

CONFIDENTIAL.

DELHI RECORDS.

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**GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.
HOME DEPARTMENT.**

POLITICAL—DEPOSIT.

Proceedings, July 1920, no. 106.

Fortnightly Reports on the Internal Political Situation for the 2nd half of July 1920.

PREVIOUS REFERENCES.

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NOTES.

POLITICAL DEPOSIT, JULY 1920.

No. 106.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORTS ON THE INTERNAL POLITICAL SITUATION FOR THE
2ND HALF OF JULY 1920.

2. Meetings held in Madras in the earlier part of the fortnight to assist the *Khilafat* agitation were not a success and prominent citizens were notable for their absence. At one meeting on the 25th some 2,000 persons attended but of these it was stated that half were Hindus and the only persons of note were Yakub Hasan and Kasturiranga Ayyangar. There have also been dissensions in the *Khilafat* Committee, caused by the approach of the 1st August and the difficulty of coming to a decision about non-co-operation by that date. Apart from Yakub Hasan the most energetic public advocates of non-co-operation are Hindus, conspicuous among them being C. Rajagopalachari. The majority of the local committee, including Khan Bahadur Kuddhus Badsha, the President, and Ab'ul Majid Sharer of the *Qaumi Report* think that Madras is not yet ready for a movement on a large scale and that they should wait for the decision of the Special Congress. This party wrote to Shaukat Ali explaining the division in the Committee and the unpreparedness of Madras and it appears that, at the last moment, on the advice of the Central *Khilafat* Committee it has been decided that the 1st August should be observed as the third *Khilafat* day and that there should be a meeting on the Beach with general *hartal* and offering of prayers, but that the resignation of titles and honorary offices should be postponed. There is a distinct disinclination among title holders to give up their titles, and the president of the committee himself is in no hurry to renounce his; and another member of the *Khilafat* committee gave an entertainment on the 19th in honour of those gentlemen who were recently the recipients of titles at which they were garlanded and wished success in life. Another Muhammadan has written a pamphlet, which has not yet appeared, exposing the doings of the Committee and contending that the agitation has not the sanction of the learned Ulemas in Madras and that the members of the Committee have other motives than the revision of the Turkish Peace Treaty. It is alleged that the money that has been collected is being improperly spent. On the other hand many of the younger Muhammadans, who have nothing to give up, are keen propagandists; and Mr. Syed Yusuf, who was the only candidate for Yakub Hasan's vacancy on the local legislative council and has therefore been declared elected, has written to the papers declaring that he allowed himself to be nominated only for the purpose of preventing the seat being filled by nomination and that he has no intention of taking the oath of allegiance. The *Muhammadan*, a recently revived newspaper, published on the 22nd a full page advertisement headed "*Khilafat* Killing Treaty" urging *hartal* on the 1st and the holding of meetings everywhere, but stating that there were to be no processions and that all Government orders and regulations should be strictly obeyed, but no such appeal as that referred to in the telegrams from the Government of Bengal has come to the notice of the Government of Madras.

3. The replies of the officers who were asked to investigate the signatures attached to the Muhammadan ultimatum to the Viceroy show that, as expected, several of the alleged signatories deny having signed, while many of those who did sign were young men of no status; of all the signatures obtained in Trichinopoly only two were those of men of local importance, and some cannot be identified at all.

4. There was a *Khilafat* meeting at Trichinopoly on the 18th, organized and chiefly attended by Hindu extremists, and presided over by V. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar, till lately a fugitive from justice in connection with the Jackson murder. In Bareilly, V. P. Madhava Rao, ex-Diwan of Mysore, has been presiding over a district conference, the acceptance at which by a few politicians who have hitherto called themselves moderates of a resolution recording "substantial agreement"

with those of the Amritsar Congress has been hailed by the *Hindu* as a "Nationalist Victory". At Madura there have been meetings to protest against the pronouncement of the Government that the Sourashtras, a local weaving caste, should for the purpose of the elections be treated as non-Brahmins and resolutions were passed to the effect that His Excellency the Governor should receive no public welcome on his recent visit to the place and also that, unless their claim to be Brahmins was recognized, no Sourashtras should take any part in the elections. Many of the speakers at these meetings did not belong to the caste affected and it does not appear that the proceeding had much effect on the general public; His Excellency had an enthusiastic reception at Madura; and at least one Sourashtra is said to have announced his candidature. It may be mentioned that Mr. Tulsi Ram, one of the leaders of the community, was a prominent member of the non-Brahmin delegation to England last year.

5. Nothing more has been heard lately of the threat to organize a general strike of all services; this is no doubt due to the fact that the vagueness in the objects to be attained by the strike did not appeal to those who had jobs to lose. The Government have also advised (see paragraph 3 of my last report) that Kalyanasundara Mudaliyar's speech urging a general strike was not actionable under the criminal law and no further action has been taken. The committee to enquire into labour questions has not yet begun work, as neither the employers nor the workmen have nominated their representatives.

A good many of the compositors at the Government Press are still out on strike and the Superintendent is endeavouring to replace them. The work of the Press has not been entirely disorganized by the strike as the other sections of the Press did not join the strikers. A strike which has been going on for a long time at three private presses has been brought to a conclusion but the Government have not yet heard on what terms. The S. P. C. K. men are still out and neither they nor their employers show any disposition to compromise. The matter in dispute is not pay but discipline, the men asserting that the rules which the managers wish to enforce would place them entirely in the power of the latter. Although another strike by the men working at the Oil Companies was confidently expected, this has not come off, though there have been rumours of trouble both at the Burma Oil Company's Installation and the Asiatic Petroleum Company. It is reported that the men's Union has started holding enquiries into matters of discipline and that one workman has been found guilty of sleeping during work hours and has been dismissed, and that three others have been tried for other offences and have been let off as it was their first offence. No confirmation of this has, however, been obtained as yet.

The latest news with regard to the postal union is that the men adhere to their determination to strike on the 5th August. At a meeting on the 11th July a notice was read out to them warning them that if they went on strike on the 5th August, not only would they forfeit their security but they would also be liable to imprisonment and fine under Section 50 of the Post Office Act. At an other meeting a week later they again expressed a determination to go on strike on the fixed date, but on the 25th there were signs that they were not quite so sure. A meeting was held on that day on the Beach but it dispersed owing to rain and no decision was arrived at. The communiqué issued from Simla stating that an increase of pay has been sanctioned and that the Postmaster-General is doing everything that he can to expedite matters, has had some effect, and Mr. Kumaraswami Chetti, the president of the union, is credited with a wish to delay the strike, but the men having passed a resolution calling a strike on the 5th, profess to consider themselves bound to act up to it unless the authorities make a definite statement about the increments that they are to receive.

Five hundred of the gang coolies on the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway are still on strike, but the Railway authorities are rapidly replacing them and are managing without Government or military assistance. There have been some complaints that the strikers have been removing keys from the line and so endangering the permanent way, but there appears to have been no accidents as yet.

The *Hindu* continues its virulent anti-British campaign, the text being still last year's disturbances in the Punjab and the alleged excesses of the officials who suppressed them. Other Indian owned papers join in condemning the tone of the

debates in Parliament and especially in the House of Lords. All attack the Dyer fund but the vernacular press is divided in opinion on the question of non-co-operation. There has been considerable support of the proposal not to welcome the Prince of Wales, but so far no comment on the report that reasons of health may render necessary a postponement of His Royal Highness' visit.

There are signs of the approaching dissolution of the *Desabhaktan*, the most extreme Tamil newspaper in Madras ; it now no longer appears daily and is coming out tri-weekly. Its editor, Kalyanasundara Mudaliyar, is mentioned as the most suitable person to take up the editorship of the proposed labour organ. There is, however, at present no signs of the requisite capital for the starting of such a paper being available.

Yours sincerely,
R. A. GRAHAM.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. McPherson, C.S.I., I.C.S.,

*Secretary to the Government of India,
Home Department, Simla.*

SECRET.

No. S.D.-716.

SPECIAL DEPARTMENT,

POONA,

The 31st July 1920.

MY DEAR MCPHERSON,

I am desired to submit my report for the fortnight ending the 31st July 1920.

2. *Political*.—We have telegraphed the Government of India regarding the publication by Gandhi in *Young India* of an account of the death of the *Muhajirin* at Kacha Garhi on practically the same lines as that which Maulvi Abdul Gaffur, General Secretary of the Peshawar *Khilafat* Committee, telegraphed to the Press—see paragraph 3 of my memorandum no. 680-S.D., dated the 22nd July. It would appear that this version is gaining general currency and belief and it is important that the full facts of the case should be published with the least possible delay.

Regarding tomorrow's *hartal*, no violence or undue excitement is anticipated and the indications are that it will be on a scale even smaller than that of the last. General opinion is hardening against non-co-operation and the Western India and other associations and leaders have issued manifestoes condemning it and warning the general public against giving it the least support. It will be seen from the accompanying report of the Commissioner of Police, Bombay, on the *Khilafat* situation that elsewhere in India they find the 1st of August too early for the inauguration of non-co-operation which is all to the good as the success of the *hartal* will in this instance depend not so much on the general suspension of business as in the number and importance of resignations of titles and public offices. It will also be noticed from the Commissioner of Police's report that two more Muhammadans of local influence have resigned their membership of the Central *Khilafat* Committee. On the other hand, I have just heard from the Commissioner of Police that Sheriff Devji Kanji is resigning from the Legislative Council. It must be recognized that loyal Muhammadans find it very difficult to accept the surrender of Thrace, especially Adrianople, and Smyrna to the Greeks—it is here that Moslem *amour propre* is most affected—and to reconcile this surrender with the pledges of His Majesty's Government and this if anything is responsible for the lack of any public support by them against non-co-operation much as they dislike and distrust it. The *Khilafat* deputation are expected to leave Europe shortly. They admit that their mission was a hopeless failure and Mahomed Ali will probably feel it all the keener for the way he was taken in by the French and the grandiloquent messages of hope which he sent out regularly based on Italian and French support. Inquiries are being made whether the boycott of recruitment for Mesopotamia has been included by the Central *Khilafat* Committee in the first stage of the non-co-operation programme—see your telegram no. 2965 of yesterday's date—but our information so far would appear to suggest that Gandhi is rather fighting shy of any such illegal propaganda and has for that reason apparently dropped the third stage—resignations from the Army and Police. It may be noticed, however, that Qidwai wired from London to Abdul Bari suggesting that the Special Congress Sessions and *Khilafat* Conference should demand the recall of all Indian troops, not only from Mesopotamia but also from Egypt and the inclusion of recruiting in the first stage of non-co-operation. It will further be remembered that the Council of the All-India Moslem League recently passed a resolution appealing to the Government of India to desist from sending any more Moslem or Indian troops to the Middle East to be used against Moslems in "repressing their patriotic and religious movement to avoid non-Moslem dominion or control and to withdraw such troops already there at an early date". The *Bombay Chronicle* has taken the matter up and its issue of the 27th contains a strongly worded leader against the irresponsible and reckless way, to quote its own words, in which Indian troops are being kept and utilized abroad for the purpose of aggrandisement of interests which have little to do with either the safety or welfare of India not to mention the moral issues involved—the whole with special reference to the mandates

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for Mesopotamia and Palestine. We may expect a sustained press campaign on the subject and it is not improbable that the Special Congress Session will give the matter their warm support as an easy way of covering their refusal to endorse the non-co-operation programme which seems to be a foregone conclusion.

Two Maulvis in Sind are being proceeded against under section 108, Criminal Procedure Code, for objectionable speeches made by them recently in the *Khilafat* campaign and Government have sanctioned the prosecution of one of the Pirs referred to in paragraph 2 of my last fortnightly. The other two sent in rather lukewarm apologies, but the case against them was not so strong and so it was decided to accept their apologies and make the most of them for publicity purposes. Three men of the armed police in Sind have given in their names to be included in the next batch of *Muhajirin* and there have been one or two further resignations in the clerical service. On the other hand, I enclose a copy of a Press-note issued by the Commissioner in Sind in connection with the withdrawal of a resignation sent in by a Tapidar. The District Magistrate, Karachi, writes that the enthusiasm of the few *hijrat* preachers at Bathore has subsided as two of their own boys have run away without their permission whom they were anxious to stop from *hijrat*. "They have given up preaching but they want their dear boys back now." This is almost as good as the frantic appeal of one of the *Muhajirin* officials at Peshawar asking the Central *Khilafat* Committee to move Government to supply lorries to carry *Muhajirs* from Peshawar to Kabul, referred to in paragraph 3 of the Commissioner of Police's report.

