# THE COLLECTED WORKS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

## XLVI (1931)

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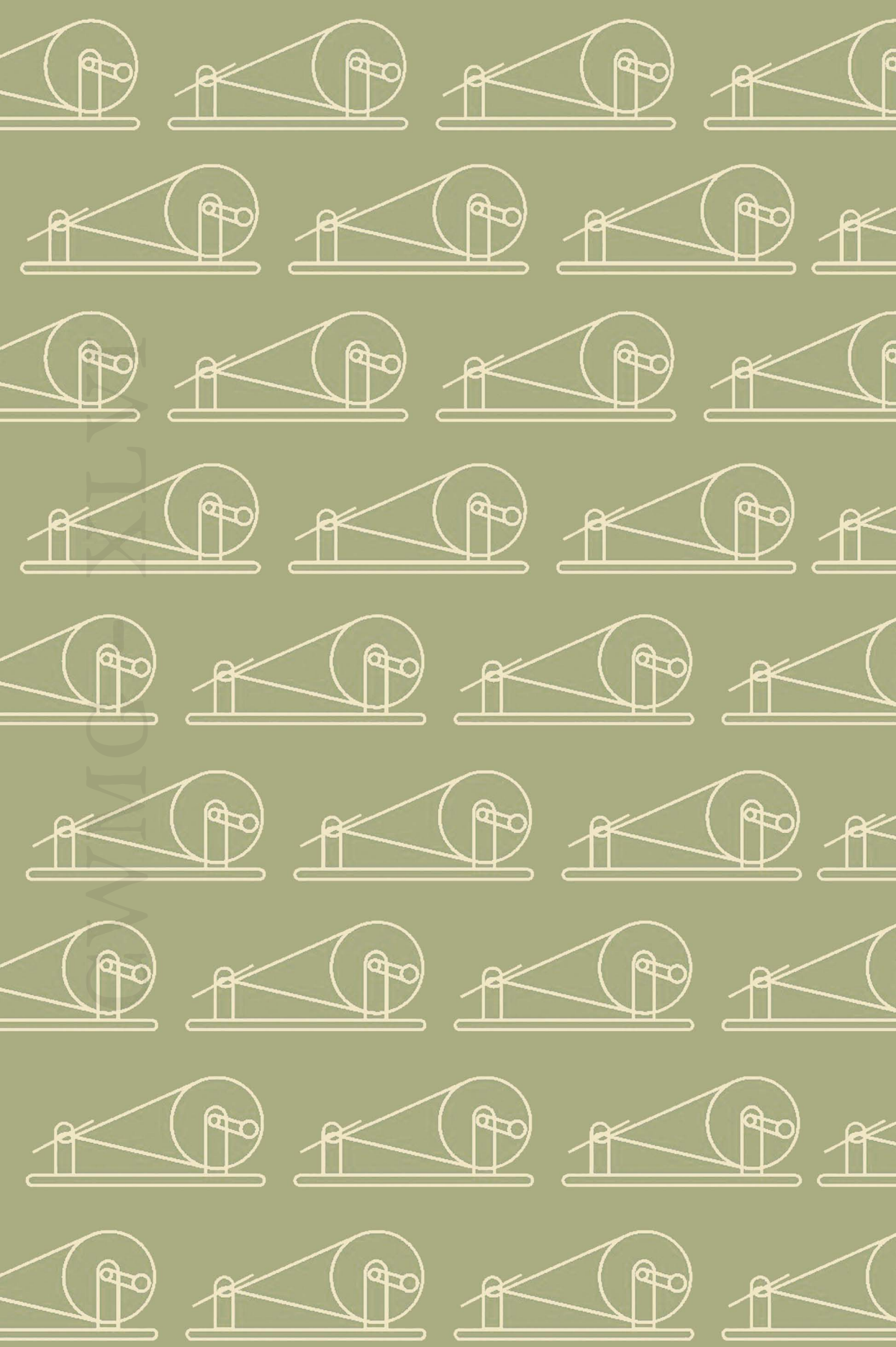
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(April-June 1931)

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## *PREFACE*

The two months, from April 16 to June 17, 1931, covered in this volume show Gandhiji struggling, against increasing odds, to get the Provisional Settlement implemented in the spirit of mutual trust and co-operation which had inspired it. He found the attempt, as he explained to C.F. Andrews, "an uphill fight" (p. 51) "in the teeth of official sullenness, unwillingness and even opposition" (p. 89). The task was made harder still by the continuance of terrorist activities, and Gandhiji strove patiently to convince the extremists of the futility of violence in the Indian context. Absence of a Hindu-Muslim agreement further complicated the constitutional problem and made Gandhiji doubt the usefulness of his attending the forthcoming Round Table Conference in London. The fear of a possible breakdown of the Settlement in his absence strengthened Gandhiji's disinclination to go. In this state of uncertainty, similar to what he had gone through before the launching of the civil disobedience movement in March 1930, Gandhiji relied, as he had done on that occasion, on the guidance of his inner voice. "I refuse to speculate", he replied to a friend's caution against a hasty decision to go. "I would go where the light leads me in the fullest faith that all will be well if I follow it" (p. 53).

The volume opens with a strong condemnation of "The Cult of Violence". Gandhiji regretted that the Congress resolution about Bhagat Singh had had quite a contrary effect to what was intended and seemed "to have given a passport for extolling" political murders. "I repeat my deliberate opinion", he said, "that whatever may be true of other countries, in India at least political murder can only harm the country" (p. 1). It was "through the non-violent method alone", he claimed, "that the phenomenal mass consciousness, including the awakening of women, has come into being" (p. 2). Giving "hard facts" in support of his view that revolutionary murder was futile, harmful and opposed to Indian tradition, Gandhiji concluded: ". . . if I had a completely peaceful atmosphere we would have gained our end already" (p. 30). Gandhiji's stand on this issue was often misrepresented in Bengal, and he was even accused of provincial bias (pp. 357-9.) "Bengal is as dear to me as the Punjab", Gandhiji replied, adding, "And I owe a special debt to Bengal for the inspiration it gave me in my youth". "But", he declared, "whether I retain my hold on the youth of Bengal or any other province or I do not, I must pro-

CWMG - XIV

claim my creed from the house-top. Freedom of India's starving millions is attainable only through Truth and Ahimsa'' (p. 359).

The cult of violence was confined to a microscopic minority, but its effect on the atmosphere was out of all proportion to the size of its following. Gandhiji recognized that though the mass of the people had remained non-violent in action during the civil disobedience campaign, there was ''a great deal of thoughtless approval of political murder'' (p. 120) and that even civil resisters were often guilty of ''violence in thought and less often in speech'' (p. 1). Referring to an incident in Karachi where a ''half-cracked man'' had collected unemployed and other labourers and tried to use them to coerce merchants and moneyed men, Gandhiji warned the country that the ''awakening of masses hitherto drugged into sleep by ignorance and despotism can easily prove their own undoing together with a wreckage of the social structure'', and urged upon the people the imperative necessity of discipline. ''Storms and floods there always will be'', he said, ''but discipline is to disorder what bulwarks and embankments are to storms and floods'' (p.140). Accordingly he advised workers to stop picketing if absolute peacefulness could not be preserved (p. 96). Gandhiji also cautioned Congressmen against hasty experiments in the revival of Panchayats, lest they developed into new instruments of oppression. ''No Panchayat'', he advised, ''should have any authority to impose fines, the only sanction behind its civil decrees being its moral authority, strict impartiality and the willing obedience of the parties concerned.'' And likewise he also disapproved of social boycott. ''Social boycott in villages has been found to be a dangerous weapon in the hands of ignorant or unscrupulous men'' (p. 240).

