate in this religious and non-violent agitation.35 A

34. Ruchi Ram Sahni, op. cit., p. 120.
35. Ibid., p. 121.
large number of them had served in the army during the Great War.\textsuperscript{36}

According to the programme, batches of volunteers, hundred in each batch, were formed who would assemble at the Akal Takht before proceeding to the Guru-ka-Bagh in order to take a vow of observing perfect non-violence throughout the agitation.\textsuperscript{37} The police would stop them on the way, order them to disperse and on their refusal to do so, would beat them mercilessly.\textsuperscript{38} These encounters between the police and the volunteers that continued for several days created a great stir and interest in the country. The S. G. P. C. invited all the national leaders to Amritsar to watch “the ideally non-violent, spiritual struggle that is going on at Guru-ka-Bagh to obviate the possibility of misrepresentation at the hands of clever bureaucracy.”\textsuperscript{39}

In response to this invitation a number of Indian leaders visited the site personally to witness the heroic fight going on between the unarmed people and the arrogant government. The Indian National Congress appointed an Enquiry Committee to know the true facts relating to this agitation. C. F. Andrews, who visited the scene, was greatly impressed by the heroic conduct of the Akali volunteers. Describing a scene of the beating of the volunteers by the police, he observed, “There was not a cry raised from the spectators but the lips of very many of them were moving in prayer..."

---

38. Khushwant Singh, \textit{op. cit.}
who were seated in prayer, as reminding me of the shadow of the cross. What was happening to them was truly, in some dim way, a crucifixion. The Akalis were undergoing their baptism of fire, and they cried to God for help out of the depth of their agony of spirit."

Similarly, the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee reported, "The brave Akalis of the Punjab are, at the moment of writing these lines, giving an object lesson to the world in combining invincible courage with cool self-possession, which will add an inspiring chapter to the history of their race." The casualties resulting from this struggle were heavy. More than 1300 received beating and quite a large number of them were seriously injured. The Government reported that force was used against 1650 persons during this agitation.

The beating stopped on the order of the Governor who visited the scene on the persuasion of C.F. Andrews. The Government finally got out of this awkward situation as a result of the initiative of Sir Ganga Ram who got the disputed land on lease from the 'mahant' and allowed the Akalis to use the trees grown on it for the kitchen of the gurdwara. Later, in March 1923, the Government ordered the release of the Akalis arrested in connection with this agitation.

40. Ibid., p. 180.
41. Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee Report, p. 29.
44. Ruchi Ram Sahni, op. cit., pp. 148-149.
The conduct of the Sikhs won the sympathy and admiration of the Hindus. Swami Shraddhanand hastened to Amritsar to assure the Sikhs that Hindus were with them in their trial. Prof. Ruchi Ram Sahni of Lahore was associated throughout with this movement. He enjoyed the confidence of the Council of Action of the Morcha. Swami Sankracharya of Sharda Peeth especially came to witness the scenes at Guru-ka-Bagh. The Hindus of the city made liberal contributions towards the funds for looking after the volunteers. They placed spacious buildings at the disposal of the S.G.P.C. for accommodating the wounded. Some of them even offered to accommodate the injured in their homes.

About a year after the Guru-ka-Bagh agitation, the Sikhs again found themselves in confrontation with the Government over the issue relating to the succession to the throne of Nabha. In the Summer of 1923, the young Maharaja of Nabha Ripudaman Singh was made to abdicate in favour of his minor son. The Akalis felt that this was the result of the interest that the ruler of Nabha had taken in the affairs of the Akali movement. So the S.G.P.C. passed a resolution exhorting the Sikhs to observe September 9, 1923 as the "Nabha Day." In accordance with this resolution the Sikhs of Nabha arranged a non-stop recitation of the Granth Sahib in their gurdwaras. A diwan was held at Gangasar in the village Jaitu. It was interrupted by the police. A number of arrests were made. The Akalis replied to this by starting a non-violent agitation.