The organizers of the Sind *Khilafat* Conference evidently found the Thar and Parkar District too unresponsive for their purposes and they hastily transferred the venue to Hyderabad. Gandhi, Shaikat Ali, Chauduri Rambhuj Dutt and his wife and most of the Sind agitators were present. There were violent speeches of which a summary has just reached me. I fancy our reports will be full and accurate and can be corroborated by the District Deputy Collector and the Deputy Superintendent of Police who were present to watch the proceedings. So far as I can gather Shaikat Ali went all out for the propagation of disorder. There was some very bad stuff about the death of Habibulla at Peshawar and it is clear that unless the Government of India can get out at once a full, reliable and convincing report of that affair backed up by a publication of the evidence and an invitation to any who try to deny the truth of the Government's statement to come forward and give their evidence in open Court, there will be a lot more trouble about it. As I have noted above Gandhi has got on to it and it will be worked hard in Sind.

Extremist circles are making the most of the House of Lords debate on General Dyer's case, but there is a growing feeling in favour of dropping the whole subject and starting afresh.

From a telegram noticed in the censorship it would appear that Gandhi has strongly advised Delhi against defying the local prohibition against public meetings or taking any other illegal steps.

The *Hindu Vande Mataram* of Hyderabad (Sind) and the *Hindu* published in the same Province have published letters from New York, from the "Indian Information Bureau" containing extracts from various papers and opinions on the Hunter Report and the world situation generally *vis-à-vis* the British Empire of a violently *anti*-British and mischievous nature. These letters, it is believed, reach India in single printed sheets headed "Indian News Service of the Friends of Freedom for India", New York, a society of whose activities the Government of India must be fully aware. It is understood that the Director of Central Intelligence in co-operation with the Postal authorities has been endeavouring to prevent entry of these news sheets into India. The Government of Bombay are addressing Commerce as to the advisability of prohibiting their entry into India under the Sea Customs Act. Such a notification will at least ensure against reproduction and the wide publicity which these news letters at present receive.

With the approval of Government, the District Magistrate, Karachi, has demanded a security of Rs. 2,000 from the printer and publisher of the *Al Wahid* newspaper of Karachi, a local *Khilafat* organ whose tone has been consistently bad and whose last article considered was held to offend against section 124-A., Indian Penal Code.

3. *Press*.—The passing of Lord Finlay's resolution about General Dyer in the House of Lords was received with an outburst of condemnation. The *Bombay Chronicle* wrote : " The verdict means the end of all talk of putting faith in Parliament. The challenge of the Lords is a challenge to every Indian, be he a Nationalist or a Moderate, that his life is valuable, but not so valuable as that of a European ". In the opinion of the *Sanj Vartaman* the passing of the resolution had " aggravated the wounds of the Indian people ", while according to the *Hindustan*, " the dream of those who believed that the structure of the British administration rested on this foundation of justice will be dispelled ". The *Praja Mitra and Parsi*, the *Jam-e-Jamshed* and the *Shri Venkatesh war Samachar* declared that the Lords' decision was bound to shake the confidence of the people in British justice. The *Bombay Samachar*, on the other hand, asked Indians not to attach undue importance to the resolution and to take consolation in the high ideals placed before them by Mr. Montagu.

Non-co-operation continued to engage the attention of the Press, Mr. Gandhi and his organs defending the movement and papers like the *Jam-e-Jamshed*, the *Praja Mitra and Parsi* and the *Kaiser-i-Hind* writing against it and complaining that the bitter lessons of the last *Satyagraha* movement had apparently been lost upon Mr. Gandhi. Anxiety was expressed as to how the *hartal* on 1st August declared by Mr. Gandhi would pass off.

The warning uttered by Mr. Montagu in the House of Commons against Mr. Gandhi's propaganda was received with disapprobation by most of the papers, except the *Jam-e-Jamshed* which considered the warning to be very opportune. The *Indian Social Reformer* declared that Government would be committing the gravest blunder if they contemplated forcible restriction of Mr. Gandhi's activities " Several Indians ", it said, " who do not see eye-to-eye with him, will be forced into situations which they have not contemplated and which they do not relish ". The paper also declared that any measure of forcible repression directed against Mr. Gandhi would surely lead to a conflagration. In the opinion of the *Bombay Chronicle*, Mr. Montagu's warning " will cause intense and widespread alarm throughout the country ". According to the *Sanj Vartaman*, the officials have not as yet understood the aims of non-co-operation, otherwise Mr. Montagu would never have issued the warning. The *Hindustan* contended that it would not be right to give a free hand to the Indian Government in the matter as the country had not yet forgotten what took place last year as a result of such a policy. The *New Times* declared that Mr. Gandhi was not a man to be frightened by such methods, nor would the *Khilafat* movement or the spirit behind it be thus broken. *Dnyan Prakash* did not think Mr. Gandhi's movement to be mischievous and declared that Mr. Montagu's determination of support to the Government of India in all the steps it took to preserve peace foreboded trouble.

The warning issued to the *Khilafat* workers in Sind was somewhat adversely criticized. The *Bombay Chronicle* declared " it was not statesmanlike to take or even contemplate taking steps that will prevent the people from giving expression to their feelings at a time when there can be nothing more dangerous than the stifling of those feelings ". The *Sanj Vartaman* admitted that the charges made by Government against *Khilafat* speakers were serious but suspected the Criminal Investigation Department to be at the bottom of the allegations. At the same time it asked the *Khilafat* Committee to be very careful in the selection of speakers. The *Praja Mitra and Parsi* approved of the warning and expressed the hope that the *Khilafat* workers would be extremely cautious in selecting speakers. The *Indian Social Reformer* also hoped that " the advice tendered in such admirable spirit " by the Government Press-note would meet with a ready response.

Yours sincerely,

A. MONTGOMERIE.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. McPHERSON, C. S.I., I.C.S.,

Secretary to the Government of India,

Home Department, Simla.

Copy of the report of the Commissioner of Police, Bombay, on the "Khilafat" situation and developments up to midday, Tuesday, the 27th July 1920.

I.—The Central "Khilafat" Committee.

1. Syed Ismail Ghaznavi's father and brother have come here from Amritsar. The old man does not approve of Ismail's politics and the two are not on speaking terms.

2. Haji Abdul Karim, Haji Isa Fazala, a big Memon merchant and a man of considerable influence, has resigned his membership of the Central *Khilafat* Committee as a protest against the policy of non-co-operation.

3. Kazi Kabiruddin, a Bombay barrister with much local influence, has also resigned from the Central *Khilafat* Committee for the same reason.

4. A teacher in the Urdu Municipal School in Memonwada has resigned his appointment for religious reasons and is said to be contemplating *hijrat*.

5. Gandhi, Shaukat Ali and Kitchlew have not yet returned to Bombay.

6. It is said that about a month ago Chotani actually resigned his position as President of the *Khilafat* Committee, but subsequently withdrew his resignation.

II.—Non-co-operation.

1. Efforts continue to be made to secure a postponement of the inauguration of non-co-operation until at least the Special Congress has had its say. In this connection during the past week the Madras Presidency has been specially insistent. Kuddus Badsha the leader of the Madras *Khilafatists*, has addressed to Shaukat Ali a long letter (copy attached marked "A") informing him that for some months to come at least there is no chance of non-co-operation succeeding in the Madras Presidency.

2. On the 20th instant, Raja Gopalcharya wired as follows from Madras to Gandhi and Shaukat Ali, Lahore :—

"Serious local differences and unreadiness combined threaten disruption *Khilafat* executive unless date inaugurating resignations titles postponed. Can you announce 29th August for Madras resignations though observing 1st August *Khilafat* Day? This will facilitate work also overcoming above difficulties."

3. Three days later Yacub Hassan sent the same persons another wire as follows :—

"Council Madras *Khilafat* Committee resolved yesterday Non-co-operation Committee be informed that many members of Council desire announcement resignations be not made on 1st August and Non-co-operation Committee be requested, to postpone announcement to some distant date giving more time to work. *Hartal* will be observed 1st August".

4. To the *Khilafat* Committee of Salem (Madras) which also urged a postponement of non-co-operation, the Central Committee, however, returned the following reply :—

"Central Committee final decision cannot be affected or altered by Congress. Non-co operation now binding on all *Khilafat* Committee. Strive hard, make it success."

This answer was drafted by Abdu Ghani in the absence of the leaders at Lahore.

5. The local Press adopts much the same line, counselling either abandonment or postponement, pending the decision of the Special Congress. The *Akhbar-i-Islam* and the *Indian Social Reformer* are definitely against non-co-operation. The *Mufid-i-Rozgar*, the *Sanj Vardman* and the *Mahratta* all advise delay; and the *Muslim Herald* is sitting on the fence. On the other hand Gandhi wired on the 24th instant from Hyderabad to the effect that the Punjab was likely to accept non-co-operation.

6. Meanwhile preparations for the *hartal* on 1st August continue. Efforts have been made, but—so far as is known—with scant success to induce Bombay J. P's. to resign their dignity. As on previous occasions, the Muslim volunteers have been paraded for instructions. Ten thousand posters (translation attached marked "B") have been printed and are being distributed over the whole of India. Supplementary to these posters, the Central *Khilafat* Committee has printed and is circulating in large numbers the distinctly objectionable instructions of which a translation is attached marked "C". The posters and instructions bear the signatures of all the members of Gandhi's Sub-Committee; one of whom Mahomed Ali Dharavi, has addressed to Shaukat Ali the following telegraphic remonstrance:—

"Sorry to note my signature on *Khilafat hartal* announcement without my previous knowledge and permission. Emphatically disapprove this procedure".

7. It is reported that Abul Kalam Azad has recently shown much jealousy of Gandhi's leadership of the movement. It will be noticed that Abul Kalam's signature appears beneath Gandhi's on the posters and instructions above mentioned.

III.—Miscellaneous.

1. Commenting on the present disturbances in Mesopotamia and Syria, the *Mufid-i-Rozgar* remarked in a recent issue that, so far from profiting by the lessons of Egypt, India and Africa, the Arabs of the Jazirat-ul-Arab have merely jumped out of the Turkish frying pan into the British fire.

2. No decision has yet been reached as to the holding of a *Khilafat* Conference simultaneously with the special session of the Congress and Muslim League.

3. *Hijrat*.—One Rahim Gool, who is probably an official of the *Muhajirin* Committee at Peshawar, has sent the following wire from that city to the Central *Khilafat* Committee:—

"Four *Muhajirs* dead with sunstroke. Arrange permission Indian Government for hired lorries to carry *Muhajirs* from Peshawar to Kabul. Request other Committees to manage transport. *Muhajirin* in most miserable condition. Treat most urgent";

Mahomed Ali has cabled from London for full details of the Kacha Garhi incident in which one *Muhajir* was killed. None of the Bombay papers has published the highly coloured account of this incident supplied to them by the Central *Khilafat* Committee and reported last week, though Zafar Ali Khan apparently embodied the whole of that account in a recent speech in the Punjab.

4. Syed Ismail Ghaznavi has published the *hartal* leaflet of which a translation is attached marked "D".

5. An *anti-Christian* poem (translation attached marked "E") from the pen of Haji Ibrahim Haji Fateh Mahomed of Nakhoda Mohalla, Bombay, is in circulation in the town.

ACCOMPANIMENT "A".

Dated Madras, the 17th July 1920.

From—KHAN BAHADUR N. K. KUDDUS BADSHA SAHIB, Madras,

To—JANAB MAULANA SHAUKAT ALI SAHIB, Honorary Secretary to the All-India *Khilafat* Committee, Bombay.

Personal.—I have to inform you that I was busily engaged at my residence on business matters last night when a few respectable people came to me with a copy of the paper entitled *New India*, dated 16th idem, and with reference to the notification published there in paragraph 7 under the heading of "Non-co-operation Committee's Instructions", they took me by surprise and they questioned the right or propriety of such action as therein stated.

