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CONFIDENTIAL

DELHI RECORDS.

3

1919.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.  
HOME DEPARTMENT.

POLITICAL—A.

Proceedings, May 1919, nos. 455—472.

taken to deal with the leaders of the Passive Resistance (Satyagraha) in  
Rowlatt Bill.  
order by the Government of the Punjab under Rule 3 (b) of the Defence of India  
Act, 1915, directing that Mr. M. K. Gandhi shall reside and remain in the President

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- Letter to all local Governments and Administrations, no. 485, dated the 9th April 1919, informing them of the above and asking them to issue a manifesto regarding the state, object and scope of the Rowlatt Bill
- Telegram from His Excellency the Governor of Bombay, dated the 9th April 1919, a telegram sent to His Excellency the Viceroy on the above subject
- Telegram to the Government of the Punjab and the Chief Commissioner Delhi, no. 486, dated 9th April 1919 repeating a telegram to the Government of Bombay, regarding the departure of Mr. Gandhi from Bombay for Delhi on the 9th April and authorising them to issue an order under Rule 3 (b) of the Defence of India Rules against him
- Telegram to the United Provinces Government, no. 486, dated the 9th April 1919, repeating the above telegram
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CONFIDENTIAL.

## NOTES

POLITICAL—A., MAY 1919.

Nos. 455—472.

MEASURES TAKEN TO DEAL WITH THE LEADERS OF THE PASSIVE RESISTANCE (SATYAGRAHA) MOVEMENT AGAINST THE ROWLATT BILL, ISSUE OF AN ORDER BY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB UNDER RULE 3 OF THE DEFENCE OF INDIA (CONSOLIDATION) RULES, 1915, DIRECTING THAT MR. M. K. GANDHI SHALL RESIDE AND REMAIN IN THE PRESIDENCY OF BOMBAY.

Dated Simla, the 8th April 1919.

Endorsed by the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy.

Forward to H. D. Craik, Esq., with the compliments of the Assistant Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy.

Telegram P., no. 738, dated Bombay, the 7th (received the 8th) April 1919.

From—Governor Bombay,

To—His Excellency the Viceroy.

*Clear the line*—Yesterday demonstrations were large. Owing, however, to the knowledge of the presence of a military force they passed off quietly. Resistance to law has just commenced and this afternoon Gandhi has sent the following letter to the Commissioner of Police. *Begins.* May I send you a copy of an unregistered newspaper which I issued to-day as its Editor. Signed Gandhi. *Ends.* The following are roughly the contents:—"This is a paper which is not to be registered and therefore there cannot be any subscribers to it. Its circulation cannot be guaranteed by me. Government may take the publisher but another will come forward. The way in which to oppose the Rowlatt Bills and to act in connection with Satyagraha movement will be discussed in it."

A committee, I understand, is also sitting to-night to decide what further laws are to be transgressed, after which it is proposed by Gandhi to invite his followers to take further vows.

Although a technical offence has so far been selected it will almost certainly be necessary for me to proceed against Gandhi and others in this or any other contravention of the law but, in view of fact that such action may result in considerable disturbance here and possibly elsewhere, I consider it proper to inform you immediately and to defer taking action until I receive telegraphic intimation of the receipt of this telegram by you.

I have discussed this with Secretary. We must I think wait till to-morrow for a communication from His Excellency.

W. H. V[INCENT],—8-4-19.

Telegram P., dated (and received) the 8th April 1919.

From—His Excellency the Viceroy, Viceroy's Camp,

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

*Clear the line*.—Please see the 'clear the line' telegram from His Excellency the Governor of Bombay dated the 7th April 1919. I think it important that in order to deal with the possible development of the passive resistance movement a definite plan of action should be prepared at once in the Home Department so as to co-ordinate the policy to be followed in the different provinces.

Gandhi's first move might perhaps be met by a process of confiscating printing presses

and type.  
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It also seems to me that in every province where the passive resistance movement shows dangerous symptoms the head of the local Government might issue widely a manifesto simply worded regarding the state, object, and scope of the Rowlatt Bill, sympathising with national opposition, condemning those who by embarrassing the Government seek notoriety, pointing to the moral of the Delhi incident and calling upon all sober-minded people whatever their views may be on the actual question of the bill, to discourage the policy of embarrassing and intimidating the Government by threatening them, and making it clear that his Government is determined to carry out its duty of maintaining the laws of the country and dealing rigorously with all movements that endanger the peace and prosperity of great body of citizens.

Perhaps a counter passive resistance movement might be organised and assisted where a local Government thinks such a course expedient.

His Excellency's "clear the line" wire is submitted for orders.

A. L.,—8-4-19.

I understand there is to be a meeting of the Executive Council to-morrow. If so thi' might be considered then.

H. D. CRAIK,—8-4-19.

Telegram no. 483, dated the 8th April 1919.

From—The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, Simla,  
To—His Excellency the Viceroy, Viceroy's Camp.

*Clear the line.*—Your telegram 'clear the line' dated 8th instant. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, Sir George Lowndes and Sir James Meston have been consulted and the following reply has been sent to the Government of Bombay: *Begins* \* \* \* \* \*  
\* \* \* \* \* *Ends.* We do not think that the process of confiscating the press and type alone would, even if legal, do much good. All local Governments are being informed of the substance of the communications from and to the Government of Bombay and prosecution for breaches of the law has been suggested of the leaders of the movement if it shows dangerous symptoms. It has also been suggested that a manifesto should be issued such as you propose omitting the words "sympathising with national opposition" and the reference to intimidation.