46. Sen, Punjab's Eminent Hindus, p. 316.
47. Ruchi Ram Sahni, op. cit., p. 110.
48. Ibid., p. 149.
49. Ibid., p. 145.
against it.\textsuperscript{50} This time Akalis were fortunate in having the advice of Gandhi for carrying on the agitation. An Akali deputation, headed by Sardar Mangal Singh, held a week-long discussion with Gandhi at Poona on this subject.\textsuperscript{51}

The latter made five suggestions to them. First, the Akalis must state the object of the gurdwara movement and their minimum demand. Secondly, they should state in unmistakable terms the gurdwaras claimed by them. Thirdly, in case of disputed claims they should favour settlement through impartial arbitration. Fourthly, the non-violent Satyagraha should be resorted to only in case the opposite party refused to submit to reason or arbitration. Fifthly, in case of a non-violent satyagraha, only one or at most two men of undoubted integrity, spiritual force and humility might be deputed to assert the right of the S.G.P.C., over a gurdwara, since the sending of large batches of volunteers, according to him, might give to the opponent the impression of the use of physical force by the Akalis.\textsuperscript{52}

The Jaitu affair attracted the attention of the leaders of the country. Great interest was shown in the matter by the delegates to the special Congress Session at Delhi in 1923. After listening to stirring accounts of the struggle from Diwan Chaman Lal as well as from some Sikh visitors, the Congress leaders evinced their deep sympathy with the Akalis engaged in the struggle. Principal Gidwani, K. Santanam and Jawaharlal Nehru reached Jaito where they were arrested.\textsuperscript{53}

\begin{itemize}
    \item 50. Khushwant Singh, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 208-209.
    \item 51. \textit{Gandhi, Collected Works}, Vol. xxiii, p. 229 n.
    \item 53. Ruchi Ram Sahni, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 200.
\end{itemize}
The struggle became so grim that the S.G.P.C started sending big batches to Jaito, contrary to the advice of Gandhi, to assert their right over the Gurdwara. But efforts were made to carry on the movement non-violently. Volunteers were required to sign a prescribed form pledging themselves to absolute non-violence before joining the movement. The Government tried to smash the movement through repression. On February 21, 1924 firing was ordered on the refusal of a batch of volunteers to disperse. This resulted in a number of casualties. The shooting aroused sympathy for the Akalis throughout India. Giving an account of the Akali struggle at Jaito, Gandhi observed, "No community has shown so much bravery, sacrifice and skill in the prosecution of its object as the Akalis. No community has maintained the passive spirit so admirably as they." He, therefore, exhorted all the Hindus and Mohammedans to give moral support to the Akalis.

The movement dragged on for a few months more until it was brought to an end by a compromise. In 1925 the Gurdwara Act acceptable to the Sikhs was passed. The Akali leaders were then released.

The struggle of the Sikhs for the reform in their religious shrines added strength to Gandhi's ideals and programme. It raised the importance of his non-violent technique of resolving social disputes. It popularised his programme of promoting 'Swadeshi', for the Sikh volunteers engaged in the struggle had been advised by their leaders to use hand-spun cloth.

---

EPILOGUE

Events in the Punjab during the period between 1919 and early 1922 revolved round Gandhi and his programme. His denunciation of the Rowlatt legislation and his decision to offer Satyagraha against this iniquitous Act stirred up political life in the Punjab. His arrest at Palwal on the tenth April, 1919, produced an unprecedented upheaval in the province. Thousands of lives were lost and untold misery seized the people of the province when the Government embarked upon a policy of throttling the agitation that followed the arrest of Gandhi. These atrocities changed Gandhi’s political outlook and transformed him from a cooperator to a non-cooperator. He declared that he would risk India’s connection with Britain and even anarchy in the country in order to save the honour of the Punjab.¹ Thus the redress of the Punjab wrongs was one of the major aims of his non-cooperation movement.

This period marked a glorious chapter in the history of the Punjab, for during this short span of time all the communities in the province were united against the alien government ruling over them. “It is a fact,” observed Lajpat Rai, “that from 1919 to the end of 1921 Hindus and Muslims of India were fairly


(177)
united. It was during this period that for the first time in the history of India a Kafir preached from the pulpit of the biggest and historically the most important and the most magnificent mosque of Northern India.  