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They state that they and the majority of Muhammadans do not belong to the *Khilafat* Committee and only a few or handful belong to it and therefore the minority had no right to stipulate what they should do and not do in respect of non-co-operation and renouncement of Titles and Honorary posts.

They further state that they are heart and soul and are ready and prepared to help the *Khilafat* movement in every respect, but if it proceeds on the lines indicated in the notification, they are against it.

Besides the Provincial *Khilafat* Committee have a very small number of members in the Committee and have not the right and privilege to stipulate for the millions of Muslims.

Moreover there are no Maulvis, Masheks and big merchants or Government officials and without taking them into the *Khilafat* Committee and obtaining their views or consent it is improper and irregular to advocate *Khilafat* non-co-operation and it is not creditable to the *Khilafat* Committee.

They have no objection to have the meeting on the 1st August 1920, to pass resolutions but they urge that the words "And approves of the non-co-operation adopted by the Central *Khilafat* Committee to be continued till the Peace terms are revised" and the last paragraph to renounce titles and the holding of honorary posts should be eliminated, otherwise they say they will start their new Committee against non-co-operation.

They have also told me several other things and said that they protest against the adoption of non-co-operation and the renouncing of titles and honorary posts, etc. They are really noble, respectable, rich and influential people.

Whilst they were talking to me other ordinary people came to me, and said the same thing as the previous speakers and they condemned non-co-operation and that it will be ruinous and disastrous to the *Khilafat* movement.

Just then Mr. Maulana Abdul Majid Sharer came in. He also heard what these people spoke to me and he found fault with the *Khilafat* Committee especially with Mr. Yakub Hassan Sait, who has not taken any steps to organize propaganda work to teach and explain to the people in each and every village and Taluqa in this Presidency the *Khilafat* movement.

They have asked me to write to you not to have the non-co-operation movement in this Presidency unless the object has been explained to the people and their views and consent are obtained.

You see on account of some ill-feeling between Mr. Yakub Hassan Sait and Mr. Maulana Sharer Sahib, the *Khilafat* work and propaganda have been ignored and suffered.

The *Khilafat* Committee has not done anything and most of the people in Districts and the Muhammadans in the Presidency are against non-co-operation as it was not explained to them.

I have written to you a Hindustani letter on the 5th instant, about the dispute between Mr. Yakub Hassan Sait and Mr. Maulana Sharer Sahib, and I suggested to you to come here and have the matter settled.

You will also see the paper entitled *The Muhammadan* dated 15th July 1920, on page 9 a letter under the heading "Awake, Arise" which goes to show how badly the *Khilafat* Committee has been managed; the chief work of the *Khilafat* Committee was to see and explain to Title Holders, Honorary Post Holders, Government Officials and Maulvis, Mashek Muhammadan and Hindu leaders and big merchants what the *Khilafat* work and the non-co-operation Propaganda means and bring them to our side, so long as they are not in favour of non-co-operation it is not fair or just in our part to adopt it.

Moreover without awaiting His Excellency the Viceroy's reply it seems premature to make an announcement now.

The Hindus are going to have a Special Conference during September 1920 to settle about the non-co-operation movement, we should wait to see the results also.

I feel convinced it will cause friction amongst Muhammadans and Hindus and Government officials apart from it causing friction and ill-feeling between Muslims themselves amongst their sections and families.

The *Khilafat* movement was proper and purely religious and all sections of people whether Government officials or non-officials, Muslims, and Hindus were working heart and soul for the right of the *Khilafat* and its achievement but when non-co-operation was added to the *Khilafat* movement it has given the whole world cause to severely criticize the matter and cause ill-feeling among different sections.

Sofar as I could guess 90 per cent. among the Christians, Hindus, Muhammadans, including Government officials are against and 10 per cent. for it.

As I know all these difficulties would arise when the matter was discussed at the *Khilafat* Conference Sub-Committee including the question of non-co-operation but unfortunately I could not attend the meeting as I was down with fever that night, but next morning, when I went to the Conference Pandal I saw the paper, which Mr. Maulana Sharer Sahib was copying. I then told him that if non-co-operation was added and brought in it would militate against our work and jeopardize it and he was of the same opinion.

Anyhow, it was included and passed by the Council and the respectable people took me to task very seriously. I told them it would not be enforced now and not be afraid but if the Turkish Treaty is settled against the wishes of the Muhammadans of our religion which God forbid even then non-co-operation will come in stages of the movement.

As regards not paying the taxes I expressed very strong objections to my friends. They now come and ask me how is it, that you told us, if the Turkish Treaty is settled against our wishes and our religion, then the non-co-operation movement would be adopted, but as the Turkish Treaty has not yet been settled, and pending for the revision how is it that the Bombay people have brought in non-co-operation now.

There is an executive meeting to be held to-day and they have asked me to have the non-co-operation which is announced to be adopted, on 1st August 1920, set aside, the Executive Committee will do well to accede to their request. Otherwise, they will convene another public meeting condemning non-co-operation entirely and that it should not be held in this Presidency.

I assure you that a great majority of the religious and influential people are against it. The Madras Presidency is not at present prepared for it.

We have to do a great deal of Executive Work amongst the mass of the people about non-co-operation, and it will take some months. Even then it will be suicidal for our cause if at present we adopt non-co-operation in this Presidency unless we teach the whole mass to understand, and if the Muhammadans and Hindus accept the same it will be helpful and beneficial otherwise it will be very painful and dangerous.

There was also at a meeting a discussion regarding money to be sent to a newspaper called *Muslims World*, London, it was brought by Mr. Yakub Hassan Sait, but the method of remittance was disapproved of as Mr. Yakub Hassan Sait wanted to remit the money in his name whilst one of the wealthy merchants said he would write to his London Agents to pay the money, but he would not hear and there was a rupture. Since then those who promised large donations have withheld the same and do not attend.

You see when the *Khilafat* meeting was held in North Arcot, and also in the Nizam's Dominions, they were stopped by the Collector of that District owing to the non-co-operation movement.

The Nizam is also averse to the same thing. If non-co-operation is started here Government would bring pressure to bear and there will be disturbances and our object will be frustrated.

With reference to the collection of the *Khilafat* fund, and the Syrian Relief Fund I have to state, these have suffered on account of the ill-feeling between Mr. Yakub Hassan Sait and Mr. Maulana Sharer Sahib and to the question of non-co-operation having been added to the *Khilafat* movement, the collections were stopped.

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You will see it from the paper *Khaṁin Report* there is always friction between the above said gentlemen.

I request now not to think of adopting non-co-operation in this Presidency for some months to come and to withdraw at once from the announcement for the Madras Presidency.

Also to withdraw from your announcement for the Madras Presidency only as the people are not prepared the last paragraph regarding title holders, honorary magistrates, justices of peace, Legislative Council Members, etc., to surrender their titles and honorary posts on that day.

As I have spoken to several gentlemen, and know the conditions prevailing this side, I write to you my opinion.

There are several complaints against non-co-operation which have been represented by people here but I have no breathing time to write and inform you of the same.

Insha-Allah-Hutaala, I shall write to you conveniently.

Yours faithfully,

ACCOMPANIMENT "B".

God is great.

In the name of God merciful and compassionate.

One who becomes the friend of the enemy of Islam may be considered as one of them.

Third day of *Khilafat* has come.

Come along, the field of work is before us. Give the testimony of our strength of faith.

The work of non-co-operation is opened and this is the first stage of test. Keep regard and reputation of Islam, God and His Prophet and never do any such work by which your weakness of faith may come to light and thereby the enemies of Islam will be over-powered.

1st August 1920 is the beginning day of the non-co-operation movement. On that day offer prayers to God, observe fast; stop business, hold committees and promise to God that you will suffer every sort of troubles for the sake of righteousness. Renounce the titles and honorary posts. Remember this also that disturbances and breach of peace are not in any way profitable to you. Be aside from disturbance but stick to the right path.

Detailed instructions are being published separately. Obtain further information from your district or provincial *Khilafat* Committee but remember that if you step ahead do not retreat. This is the only secret of the success in your life.

Publishers :—

M. K. GANDHI.

ABUL KALAM AZAD.

SHAUKAT ALI.

AHMAD HAJI SIDDIK KHATRI,

SAIFUDDIN KITCHLÉW,

FAZI-UL-HASAN HASRAT MOHANI,

MAHOMMAD ALI.

Members of the Non-co-operation Committee,

*Mount Road, Mazagaon,
Bombay.*

ACCOMPANIMENT "C".

[Free Translation.]

God is great.

Inauguration of

Tark-e-Hawalat

or

Adam-i-Isthrak Amal

or

Non-co-operation

(which means severing all connection with the *pledge breaking* Government)
and

the test of self-respect and respect for the community of the Musalmans of India and the test of the preservice of the prestige of nation and country of the Hindu brethren.

Non-co-operation is a glorious religious act of the Musalmans, the foundation stone of which was laid for the first time in the year 9 A. H. and which is once more being reviewed (put into practice) by Islam now. The Romans who were the strongest people (nation) of the time were making preparations for an attack on the Musalmans, and the holy prophet also collected an army. Kaab bin Malik, Hilal bin Umayya, and Marara bin Rabi'aa, did not join the Islamic army only on account of laziness and carelessness. This laziness and carelessness on their part condemned them for punishment in the eyes of God and His holy prophet and when they presented themselves before the prophet for begging his pardon, their request was not acceded to, and the result was all the Musalmans severed co-operation with them. When Kaab bin Malik went to see his cousin Abu Kattada, he too turned away his face from him. Hazrat Kaab was a very respected Sahabi (friend of the prophet), was one of the Ansaris (those who were prepared to sacrifice their lives for the prophet at any time) and had served the cause of Islam in many ways, but he had to suffer these consequences for a little indiscretion in performing the duty enjoined by the command of God. He used to roam about in Medina like a mad man but not a single soul accosted him or paid any attention to him. He himself narrated that though the whole of Medina was full of human being, there was not a single eye which turned towards him or single tongue which accosted him. [Bokhari Shariff—(tradition)].

But at the time this non-co-operation was resorted to by Musalmans against Musalmans. Now we are forced to resort to it with people who have struck a vital blow to the cause of Islam, who have done all in their power to snatch away the holy places (of Islam) from the control of the *Khilafat-ul-Musalameen*, who have left no stone unturned to bring the Jazirat-ul-Arab (the Arabian Peninsula) under the suzerainty and control of the Christian Powers, and who have finally decided to deprive the *Khalif* of Islam of all his religious and worldly powers. In short according to (Arabic quotation meaning *spite and hatred is in their speech but whatever is concealed in their hearts is many times greater than that*) this, they have done whatever they could to destroy and ruin Islam and they are trying still.

Under the circumstances in accordance with the command of God (Arabic quotation meaning) O! Musalmans, *do not make friends with those hypocrites and enemies of Islam who leave no stone unturned to bring about your downfall and disgrace*, and that (Arabic quotation meaning) God forbids you to make friends with those who opposed you in religious questions, those who turned you out of your country (houses) or those who helped the people who were trying to turn you out, it is the bounden religious duty of us Musalmans, and it is a friendly obligation on our Hindu brethren, that we should resort to non-co-operation with those above-mentioned people who have given a proof of their being the bitterest enemy of Musalmans and Islam, among the other nations of the world. And consequently should act according to those instructions which have been approved of with due deliberations and discussion and which have already been published, and the

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prove that we practice what we preach and act in conformity with what we made up our minds to do, and this to such an extent that we may come out successful. Till now, we resorted to making appeals, and did not make our minds to resort to actions, but now we are prepared for it. May God give us success in our enterprise. *Ameen.*

May God forbid, but if we did not resort to it fully and if in spite of all our efforts and propaganda, the co-operation with them still remained, then we would be condemned like (Arabic quotation meaning) those who keep friendly relations with them are themselves cruel (tyrants). We should keep in mind the fact that when Hatib bin Yalbaa who was a *Muhajir* and a brave man through weakness wrote a letter to the infidels of Mecca informing them that the Musalmans were making preparations to attack Mecca, and this too with a view to save his family and relations, who were then in Mecca, from the danger, and when this secret was revealed and the latter seized and placed before Hazrat Omar, he deemed it advisable to execute him and said that he (Hatib) was a *Munafiq* (hypocrite) and that he broke the trust of God and His prophet.