Gandhiji's chief concern at this time, however, was to prevent a breakdown of the Settlement. It was ''a gentleman's agreement'' and he had, he assured H. W. Emerson, Home Secretary in the Government of India, pledged his honour ''to Lord Irwin that I shall do nothing that I could honourably refrain from doing to prevent a breakdown'' (p. 48). Even though, as he told C.Y. Chintamani, the Liberal leader, many occasions had arisen when he might have broken up negotiations with local authorities, he was not going lightly to declare war. The thought that it ''would hurt Lord Irwin to the quick would alone make me wait a thousand times before embarking on any such step'' (p. 267). But this self-restraint sometimes proved agonizing. The officials, long accustomed to rule the people without their authority ever being questioned, found it impossible to adjust themselves to the relationship of mutual

trust and co-operation envisaged in the Settlement. Local Governments, Gandhiji told Rajagopalachari, had evidently not liked the Settlement. "To get them to implement the Settlement is therefore like drawing the lion's teeth" (p. 163). The Commissioner of Northern Division, for instance, refused to concede that in matters relating to the Settlement "the Congress must be recognized as the intermediary between the Government and the people whom the Congress represents" (pp. 21 & 43). For Gandhiji this raised "a question of the first magnitude" (p. 21) and he reported to the Home Secretary that, so far as Gujarat was concerned, the Settlement was in imminent danger of a breakdown (p. 25). The issue arose over the Government threat of coercive processes to recover land revenue dues in Gujarat over Gandhiji's head. Innumerable other points of dispute arose in all parts of the country, and Gandhiji was invited to Simla for a detailed discussion with the Home Secretary. The latter represented to Gandhiji the "Constitutional, political, Communal, financial, agrarian and terrorist" difficulties that the Government faced, and appealed for a concerted effort by all to solve them (p. 415). At the end of the meeting Mr. Emerson recorded his impression that Gandhiji was "more sincere than ever in his desire to see the Settlement through" and had "definitely mellowed during the past few months" (p. 416). But though Gandhiji may have been somewhat reassured about the Government's intentions in regard to the Settlement, his apprehensions regarding its future did not altogether disappear. He could not still overcome his reluctance to go to England, for, as he explained in a telegram to the Viceroy, he "could not leave India whilst anxious difficulties are experienced regarding its working" (p. 197). On the difficulties persisting, Gandhiji was forced to propose "the appointment of a permanent Board of Arbitration to decide [the] question of interpretation of the Settlement. . . " (p. 381).

The communal problem, too, remained unsolved. Delicate negotiations had been going on behind the scenes, and Gandhiji had been advised to watch them silently and express no views in public (pp. 80 & 119). He had declared from the very beginning that he would not go to the Round Table Conference until a communal solution was found, and he reiterated his attitude whenever the subject was referred to. Explaining his reason to Dr. M. A. Ansari, a Nationalist Muslim leader, he asked: "What can I ask and what strength can I put forth in the national demand if we are a house divided against itself?" (p. 225). It seems, however, that Gandhiji found it extremely difficult to come to a firm decision on this question. "In this matter too", he wrote to C. Y. Chintamani, "I am

feeling my way and, if I at all can, I would certainly attend the Conference. I have come to no irrevocable decision'' (p. 267). He even considered the possibility of going to London to explain the Congress position to responsible statesmen and the public, without participating in the Conference (p. 254), and ''to do a little lobbying also'' (p. 276), provided the working of the Settlement permitted him to leave the country. ''My desire is certainly to go there'', he told C.F. Andrews, ''but the inner voice says 'no' and the external atmosphere confirms the guidance of the inner voice'' (p. 275).

While adopting a conciliatory attitude in regard to most points of conflict between the Congress and the Government, Gandhiji remained uncompromising on the issue of boycott of foreign cloth. This item in the programme had affected the material interests of Great Britain and was having a significant effect on its cotton industry. It, therefore, easily lent itself to a misunderstanding and misrepresentation of the Congress policy. As a result of the Settlement, the Congress lifted the boycott of British goods, which had been adopted as a purely political weapon, but the boycott of foreign cloth, including British cloth, remained as ''an economic necessity for the semi-starved millions'' (p. 102). Writing in *Young India* on the ''needlessly bitter and unwarranted agitation'' launched against the movement in England, Gandhiji asked the Lancashire mill-owners to ''realize that India to be free from chronic starvation must for ever banish foreign cloth whether English, Japanese or any other. . . . Let all the foreigners understand that this boycott movement is a mass movement, it is a humanitarian movement. . . . It has political consequences, but being a purely economic and humanitarian movement it should command the support of the whole world'' (p. 26). Gandhiji admitted that the Lancashire workmen might have to suffer during the transition stage. ''But can it be any reason'', he asked, ''for India's millions starving themselves?'' ''Lancashire did wrong in killing India's cottage industry'', he said, and it must now ''turn to a less injurious industry'' (p. 324). Aware of the intensity of feelings on this issue in Britain, Gandhiji readily accepted an invitation to visit Lancashire, in case he went to London for the Round Table Conference, and ''demonstrate to the people of Lancashire that I personally and the Congress have no ill-will against Lancashire and that the Congress would do all in its power to help Lancashire'' (p. 212).

Gandhiji was aware of the necessity of educating public opinion in India, too, about the ''true purpose and implications of the boycott programme'' and asked the nation to work it ''in such a way that the benefits accrue pre-eminently to the villagers'', and

this could only be "by the nation according to khadi a position above all other indigenous cloth". He, therefore, urged upon the people to revise their taste in cloth and take to coarse, thick khadi (p. 59). "Though the intellect admits the desirability of abjuring foreign cloth," Gandhiji noted, "the heart yearns after the fineries which only come from foreign countries. Love of self predominates over love of the country or rather love of the semi-starved millions" (p. 141). Repudiating the charge that the boycott was "designed or calculated merely to benefit the mills to the injury of the masses", Gandhiji said the "Indian mills come in to supplement khadi", and that "the boycott would stand in spite of the Indian mills if they opposed khadi". Once foreign cloth was out of the way, he stated, "indigenous mills will readily suit their prices and production to khadi, or will themselves face a boycott even like foreign mills" (p. 308). Emphasizing the humanitarian aspect of khadi in a vivid phrase, Gandhiji said: "Khadi is a sort of *hundi* drawn by the poor. There should be men and women in cities who would always accept such *hundis*" (p. 341). "Village economics", according to Gandhiji, "is different from industrial economics. Human economics is not the same as that of exploitation of mere dead matter" (p. 361).

From the ethical standpoint, khadi was part of the universal law of swadeshi which requires that "its votary will as a first duty dedicate himself to the service of his immediate neighbours. . . . Pure service of one's neighbours can never, from its very nature, result in disservice to those who are remotely situated, rather the contrary" (p. 254). Swadeshi is "*swadharma* applied to one's immediate environment" and its practice can never harm anybody (p. 255). But Gandhiji also cautioned against the perversion of the doctrine of swadeshi: "To reject foreign manufactures merely because they are foreign and to go on wasting national time and money to promote manufactures in one's country for which it is not suited would be criminal folly and a negation of the swadeshi spirit" (p. 256). "Swadeshism", Gandhiji concluded, "is not a cult of hatred. It is a doctrine of selfless service that has its roots in the purest ahimsa, i.e., love" (p. 257).

Gandhiji's loin-cloth too, as he explained to a supercilious critic, was the expression of his desire to bring himself "in a line with the ill-clad masses" (p. 55). "But", he added, "in so far as the loin-cloth also spells simplicity let it represent Indian civilization." While admitting that India should adopt from European civilization "whatever may be good and capable of assimilation by us" (p. 55), he also warned against "the incessant search for material comforts

and their multiplication", which he pronounced an evil which the Europeans themselves would have to shake off "if they are not to perish under the weight of the comforts to which they are becoming slaves". In any case, "for India to run after the Golden Fleece is to court certain death" (pp. 55-6).

A twisted Press report of Gandhiji's remarks on the work of foreign missionaries in India had provoked angry comments both in newspapers and from private correspondents, one of whom had "gone into hysterics without condescending to verify the report" (p. 27). Clarifying his views in an article, Gandhiji declared: "Every nation considers its own faith to be as good as that of any other. Certainly the great faiths held by the people of India are adequate for her people. India stands in no need of conversion from one faith to another" (p. 28). He objected to the modern methods of conversion which had become "a matter of business, like any other". He considered "proselytizing under the cloak of humanitarian work . . . unhealthy" and added: "Faith is not imparted like secular subjects. . . . If a man has a living faith in him, it spreads its aroma like the rose its scent" (p. 28).

While acknowledging his debt to a "prayerful reading of the Sermon on the Mount" and recognizing in Jesus "one of the greatest teachers of the world", he could not subscribe to the orthodox Christian doctrine of "his exclusive divinity" (p. 71). But while conversion from one faith to another was to be deplored, there was urgent need for "conversion in the sense of self-purification, self-realization" (p. 29). The religions of India, Gandhiji claimed, were all-sufficing and adequate for her, but the professors of the respective faiths could and should learn from one another. "If there is sympathetic contact established between the various faiths and no evil designs suspected, each can gain a great deal from the rest. What is resisted is the idea of gaining converts and that too not always by fair and open means" (p. 239).

Gandhiji was deeply attached to the Satyagraha Ashram at Sabarmati and had been training its inmates to be the instruments of the non-violent revolution that he aspired to bring about in the country. He, therefore, used to keep up a continuous correspondence with them from wherever he was. But since his release on January 26 he had been so busy that this had not been possible. He, therefore, asked Narandas Gandhi to advise them to rely on the *Gita*, the *Bhajanavali* and the *Ramayana*. "I believe," he said, "and I want you to believe, that the constant reading of these with faith will be a greater source of strength than letters from me or than living with me" (p. 232). For Gandhiji, moral strength was an indispens-

able condition of public service and he, therefore, insisted on the volunteers scrupulously observing the rule of khadi even if that meant fewer volunteers. Such strength of character, he held, required unceasing vigilance on one's part. "Human nature tries to avoid difficulties. It seeks an easy way out. The easy way takes one downhill, the difficult way leads one upwards. The rule of physics applies also to spiritual matters" (p. 39). Explaining the source of his peace of mind, which friends envied, Gandhiji said: "It comes from absolute faith in God and His goodness. That faith enables me humbly to do the task allotted to me without being anxious for the result" (p. 292).