The credit for bringing all the communities together on a common platform in the country in general and Punjab in particular went to Gandhi. As already pointed out, Punjab had quite a few eminent men but unfortunately none of them commanded the confidence of all the communities. Gandhi brought all the communities nearer to the national movement.

Earlier enthusiasm for the national movement was mostly confined to the Hindus in the Punjab. Some Sikhs, of course, participated in the revolutionary movement. But the number of revolutionaries was very small. Very few Sikhs took interest in the activities of the Indian National Congress that aimed at welding together all the communities of India into a strong nation. It was as a result of Gandhi's efforts that a large number of Sikhs started taking interest in the programme of the Congress. Sixty-five delegates attended the Congress Session at Ahmedabad in 1921. To Gandhi this was a remarkable political phenomenon since, according to him, only a few Sikhs attended the Session of Indian National Congress two years earlier. This confirmed Gandhi's assessment that the Sikh community "was everywhere pushing itself forward in all national movements." Besides, the Sikhs were indebted to Gandhi for acquainting them with the non-violent technique for resolving social conflicts which they

---

3. Supra.
5. Ibid.
applied in purifying their religious shrines. The Akali struggle at the Guru-ka-Bagh gave practical demonstration of the high idealism and heroism underlying Gandhi’s technique of Satyagraha. The fact that one of the most excitable of communities could be trained and disciplined within a few months as soldiers of a non-violent army showed how high human nature could rise. A new heroism steeled by suffering had risen.

Undoubtedly the Akalis carried on their movement for the reform of the Gurdwaras non-violently. But at times in their enthusiasm for the reform of their religion and self-sacrifice they missed the significance of Gandhi’s advice given to them with a view to facilitating the amicable settlement of the dispute between two sections of their community. Gandhi wanted the Akalis to resort to non-violent struggle involving self-suffering only when the other party refused to the settlement of dispute by other peaceful methods such as private impartial arbitration. Secondly, he impressed upon them to refrain from arousing fear in the minds of the opponents by big demonstrations or by sending a large number of persons at a time to assert the right of the S.G.P.C. of the possession of a Gurdwara. In fact, possession of great capacity for self-suffering, though an important prerequisite of a non-violent technique, does not essentially guarantee its success. Patience and tactfulness are also demanded of those who have been assigned the task of guiding the movement, since it has to be carried on in a manner that would win the maximum goodwill of the opponent and would give him minimum offence to resort to violence. Strategy and tactics are important not only in conflicts where parties to the dispute aim at settling it through violence. They are equally important for a non-violent.

campaign seeking a solution of a social conflict. The organisers of a non-violent struggle cannot ignore psychological factor that prompts human action as well as their political, social and economic environments while devising their programme and tactics. They have to convince the other party to which the campaign is addressed that not only their demand is just but that they have no other motive behind their campaign except the elimination of the factor that has locked them in a conflict-situation. For that matter the nature of the demand has to be specifically made and it has to be reduced to the minimum possible extent. Similarly proper public opinion has to be built up in order to bring about moral pressure on the opponent to dissociate himself from the perpetration of injustice in society. Similarly they have to see that no third party takes an undue advantage of their dispute.

It is because of all these reasons that Gandhi advised the Akalis to suspend, at least for some time, their movement of acquiring control over gurdwaras after the tragedy of Nankana Sahib. In a letter to the Sikhs of Lahore, he wrote, “There are two ways open to you: either establishing arbitration boards for settlement of possession of all gurdwaras or temples claimed to be gurdwaras or postponement of the question till the attainment of Swaraj. If you would let the martyrdom of Nankana bear fruit, exemplary self-restraint and suspension of the movement to take possession of gurdwaras by means of Akali parties are absolutely necessary.”