If they fail they should remember that the Musalmans of India in particular and the Indians in general will not be in a position to claim anything, or to give proof (of their stability) or to show their face to other self-respecting nations, and will be condemned to suffer all calamities and difficulties in this world.

In short, non-co-operation is a religious obligation and a kind of *jihad*. The Musalmans therefore, and the Hindu brethren for the sake of prestige, unity and brotherhood, should commence non-co-operation from the 1st August 1920 in accordance with the decision of and the instructions issued by the Non-co-operation Sub-Committee, and should observe the following instructions in a peaceful and quiet way, because though every effort is being made to get the peace terms revised, but there is no ray of hope or success during the short period allowed.

[Then follow the instructions which are mostly similar to the instructions published].

Published by :—

M. K. Gandhi ; Abul Kalam Azad ; Shaukat Ali ; Ahmad Khatri ; Saifuddin Kitchlew ; Fazl-ul-Hasan Hasrat Mohani ; Mahommad Ali.	}	<i>Members of the Non-co-operation Committee, Maher Mansion, Mount Road, Mazagaon, Bombay.</i>
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Printed at the *Mustafai Press*, Kumbharwada.

ACCOMPANIMENT "D".

In the name of God, merciful and compassionate.

God is great.

The moon dagger is our National flag.

How long one should remain obedient in the world, when its glories are ruined there is no use of the worldly rules.

Translation of the Arabic quotation.

One who will leave country (sacrifices his life and property) for the sake of God, he will enjoy comfort and happiness in the world.

Who cannot know that the present British Government and its other Allies have undertaken to ruin the dignity and greatness of Islam. They are bent upon to spread Christianity (belief in Father, Son and Holy Ghost) in place of Islamic faith (belief in one God and His Prophet) where it was being widely recited for the passed 1300 years. But it must be borne in mind :—

That the belief in "Tawhid" is in our heart, it is impossible to ruin the Islam.

At this moment it is incumbent on every Musalman that after having ceased co-operation with such a government he should agitate by every constitutional means to protect the dignity and greatness of Islam. The people (Musalman),

who by remaining in India can fully protect Islam may undoubtedly live here and those who cannot protect Islam freely they should leave the boundary of such government at once and they should emigrate to peaceful Kabul. The King of which place is ready with its full power for the protection of Islam. The caravans of *Muhajirin* having been reaching to their destination from various places of India. Those who are desirous of joining this Holy group from Bombay or its suburbs should meet the undersigned and enlist themselves. The *Muhajirin* of this place will also be sent in a caravan.

Servant of *Muhajirin*,
 SYED ISMAIL GHAZNAVI,
Bhendi Bazar, Bombay.

ACCOMPANIMENT " E ".

[Free Translation.]

In the name of God merciful and Compassionate.

Prayers poem.

O God make the Turks victorious, make the Emperor of Turkey happy.

These Turks are the protectors of Islam, and they are guardian and helpers of Islam.

He is the *Khalifa* of Islam, and the Emperor of the religious Kingdom.

Protect him from all the calamities, keep him always cheerful and protected.

Those who are his enemies may be mixed in the dust, those who possess ill-feeling may go in the hell.

As the Christians have raised their heads they may be defeated and fall on the ground.

Those who are committing atrocities and cruelties on the Turks Godly wrath may always fall on them.

O God it is our prayer (that) the Turks may always remain victorious on them.

Now the Turks may gain such ever-lasting victory (that) there should not be left a least trace of the enemies.

The Turks may be the protectors of the true religion.

They may be the Emperors of the whole world.

There may be general supremacy of their justice, there may be general announcement of their victories.

These infidels are the enemies of faith (Islam) they have got the habits of Ghost.

O God there is no help now.

We all expect hopes in Thee.

O God help the religion from Providence, make the world pure from the vices of Kufra (infidels).

For the sake of King of Prophets, O God make these enemies of Islam defeated.

For the sake of Prophets and His Saints, remove the signs of infidels from the world.

They may be disrespected and defamed very well, the enemies may be re-treated and defeated.

For the sake of the most exalted King Siddik, be merciful, merciful, merciful, merciful.

O God help for the sake of Umar (so that) the Turks may remain victorious on every one.

O God for the sake of Usman, produce lines for our happiness.

O God help for the sake of Ali (so that) we shall get information of the Victory of Turks.

O God for the sake of Hussein, make the Turks victorious in the world.

Those who are helpers of Islam may they be happy and victorious (so that) who have faith in Islam may all rejoice,

With the help of yours' there may be such *arrangements, that the Christians may get great defeat.*

It is the prayer of Khushtar (writer of this poem) every morning and evening (that) the Turks may remain victorious.

Amen, Amen, Summa Amen.

Servant of Islam,

HAJI IBRAHIM

HAJI FATEH MOHAMED

HAJI USMAN DAWOOD

No. 396, Nakhuda Mohalla,
Bombay.

Cutting from the "Times of India", dated the 27th July 1920,

WHY SIND WAS WARNED.

A Press-note issued by the Commissioner in Sind says:—A tapadar, named Shuja Muhammad, of Ganghro, Taluka Kandiaro, district Nawabshah, heard a Maulvi preach a sermon in which he stated that the holy carpet of the Kaaba in Mecca had been burnt by shells fired by British troops, and that the tomb of the Prophet in Medina had been bombed by aeroplanes. The tapadar was so moved by the statements made in the sermon, that he sent in a letter of resignation to the Deputy Collector. He then went to take advice from his religious guide, who pointed out to him the falsity of the statements made in the Mulla's sermon. The tapadar thereupon requested that his resignation might be allowed to be withdrawn, and has stated his willingness to publish the fact that he had been misled by false reports. In consideration of the tapadar's previous good service and of his expression of regret, the Commissioner has allowed his letter of resignation to be withdrawn.

Report on the Political Situation in Bengal for the second half of July 1920.

1. *Agricultural conditions.*—Since the last report the average price of rice has been slowly falling; the mean price of common rice for the Province has fallen from Rs. 8-6-9 per maund to Rs. 8-3-3 per maund or 4 $\frac{7}{8}$ seers to the rupee. There has been a considerable improvement in the monsoon during the last fortnight, facilitating field operations and improving the conditions of standing crops. The distress in Noakhali, referred to in the last report, is neither acute nor widespread. Adequate relief measures have been taken and the distress will probably soon disappear with the harvesting of jute and autumn rice crops. Floods have been reported from Midnapore, but they have been accompanied by the loss of no life and not much property. The average price of jute in Calcutta is Rs. 8-8-0 per maund and that of the old crop Rs. 7. Prices of the new crop range from Rs. 7 to Rs. 10-9-0, against a range last year of from Rs. 11 to Rs. 20-9-0 (new crop).

2. *Trade and Commerce.*—Imports declined, especially cotton goods, metals, petroleum and liquors. The local cotton piece goods market is quiet but Japanese suppliers are more active. The Bombay cloth market fire is expected to keep prices up. Stocks of sugar are low and prices high, and re-exports have stopped.

Exports declined, especially raw jute and tea, but coal improved. Shellac prices have fallen heavily, as much as Rs. 40 in five days. There is little demand for raw jute. Jute fabrics are generally dull apart from a strong demand for co-n-sacks. At the last two tea sales 18,000 chests were sold, mainly for Persia, Bombay and America. The outturn is now 20 million pounds ahead of last year. Freight was less plentiful, 55 ships entering and 51 clearing, of which 21 took coal.

3. *Attitude of the people.*—The economic situation continues to be easier and the recent improvement in the monsoon has still further helped the position. A few reports of distress mainly among the labouring classes are still being received, but it is now clear that there is no widespread scarcity or any real cause for anxiety.

An attempt is being made to usher in the non-co-operation programme by observing *hartal* on 1st August. This is being pushed by a small number of extremists and by outside agitators, but so far it does not seem to have aroused any enthusiasm even amongst the Muhammadan population in Calcutta, and the staunchest adherents appear to be Gandhi's Marwari disciples. Ekram Khan is trying to whip up some enthusiasm by publishing leaflets and posters at the last moment and sending telegrams and emissaries into the mufassal. As Government is advised that the leaflet clearly offends against the Press Act in appealing that no one shall enlist as a soldier or sailor and go to Mesopotamia as a soldier or sailor, it has been proscribed and the security of the Nabajug which printed it has been forfeited. The boycott of foreign goods is being placed in the fore front of the propaganda, and declaration forms in Urdu undertaking to carry it out are being distributed by the *Khilafat* Committee. So far, however, their appearance has only been reported from one district. *Ekrar namas* in Urdu are also to be distributed on 1st August binding the signatories to adopt non-co-operation. A practical step in the *swadeshi* directions has been the registration in Calcutta of a company called the "East India Workmen's Stores, Limited" with a capital of five lakhs of rupees and shares of Rs. 5 each. It is understood that only indigenous produce will be sold by the company and 5 per cent. of the profits will be devoted to the *Khilafat* Fund.

A wide difference of opinion exists between the provincial and the central committees of the National Congress as regards their attitude to the reformed Councils. The provincial leaders, who hope themselves to be elected and to exercise considerable influence in the Council of the future, do not welcome the idea of boycotting the new constitution. For this reason they were opposed to the election of Lala Lajpat Rai as President of the coming session, but it has now been reported that the All-India Congress Committee has elected Lala Lajpat Rai and that the next session of the Congress is likely to be held from the 4th to 7th September.

An effort is being made to broaden the basis of the Congress by attracting peasant delegates in large numbers, and for this purpose the delegate's fee is being reduced to Rs. 2 in the case of peasants.

The resignations of Fazlul Haq and Abul Kasim of their seats in the Provincial Legislative Council have been announced in the local press but it is understood that the letters of resignation were written in February last and placed at the disposal of the *Khilafat* Committee, and that the views of these two gentlemen on the subject of co-operation have changed considerably since that time. The publication of the resignations at this stage is probably intended to embarrass them and to force them into open declaration of their views.

The strike at the New Central Jute Mills referred to in the last report terminated on the 9th July. The employes of Government presses in Calcutta went out on strike over the question of piece work. The strike has not yet been settled, but it is understood that the men are wavering, and that their present attitude is only maintained owing to the exhortations of a few fire-brands. Meetings have been held nightly and are being addressed by local politicians, mainly High Court vakils. An attempt was made to start a strike fund, but it has not been much of a success. A pamphlet entitled "Union means strength," signed "Labour Agent for India" is being circulated in Calcutta, urging clerks to demonstrate for the betterment of their conditions.

4. *Recruiting operations.*—The Technical Recruiting Officer enrolled 58 non-combatants during the first half of July, and 110 during the second half.

5. *Revolutionary crime and the action taken against it.*—During the period from the 13th to the 29th July 1920 no State Prisoner was released. The number of persons still in confinement under Regulation III of 1818 is 19.

6. *The Press.*—The outstanding feature in the Calcutta press during the past fortnight has been appearance of a new paper called the *Naba Juga* of which Fazlul Haq is the proprietor. The name recalls memories of the days of violent sedition and the paper started badly and indulging in violent writing on the subject of the frontier incident between Indian soldiers and *Muhajirin*. The printer was formally warned that the next offence would involve forfeiture of his security, and this step has now been taken in consequence of the publication of the *hartal* leaflet referred to above. The remainder of the press continues to comment in the same style as before on the *Khilafat* and non-co-operation movement, and has also given considerable attention to the Khoril shooting case of Assam and to the debates in the Imperial Parliament on the conduct of General Dyer.

SECRET.

D.-O. no. 983-S.

NAINI TAL,
The 2nd August 1920.

MY DEAR MCPHERSON,

I am desired to send you the report for the second half of the month of July.

2. *Political*.—The political situation is quiet. There seems to be a general disinclination amongst Musalmans to take active part in the non-co-operation movement, but loyal Musalmans are uncertain what will be the result of the appeals made after the 1st of August, particularly in the towns. The lawyers have already made it clear to the *Khilafat* Committee that they expect others to make the sacrifices, not themselves. The post of Government Pleader at Benares is shortly to fall vacant. The three candidates so far in the field are all Musalmans. The Hindus are taking no interest in the coming *hartal*. Where Hindu shops are closed it will be more to avoid trouble than as an expression of co-operation with the Musalmans.

3. The rise in racial bitterness that followed on the Amritsar debates at Home shows no sign of abatement. The more enlightened men on both sides see the danger and folly of it.