Though Gandhiji's political philosophy and methods of struggle were truly revolutionary, he rightly claimed that he was as much a moderate as an extremist and explained his apparent inconsistencies as the result of his accepting service as "its own and sole reward", the test of service being the approbation of one's own conscience, not the approbation of the public. Thus he could write of the Servants of India Society: "Though our views may be as poles asunder, . . . I have always felt that we are at heart one, being disciples of the same guru", viz., Gopal Krishna Gokhale (p. 194). And he could also write to a critic of adult suffrage, "every form of suffrage will be liable to abuse, adult suffrage perhaps the least so" (p. 46). Gandhiji had faith in the people and in their capacity to exercise responsibility as well as power. He wanted all Congress organizations to get their account books inspected by some experienced person and to economize public expenditure (p. 160). And he wanted district organizations to finance the provincial organizations of the Congress, not *vice versa*. The centralization of finance he compared to "a person trying to walk on his head instead of naturally on his feet" (p. 161).

CWMG - XLVI

## *NOTE TO THE READER*

In reproducing English material, every endeavour has been made to adhere strictly to the original. Obvious typographical errors have been corrected and words abbreviated in the text generally spelt out. Variant spellings of names have, however, been retained as in the original.

Matter in square brackets has been supplied by the Editors. Quoted passages, where these are in English, have been set up in small type and printed with an indent. Indirect reports of speeches and interviews, as also passages which are not by Gandhiji, have been set up in small type. In reports of speeches and interviews slight changes and omissions, where necessary, have been made in passages not attributed to Gandhiji.

While translating from Gujarati and Hindi, efforts have been made to achieve fidelity and also readability in English. Where English translations are available, they have been used with such changes as were necessary to bring them into conformity with the original.

The date of an item has been indicated at the top right-hand corner; if the original is undated, the inferred date is supplied within square brackets, the reasons being given where necessary. The date given at the end of an item alongside the source is that of publication. The writings are placed under the dates of publication, except where they carry a date-line or where the date of writing has special significance and is ascertainable.

References to Volume I of this series are to the January 1969 edition.

In the source-line, S.N. stands for documents which are available in original at the Sabarmati Sangrahalaya, Ahmedabad, and in photostats or microfilms at the Gandhi Smarak Sangrahalaya, New Delhi; G.N. stands for photostats and M.M.U. for Mobile Microfilm Unit documents which are available in the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi and Sangrahalaya, New Delhi; C.W. denotes documents secured by the Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi.

The appendices provide background material relevant to the text. A list of source and a chronology for the period covered by the volume are also provided at the end.

CWMG LXXVI

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CWMG - XLVI

## *CONTENTS*


| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | PREFACE | v |
| | NOTE TO THE READER | xiii |
| | ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS | xiv |
| 1 | THE CULT OF VIOLENCE (16-4-1931) | 1 |
| 2 | AN ENGLISHMAN'S DILEMMA (16-4-1931) | 3 |
| 3 | NOTES (16-4-1931) | 8 |
| 4 | LETTER TO PRABHAVATI (18-4-1931) | 10 |
| 5 | INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS (18-4-1931) | 10 |
| 6 | SPEECH IN REPLY TO CORPORATION ADDRESS, BOMBAY (18-4-1931) | 12 |
| 7 | TO THE SATYAGRAHI FARMER (19-4-1931) | 13 |
| 8 | LETTER TO REGINALD REYNOLDS (19-4-1931) | 16 |
| 9 | LETTER TO SAHABJI MAHARAJ (19-4-1931) | 17 |
| 10 | LETTER TO DR. SYED MAHMUD (19-4-1931) | 17 |
| 11 | LETTER TO GOKIBEHN (19-4-1931) | 18 |
| 12 | LETTER TO J. H. GARRETT (20-4-1931) | 19 |
| 13 | LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI (20-4-1931) | 20 |
| 14 | FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO HARI GANESH PHATAK (After 20-4-1931) | 20 |
| 15 | LETTER TO J. H. GARRETT (21-4-1931) | 21 |
| 16 | LETTER TO BALKRISHNA BHAVE (21-4-1931) | 22 |
| 17 | SPEECH AT SABARMATI ASHRAM, AHMEDABAD (21-4-1931) | 22 |
| 18 | LETTER TO PRABHAVATI (22-4-1931) | 23 |
| 19 | LETTER TO R. M. MAXWELL (22-4-1931) | 23 |
| 20 | LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON (22-4-1931) | 25 |
| 21 | LETTER TO T. B. SAPRU (22-4-1931) | 25 |
| 22 | TELEGRAM TO LAXMIDUTT (On or after 22-4-1931) | 26 |
| 23 | FOREIGN CLOTH AND OTHER BRITISH GOODS (23-4-1931) | 26 |
| 24 | FOREIGN MISSIONARIES (23-4-1931) | 27 |
| 25 | 'ONE OF THE MANY' (?) (23-4-1931) | 29 |
| 26 | VADAPALLI SHOOTING (23-4-1931) | 31 |
| 27 | AGAINST PICKETING (23-4-1931) | 31 |
| 28 | AN INGENIOUS SUGGESTION (23-4-1931) | 33 |
| 29 | LETTER TO RAMBHAU KHARE (23-4-1931) | 33 |
| 30 | CABLE TO "DAILY HERALD" (After 23-4-1931) | 34 |
| 31 | LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT (24-4-1931) | 35 |
| 32 | LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI (24-4-1931) | 35 |
| 33 | ADVICE TO PEASANTS, BARDOLI (24-4-1931) | 36 |


CWMG - XLVI

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 34 | VIOLATION OF PLEDGE (26-4-1931) | 36 |
| 35 | THE SARDA ACT (26-4-1931) | 38 |
| 36 | WOMEN VOLUNTEERS AND KHADI (26-4-1931) | 38 |
| 37 | WORTH WHILE QUESTIONS (26-4-1931) | 40 |
| 38 | LETTER TO J. H. GARRETT (26-4-1931) | 42 |
| 39 | LETTER TO R. M. MAXWELL (26-4-1931) | 43 |
| 40 | LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA (26-4-1931) | 44 |
| 41 | LETTER TO E. STANLEY JONES (26-4-1931) | 45 |
| 42 | LETTER TO SURENDRA SINGH (26-4-1931) | 46 |
| 43 | SPEECH TO VILLAGERS, AKOTI (26-4-1931) | 47 |
| 44 | LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON (27-4-1931) | 47 |
| 45 | LETTER TO R. M. MAXWELL (28-4-1931) | 48 |
| 46 | TELEGRAM TO THAKURDAS KHUSHALDAS (After 28-4-1931) | 49 |
| 47 | TO THE CULTIVATORS OF KHEDA (29-4-1931) | 49 |
| 48 | LETTER TO CHARU PROBHA DEVI (29-4-1931) | 50 |
| 49 | LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS (29-4-1931) | 50 |
| 50 | LETTER TO C. VIJAYARAGHAVACHARIAR (29-4-1931) | 51 |
| 51 | LETTER TO R. B. GREGG (29-4-1931) | 52 |
| 52 | LETTER TO JAMNADAS GANDHI (29-4-1931) | 53 |
| 53 | LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA (29-4-1931) | 54 |
| 54 | THE LOIN-CLOTH (30-4-1931) | 54 |
| 55 | HE LIVES BY DYING (30-4-1931) | 56 |
| 56 | THE GUJARAT FARMER (30-4-1931) | 57 |
| 57 | OUR DUTY TO THE VILLAGERS (30-4-1931) | 59 |
| 58 | WHAT IS THE TRUTH? (30-4-1931) | 61 |
| 59 | LETTER TO PADMA (30-4-1931) | 62 |
| 60 | INTERVIEW TO "FOX MOVIETONE NEWS" (30-4-1931) | 63 |
| 61 | TELEGRAM TO H. W. EMERSON (1-5-1931) | 66 |
| 62 | LETTER TO G. N. COLLINS (1-5-1931) | 67 |
| 63 | LETTER TO LAKSHMINARAYAN GADODIA (1-5-1931) | 67 |
| 64 | STATEMENT TO THE PRESS (2-5-1931) | 68 |
| 65 | TELEGRAM TO HARIBHAU UPADHYAYA (2-5-1931) | 69 |
| 66 | LETTER TO MANAGER, OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, BOMBAY (2-5-1931) | 69 |
| 67 | LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA (2-5-1931) | 70 |
| 68 | LETTER TO SAILENDRA NATH GHOSE (2-5-1931) | 70 |
| 69 | LETTER TO MARTIN C. MILLER (2-5-1931) | 71 |
| 70 | LETTER TO UPTON CLOSE (2-5-1931) | 71 |
| 71 | LETTER TO KARAMCHANDANI (2-5-1931) | 72 |
| 72 | LETTER TO LALJI PARMAR (2-5-1931) | 72 |
| 73 | A TWENTIETH CENTURY SATI (?) (3-5-1931) | 73 |
| 74 | NOTES (3-5-1931) | 75 |
| 75 | LETTER TO COLLECTOR, KHEDA DISTRICT (3-5-1931) | 77 |