But it must not be construed that Gandhi wanted the postponement of reforms in the Sikh religious shrines, which was the professed aim of the gurdwara movement, till the attainment of the Swaraj. He only desired the settlement of the question of

the possession of the gurdwaras by amicable means. So he suggested the settlement of this question through arbitration boards, for he felt that the employment of the technique by the Akalis of sending large Jathas (batches) of volunteers to assert the right of the S.G.P.C. of the possession of gurdwaras would give the impression of the show of force to their opponents and thereby would prompt the latter to defend their claims by violence.

Again, the people of the Punjab carried out the programme of non-cooperation with great zeal. Punjab's efforts in popularising 'Swadeshi' and in collecting money for 'Tilak Swaraj Fund' received Gandhi's commendation. Similarly the programme of the boycott of councils won his admiration. Again the movement gathered momentum in the country as a result of fearless defiance by the leaders of the Punjab of the order of the Punjab Government declaring the meeting of the Punjab Provincial Committee illegal. This event marked the beginning of the non-cooperation movement in the country on a large scale.

The movement was carried on non-violently in the province. The patience and self-restraint shown by the volunteers and the crowd witnessing the scenes of police excesses against the volunteers demonstrated that the people of the province lived up to the Mahatma's expectations.

Despite Punjab's unstinted support to Gandhi's programme of non-cooperation, some leaders of the province had doubts about his prudence of connecting the Khilafat issue with the non-cooperation movement. To Lajpat Rai the adoption of Khilafat programme by Gandhi appeared as a gamble. In a

private talk with a correspondent, he said, "Do you realise that in our effort to carry the Muslims with us we had adopted the Khilafat programme which, if successful, will make them more fanatical? I have this conflict in mind. We have to get rid of the British; we have to carry the Muslims with us. Maybe this gamble of the Mahatma will pay off. I shall watch and devise my course of action later. For the present, I go with Gandhi. To the extent it will strengthen the nationalist movement and revive faith in our own culture, I will back it." He, therefore, considered the redress of the Punjab wrongs as a better basis for the non-cooperation movement than the redress of the Khilafat wrongs which had their roots in the religious sentiments of the orthodox Muslims.

Another Hindu leader, Shraddhanand, also feared that the Muslims' enthusiasm for the Khilafat programme would only intensify their orthodoxy and their hatred for the non-Muslims. He even warned Gandhi that the cry of Jehad raised by the Muslims against Kafirs in the Khilafat conferences could be worked up against the Hindus, too, any time. On this point Mohammed Ali Jinnah was at one with the Hindu leaders. It is reported that he deplored the Khilafat agitation on the ground that it would bring the "reactionary mullah element to the surface."

The wisdom of connecting the Khilafat issue with the non-cooperation movement is a debatable issue. Subhas Chandra

---

11. *Supra*, p. 87
Bose, who was not fully satisfied with the way Gandhi conducted the non-cooperation movement, did not object to the linking of the two issues. For him, the real mistake did not lie in connecting the Khilafat issue with other national issues, but in allowing the Khilafat Committee to be set up as an independent organisation throughout the country, quite apart from the Indian National Congress. The result, according to him, of this was that when, later on, Kemal Pasha forced the Sultan to abdicate and abolished the Khilafat altogether, the Khilafat question lost all meaning and significance and the majority of the members of the Khilafat organisations were absorbed by sectarian, reactionary and pro-British organisations.\(^\text{13}\) No doubt the response of the Muslims to the national movement became lukewarm after the elimination of the Khilafat issue, but it is doubtful that their enthusiasm for the national movement could have been aroused by asking them to join the Indian National Congress for the redress of the Khilafat wrongs.

Further, it is true that the issue of Khilafat had an appeal only for one community. Its basis was communal. Gandhi was not unaware of this fact. But he believed that the sympathy of the Hindus with the Muslims over the Khilafat issue would not only bring the two communities nearer but would also annihilate Muslims' apathy to the national movement which had been a great stumbling block to its growth in the country. For some time this policy yielded rich dividends. But unfortunately this period of courtship between the two communities was too short to bind them permanently into a wedlock. What followed on the withdrawal of the movement was not a happy experience for the Punjab. The unity that the province had experienced gave

\(^{13}\) Subhas Chandra Bose, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-63.
way before the communal hatred. Ironically, the Punjab, whose ordeal under the O'Dwyer regime brought Gandhi on the national scene, also gave rise to the communal tangle that strained his nerves and wits to the maximum throughout his life and demanded his continuous attention to the politics of this province till his death.