455. TELEGRAM TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY, NO. 484, DATED THE 8TH APRIL 1919.

456. TELEGRAM TO ALL LOCAL GOVERNMENTS AND ADMINISTRATIONS, NO. 455, DATED THE 9TH APRIL 1919.

457. TELEGRAM FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY, DATED THE 9TH APRIL 1919.

Submitted.

N. E. D.,—9-4-19.

I have telephoned this to Hon'ble Member.

We can only wait for a communication from the Viceroy.

J. H. DUBOULAY,—9-4-19.

I took these papers to show to His Excellency in Dehra. Please add any subsequent ones and send to him to await arrival for information.

W. H. VINCENT],—11-4-19.

Telegram P., dated Viceroy's Camp, Dehra Dun, the 10th April 1919.

From—His Excellency the Viceroy,

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

*Clear the line.*—Yes. I shall expect you here on Friday morning. I am also summoning Vincent. This is with reference to your 'clear the line' telegram.

Addressed Bombay, repeated Home.

/ Telegram P., dated Viceroy's Camp, Dehra Dun, the 10th April 1919.

From—The Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy,

To—The Hon'ble Sir William Vincent.

*Clear the line.*—Will you please refer to the Bombay telegram. His Excellency the Viceroy expects you here on Friday morning.



I have been in communication with Sir Michael O'Dwyer and Mr. Barron to-day on the question of Mr. Gandhi entering Delhi and the Punjab. I have also consulted Mr. Hailey. Sir Michael O'Dwyer says that in his opinion the situation is now serious and that it is desirable that Mr. Gandhi should be deported under Regulation III to Burma. He says that the similar deportation of Lajpat Rai in 1907 was very effective. He considers that a prosecution of Mr. Gandhi in Bombay for issuing an unregistered paper would be playing into his hands. He adds that he has consulted leading people in Lahore including some members of the Congress, that they consider the position to be very serious, that the matter has passed out of their control, and he considers that the Government of India should take action at once.

2. Mr. Barron says that it will be very dangerous to allow Mr. Gandhi into Delhi at present. I put it to him that an order prohibiting Mr. Gandhi from entering Delhi alone would be very dangerous, as the only method of enforcing it would be to arrest, detain and prosecute him in Delhi City. On the other hand, if he is allowed to enter Delhi it is very probable that he will break the law and will have to be arrested and tried for an offence there, with the result that there would be a disturbance and in all probability a recurrence of the recent serious rioting.

3. The Punjab have already prohibited Mr. Gandhi from entering that province and propose to arrest him if he attempts to disobey the order. This will do actually on his way to Delhi as in proceeding from Muttra to Delhi he will pass through the Punjab. Mr. Barron wishes at the moment to serve an order on Mr. Gandhi before he reaches Delhi to return to and remain in the Bombay Presidency. This order he can only make with the sanction of the Government of India.

4. I have consulted Sir James Meston and he agrees with me that in the circumstances we ought to sanction this procedure by the local administration. Sir George Soudes has also agreed. I do not agree with Sir Michael O'Dwyer as to the expediency of deporting Mr. Gandhi to Burma, at any rate at present. I think that any such action would cause a conflagration and would alienate the sympathy of many who do not at present approve of Mr. Gandhi's conduct. Indeed, we have an example of what might occur in the recent events in Egypt.

5. In the circumstances a message should at once be sent to Delhi, the United Provinces, and Lahore sanctioning the issue by those Governments of an order domiciling Mr. Gandhi in the Bombay Presidency and it will be their duty to use all reasonable means to enforce the order. Information of the line of action taken should be communicated to all other local Governments and a full telegram explaining position sent to His Excellency the Viceroy. The Bombay Government should also be informed of the action taken so that they may, if they think it necessary, issue any further order of restriction on Mr. Gandhi, but it seems to me that if the prosecution against him under the Press Act is expedited, that probably would be sufficient. I do not think that Mr. Gandhi would have the same sympathy if he were convicted and sentenced under the ordinary law as he would if he were deported under Regulation III.

The orders in this case should be served on Mr. Gandhi by the Punjab inside the province and by the Delhi administration inside that province. We should ask the Punjab and Delhi to avoid all use of force to Mr. Gandhi so far as may be possible and to tell him that if his visit to Delhi is not for the inauguration of a campaign to break the law and if he will undertake that he will not promote any such violation, we will reconsider the question of allowing him to go to Delhi later, but that his going there in the present circumstances would cause a disturbance and cannot be allowed, and that we hope therefore that he will carry out the orders now issued and return to Bombay.

2. In the wire to His Excellency it should be added that unless and until the situation settles down it would be impossible for me to go to Delhi on the 12th.

3. The information as to the particular train by which Mr. Gandhi is travelling should if possible be verified.

W. H. VINCENT, — 9-4-19

TELEGRAM TO THE CHIEF COMMISSIONER, DELHI, AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB, NO. PRO. NO. 453, 495, DATED THE 9TH APRIL 1919.

TELEGRAM TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED PROVINCES, NO. 496, DATED THE 9TH APRIL PRO. NO. 459, 1919.

TELEGRAM TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY, NO. 497-498, DATED THE 9TH APRIL 1919. REFRATED PRO. NO. 460. MADRAS, BOMBAY, BIEAR AND ORISSA, CENTRAL PROVINCES, NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE, ASSAM, AND COORG.