CWMG - XLVI

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 76 | LETTER TO JAMES T. RUTNAM (3-5-1931) | 77 |
| 77 | LETTER TO HARIDAS T. MUZUMDAR (3-5-1931) | 78 |
| 78 | LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA (3-5-1931) | 79 |
| 79 | TELEGRAM TO FRAMROZE B. GARDA (4-5-1931) | 79 |
| 80 | LETTER TO DR. SYED MAHMUD (4-5-1931) | 80 |
| 81 | LETTER TO TAN YUN-SHAN (4-5-1931) | 81 |
| 82 | LETTER TO DALAI LAMA (4-5-1931) | 81 |
| 83 | LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI (4-5-1931) | 82 |
| 84 | LETTER TO KISHANSINH CHAVDA (4-5-1931) | 83 |
| 85 | LETTER TO JAMNADAS GANDHI (4-5-1931) | 83 |
| 86 | LETTER TO SHARDA C. SHAH (4-5-1931) | 84 |
| 87 | LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON (4-5-1931) | 84 |
| 88 | LETTER TO FLORENCE ROSENBLATT (5-5-1931) | 85 |
| 89 | LETTER TO V. T. KRISHNAMACHARYA (5-5-1931) | 85 |
| 90 | LETTER TO BOYD TUCKER (5-5-1931) | 87 |
| 91 | LETTER TO RAJENDRA PRASAD (5-5-1931) | 88 |
| 92 | LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS (5-5-1931) | 88 |
| 93 | LETTER TO NANIBEHN JHAVERI (5-5-1931) | 89 |
| 94 | LETTER TO MAHAVIR GIRI (5-5-1931) | 90 |
| 95 | MESSAGE TO PEOPLE OF BHUTAN (5-5-1931) | 90 |
| 96 | MESSAGE ON KHADI (5-5-1931) | 90 |
| 97 | TELEGRAM TO FRAMROZE B. GARDA (6-5-1931) | 91 |
| 98 | TELEGRAM TO SIR COWASJI JEHANGIR (6-5-1931) | 91 |
| 99 | LETTER TO HARIBHAU UPADHYAYA (6-5-1931) | 92 |
| 100 | LETTER TO ABBAS TYABJI (6-5-1931) | 93 |
| 101 | LETTER TO YOUSUF HUSSAIN (6-5-1931) | 94 |
| 102 | LETTER TO H. HARCOURT (6-5-1931) | 94 |
| 103 | LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI (6-5-1931) | 95 |
| 104 | LETTER TO H. RUNHAM BROWN (6-5-1931) | 95 |
| 105 | LETTER TO KHAN CHAND DEV (6-5-1931) | 96 |
| 106 | LETTER TO GULZARI LAL NANDA (6-5-1931) | 96 |
| 107 | LETTER TO KONDA VENKATAPPAYYA (6-5-1931) | 97 |
| 108 | LETTER TO MAGANTI BAPI NEEDU (6-5-1931) | 97 |
| 109 | LETTER TO K. KELAPPAN NAIR (6-5-1931) | 98 |
| 110 | SPEECH AT BOCHASAN (6-5-1931) | 99 |
| 111 | INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS (6-5-1931) | 101 |
| 112 | NOTES (7-5-1931) | 102 |
| 113 | POWER OF AHIMSA (7-5-1931) | 105 |
| 114 | DANGERS OF DEMOCRACY (7-5-1931) | 106 |
| 115 | FOR 'FOLLOWERS' (7-5-1931) | 108 |
| 116 | FOREIGN MISSIONARIES AGAIN (7-5-1931) | 109 |
| 117 | LETTER TO H.W. EMERSON (7-5-1931) | 110 |
| 118 | LETTER TO R. M. MAXWELL (7-5-1931) | 111 |


CWMG - XLVI

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 119 | LETTER TO G. V. KETKAR (7-5-1931) | 113 |
| 120 | LETTER TO KHAN CHAND DEV (7-5-1931) | 114 |
| 121 | LETTER TO G. RAMACHANDRAN (7-5-1931) | 114 |
| 122 | LETTER TO H. W. B. MORENO (7-5-1931) | 115 |
| 123 | LETTER TO K. S. NAGARAJAN (7-5-1931) | 115 |
| 124 | LETTER TO JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM (7-5-1931) | 116 |
| 125 | STATEMENT TO THE PRESS (8-5-1931) | 116 |
| 126 | TELEGRAM TO COWASJI JEHANGIR (JUNIOR) (8-5-1931) | 117 |
| 127 | LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA (8-5-1931) | 117 |
| 128 | LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU (8-5-1931) | 118 |
| 129 | LETTER TO DARCY LINDSAY (8-5-1931) | 120 |
| 130 | LETTER TO LIVINGSTON & DOULL (8-5-1931) | 121 |
| 131 | LETTER TO ABDUR RAZZAQ MALIHABADI (8-5-1931) | 121 |
| 132 | LETTER TO KUSUM DESAI (8-5-1931) | 122 |
| 133 | LETTER TO PANNALAL JHAVERI (8-5-1931) | 122 |
| 134 | LETTER TO PRABHAVATI (8-5-1931) | 123 |
| 135 | LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI (8-5-1931) | 123 |
| 136 | LETTER TO JAMNADAS GANDHI (8-5-1931) | 124 |
| 137 | LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ (8-5-1931) | 125 |
| 138 | INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS (8-5-1931) | 125 |
| 139 | MESSAGE TO HINDUSTANI SEVA DAL (Before 9-5-1931) | 126 |
| 140 | MESSAGE TO LABOURERS, KARACHI (9-5-1931) | 126 |
| 141 | LETTER TO CHIMANLAL SHAH (9-5-1931) | 127 |
| 142 | THE PROBLEM OF FOUR LAKH DHARALAS (10-5-1931) | 127 |
| 143 | NOTES (10-5-1931) | 129 |
| 144 | KHADI IN KAIRA (10-5-1931) | 133 |
| 145 | LETTER TO SHANTA PATEL (10-5-1931) | 134 |
| 146 | LETTER TO GANGASHARAN SINGH (10-5-1931) | 135 |
| 147 | LETTER TO LAKSHMINARAYAN GADODIA (10-5-1931) | 135 |
| 148 | LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI (11-5-1931) | 136 |
| 149 | LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI (On or after 11-5-1931) | 136 |
| 150 | INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS (13-5-1931) | 137 |
| 151 | NOTES (14-5-1931) | 138 |
| 152 | DANGER LOOMING (14-5-1931) | 139 |
| 153 | 'NO CHANGE OF HEART' (14-5-1931) | 141 |
| 154 | ANGLO-INDIANS (14-5-1931) | 143 |
| 155 | THE ALLAHABAD CONGRESS HOSPITAL: AN APPEAL (14-5-1931) | 144 |
| 156 | FOR THE DANDI PILGRIMS (14-5-1931) | 145 |
| 157 | HOW THEY ARE TAUGHT (14-5-1931) | 146 |
| 158 | 'JUDGE LYNCH DECIDES' (14-5-1931) | 147 |
| 159 | LETTER TO SYED AZMATULLAH (14-5-1931) | 148 |
| 160 | LETTER TO HENRY NEIL (14-5-1931) | 148 |