Nevertheless, in spite of the unhappy experiences of the Punjab following the withdrawal of the non-cooperation movement, its gains were never lost sight of even by those who did not endorse Gandhi's action of withdrawing the movement.\textsuperscript{14} It was never forgotten that it was as a result of the non-cooperation movement that the message of liberty, national self-respect, patriotism, truth, non-violence, and simplicity had reached every hamlet in the land. The pitch of political consciousness during this period of two years of the movement rose to a height in the province never dreamt before.

\textsuperscript{14} Lajpat Rai, \textit{Writings and Speeches}, Vol. ii, p. 144.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books


Devi, Sarla, *At the Point of the Spindle* (Madras : Ganesh & Co.)

Devi, Sarla, *The Song of Charkha* (Madras : Ganesh & Co.)

Duni Chand, *The Ulster of India* (Lahore : By the Author, 1936).


Khuahish, L.R., *The Punjab's Who is Who* (Lahore: Indian Marketing Co.)


BIBLIOGRAPHY


Lajpat Rai, *Young India* (Lahore: Servants of the People Society, 1927)


**Documents**

- Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee Report
- Indian National Congress, 1920-23, being a collection of resolutions of the Congress and All-India Congress Committee of the Congress from 1920 to December 1923 (Allahabad, 1924).
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Reference Works

The Indian Annual Register, Edited by H.N. Mitra, The Indian Annual Register Office, 1920.
The Indian Annual Register, 1921.
The Indian Annual Register, 1922.

Newspapers and Journals

The Indian Review, Volume XX, 1919.
The Indian Review, Volume XXIII, 1922.
The Modern Review, March-April, 1919, June 1919, 1937.
The Tribune, 1919-1922; March 26, 1957.
INDEX

Aga Safdar, 130.
Ajit Singh, 18, 19.
Akalis, 166, 167, 173; and Gandhi, 167, 179; and Gurdwara Movement, 166, 167, 172, 179.
Amir Chand, 19.
Andrews, C. F., 80, 85, 172, 173.
Arya Samaj, 50, 66, 79, 83, 93; aims and objects, 109; and education, 134, 135; and Gandhi, 110; and the national movement, 109; origin of, 109; social activities of, 109, 110; and Swadeshi Movement 145; and untouchability, 152.
Aurobindo, 4.
Banerji, Surendranath, 4, 15.
Besant, Annie, 3, 4, 7, 10, 24.
Bhagat Ram, Raizada, 26, 56.
Bhargava, Gopi Chand, 122.
Bose, Subhas Chandra, 76, 182.
Champan Satyagraha, 7, 8.
Chelmsford, Lord, 61.
Civil Disobedience Movement, 114, 120, 124.
Curzon, Lord, 14, 15.
Das, C. R., 55, 58, 75, 76.
Dayanand, 94, 110.

Duni Chand, (of Ambala), 88, 102, 130, 150, 162; on Gandhi, 100; and non-cooperation movement, 100.

Duni Chand, (of Lahore), 14, 36, 43, 49, 88, 92, 127, 130; and Indian National Congress, 99; and Lawrence Statue Satyagraha, 99; and non-cooperation movement, 99; political work of, 98, 99; and Rowlatt Act Agitation, 99.

Dutt, Rambhuj, 36, 37, 39, 43, 49, 50, 88, 98; and Arya Samaj, 90, 102; and Gandhi, 89, 91, 92; and Indian National Congress, 89, 90, 92; and Khilafat, 92; and non-cooperation movement, 93; and Rowlatt Act Agitation, 90, 91.


Extremists, 3, 4; and Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, 11; political ideology of, 5.

Fazl-i-Husain 15, 25, 88, 113, 114; and Gandhi, 114, 115; political work of, 114.

Fazlul Haq, 55.