4. Although canvassing is reported in various places for the coming elections, great ignorance still prevails in the villages. In Kheri the *patwaris* and leading tenants were questioned as to the object of the electoral lists. There were two theories : one that the men " selected " for the lists would get 40 years' leases, the other that they would get *panchayati* powers in their villages.

5. *Crime*.—Crime is normal. The use of spears in dacoity raids, and in murder cases, is reported to be frequent.

6. *Agricultural and economic*.—There has been good and sufficient rain throughout the province. Some districts report slight damage from excessive rainfall, and a break would be beneficial. Prices are either stationary or rising slowly. The fact that in spite of continued good seasons, prices show no tendency to fall, is causing some questioning and discontent. Crop prospects are generally favourable.

7. *Press*.—The Amritsar debates at Home have been the main topic of the English papers. The *Pioneer* continued to attack Mr. Montagu. The *Leader* suggested with reference to Mr. Montagu's speech that on the occasion of the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales the repressive Acts which are shackles on the freedom of Indians should be repealed. It remarked that troubles in Asia and Europe were thickening, thanks to the Allied policy of coercion. It criticized the appointment of the Hon'ble Mr. B. N. Sarma as unnecessary and costly.

The *Independent* is making a speciality of racial embitterment. It reproduced from the *Tribune* the *Khilafat* Committee's accounts of the death of a *Muhajir* near Peshawar. It has been publishing the " evidence " given before the Congress Sub-Committee of alleged outrages on Indian women by European officials during the Punjab disturbances. It has been drawing attention to recent cases in which Europeans were acquitted.

Regarding Mr. Montagu's remarks on Mr. Gandhi, the *Independent* stated that any further repression will 'endanger the Imperial connection. It urged non-co-operation on the special congress, and threatened trouble in Asia unless the greed of European powers is moderated and the attainment of national autonomy not delayed.

Articles on the *Khilafat* question show no decrease in number or acerbity.

8. The Amir's *firman* requesting the Afghans to give a cordial welcome to the *Muhajirin* " these devotees to the cause of religion, these oppressed, afflicted and harmless men " has been widely reproduced.

Yours sincerely,

M. KEANE.

The HON'BLE MR. H. MCPHERSON, C.S.I., I.C.S.,

Secretary to the Government of India,

Home Department, Simla.

G. M. Press, Simla.—No. S. 378 H.D.—16-3-20—40—J.N.M.

19

Confidential.

Report on the Political and Economic situation in the Punjab for the fortnight ending the 31st of July 1920.

1. *Political.*—The principal political event of the fortnight has been the visit of M. K. Gandhi, M. Shaukat Ali and Dr. Kitchlew to the Punjab to advertise the non-co-operation movement and to explain the programme to be followed on the 1st of August. The party arrived on the 16th of July, visited Jullundur, Amritsar, Lahore, Rawalpindi, Gujar Khan and Jhelum, held a number of meetings, harangued the crowds gathered at railway stations and left Lahore for Karachi on the 21st. Their instructions to the people were that a full *hartal*, accompanied by prayer and fasting, should be observed on the 1st of August, on which day, also, meetings to protest against the Turkish peace terms should be held, titles should be returned and honorary offices resigned. Violence was, however, deprecated. It is not anticipated that the movement will meet with a very enthusiastic response in this province, as the people generally are by no means convinced of the advisability of adopting the policy of non-co-operation at this stage; but the programme laid down will probably be followed, partially at least, in some of the more advanced political centres.

Further reports show that the passing through the Punjab of the Sind special train—to which reference has already been made—gave rise to considerable excitement. It has resuscitated in a violent form the Khilafat agitation which was previously dying away. There were large demonstrations at Multan, Montgomery, Lahore, Gujranwala, Campbellpur and other railway stations, seditious speeches were delivered and the *muhajirin* were fêted and treated as martyrs in the cause of their religion. The decision to supply no more special trains for this purpose will largely prevent this form of objectionable propaganda, but much mischief has already been done and it is reported that a batch of 150 *muhajirs*, who left Lahore for Peshawar by passenger train on the night of the 24th, were presented with money for their expenses and given a most enthusiastic send off. A few Police Constables and Head Constables have resigned in order to perform *hijrat*. All such resignations are being accepted without delay. A false and malicious version of the Kacha Garhi incident was given by Zafar Ali of the *Zamindar* at a public meeting in Lahore on the 17th of July. His speech was reproduced in full by the *Tribune*. Proceedings against him are contemplated.

The Secretary of State's pronouncement against M. K. Gandhi and his promise of unlimited support to the Government of India in any action at this juncture is reported to have produced a great impression. The Deputy Commissioner of Lahore writes that every body, for or against Government, is well aware that the agitators have been overdoing it of late and that those against Government fully expect and those for Government insistently demand some show of authority by Government. He considers that the time is very opportune for the taking of action against those speakers whose public utterances have amounted to offences under the Penal Code and against those newspapers which have been most active in disseminating sedition. At the same time he recommends that endeavours be made to rally the moderates, who, through the forbearance of Government, have suffered so severely at the hands of the extremists during the last six months or so. The Deputy Commissioner of Rawalpindi, in commenting on the rapid progress that sedition is making in his district, remarks that the Khilafat question is fading into the background and that the agitation is now definitely and almost exclusively anti-Government *qua* Government. He considers that the situation is serious and calls for an early display of strength on the part of Government.

The controversy regarding General Dyer is being kept alive by the debates in the two Houses of Parliament and the opening of the Dyer fund. The campaign against the system of *begar* led by certain extremists in the Rohtak and Hissar districts will, it appears, probably be utilised by them for electioneering purposes.

The Lahore railway strike has now practically ended and the postal peons of Rawalpindi all resumed work on the 13th of July. A conference of *patwaris* was held in Hoshiarpur on the 10th and 11th of July, as the result of the efforts of a local barrister, the son of a *patwari*. None of the speeches delivered were of an exciting nature. The possibility of a general strike of *patwaris* is now very remote, though a certain amount of discontent still exists.

2. *Economic*.—Rain has fallen in nearly all the reporting districts, but more is still required. The sowing of autumn crops continues. Cattle are healthy, and fodder and water generally sufficient. Plague has greatly decreased and the general health of the people is good. Prices are generally stationary and above scarcity rates. Deposits in the Post Office Savings Bank amounted to Rs. 13,65,937 and withdrawals to Rs. 13,87,171.

3. *Crime*.—Four dacoities were reported during the fortnight. The total number to date is 63, as compared with 93 and 24 during the corresponding periods of 1919 and 1918.

4. *The Press*.—A leaflet and a pamphlet have been proscribed under Section 12 of the Press Act and the Deputy Commissioner of Lahore has demanded security of Rs. 2,000 from the printer of the *Zamindar*. Similar action against a few other papers is under consideration.

The tone of the press is as objectionable as ever. Practically every paper finds fault with the Allies' reply to the Turkish peace note. The *hijrat* movement has begun to be deprecated and some Muhammadan papers consider that non-co-operation should first be given a trial. Several papers, both Muslim and Hindu, have reproduced the Amir's manifesto, calling for a warm reception to be given to the Indian immigrants. A section of the Muslim press severely criticises the Kacha Garhi incident. The *Tribune* and the *Akhbar-i-Am* have joined in the cry.

The Hunter Committee's report continues to claim attention and Mr. Montagu's speech has been applauded. Interest in the coming reforms is maintained. The *Tribune* regrets that the Joint Committee have been so hasty and complains that Indian opinion has not received the attention to which it is entitled. The assignment of two more seats to the Sikhs has been well received, but does not seem to have given entire satisfaction. Sikh newspapers are dissatisfied with the proposed definition of a Sikh and take great exception to the Government's having consulted Sir Gurbakhsh Singh Bedi and Sardar Arur Singh in the matter. The Corrupt Practices Bill has been opposed by the *Desh*, the *Tribune* and the *Bande Mataram*. All papers have been practically unanimous in disapproving of Lajpat Rai's suggestion to boycott the new Punjab Council, and, indeed, Lajpat Rai has now thought fit to declare that he would abide by the decision of the meeting of the Special Congress.

The ill-treatment of Indians abroad is claiming considerable attention and the *Tribune* has enlarged on the atrocities alleged to have been perpetrated on Indians in Fiji. The press *communiqué* regarding the management of the Golden Temple has been well received and the Local Government has been asked to make a similar announcement regarding the Khalsa College. The *Akalî* has published a mischievous article suggesting that the Sikhs should consider whether or not they should accord a welcome to the Prince of Wales, in the event of their grievances remaining unredressed. The *Bande Mataram* published a lengthy article in defence of Bolshevism.

Telegram no. 261-P, dated the 3rd (received the 4th) August 1920.

From—The Chief Secretary to the Government of Burma,

To—The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

Following is report for second fortnight of July. All quiet. The Burman *Khilafat* Committee making a virtue of necessity has decided that active participation in non-co-operation movement is uncalled for in Burma where action should be confined to sympathy. There has been marked split amongst Indian politicians and their newspaper the *Rangoon Mail* has now veered round the moderates who are strongly opposed to non-co-operation. Sunday's celebration was a complete failure and *Surai* Bazaar company which includes many Muhammadans and controls largest markets in Rangoon announced their intention of not closing and *Khilafat* Committee is again making a virtue of necessity by deciding not to call upon cab drivers to cease plying for hire and also not to hold mass meetings. Other communities did not join in and close universally even amongst Muhammadans and some of those who did close their shops spent their time at the picture shows and other such places. There are signs that genuine efforts will be made to reduce cow-killing in Burma—*Bakr-Id* divested. *U Oktama* lead Arakan agitators who appear to have fallen out with Young Men of Buddhists' Association who have gone to Calcutta for a few months. Agitation in Burma is now concentrated mostly on University Bill which is denounced because it does not provide for a rapid extensive turning out of graduates, irrespective of educational fitness. The selection of Burmans for six additional non-official seats in Council has been well received. Rainfall defective in some parts of Upper Burma districts but situation is not yet critical. Heavy floods in *Amherst* district. Price of rice stationery. Labour situation peaceful.

SECRET.

D.-O. no. 2166-C.

RANCHI, "

The 3rd August 1920.

MY DEAR MCPHERSON,

I am desired to submit the Fortnightly Report for the second half of July.

2. Rain has been general throughout the Province, and during the last days of the month more has been received where it was most urgently needed, in the districts of the Tirhut and Bhagalpur Divisions. In the Orissa Division considerable damage has been caused by the high floods in the rivers Brahmini and Baitarani and to a less extent in the Mahanadi and the Subaranrekha. Complete information, however, is not yet available as to the extent of the damage. On the 19th July 18,712 persons in Puri and 3,789 persons in Cuttack received gratuitous relief, while 169 persons attended the test works in the former district. The prices of food grains continue to rise slowly. The average price of common rice at district headquarters being 5.43 seers a rupee during the week ending the 19th July and 5.57 seers during the week ending the 5th July.

3. All the reports received up to date indicate that while in some districts *hartal* may be attempted on the 1st of August, there is no reason to apprehend disturbance anywhere and that very little interest is taken in the non-co-operation movement. Various rumours are in circulation, *e.g.*, that Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Husain Khan and Shamsul-ulama Shah Badruddin Ahmad will renounce their titles, that Babu Rajendra Prashad will give up his practice and refuse to stand for election in the new Council, and that Mr. Mazharul Haq will also give up his practice, returning any briefs which he may have in hand. It is known that special efforts were made to procure the renunciation of titles, and emissaries are believed to have visited practically all the title-holders in Patna City on the 26th and 27th July with this object. All are said to have refused including even Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Husain Khan. What truth there may be in the rumours will appear in the course of the next day or two and the facts will be reported to the Government of India.

4. *Khilafat* meetings were held at Patna on the 18th and the 25th July in order to prepare for the 1st of August. Both were failures, little interest being shown and the maximum attendance at either meeting was never more than about 300. At these meetings Dr. Ghulam Imam took a leading part and somewhat violent speeches were also delivered by Shah Habibul-Haqq, but the Provincial *Khilafat* Committee still experience great difficulty in arousing public interest. It is said that they recently reported to the Central *Khilafat* Committee, Bombay, that they could make no headway unless they were assisted by some well-known political Muhammadan leaders. The Central Committee are said to have promised to depute a learned Maulana who would reside in Patna for some time and would educate the public in the *Khilafat* question. It is also reported that Shaukat Ali has written to say that he will visit Patna in the middle of August.