CWMG - XLVI

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 161 | LETTER TO S. RANGOO RAM (14-5-1931) | 149 |
| 162 | LETTER TO SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI (14-5-1931) | 150 |
| 163 | SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, SIMLA (14-5-1931) | 151 |
| 164 | HOMAGE TO K. T. PAUL (15-5-1931) | 152 |
| 165 | CABLE TO "EVENING STANDARD" (15-5-1931) | 153 |
| 166 | INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS (15-5-1931) | 153 |
| 167 | TELEGRAM TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL (16-5-1931) | 154 |
| 168 | LETTER TO KHAN CHAND DEV (16-5-1931) | 154 |
| 169 | LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA (16-5-1931) | 155 |
| 170 | LETTER TO A. FENNER BROCKWAY (16-5-1931) | 155 |
| 171 | LETTER TO RAMLAL SINGH (16-5-1931) | 156 |
| 172 | LETTER TO K. NATARAJAN (16-5-1931) | 157 |
| 173 | NOTES (17-5-1931) | 157 |
| 174 | OPINION UNCHANGED (17-5-1931) | 159 |
| 175 | PUBLIC EXPENSE (17-5-1931) | 160 |
| 176 | LETTER TO BHUPENDRA NARAYAN SEN (17-5-1931) | 162 |
| 177 | LETTER TO A. SUBBIAH (17-5-1931) | 163 |
| 178 | LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI (17-5-1931) | 163 |
| 179 | INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS (17-5-1931) | 164 |
| 180 | MESSAGE TO KARNATAK PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE (18-5-1931) | 166 |
| 181 | LETTER TO PRABHASHANKAR PATTANI (18-5-1931) | 167 |
| 182 | LETTER TO SHARDA C. SHAH (18-5-1931) | 168 |
| 183 | TELEGRAM TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL (18-5-1931) | 168 |
| 184 | LETTER TO JAMNADAS GANDHI (18-5-1931) | 169 |
| 185 | LETTER TO V. A. SUNDARAM (18-5-1931) | 169 |
| 186 | LETTER TO DUDHABHAI (18-5-1931) | 170 |
| 187 | LETTER TO MAHAVIR GIRI (18-5-1931) | 170 |
| 188 | LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK (18-5-1931) | 171 |
| 189 | LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT (18-5-1931) | 171 |
| 190 | LETTER TO FULCHAND K. SHAH (18-5-1931) | 172 |
| 191 | TELEGRAM TO JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM (19-5-1931) | 172 |
| 192 | LETTER TO N. R. MALKANI (19-5-1931) | 173 |
| 193 | LETTER TO QUMER AHMED (19-5-1931) | 174 |
| 194 | LETTER TO DENNIS C. TROTH (19-5-1931) | 174 |
| 195 | LETTER TO SAILENDRA NATH GHOSE (19-5-1931) | 174 |
| 196 | LETTER TO DURGA PRASANNA CHATTERJEE (19-5-1931) | 175 |
| 197 | LETTER TO GULSHAN RAI (19-5-1931) | 175 |
| 198 | LETTER TO DR. GOPICHAND BHARGAVA (19-5-1931) | 176 |
| 199 | LETTER TO BODHRAJ (19-5-1931) | 176 |
| 200 | LETTER TO M. I. DAVID (19-5-1931) | 177 |
| 201 | LETTER TO SUKHENDUBIKAS CHAUDHURI (19-5-1931) | 178 |
| 202 | LETTER TO C. VIJAYARAGHAVACHARIAR (19-5-1931) | 178 |


CWMG-XLVI

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 203 | LETTER TO KIRBY PAGE (19-5-1931) | 179 |
| 204 | LETTER TO BOYD TUCKER (19-5-1931) | 179 |
| 205 | LETTER TO K. T. MATHEW (19-5-1931) | 180 |
| 206 | LETTER TO NIRANJAN PATNAIK (19-5-1931) | 180 |
| 207 | LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON (19-5-1931) | 181 |
| 208 | LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI (18/19-5-1931) | 181 |
| 209 | LETTER TO MADHAVJI V. THAKKAR (20-5-1931) | 182 |
| 210 | SPEECH AT NAINITAL (20-5-1931) | 183 |
| 211 | CONGRESS VOTERS (21-5-1931) | 183 |
| 212 | NOTES (21-5-1931) | 184 |
| 213 | IN 1828 (21-5-1931) | 188 |
| 214 | A WOMAN'S SACRIFICE (21-5-1931) | 189 |
| 215 | TELEGRAM TO CHAMPABEHN (21-5-1931) | 190 |
| 216 | TELEGRAM TO DR. MEHTA (21-5-1931) | 190 |
| 217 | TELEGRAM TO SECRETARY, CONGRESS COMMITTEE CHITTAGONG (21-5-1931) | 191 |
| 218 | LETTER TO DR. SYED MAHMUD (21-5-1931) | 191 |
| 219 | LETTER TO MOHAMMED ISMAIL KHAN (21-5-1931) | 192 |
| 220 | LETTER TO MAHARAJ KUMAR OF VIZIANAGRAM (21-5-1931) | 193 |
| 221 | LETTER TO SECRETARY, CONGRESS COMMITTEE, CHITTAGONG (21-5-1931) | 193 |
| 222 | LETTER TO S. G. VAZE (21-5-1931) | 194 |
| 223 | LETTER TO KRISHNA DAS (21-5-1931) | 194 |
| 224 | LETTER TO JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM (21-5-1931) | 195 |
| 225 | LETTER TO A. FENNER BROCKWAY (21-5-1931) | 195 |
| 226 | SPEECH AT POLITICAL SUFFERERS' CONFERENCE (21-5-1931) | 196 |
| 227 | TELEGRAM TO VICEROY (On or before 22-5-1931) | 197 |
| 228 | TELEGRAM TO JAMNADAS GANDHI (22-5-1931) | 197 |
| 229 | TELEGRAM TO RAMBHOROSELAL (22-5-1931) | 198 |
| 230 | TELEGRAM TO MOHANLAL SAKSENA (22-5-1931) | 198 |
| 231 | INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS (22-5-1931) | 198 |
| 232 | CABLE TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI (23-5-1931) | 199 |
| 233 | LETTER TO MALCOLM HAILEY (23-5-1931) | 199 |
| 234 | TO THE KISANS OF THE U.P. (23-5-1931) | 200 |
| 235 | LETTER TO MALCOLM HAILEY (23-5-1931) | 203 |
| 236 | SPEECH AT ZAMINDARS' MEETING, NAINITAL (23-5-1931) | 204 |
| 237 | LETTER TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI (After 23-5-1931) | 204 |
| 238 | NOTES (24-5-1931) | 205 |
| 239 | LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON (24-5-1931) | 207 |
| 240 | LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON (24-5-1931) | 208 |
| 241 | LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON (24-5-1931) | 209 |
| 242 | LETTER TO GOSIBEHN CAPTAIN (24-5-1931) | 209 |


CWMG - XLVI

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 243 | LETTER TO HORACE G. ALEXANDER (24-5-1931) | 210 |
| 244 | LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA (24-5-1931) | 210 |
| 245 | LETTER TO CAPTAIN BARNES (24-5-1931) | 211 |
| 246 | LETTER TO NIRANJAN PATNAIK (24-5-1931) | 212 |
| 247 | LETTER TO PERCY LACEY (24-5-1931) | 212 |
| 248 | LETTER TO PREMNATH BAZAZ (24-5-1931) | 213 |
| 249 | LETTER TO WALTER B. FOLEY (24-5-1931) | 213 |
| 250 | LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI (24-5-1931) | 214 |
| 251 | LETTER TO JOHN BITTMANN (24-5-1931) | 214 |
| 252 | LETTER TO ATUL PRATAP SINHA (24-5-1931) | 215 |
| 253 | LETTER TO CARL J. BRUNSKOG (24-5-1931) | 215 |
| 254 | LETTER TO J. N. SAHNI (24-5-1931) | 215 |
| 255 | LETTER TO ISHWAR DAS NAYYAR (24-5-1931) | 216 |
| 256 | LETTER TO SHANTA PATEL (25-5-1931) | 217 |
| 257 | LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI (25-5-1931) | 217 |
| 258 | LETTER TO MANAGER, OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, BOMBAY (26-5-1931) | 218 |
| 259 | LETTER TO COWASJI JEHANGIR (26-5-1931) | 218 |
| 260 | LETTER TO FRAMROZE B. GARDA (26-5-1931) | 220 |
| 261 | LETTER TO U. GOPALA MENON (26-5-1931) | 221 |
| 262 | LETTER TO JUGAL KISHORE (26-5-1931) | 221 |
| 263 | LETTER TO MAGANTI BAPI NEEDU (26-5-1931) | 222 |
| 264 | LETTER TO SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE (26-5-1931) | 223 |
| 265 | LETTER TO L. R. GURUSWAMY NAIDU (26-5-1931) | 223 |
| 266 | LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI (26-5-1931) | 224 |
| 267 | LETTER TO SHANKARLAL BANKER (26-5-1931) | 224 |
| 268 | LETTER TO DR. M. A. ANSARI (26-5-1931) | 224 |
| 269 | LETTER TO ABBAS TYABJI (26-5-1931) | 225 |
| 270 | LETTER TO SECRETARY, INDIAN ASSOCIATION, IRAQ (26-5-1931) | 226 |
| 271 | LETTER TO HARDAYAL NAG (26-5-1931) | 226 |
| 272 | LETTER TO L. J. BURGESS (26-5-1931) | 227 |
| 273 | LETTER TO RAGHUBIR SINGH (26-5-1931) | 227 |
| 274 | LETTER TO M. G. DATAR (26-5-1931) | 228 |
| 275 | LETTER TO SURENDRA SINGH (26-5-1931) | 228 |
| 276 | LETTER TO MANMOHANDAS P. GANDHI (26-5-1931) | 229 |
| 277 | LETTER TO PRABHAVATI (26-5-1931) | 229 |
| 278 | LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT (26-5-1931) | 230 |
| 279 | LETTER TO LAKSHMIBEHN KHARE (26-5-1931) | 230 |
| 280 | LETTER TO FIROZABEHN TALEYARKHAN (26-5-1931) | 231 |
| 281 | TELEGRAM TO PRABHASHANKAR PATTANI (27-5-1931) | 231 |
| 282 | LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI (Before 28-5-1931) | 232 |
| 283 | TO THE U. P. ZAMINDARS (28-5-1931) | 233 |