Gandhi, M. K., 7, 8, 9, 38, 40, 41, 43, 47; and Akalis, 167, 179; and Amritsar Session of Congress, 57, 58; on Arya Samaj, 110, 112; and the British Empire, 6, 9, 10, 27, 53, 55, 62; on Dayanand, 110; on Duni Chand of Ambala, 100; on education, 134; on Fazl-i-Husain, 115; and the First World War, 2, 9, 70; and the Gurdwara Movement, 167, 168, 170, 175, 180; on Guru Nanak, 111; and the Hindu-Muslim Unity, 40, 113; and Jallianwala Baghi, 50, 62; on Kharak Singh, 101; and Lajpat Rai, 19, 63, 64, 67, 68, 122; and Lawrence Statue Satyagraha, 127; and the Martial Law atrocities in the Punjab, 47, 48, 49, 53, 62; and Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, 11, 56; and non-violence, 2, 3, 30, 163; and non-cooperation movement, 104, 105, 106, 107, 129; and O'Dwyer, 26, 27, 30, 60; philosophy of life, 30; and the
INDEX

193

Punjabis in Canada, 21; on Punjabis’ character, 51; and Punjab’s disturbances in 1919, 60; on Punjab’s history, 12; on Punjab’s Muslims, 113; on Punjab’s women, 156, 161; on Rumbhuj Dutt, 89, 91, 92; and Rowlatt Act Agitation, 33, 34, 35, 37, 40; and Satyagraha, 30, 31, 60, 95; on Sardul Singh, 101; and Shraddhanand, 77, 79, 80, 81, 82, 84; on Sikhs, 178; and Swadeshi Movement, 144, 145; on women, 154, 155.

Ghadr party, 19, 22, 93.

Ghadrites, 21, 22.

Gokhale, 1, 4, 5, 6, 67, 80.

Gregg, Richard, 32.

Gurdt Singh, 21, 22.

Gurdwara Movement, 165-170, 174, 175, 176.

Guru-ka-Bagh Satyagraha, 170-174, 179.

Guru Nanak, 111, 136.

Hans Raj, Raizada, 148, 150

Hardyal, 19, 20, 22, 93; and Revolutionary Movement 20; on National Education 20, 135; and Passive Resistance, 20.

Hardinge, Lord, 19, 85.

Harkishan Lal, 36, 39, 43, 49, 58, 92, 115, 119; and Gandhi, 117; political work of, 116; and Rowlatt Act Agitation, 116, 117.

Home Rule Movement, 3, 7, 10, 24, 29; in Punjab, 24.

Indian National Congress, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 14, 15, 102, 105, 118, 178; Amritsar Session of, 16, 25, 57, 58, 59; Lahore Session of, 13, 14; Report on Punjab disturbances 61; Sub-committee on the Punjab Wrongs, 54, 55.

Jinnah, M. A., 7, 182.

Kharak Singh, 88, 100, 111, 169; and Indian National Congress, 101; and Gandhi, 101, 111; and Sikh League, 100.


Kitchlew, Saif-ud-din, 37, 41, 49, 56, 60, 88, 94, 96, 119, 121, 138; and Indian National Congress, 98; political work of, 97; and non-cooperation movement, 130.

Komagata Maru, 20, 23.

Kukas, 132; and boycott of English Educational System, 134; and Panchayats, 132; and Swadeshi, 145.

Lajpat Rai, 14, 15, 18, 22, 62, 90, 98, 102, 117, 119, 128, 130; and the Arya Samaj, 66; and the British Empire, 15, 70; and Colonization Bill Agitation, 18, 67; and the Extremists, 68; and Gandhi, 19, 63, 65, 66, 69, 70, 71, 76, 125, 179; on Hindu-Muslim unity, 70, 71; and Indian National Congress, 65, 67, 68; and Indian Revolutionaries, 73; influence over Punjab politics, 102; and National Education, 134, 135, 138; and non-cooperation movement, 74, 75, 76, 117, 118, 122, 130, 137; and non-violence, 72, 73; and Swadeshi, 145; and Tilak, 67.

Land Alienation Act, 16.

Lawrence, John, 28.