5. A separate report will be submitted to the Government of India regarding the action which it was found necessary to take to prevent the holding of an *anti-planter* demonstration in the Darbhanga district which seemed likely to lead to a serious riot.

Yours sincerely,

G. RAINY.

The HON'BLE MR. H. MCPHERSON, C.S I., I.C.S.,

Secretary to the Government of India,

Home Department, Simla.

Report on the Political Situation in the Central Provinces for the second half of July 1920.

Political.—From all sides come reports that the local Muhammadan interest in the *Khilafat* movement is generally opposed to non-co-operation. In Berar the Chief Commissioner found that there was very little support to the movement. The meetings which have been addressed in one or two places by *Maulvis* have evoked little enthusiasm and in one district the Muhammadans are so tired of being pestered for subscriptions to the *Khilafat* funds that they have threatened to apply to the police for protection. The conference called by the Central *Khilafat* Committee at Nagpur on the 25th July was attended by about 40 delegates and 80 visitors, all but one being Moslems. The conference at once split over Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operation programme and an amendment moved by one of the Nagpur leaders that the local conditions in the Central Provinces were suitable only for the adoption of the 'Swadeshi' item in the programme was carried by 18 votes to 12, the remaining 12 delegates refraining from voting. Khan Bahadur H. M. Malak, president of the conference, announced his determination to resign his title of Khan Bahadur and the meeting then conferred on him the title of 'Fakhre Quaum.' The next day, however, he issued a printed statement resigning both his position of president and his title of 'Fakhre Quaum.' This complete *volte face* has caused much annoyance to the Muhammadan extremists and much amusement to the general public. He is the most wealthy of the Nagpur Muhammadans and had promised Rs. 20,000 towards the Fund. The loss of this sum, which will probably make it impossible for the Moslem League to hold its meeting at Nagpur with the Congress in December, is the main cause of the annoyance of the Muhammadan extremists. This is the third time that the Khan Bahadur has changed his attitude towards the *Khilafat* movement, the explanation being that he is in his dotage. Practically no manifestations of non-co-operation have appeared. In one district a Sub-Inspector of Police resigned, but he was probably being used as a cat's paw by the local *Khilafat* agitators.

2. The electoral rolls are nearly ready, but except in one or two districts candidates have not yet openly declared themselves, and direct canvassing for votes has hardly begun. An Election Disputes Committee has come into existence, whose business it will be to decide among rival Congress candidates who is to stand for a particular area, the object being to prevent a split in the extremist vote. In some districts the election campaign appears to be taking the shape of a campaign against Government servants as such. It has recently been stated that the raising of the police pay is likely to be made a plank in the extremist platform.

3. The establishment of the Central Provinces Tannery near Saugor, in connection with which a company has recently been floated, is causing some excitement and a few meetings of protest have been held.

4. Symptoms of an *anti-Brahmin* movement shew themselves from time to time. Some Berar patels were recently annoyed by an announcement in an extremist paper stigmatizing them as cats who eat from the Government table, and they now propose to call a meeting to protest against Brahmin domination.

5. A movement is on foot to revive the National School at Amraoti which was closed down as the result of the enquiries made by Mr. (now Sir Charles) Cleveland some years ago.

6. At a recent meeting of the Nagpur Municipality the proposal to present an address to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales was carried after opposition by five extremist members. The dissentients explained their attitude as due to the unsatisfactory nature of the action taken on the Hunter Committee's Report and the action of the Government in regard to the *Khilafat* question.

7. *Press.*—The attention of the Press has been mainly concentrated on the Punjab debate in the House of Lords, which has intensified the feeling of bitterness. The result of this debate is bitterly criticised and a demand continues to be made for the punishment of various officials connected with the Martial Law régime in

the Punjab. Mr. Montagu's announcement of the 'blank cheque' given to the Government of India to deal with Mr. Gandhi's agitation is also resented. Distrust is expressed regarding the official version of recent happenings in Fiji.

8. *Economic*.—Good rain has fallen most opportunely throughout the Province and only a few tracts now complain of a shortage. Although the total rain is still below the average, the distribution has been good. In the rice country where transplantation had been delayed, the heavy falls were most welcome. The crop prospects are now good everywhere, but more rain is required particularly in Berar. Prices are practically stationary.

9. The strike at the Mohpany Colliery referred to in my last letter only lasted three days. The attitude of the men was peaceful and they resumed work quietly on the assurance of the Manager that their grievances would be investigated.

10. *Crime*.—The lull in dacoities still continues.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

SECRET.

D.-O. NO. 96-C.T.

ASSAM ADMINISTRATION CAMP,

The 31st July 1920.

DEAR MCPHERSON,

I am to submit the Fortnightly Report for Assam for the second fortnight of July.

2. The workshop and running staffs of the Dibru-Sadiya Railway struck on the 18th July for a 50 per cent. increase in wages, the Home Board having sanctioned only a rise varying from 30 to 35 per cent. The strike continued for a week, and the working of the Dibru-Saydia trains was entirely suspended, a though an occasional train was run on the line by the Assam-Bengal Railway. On the 24th July the acting Agent offered the men, in addition to the rises sanctioned by the Home Board, allowances on the scale in force on the Assam-Bengal Railway. This offer was accepted, and traffic was resumed on the 25th. The Chief Commissioner, who arrived at Dibrugarh on tour on the 20th July, ordered two platoons of Assam Rifles from Sadiya to Dibrugarh in case of possible disturbances; but the strikers behaved with moderation throughout and there was no rioting or damage to property.

3. There is little change to report in connection with the *Khilafat* agitation. A Muhammadan Association named the "Anjuman-i-Ulama, Sylhet," to which most of the local *Khilafat* agitators belong has recently transferred its headquarters from a *mofussal* village to Sylhet, and has appointed a number of "Honorary preachers of Islam" who will require watching. The Association is modelled on the Calcutta "Anjuman-i-Ulama, Bangala."

Instructions have been received in Sylhet from the Central *Khilafat* Committee for the observance of a *hartal* on the 1st of August. The day is to be devoted to prayer and fasting, and meetings are to be organised at which resolutions demanding the revision of the Turkish peace terms are to be passed.

There are also signs of underground *Khilafat* activity at Shillong.

4. The acquittal of a tea-garden assistant named Reed in what is known as the Khoriel shooting case has excited some comment in the press. It is understood that the complainant will apply to the Chief Commissioner with a view to an appeal being preferred, but his application has not yet been received. The case is peculiar in that ten jurors were summoned, five British and five Indian. Five names were drawn by lot, with the result that the 5 British names emerged and the 5 Indian names remained. The foreman of the jury was the Honourable Mr. Hickman, a planters' member in the Assam Legislative Council. The accused was defended by the Honourable Mr. K. K. Chanda, of the Imperial Legislative Council.

Yours sincerely,
A. W. BOTHAM.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. McPHERSON, C.S.I., I.C.S.,

Secretary to the Government of India,

Home Department, Simla.

Fortnightly Report for the North-West Frontier Province for the second half of July 1920.

Since the issue of the last fortnightly report the *Khilafat* agitation has very seriously increased, and is now definitely established in the Kohat as well as in the Peshawar and Hazara Districts. The Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan Districts have not as yet become so seriously tainted.

The cognate *hijrat* movement also shows an alarming advance during the past fortnight, several thousand *muhajirin* having departed during the period under review. Peshawar is the bottle-neck of this movement, and as such has been subjected to a severe strain. The arrival of *muhajirin* in such large numbers has also had a most unfortunate effect on the rural tracts of the Peshawar District, more especially in the Charsadda and Swabi Tehsils, where the agricultural population has been temporarily thrown off its balance. Large numbers have departed and many others are preparing to follow suit while the general excitement has resulted, more especially in the Hashtnagar tract of the Charsadda Tahsil, in Zamindars neglecting their crops and endeavouring to sell their lands. A noticeable result of this fanatical excitement is that the price of land especially in this tract has fallen in a marked manner. This movement has had too a disturbing effect on the Police and Frontier Constabulary and has brought recruitment for the army in certain areas to a standstill. It must obviously come to an end when Afghanistan refuses to accept and support further immigrants. Meanwhile, however, it has created a most dangerous situation, which requires the most tactful handling.

An offshoot of the general movement is to be seen in the recent agitation among the Patwaris of this Tahsil a large proportion of whom have tendered their resignations, while the general excitement prevalent in the Peshawar District has stimulated Maulvi Muhammad Ishaq of Hazara to break out once more: he delivered a strong and highly coloured speech in Abbottabad on 23rd July and urged his audience to migrate and support the non-co-operation movement.

A full enquiry has been held by the District Magistrate into the unfortunate affray at Kachia Garhi and there are signs of considerable impatience that no definite action has as yet been taken in this case. Nothing short of criminal proceedings in the Civil Courts is likely to satisfy local public opinion which is continually fanned by inflammatory references to this subject in the Vernacular Press generally.

Another bomb outrage occurred at Rissalpur Cantonment on the evening of 21st July. In this case a bomb was thrown between the beds of a Sergeant Major and a Farrier Sergeant of the Machine Gun Corps. The former sustained injuries from the splinters but otherwise no damage was done. The bomb was of the same pattern as those previously employed in this Province.

Prices of staple foods continue more or less stationary in all districts and there are no marked fluctuations to record.

The figures for raids and dacoities are as under: —

Peshawar ..	1
Kohat	8
Bannu ..	5
Dera Ismail Khan	1
Hazara	0

There was no case of special importance and the general improvement on the Dera Ismail Khan border continues.

Post Office Certificates to the value of Rs. 11,250 were encashed during the fortnight.

CONFIDENTIAL.

D.O. NO. C.-669-357.

THE RESIDENCY,
BANGALORE,
2nd August 1920.

DEAR MCPHERSON,

There is practically nothing to report. Several cases of plague have occurred in Mercara and it seems very difficult to stamp out the disease.

2. The miniature *Khilafat* agitation in Coorg has been slightly enlivened by a cracked brained schoolmaster, one of Abdul Ghafur's supporters, threatening to go on *hijrat*. He has been warned that he must keep politics out of his work.

Yours sincerely,
W. P. BARTON.

THE HON'BLE MR. H. MCPHERSON, C.S.I., I.C.S.,
Secretary to the Government of India,
Home Department, Simla.

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Demi-official letter from the Hon'ble Mr. H. P. Tollinton, C.S.I., I.C.S., Chief Commissioner of Delhi, to the Hon'ble Mr. H. McPherson, C.S.I., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, no. 133-C.-Home, dated Delhi, the 2nd August 1920.

The extension of the application of the Seditious Meetings Act has led to less criticism than was expected. The local press has been comparatively restrained in tone and though the minor leaders addressed a hysterical telegram to Gandhi their excitement seems forced. Gandhi flatly forbade any defiance of the Act, though the same minor leaders put it about that he had given permission. Shaukat Ali spent the 28th here and endeavoured to make peace between the Worker's Association (Shanker Lal, Arif Haswi, Ahmad Said) and the chief *Khilafat* leaders (Ansari and Ajmal Khan). Feeling between these two parties has been strained ever since the workers came into being. The *hartal* on August 1st was observed though I noticed a few shops open, and those important ones. Ordinarily manual labour and traffic was not affected. As meeting was arranged outside provincial limits and I am told 5,000 set out for it, but the rendezvous was further than the promoters had advertised—so many did not arrive. At the moment of writing I hear that a further *hartal* is being pressed for to-day owing to Tilak's death.

Heavy security was demanded from the Indian Press for printing a *hartal* poster in which students and masters were advised to quit schools with effect from to-day.

The Government Press men are still on strike but their attitude is weakening as the politicians' offers of assistance are proving worthless.

I place below a draft weekly telegram. It is very long, I fear, but this week an expensive telegram seems justified.

I suggest also a reply to the private telegram given me to-day by Secretary should take the form of a reference to the weekly telegram. I put up a draft.

If His Excellency has returned he should perhaps see. Otherwise the telegram may be sent to Private Secretary to the Viceroy for issue clear the line.

C. W. GWYNNE,—5-8-20.

Copies of the Provincial reports on the internal political situation during the second fortnight of July 1920 may, as usual, be forwarded to the India Office. Draft submitted with fair copy for Deputy Secretary's signature.