CWMG - XLVI

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 284 | NOTES (28-5-1931) | 235 |
| 285 | CHRISTIAN MISSIONS (28-5-1931) | 237 |
| 286 | PANCHAYATS (28-5 1931) | 239 |
| 287 | SALT (28-5-1931) | 241 |
| 288 | TO DESHSEVIKAS (28-5-1931) | 242 |
| 289 | LETTER TO PRABHAVATI (28-5-1931) | 242 |
| 290 | LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI (28-5-1931) | 243 |
| 291 | LETTER TO V. G. DESAI (28-5-1931) | 244 |
| 292 | LETTER TO JAMNADAS GANDHI (28-5-1931) | 244 |
| 293 | INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS (28-5-1931) | 245 |
| 294 | LETTER TO R. M. MAXWELL (29-5-1931) | 245 |
| 295 | LETTER TO GANGABEHN JHAVERI (29-5-1931) | 247 |
| 296 | LETTER TO PADMA (29-5-1931) | 247 |
| 297 | LETTER TO PRABHAVATI (29-5-1931) | 248 |
| 298 | LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI (29-5-1931) | 248 |
| 299 | LETTER TO K. F. NARIMAN (30-5-1931) | 249 |
| 300 | LETTER TO F. KOTHAWALA (30-5-1931) | 249 |
| 301 | LETTER TO FRAMROZE B. GARDA (30-5-1931) | 250 |
| 302 | LETTER TO RATILAL (30-5-1931) | 250 |
| 303 | LETTER TO FULCHAND K. SHAH (30-5-1931) | 251 |
| 304 | LETTER TO NARAYAN MORESHWAR KHARE (30-5-1931) | 251 |
| 305 | LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA (30-5-1931) | 252 |
| 306 | LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA (30-5-1931) | 253 |
| 307 | TELEGRAM TO WILLIAM SHIRER (On or after 30-5-1931) | 253 |
| 308 | THE LAW OF SWADESHI (31-5-1931) | 254 |
| 309 | LIMITS TO FREEDOM (31-5-1931) | 257 |
| 310 | NOTES (31-5-1931) | 258 |
| 311 | LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM (31-5-1931) | 262 |
| 312 | LETTER TO M. REBELLO & SONS (31-5-1931) | 262 |
| 313 | LETTER TO ALLEN W. SAYLER (31-5-1931) | 263 |
| 314 | LETTER TO KIRAN SANKAR ROY (31-5-1931) | 263 |
| 315 | LETTER TO ANAND KISHORE MEHTA (31-5-1931) | 264 |
| 316 | LETTER TO SHRIRAM SHARMA (31-5-1931) | 264 |
| 317 | LETTER TO R. S. RAJWADE (31-5-1931) | 265 |
| 318 | LETTER TO KRISHNA GOPAL DUTT (31-5-1931) | 265 |
| 319 | LETTER TO V. B. HAROLIKAR (31-5-1931) | 266 |
| 320 | LETTER TO C. Y. CHINTAMANI (31-5-1931) | 266 |
| 321 | LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON (31-5-1931) | 268 |
| 322 | LETTER TO V. G. DESAI (31-5-1931) | 268 |
| 323 | LETTER TO DUDHABHAI (31-5-1931) | 268 |
| 324 | LETTER TO RUKMINI BAZAJ (31-5-1931) | 269 |
| 325 | LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK (31-5-1931) | 270 |
| 326 | LETTER TO VITHALDAS JERAJANI (31-5-1931) | 270 |


CWMG - XLVI

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 327 | LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI (31-5-1931) | 271 |
| 328 | TELEGRAM TO SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE (1-6-1931) | 271 |
| 329 | TELEGRAM TO J. M. SEN GUPTA (1-6-1931) | 272 |
| 330 | TELEGRAM TO MURARILAL (1-6-1931) | 272 |
| 331 | INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS (1-6-1931) | 273 |
| 332 | TELEGRAM TO TAMIL NADU CONFERENCE, MADURA (2-6-1931) | 274 |
| 333 | TELEGRAM TO KOMBRABAIL (2-6-1931) | 274 |
| 334 | LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON (2-6-1931) | 275 |
| 335 | LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS (2-6-1931) | 275 |
| 336 | LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA (2-6-1931) | 277 |
| 337 | LETTER TO A. G. BUTT (2-6-1931) | 278 |
| 338 | LETTER TO DR. W. J. WANLESS (2-6-1931) | 278 |
| 339 | LETTER TO N. G. JOSHI (2-6-1931) | 279 |
| 340 | LETTER TO COWASJI JEHANGIR (2-6-1931) | 279 |
| 341 | LETTER TO SHARDA C. SHAH (2-6-1931) | 280 |
| 342 | LETTER TO NANIBEHN JHAVERI (2-6-1931) | 280 |
| 343 | LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI (2-6-1931) | 281 |
| 344 | LETTER TO HARI-ICHCHHA DESAI (2-6-1931) | 281 |
| 345 | LETTER TO BABALBHAI MEHTA (2-6-1931) | 282 |
| 346 | LETTER TO NARAYAN MORESHWAR KHARE (2-6-1931) | 282 |
| 347 | LETTER TO RAMBHAU KHARE (2-6-1931) | 283 |
| 348 | LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI (2-6-1931) | 283 |
| 349 | LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI (2-6-1931) | 283 |
| 350 | LETTER TO KHUSHALCHAND GANDHI (2-6-1931) | 284 |
| 351 | LETTER TO RASIK DESAI (2-6-1931) | 285 |
| 352 | LETTER TO HEMPRABHA DAS GUPTA (2-6-1931) | 285 |
| 353 | LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON (3-6-1931) | 286 |
| 354 | LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON (3-6-1931) | 286 |
| 355 | LETTER TO G. V. KETKAR (3-6-1931) | 287 |
| 356 | LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA (3-6-1931) | 288 |
| 357 | LETTER TO S. N. BATLIWALA (3-6-1931) | 288 |
| 358 | LETTER TO WILHELM HEYDORN (3-6-1931) | 289 |
| 359 | LETTER TO CHARLES S. FIELD (3-6-1931) | 289 |
| 360 | LETTER TO MAHARAJA OF DARBHANGA (3-6-1931) | 290 |
| 361 | LETTER TO GERTRUDE EMERSON (3-6-1931) | 290 |
| 362 | LETTER TO KONDA VENKATAPPAYYA (3-6-1931) | 291 |
| 363 | LETTER TO K. PANDAR CHETTY (3-6-1931) | 291 |
| 364 | LETTER TO MRS. C. A. HATE (3-6-1931) | 292 |
| 365 | LETTER TO S. SWAMINATHAN CHETTIAR (3-6-1931) | 292 |
| 366 | LETTER TO THE SECRETARY, INDIAN MERCHANTS' CHAMBER (3-6-1931) | 293 |
| 367 | LETTER TO A. G. SHEOREY (3-6-1931) | 293 |