Lawrence Statue Satyagraha, 126, 127.

Malaviya, M.M., 75, 85.

Martial Law, in Punjab, 44, 45, 46, 47, 52.

Mehta, Pherozeshah, 4, 5.

Moderates, 3, 2, 117; and Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, 10; political ideology of, 4, 5.

Montagu, 7, 10, 54, 55, 56, 92; Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, 10.
INDEX 195

Morley, 17.
Murlidhar, 145.
Muslim League, 6, 113; and the Punjab, 113.
Mul Raj, 145.
Narang, Gokul Chand, 36.
Nehru, J. L., 41, 58, 76, 85.
Nehru, Moti Lal, 16, 75, 76, 85.
Naoroji, Dadabhai, 4.
National Education, 110, 134, 135, 139, 140, 141.
Non-violent Technique, 179, 180.
O'Dwyer, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 44, 60, 61, 135.
Pal, B. C., 4.
Panchayats, 132, 133.
Parmanand, Bhai, 88, 93, 94; and National Education, 146; and non-cooperation movement, 94.
Punjab, area, 12; economic condition, 16; and Indian National Congress, 25, 97; and the First World War, 23, 24; geographical position 12; under Martial Law, 44, 45, 52, 59, 60; and Muslim League, 113; and the national movement, 13, 14, 24, 25; and the non-cooperation movement, 105, 106, 108, 117, 118, 119, 120, 130, 131, 134, 181; and the establishment of Panchayats, 132, 133; and the partition of Bengal, 15, 16; political agitation in, 17, 18; Revolutionary movement in, 19, 20; programme of National Education in, 134, 139, 140, 141; Rowlatt Act Agitation in, 13, 25, 31, 33, 36, 37, 44, 177; Swadeshi Movement in, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149; drive against Untouchability in, 152.
Punjab Students, and the Rowlatt Act Agitation, 43, 45, 46, 47;
and Gandhi 47, 135; and non-cooperation movement, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139.

Radhakrishan, 49.
Rajagopalachari, 34.
Ram Singh, 132, 145.
Rash Behari, 19.
Ray, Kalinath, 19.
Sahni, Ruchi Ram, 121, 140, 174.
Sain Das, 145.
Santanam, K., 122, 175.
Sardul Singh, Caveeshar, 88, 100; and the Congress, 101; and Gandhi, 101; and Sikh League, 100.
Sarla Devi, 88, 157, 158, 160; on Gandhi, 158, 159.
Satyagraha, 30, 32, 33, 34; methods of, 33, 34, 56; and war 32.
Satyadeva, 38.
Satyapal, 39, 40, 41, 48, 49, 56, 60, 88, 94, 97, 140; and Gandhi 95, 97; and non-cooperation movement 96; political work of, 95; and Rowlatt Act Agitation, 95, 96, 98.
Sherwood, Miss, 41.
Shraddhanand, 50, 52, 56, 77, 174; and Arya Samaj, 79; and Gandhi, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 84, 86, 87; and Indian National Congress, 85; and propagation of Hindi, 86, 87; work during Martial Law administration in the Punjab, 84; and National Education, 79; and Rowlatt Act Agitation, 77, 78; Sikhs, and the First World War, 164; and Indian National Congress, 178; and Gandhi, 178; and non-cooperation movement, 111, 112, 164; and non-violence, 165.

Sikh League, 111, 165, 166; and Gandhi, 110, 111; and non-cooperation movement, 112.
Swadeshi Movement, 59, 144, 147, 148, 149; and the Arya Samaj, 145; in the Punjab, 144, 145, 146.

Tagore, R. N., 80, 88; message to Amritsar Session of Congress, 36.

Tayabji, Abbas, 55.

Temperance Movement, in the Punjab, 150, 151; role in the non-cooperation movement, 151.

Tilak, B. G., 3, 4, 5, 7, 10, 55, 58, 67.

Tilak Swaraj Fund, 108; Punjab’s efforts for, 142, 143.

Untouchability, 152, 153; and Arya Samaj 152; and Lajpat Rai, 152.