J. McD.,—13-8-20.

C. W. GWYNNE,—13-8-20.

Demi-official letter from the Hon'ble Mr. H. McPherson, C.S.I., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, to Sir William Duke, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., no. 3079, dated Simla, the 12th August 1920.

I send herewith printed copies of the Provincial reports on the internal political situation or the second fortnight of July 1920.

I put up a draft weekly telegram shorter than recent ones as we sent a telegram on Saturday on Sind, Madras and *hijrat*, and again yesterday on *hijrat*. We are in advance of reports made by local Governments as we have already reported all that is important in the letters below. The draft as finally settled should be seen by His Excellency before issue.

C. W. GWYNNE,—12-8-20.

Hon'ble Member has approved draft which may now go to Private Secretary to the Viceroy for His Excellency's perusal and issue.

H. MCPHERSON,—12-8-20.

Private Secretary to the Viceroy.

C[HELMSFORD],—13-8-20.

Issue.

S. R. HIGNELL,—13-8-20.

A copy of the Provincial reports on the internal political situation for the second fortnight of July 1920 is submitted for His Excellency's perusal.

J. McD.,—17-8-20.

C. W. Gwynne,—18-8-20.

Private Secretary to the Viceroy.

C[HELMSFORD],—18-8-20.

Copies of the Provincial reports on the internal political situation during the second fortnight of July 1920 may as usual be forwarded to the several Departments including the General Staff Branch (2 copies).

Memoranda are accordingly put up for Under Secretary's signature.

J. McD.,—19-8-20.

F. J. Nobes,—19-8-20.

MEMORANDA TO ALL DEPARTMENTS, NO. 4033, DATED THE 19TH AUGUST 1920.

Dated Simla, the 11th August 1920.

Endorsed by the Government of India in the Foreign and Political Department.

A copy* of the reports for the second half of July 1920 on the internal political situation in Kashmir, Central India, Hyderabad, Mysore, Baroda, Rajputana and Baluchistan is forwarded to the Home Department for information.

*With 24 spare copies of each.

It is specially requested that these reports be treated as *Secret*, and if possible kept out of office.

Dated Gulmarg, the 31st July 1920 (Secret).

From—LIEUTENANT-COLONEL A. D'A. G. BANNERMAN, C.V.O., C.I.E., Resident in Kashmir,

To—The HON'BLE SIR JOHN WOOD, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Political Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign and Political Department, Simla.

The weather has remained dry in Kashmir during the past fortnight and the maize crop is suffering considerably from the absence of rain. Prospects for the Shali harvest are still very favourable.

The boycott of certain supplies on the part of consumers at Srinagar, to which I referred in my last report, still continues. The local authorities have been warned to take precautions against intimidation in support of the movement.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

✓

(Confidential.)

Central India Agency diary for the second half of July 1920.

The proposal to start a Swadeshi Company in Bhopal which was referred to in Central India report for the first fortnight of May, has been abandoned, as the result of a hint given by the Political Agent to the Chief Secretary.

Plague is reported to be severe at Bina: the heavy rainfall has damaged the *makka* and cotton crops to some extent.

Gandhi and Shaukat Ali passed through Bhilsa recently on their way north, and were given tea there by some admirers, the latter taking the opportunity to distribute propagandist literature.

CENTRAL INDIA AGENCY; } F. G. BEVILLE, *Lieutenant-Colonel,*
INDORE; } *Agent to the Governor-General in Central India.*
The 31st July 1920. }

To.

The Political Secretary to the Government of India,

Simla.

No. 27-F. 1., dated Hyderabad Residency, the 2nd August 1920 (Very confidential).

From—The HON'BLE MR. C. L. S. RUSSELL, Resident at Hyderabad,
To—The HON'BLE SIR JOHN WOOD, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Political Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign and Political Department, Simla.

The political situation continues tranquil.

No. 57, dated the 13th July 1920, and No. 60,
dated the 26th July 1920.

I enclose copies of the Nizam's two latest Jaridas with reference to his Khilafat policy.

The economic situation is giving rise to considerable anxiety. There has been very little rain anywhere in the Dominions for nearly a month, and unless we get some very shortly, it looks like a complete failure of the Kharif crop, at any rate.

Translation of Extraordinary "Jarida" issued by His Exalted Highness the Nizam, No. 57, dated the 13th July 1920.

Through their shortsightedness and want of penetration, some of the Urdu newspapers (of Northern India) infer from my late *Firman* regarding the title of "Muhi-ul-Millat-i-wad-Din" that I desired by refusing it, to humiliate the "Ulumas", who had presented it to me as a gift on behalf of the people, but the case is otherwise.

I have hitherto absolutely refrained from interfering with the business of others; but when I perceived that the papers, which attached much undue importance to this title, discussed, under the cloak of politics, the right of holding it, it occurred to me that they themselves humiliated the donors and depreciated the value of the title.

In such circumstances I feel myself compelled to announce that in my eyes the title has no significance, and that it should be conferred on those who value it. It is regrettable that in these days some persons hankering after wealth and fame write worthless articles in the papers and forget "Sadi", who so wisely said,—

"Why do an act which brings remorse".

I am totally at a loss to comprehend why others should try to meddle in the affairs of my State, in the best interest of which, both political and general, I had deemed it fit to issue prohibitive orders regarding the Khilafat meetings. They were never intended for outsiders who are howling at my *Firmans* through the newspapers. They may rest assured that their cry will fall here on deaf ears.

They must not forget what "Hafiz" says:—

"Politics are best known to the Emperors, don't worry yourself about them, being but a beggar."

These orders should be published for general information in Extraordinary "Jarida" and copies sent to the Press.

Translation of Extraordinary "Jarida", issued by His Exalted Highness the Nizam, No. 60, dated the 26th July 1920.

When for reasons of State and in view of political expediency, it became necessary for me recently to issue a series of *Firmans* regarding the Khilafat question, forbidding or declaring unlawful any activities in my Dominions with reference to that question, and in the same connection, I also caused to be interned certain hot headed and imprudent persons as an admonition for their unmannerly behaviour and sent a few non-mulki persons out of my State, it is probable that this my action created a false impression among the Muslims of other parts of India who thought that I felt no sympathy for the present deplorable condition of the Islamic countries and of the Holy Places of Islam, or that I did not approve of taking part in any endeavours in connection therewith. If so, such an assumption on their part rests purely on imagination and has no foundation in fact.

As a matter of fact, there can be no true believing Muslim heart that has not been saddened at the sight of Islamic countries once so mighty, being torn asunder into small fragments, and no Muslim eye that has not wept to see the condition to which the march of events has reduced the Holy Places.

In short, as befitted a Muslim Ruler, I oftentimes put forth every effort in my power, not only now, but even before the Peace terms were published, to try and secure that the Allied Powers should respect the feelings and sentiments of the Muslims all over the world; and specially that they should observe the solemn and repeated pledges that were held out to Muslims during the war. But when the desired result was not obtained this failure could only be ascribed to fate and to the misfortune of the Muslims.

However, insensate actions from which no good results can be hoped for but only evil consequences feared, I have never considered desirable in my Dominions nor do I consider them so now; because there is danger specially in the present precarious state of the world's affairs, lest carried away by our emotions we may be betrayed into committing some act of folly the consequences of which we would have to suffer afterwards. We should, therefore, only try and do what is, on the one hand, conducive to our best interests and, on the other, in keeping with dictates of the times.

At any rate, I am even now not oblivious of what is at stake in the present problem; and if in the future, a suitable opportunity offers and the times are propitious, I am quite ready and determined in every way to do all in my power for the cause.

Therefore, I am publishing this my last manifesto for the information, not only of my own beloved people, but also for that of my co-religionists the Muslims of British India, in the hope that in reading it they will find solace and comfort, and that they will guard against the machinations of those imprudent and short-sighted persons who have made it their business to incite and mislead them. "For us there is naught but to speak."

D.O., No. C-668—356, dated Bangalore Residency, the 2nd August 1920 (Confidential).

From—W. P. BARTON, Esq., C.I.E., Officiating Resident in Mysore,

To—The HON'BLE SIR JOHN WOOD, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Political Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign and Political Department, Simla.

(Fortnightly Report, 31st July 1920.)

There is very little to report. Very little enthusiasm was manifested in the Civil and Military Station for the *hartal* movement. In some quarters there was a good deal of opposition. Many Hindu and Christian shopkeepers in the market expressed their intention of keeping their shops open if adequate police protection were afforded them. Arrangements in this respect were made and as a result most of the shops in the market except the meat shops were open on the 1st. The split between the Dekhani Muhammadans and the Saitis continues and is greatly weakening the Khilafat movement. Kalam, a well known Khilafat extremist from Kolar, was to address a mass meeting at the Idgah on the night of the 1st. Some wild talk of attacking Christian schools was reported from the city but this is mere firework display. Many Khilafat leaflets, including one entitled "The Khilafat Killing Treaty", are in circulation. Most of them are of a milk and water brand.

Dated Baroda Residency, the 3rd August 1920 (Confidential).

From—LIEUTENANT-COLONEL C. J. WINDHAM, C.I.E., Resident at Baroda,

To—The HON'BLE SIR JOHN WOOD, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Political Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign and Political Department, Simla.

I forward herewith in triplicate my report on the Political and Economic situation in Baroda for the fortnight ending the 31st July 1920.

I have included the first day of the Non-Co-operation movement (August 1st) in this report, as information on this point can only state by keeping.

Report on the Political and Economic situation in the Baroda State for the fortnight ending the 1st August 1920.

Political.—The Khilafat agitation has been dying gradually but many Musalmans and a sprinkling of Hindus closed their shops on the 1st August. The Shigram drivers plied their carriages for hire as usual. The shop of Gauhar Ali, one of the local leaders of the movement, was not closed.

In the afternoon the city was invaded by the Baroda College boys carrying black banners as a mark of respect to B. G. Tilak, news of whose death had just been received; and further shops were then closed as a mourning measure.

Narsibhai Ishwarbhai Patel who was deported from the State on account of his seditious activity and who returned this year, is reported to have joined Tagore's Shanti Niketan Home at Bolpur in Bengal.

The Dewan has made the Suba (Collector) of the Navsari district suspend the "Vafadar" newspaper for a month, with a threat to discontinue it altogether if its tone does not improve.

Economic.—The monsoon and agricultural operations continue normal and promising.

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D.O., No. 528-P., dated Camp Ajmer, the 5th August 1920 (Confidential).

From—The HON'BLE MR. A. T. HOLME, Officiating Agent to the Governor-General in Rajputana and Chief Commissioner of Ajmer-Merwara,

To—The HON'BLE SIR JOHN WOOD, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Political Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign and Political Department, Simla.

I forward in triplicate my confidential memorandum on the internal situation in Rajputana and Ajmer-Merwara for the period ending July 31st, 1920.

Fortnightly memorandum (No. 24) on the internal situation in Rajputana and Ajmer-Merwara for the period ending July 31st, 1920.

Rajputana.—There is some trouble which has received notice in the Press in the Bijolia Estate (Mewar). Pandit Mahadeo Desai of Surat, believed to be a follower of Gandhi, is reported to have visited Bijolia and to have made an enquiry into the grievances of the tenants. A commission has now been appointed by His Highness the Maharana to investigate their complaints.

Ajmer-Merwara.—A Loco. Labour Union as well as a Carriage Labour Union has now been formed among the Railway employes. Lala Chand Karan (Memorandum No. 21) who is at the moment the most prominent of the local agitators, has been elected President of both.

In preparation for the non-co-operation campaign a proclamation by Gandhi, Abdul Kalam Azad, Shaukat Ali and other members of the Non-Co-operation Committee, was posted up in the City by Khadim volunteers. Translations of an appeal by Shaukat Ali for non-co-operation with a form of pledge for signature, and Urdu translations of Gandhi's letter to His Excellency the Viceroy and of the memorial for reconsideration of the Peace Terms with Turkey have also been received by the local Khilafat Committee.

The situation generally is normal.

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Dated Ziarat, the 6th August 1920.