CWMG - XLVI

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 368 | LETTER TO DARCY LINDSAY (3-6-1931) | 294 |
| 369 | LETTER TO VIDYANATH SAHAI (3-6-1931) | 295 |
| 370 | LETTER TO CHARLES F. WELLER (3-6-1931) | 296 |
| 371 | LETTER TO K. ROY CHATTI (3-6-1931) | 297 |
| 372 | LETTER TO SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE (3-6-1931) | 297 |
| 373 | LETTER TO MRS. V. BANERJEE (3-6-1931) | 298 |
| 374 | LETTER TO KRISHNADAS (3-6-1931) | 298 |
| 375 | LETTER TO MOHAN LAL VIDYARTHI (3-6-1931) | 299 |
| 376 | LETTER TO ANANTA C. PATNAIK (3-6-1931) | 299 |
| 377 | LETTER TO MAHALAKSHMI M. THAKKAR (3-6-1931) | 300 |
| 378 | LETTER TO VITHALDAS JERAJANI (3-6-1931) | 300 |
| 379 | LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI (3-6-1931) | 301 |
| 380 | LETTER TO KISANSINH CHAVDA (3-6-1931) | 301 |
| 381 | LETTER TO PADAMLAL (3-6-1931) | 302 |
| 382 | CASTE AND COMMUNAL QUESTION (4-6-1931) | 302 |
| 383 | NOTES (4-6-1931) | 304 |
| 384 | IS IT AN ECONOMIC NECESSITY? (4-6-1931) | 306 |
| 385 | R. T. C. AND CONGRESS (4-6-1931) | 309 |
| 386 | PRABHATPHERIS (4-6-1931) | 310 |
| 387 | 'AN HONEST DOUBT'(?) (4-6-1931) | 310 |
| 388 | MISSIONARY METHODS IN INDIA (4-6-1931) | 314 |
| 389 | TELEGRAM TO JAMES MILLS (4-6-1931) | 315 |
| 390 | TELEGRAM TO J. M. SEN GUPTA (4-6-1931) | 315 |
| 391 | TELEGRAM TO VENKATESHNARAIN TIWARI (4-6-1931) | 316 |
| 392 | TELEGRAM TO MAQBOOL HUSAIN (4-6-1931) | 317 |
| 393 | LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK (4-6-1931) | 317 |
| 394 | LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT (4-6-1931) | 318 |
| 395 | LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA (4-6-1931) | 318 |
| 396 | LETTER TO MOOLCHAND AGRAWAL (4-6-1931) | 319 |
| 397 | LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA (4-6-1931) | 319 |
| 398 | TELEGRAM TO G. D. BIRLA (5-6-1931) | 320 |
| 399 | TELEGRAM TO PRESIDENT, HINDI SAMMELAN, MADURA (5-6-1931) | 320 |
| 400 | TELEGRAM TO KRISHNADAS (5-6-1931) | 321 |
| 401 | TELEGRAM TO SADAGOPACHARI (5-6-1931) | 321 |
| 402 | TELEGRAM TO FULCHAND K. SHAH (5-6-1931) | 322 |
| 403 | LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON (5-6-1931) | 322 |
| 404 | LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU (5-6-1931) | 323 |
| 405 | LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA (5-6-1931) | 323 |
| 406 | LETTER TO P. A. WADIA (5-6-1931) | 324 |
| 407 | LETTER TO EMMA HARKER (5-6-1931) | 324 |
| 408 | LETTER TO MADHAVANAR (5-6-1931) | 325 |
| 409 | LETTER TO DR. JOSIAH OLDFIELD (5-6-1931) | 326 |


CWMG - XLVI

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 410 | LETTER TO PRABHAVATI (5-6-1931) | 326 |
| 411 | LETTER TO LALJI PARMAR (5-6-1931) | 327 |
| 412 | LETTER TO NAJUKLAL N. CHOKSI (5-6-1931) | 327 |
| 413 | LETTER TO NARAYAN MORESHWAR KHARE (5-6-1931) | 327 |
| 414 | LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI (5-6-1931) | 328 |
| 415 | LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA (5-6-1931) | 329 |
| 416 | TELEGRAM TO J. M. SEN GUPTA (6-6-1931) | 330 |
| 417 | LETTER TO R. M. MAXWELL (6-6-1931) | 330 |
| 418 | LETTER TO DUNICHAND (6-6-1931) | 332 |
| 419 | LETTER TO K. V. VEL (6-6-1931) | 333 |
| 420 | LETTER TO JUGAL KISHORE (6-6-1931) | 333 |
| 421 | LETTER TO URMILA DEVI (6-6-1931) | 334 |
| 422 | LETTER TO NILKANTA DAS (6-6-1931) | 334 |
| 423 | LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA (6-6-1931) | 335 |
| 424 | LETTER TO NANABHAI I. MASHRUWALA (6-6-1931) | 335 |
| 425 | WORKER-VILLAGE RATIO (7-6-1931) | 336 |
| 426 | NOTES (7-6-1931) | 339 |
| 427 | POOR MAN'S HUNDI (7-6-1931) | 341 |
| 428 | USE ANOTHER NAME (7-6-1931) | 342 |
| 429 | A SUPERSTITION (7-6-1931) | 343 |
| 430 | A LETTER (7-6-1931) | 345 |
| 431 | LETTER TO K. B. BHADRAPUR (7-6-1931) | 346 |
| 432 | LETTER TO THOMAS B. LEE (7-6-1931) | 347 |
| 433 | LETTER TO MADHAV R. JOSHI (7-6-1931) | 348 |
| 434 | LETTER TO THAPPAN NAIR (7-6-1931) | 348 |
| 435 | LETTER TO H. V. HODSON (7-6-1931) | 349 |
| 436 | LETTER TO M. I. DAVID (7-6-1931) | 349 |
| 437 | LETTER TO ESTHER MENON (7-6-1931) | 350 |
| 438 | LETTER TO DR. HENNING DALSGAARD (7-6-1931) | 351 |
| 439 | LETTER TO RAMSEVAK SHUKLA (7-6-1931) | 351 |
| 440 | LETTER TO SHRI RAM SHARMA (7-6-1931) | 351 |
| 441 | LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM (8-6-1931) | 352 |
| 442 | LETTER TO PADMA (8-6-1931) | 352 |
| 443 | LETTER TO SHARDA C. SHAH (8-6-1931) | 353 |
| 444 | LETTER TO KANTI PAREKH (8-6-1931) | 353 |
| 445 | LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI (8-6-1931) | 354 |
| 446 | LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI (8-6-1931) | 355 |
| 447 | LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA (8-6-1931) | 355 |
| 448 | SPEECH AT BOMBAY (10-6-1931) | 356 |
| 449 | NOTES (11-6-1931) | 356 |
| 450 | MY FAITH (11-6-1931) | 357 |
| 451 | A CORRECTION (11-6-1931) | 360 |
| 452 | VIRUS OF UNTOUCHABILITY (11-6-1931) | 360 |


CWMG - XLVI

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 453 | MEANING OF GRINDING POVERTY (11-6-1931) | 361 |
| 454 | AGRARIAN SITUATION IN ASSAM (11-6-1931) | 361 |
| 455 | UNDER SWARAJ (11-6-1931) | 362 |
| 456 | SPEECH AT DESH SEVIKAS' MEETING, BOMBAY (11-6-1931) | 363 |
| 457 | SPEECH AT BOMBAY (11-6-1931) | 364 |
| 458 | LETTER TO JAMNADAS GANDHI (12-6-1931) | 365 |
| 459 | INTERVIEW TO EUROPEAN DEPUTATION (12-6-1931) | 366 |
| 460 | SPEECH AT MAROLI (12-6-1931) | 366 |
| 461 | TELEGRAM TO MAHENDRA PRASAD (13-6-1931) | 367 |
| 462 | LETTER TO DUNICHAND (13-6-1931) | 368 |
| 463 | LETTER TO EMELIA MACBEAN (13-6-1931) | 368 |
| 464 | LETTER TO SURENDRA SINGH (13-6-1931) | 369 |
| 465 | LETTER TO SECRETARY, CENTRAL SIKH LEAGUE, AMRITSAR (13-6-1931) | 369 |
| 466 | LETTER TO DR. M. A. ANSARI (13-6-1931) | 370 |
| 467 | LETTER TO SHAMLAL (13-6-1931) | 370 |
| 468 | LETTER TO DR. B. C. ROY (13-6-1931) | 371 |
| 469 | LETTER TO DR. B. S. MOONJE (13-6-1931) | 372 |
| 470 | LETTER TO BHUPENDRA NARAYAN SEN (13-6-1931) | 372 |
| 471 | LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON (13-6-1931) | 373 |
| 472 | LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM (14-6-1931) | 374 |
| 473 | LETTER TO M. I. DAVID (14-6-1931) | 375 |
| 474 | LETTER TO HAREKRUSHNA MAHTAB (14-6-1931) | 375 |
| 475 | LETTER TO P. G. MATHEW (14-6-1931) | 376 |
| 476 | LETTER TO M. I. DAVID (14-6-1931) | 376 |
| 477 | LETTER TO JOHN KYTE COLLETT (14-6-1931) | 377 |
| 478 | LETTER TO SALVATION ARMY, BOMBAY (14-6-1931) | 377 |
| 479 | LETTER TO MRS. C. A. HATE (14-6-1931) | 378 |
| 480 | LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON (14-6-1931) | 379 |
| 481 | LETTER TO PRABHAVATI (14-6-1931) | 381 |
| 482 | INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS (14-6-1931) | 382 |
| 483 | CABLE TO H. S. L. POLAK (15-6-1931) | 383 |
| 484 | TELEGRAM TO "THE STATESMAN", DELHI (15-6-1931) | 383 |
| 485 | LETTER TO MOHANLAL SAKSENA (15-6-1931) | 384 |
| 486 | LETTER TO W. E. LUCAS (15-6-1931) | 385 |
| 487 | LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI (15-6-1931) | 385 |
| 488 | INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS (15-6-1931) | 386 |
| 489 | LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI (16-6-1931) | 387 |
| 490 | TELEGRAM TO SITLA SAHAY (17-6-1931) | 388 |
| 491 | LETTER TO DUNICHAND (17-6-1931) | 388 |
| 492 | LETTER TO ANAND T. HINGORANI (17-6-1931) | 389 |
| 493 | LETTER TO A. Y. C. WULFSE (17-6-1931) | 390 |
| 494 | LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU (17-6-1931) | 390 |