From—The HON'BLE LIEUTENANT-COLONEL A. B. DEW, C.S.I., C.I.E., Agent to the Governor-General and Chief Commissioner in Baluchistan,

To—The HON'BLE MR. H. R. C. DOBBS, C.S.I., C.I.E., Foreign Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign and Political Department, Simla.

There is nothing of special interest to report. In the opinion of the older leading men of the Province it was wisdom on the part of Government to let the Khilafat, Hijrat and other agitations have their day, and to leave it to the good sense of the people not to join as a whole; that it is no good making martyrs of a few people, but that things should not be allowed to go too far and that warning should be given before action is taken.

The thoughts of Quetta town are much occupied with questions of improvements and new public buildings—also a keen excitement is manifesting itself over the local football matches in which Mr. Johnston is interesting himself.

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accommodation for 1,500. It is expected that many of them will return. Non-co-operation is not flourishing. Three Mahomedans have come forward to contest the vacancy caused by the resignation of Bhurgri.

North-West Frontier Province.—The report of the situation is not so satisfactory generally, the *Hijrat* movement having received an appreciable impetus on account of the *Muhajirin* from Sind. It has now been arranged by us that no more special trains will be despatched. There is, however, considerable excitement in Peshawar on account of the *Kacha Garhi* affray. Violent speeches giving an exaggerated account of the brutality of British soldiers were delivered on 19th instant at Lahore. We trust that the Chief Commissioner will soon be in a position to publish a full statement of the result of his enquiry, but a military enquiry, of which a report has been received, indicates that a British sergeant interfered in the first instance without justification.

It has been decided by the Non-co-operation Committee to hold *hartal* on the 1st proximo as a demonstration of, and support to, the non-co-operation movement. The Congress has not yet given the lead and the special session is not to be held till September, in Calcutta. The Congress followers must, as it is pointed out in the Allahabad *Leader*, abstain from *hartal*, otherwise the Non-co-operation Committee will supersede the Congress. The lawyer supporters of the movement are averse from immediate non-co-operation and urge for time till the recess of the courts. Shaukat Ali and Gandhi are now making a tour in the Punjab, and it is reported that they will be visiting the North-West Frontier Province. Their tour may give some impetus in Northern India to the non-co-operation movement, since the imagination of the people has been stirred by emigration of a large batch of *Muhajirin* from Sind and roused by reports of the *Kacha Garhi* affair.

There is considerable interest in elections, sporadic labour unrest; the railway strike at Lahore has practically come to an end. M. A. Khan and Miller are now giving up hope of maintaining the strike and declare that the only remedy is for them to leave the country.

A misleading report of the answer given to a question in the House of Commons about Gandhi caused a great deal of comment in the Indian Press regarding what the *Tribune* calls blank cheque which appears once more to be given to the Indian authorities to deal with Gandhi as they liked. A correct version of the reply just received, as well as the questions and answers regarding the Hunter Committee despatches and private evidence have been published by us.

SECRET.

Telegram P., no. 609, dated the 24th July 1920.

From—His Excellency the Viceroy,

To—The Secretary of State for India.

The weekly telegram is as follows :—

The Dyer debate is still the main topic of interest. Among the Indians there is general dissatisfaction that the House of Commons did not insist on more drastic action than was proposed in the Secretary of State's and Government of India despatches. On other hand, most English-owned papers have taken up Dyer's cause hotly and are issuing subscription lists. Feeling is further exacerbated by the speech of Colonel Frank Johnson, European Association, Rangoon, who maintained that Dyer saved thousands by killing hundreds and referred to the condition of the loyal Punjabis as pitiful. He urged that European Associations in other Provinces should appeal to Government to stem tide crime regardless of politicians at home and in this country.

It is reported from the United Provinces that the Amritsar debate has deeply accentuated racial bitterness.

2. Regarding the *Khilafat* agitation, the situation generally speaking is unchanged. It is reported by Bengal that the extremists are making attempts to dissuade pilgrims from proceeding to Mecca, but instead to subscribe money to the *Khilafat* fund, also to urge the boycott of the Prince of Wales' visit. In latter no support has been received from the Hindu extremists or the people generally. The Mahomedans in general are genuinely disturbed with regard to the safety of holy places ; little active feeling however has been shown towards the *Khilafat* and no inclination to provide money or to accept the non-co-operation movement.

The United Provinces report that the *Khilafat* movement is languishing. Interested persons are making money, and as this becomes known, there is a poor response to financial appeals. There are very few prominent *Maulvies* on the side of agitators. The *Hijrat* movement does not win converts ; at the same time the political situation is deteriorating, as racial bitterness is increasing.

Punjab.—There is no change in the situation ; little progress is made by non-co-operation. The *Muhajirin* from the Punjab few in numbers, but imagination has been stirred by the emigration of 600 men from Sind. Speeches on the *Khilafat* continue intemperate and efforts are being made to tamper with Mahomedan troops on leave. The Gujranwala *Khilafat* Committee have started propaganda in villages. Increasing participation of Sikhs in political extremism is a noticeable feature of the political movement in the Punjab. The restrictions against the *Independent* of the Allahabad and the *Congress* of Delhi in regard to entry into Province has now been removed. No paper is now excluded.

Central Provinces.—Interest in the *Khilafat* is distinctly on the wane. Shaukat Ali has written reproaching the Nagpur leaders for their lukewarmness. The leading *Maulvis* refuse to join the non-co-operation movement. There are indications that the Hindu extremists are now advocating boycott of British goods in preference to non-co-operation laid down by the *Khilafat* Committee.

Delhi.—The people are generally apathetic towards *Khilafat* and will not subscribe. There is an increasing apprehension that the funds are being used by promoters for their own personal advantage. Recruiting is satisfactory for the Army and Police. Non-co-operation is making no headway. *Hijrat* action, if there is any, is under the surface.

Bombay.—Since *Ramzan* there is some recrudescence of *Khilafat* activity in Sind, chiefly dissemination of mischievous statements with regard to the desecration of holy places. *Hijrat* is more conspicuous here than anywhere else, but, compared with the numbers, it is stated are ready to go, the actual departures are few. Less than 700 actually went, many of whom are ignorant yokels who sold their possessions to pay expenses, though the railway authorities were asked for

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Secret.

Telegram P., no. 624, dated the 30th July 1920.

From—His Excellency the Viceroy,
To—The Secretary of State for India.

Very great interest has been evinced in the debate in the Lords. General Indian criticism that such verdict is to be expected from a reactionary body like the House of Lords and much is made of the fact that speakers of note did not support Dyer. There is considerable satisfaction at Lord Curzon's powerful and sympathetic speech which almost counteracts effect of vote. The speech by Lord Sinha is criticised as not vigorous enough. Subscription lists for Dyer have been opened in this country and have been taken up energetically by Ladies' Committees, European Associations and some English newspapers, but Pickford, as Sheriff of Calcutta made an appeal to drop the Dyer controversy because of its effects on racial feeling. Deplores bitter wrangle should continue when it can do no good to either side. Instructions have been issued by us to local Governments that rule 22 of the Government Servants' Conduct Rules prevents them from subscribing to the Dyer Fund. A statement has just been issued by Surendra Nath Banerji regretting attitude of some European Associations and Anglo-Indian Press regarding the Dyer controversy, deploring vote of Lords on Finlay's motion, and supporting the Secretary of State.

Gandhi and Shaukat Ali devoted week to tour in North-West Frontier Province, Punjab, Delhi and Sind before *hartal* proclaimed for 1st August. Violent speeches have been made at chief towns. A note has been issued by the Government of Bombay strongly deprecating intemperate language used at numerous public meetings held in connection with the *Khilafat* agitation in recent months in Sind and grave decisive warning has been given that if the campaign of untruthful and inflammatory speeches are persisted in, there will be no alternative but to apply the provisions of the Seditious Meetings Act to the whole province of Sind or such portions as may be necessary. Governor hopes speakers on public platforms will recognise their responsibility in statements and arguments and not compel Government to take steps referred to.

The Seditious Meetings Act has been extended to Delhi for a further period of three months. This, as previously reported has met with the approval of moderates, but protests have appeared in extremist press and suggestions made to Gandhi to order meeting to be held in defiance. Gandhi's reply is not known, but it is reported that Shaukat Ali has gone to Delhi.

A warning has been issued by the Punjab Government to intending *Muhajirin* against outbreak of cholera at Peshawar and extreme heat in Afghanistan, particularly in desert areas. The Kacha Garhi incident has greatly excited the people in Peshawar, and it is announced that caravan *Muhajirin* will proceed from Sind on foot and caravan under lead of Guard Miller will also proceed from Lahore on foot. The *hartal* movement is said to be gaining ground in the North-West Frontier Province where some resignations among the police are reported and 30 out of 60 *Pa'waris* have also resigned. It is possible that these resignations have not entirely been influenced by religious motives, but report says that certain land-owning classes are selling up their land for a mere song to join in *hijrat*. Situation in this province has markedly deteriorated as a result of the Kacha Garhi affair, in which a British officer and soldier have been held greatly to blame by the civil enquiring officer, Deputy Commissioner, Peshawar. Their prosecution in criminal court has been recommended by the Chief Commissioner. We have called for all the papers and will communicate our decision later.

Gandhi has declared *hartal* for Sunday, August 1st, 1920, to inaugurate Non-co-operation. An abstract of the manifesto issued under the signatures of Gandhi, Abul Kalam Azad, Shaukat Ali, Ahmed Haji Siddick Khatri, Saifuddin Kitchlew, Fazlul Hasan Hasrat Mohani and Mohammad Ali is given below :—

In spite of efforts to secure revision of peace terms certain no revision before 1st August. Committee desires to mark sacred character of demonstration of

Non-co-operation and to gauge public feeling ; seeks co-operation of Hindus and other non-Moslem communities in making inauguration a complete success. Therefore (1) full *hartal* on 1st Augst is advised. Mill-hands are requested not to abstain from work without permission from employers, nor should those who are required to carry on necessary daily work abstain ; (2) day should be devoted to prayer and fasting ; (3) meetings should be held all over the country including smallest village at which resolution of protest against treaty and sympathy with Non-co-operation movement in prescribed language should be adopted with or without speeches and copy sent to Viceroy. The movement is stated to be not one of civil disobedience. There are to be no processions. Speeches are to be restrained. Police instructions or regulations are to be obeyed ; there should be no meetings where there is written prohibition ; success of movement depends on perfect peace being observed by community. If unreasonable orders are issued interfering with liberty of subject, the question will be considered on merits by Committee. All title-holders in sympathy with the movement are expected on this day to surrender titles or honorary posts.

It is impossible to predict how far *hartal* will be successful, but except in Sind and portions of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province feeling is certainly lukewarm and success of *hartal* even there will not necessarily indicate probable success of Non-co-operation movement. There is a feeling in many quarters that Special Session of Congress to be held in Calcutta in September should be awaited. In a recent speech Malaviya urged grave importance of subject, demanded country to take counsel together before deciding to follow advice of Gandhi and Central Khilafat Committee regarding Non-co-operation from 1st August. Consequences of any decision so serious and far-reaching that it would be wrong to leave it to a few men, even though they had venerated leader like Gandhi at head of movement. He earnestly advised waiting decision of Congress and stated that he was going to request Gandhi and the Khilafat Committee to postpone action till the meeting of Congress. There has been some difficulty in finding a President for this Congress, but Lajpat Rai has now been declared the elected President of the Special Session. His election will no doubt give support to the Non-co-operation movement. One or two resignations are reported, e.g., S. Kasturi Ranga Iyengar, Editor of the *Hindu*, resigned his membership of the Prince of Wales' Reception Committee as a protest against the attitude of the House of Lords' debate on Dyer against remarks made by Secretary of State and Under Secretary of State on Gandhi. The non-Brahmin Conference at Hubli passed resolutions welcoming the Prince of Wales, sympathising with the *Khilafat* agitation, but condemning the Non-co-operation movement and regretting the House of Lords' debate on Dyer as exhibition of racial animosity.

It is reported from Patna that Non-co-operation day is expected to pass almost unnoticed in Bihar, for, except Mazarulhuq and Rajendra Persad, no other public man has expressed sympathy yet.

General pleasure has been expressed in the Indian Press at the appointment of Sarma as Member of Council. Even Lajpat Rai in a signed article in the *Bande Mataram* congratulates him and expresses the hope that the appointment will lead to good of the country.

The above is the weekly telegraphic report.

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