CWMG - XLVI

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 495 | LETTER TO HARDEVI SHARMA (17-6-1931) | 391 |
| 496 | LETTER TO K. F. NARIMAN (17-6-1931) | 391 |
| 497 | LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON (17-6-1931) | 392 |
| | ADDENDUM | |
| 1 | LETTER TO DHIRAJLAL R. MEHTA (24-4-1931) | 393 |
| | APPENDICES | |
| | I LETTER FROM J. H. GARRETT | 394 |
| | II LETTER FROM R. M. MAXWELL | 395 |
| | III LETTER FROM H. W. EMERSON | 396 |
| | IV LETTER FROM SUKHDEV | 397 |
| | V LETTER FROM H. W. EMERSON | 399 |
| | VI NOTE BY H. W. EMERSON ON INTERVIEW BETWEEN HIMSELF AND GANDHIJI | 400 |
| | VII(A) SIR MALCOLM HAILEY'S NOTE ON DISCUSSIONS WITH GANDHIJI | 417 |
| | VII(B) LETTER FROM SIR MALCOLM HAILEY TO H. W. EMERSON | 419 |
| | VIII(A) LETTER FROM SIR MALCOLM HAILEY | 420 |
| | VIII(B) LETTER FROM SIR MALCOLM HAILEY TO H. W. EMERSON | 421 |
| | IX LETTER FROM R. M. MAXWELL | 422 |
| | X OPINION | 424 |
| | SOURCES | 427 |
| | CHRONOLOGY | 428 |
| | INDEX OF TITLES | 431 |
| | INDEX | 435 |
| | ADDENDA—II | 451 |
| | ERRATA | 451 |


CWMG - XLVI

CWMG - XLVI

## 1. THE CULT OF VIOLENCE

Mr. Peddie's[1] murder and the making of the murderer of Mrs. Curtis[2] a hero at the Sikh League meeting bring out in clear light the tragic fact that the cult of violence has still many votaries. The extolling of murderers is being overdone. If we are to sing the praises of every murderer because the murder has a political motive behind it, we should proceed from praising the deed to the deed itself. The praising of Sajjan Singh as a hero raises a doubt in my mind about the wisdom of my having been the author of the Congress resolution[3] about Bhagat Singh. My motive was plain enough. The deed was condemned. The spirit of bravery and sacrifice was praised. The hope behind was that we would thereby be able to distinguish between the deed and the motive, and ultimately learn to detest deeds such as political murders, no matter how high the motive might be. But the effect of the Congress resolution has been perhaps quite the contrary. It seems to have given a passport for extolling murder itself. I repeat my deliberate opinion that whatever may be true of other countries, in India at least political murder can only harm the country. This is much more true whilst an experiment on the largest scale yet known to the world is being made to win liberty through strictly peaceful methods. He who runs can see that the experiment has proved its merit beyond all expectation, and is almost on the point of succeeding. I make bold to say that had the experiment not been interrupted by political murders and the violence in thought and less often in speech and still less often in action of civil resisters, India would by this time have been free.

Non-violence is the weapon not of the weak but of the strong. Non-violence means forgiving an injury and not retaliating. 'Forgiveness is an ornament of the strong,'[4] says a Sanskrit proverb. Yudhishthira gave an exhibition of this quality when he even though provoked beyond measure by Virata not only forgave him but took extraordinary measures to protect him against

[1] The District Magistrate of Midnapore. He was shot dead by the terrorists on April 7.

[2] Wife of a British officer, she was murdered at Lahore on January 13.

[3] *Vide* Vol. XLV, p. 363.

[4] क्षमा वीरस्य भूषणम्

the wrath of his brother Arjuna who would but for those precautions have killed him for insulting and injuring the great king Yudhishthira.

Non-violence is not a mechanical performance. It is the finest quality of the heart and comes by training. When it comes, it seems, because it is, natural, and the possessor wonders that it should have cost any trouble at all in its attainment. What can be more natural than to return blow for blow, says the beast in us. What can be more natural or more human than that we should return a blow with forgiveness, says the man in us. He who gave the blow was ignorant and forgot himself. Why should the injured person betray ignorance and forget himself? Are the many wives who suffer the brutalities of their brutal husbands more than human because they forgive their husbands? They would of course do better if they would not add pampering to their forgiveness and would withdraw co-operation from their husbands for the latter's own sakes.

But let me not go into deeper waters. Those who profess non-violence should realize their strength and be non-violent in thought, word and deed. Let those who still doubt the efficacy of the non-violent method and are not sure of that of the violent method, ponder over the following:

1. India's millions have no tradition of the violent method.
2. They, the villagers, have never been known to have combined on any large scale to use the violent method.
3. They have no definite ideas as yet of political freedom in terms of India as one country.
4. Where, as in Europe, the people have gained their freedom by the violent method, the people were more or less trained in the use of arms.
5. They, the peoples of Europe, gained their freedom by being able to use greater violence than the enthroned authority.
6. It is at least doubtful if they, not excluding the English, have got real freedom. The masses there still feel that they are being ground down by the moneyed classes who have the reins of government in their hands. Look at their varied problems ever increasing in perplexity.
7. In India on the other hand we know that it is through the non-violent method alone that the phenomenal mass consciousness, including the awakening of women, has come into being.
8. We know as a proved fact that where the people erred and became violent, they lost ground, became demoralized and were cowed down.

If I were to give more thought to the past twelve months I could elaborate the list. But as it is, it is perhaps enough for my purpose.

To those who have settled convictions in favour of the violent method, I say: 'You will give me the same credit that you claim for yourselves for love of the country. If so, you should accept my testimony that by mixing your method with mine you protract the agony. The belief which, I know, some of you hold that an occasional murder of an official helps the cause is wholly unfounded. On the contrary I know that every murder has hampered me in my pursuit. I know that you are as anxious as I am—you will probably say you are more anxious than I am—for the release of all political prisoners. You must admit that the terrorist method can only retard their discharge. Constituted as this Government is, all governments are, they will not discharge political offenders convicted of violence when political violence takes place. All things considered, therefore, you will do well to listen to my advice and request, and suspend your activities whilst the nation is giving a trial to my experiment.

*Young India*, 16-4-1931

## 2. *AN ENGLISHMAN'S DILEMMA*

India knows the Englishman who carried my letter containing the eleven points to the Viceroy and who waged a ceaseless struggle in the face of heavy odds in England whilst the Civil Disobedience was going on. Mr. Reginald Reynolds now writes the following plaintive letter:

> I was very glad to hear from you in reply to my letter. Before this reply came the newspapers had already informed me, of course, of all that happened at Delhi, which from my point of view so badly needed explanation.
>
> I must frankly confess that your letter leaves me entirely unconvinced. No one who knows you would doubt your sincerity, and so long as you can still speak for India, it is hardly the business of any Englishman to criticize your actions. Nevertheless, you will be the first to recognize my complete right to disagree with you, which I do emphatically on the following points:
>
> 1. The Government is not pledged to grant *purna* swaraj, and it would be thrown out if it attempted to do so. MacDonald only remains in office because he has not the courage to deal justly with your country, and justice would cost him that office. If you accept less than *purna* swaraj

—less than your birthright, that is to say,—where does the Independence Resolution at Lahore[1] come in, and how does it differ from "Dominion Status"? What advance was made, and what did the pledge really mean?

2. Oppression still continues. How do you hope for freedom from the hands of those who defy Indian public opinion and use their armed forces to drive bargains with you on your own soil for a 'truce'? Where is the 'change of heart'?

3. From time to time you have put forward terms—the Delhi Manifesto of November 1929[2], your own Eleven Points[3], the terms you gave to Slocombe[4], the 'Gandhi-Nehru Terms'[5]. What has become of these? The Government meets them in graceful 'concessions' whereby a few are to be fulfilled in some measure *at its own* '*discretion*'. But:

They have not pledged themselves to *anything* in the way of self-government.

Nothing secures the proper and adequate representation of Congress in the forthcoming Conference (where you may easily be swamped by reactionaries appointed by the Government as supplied or the previous Conference) [*sic*].

There is no promise of the conditional release of *all* political prisoners (including those in jail before the present campaign).

And so on—you know the points infinitely better than I do.

I wish you Indian leaders could realize how extraordinarily difficult this makes things for those who want to help and look to you for leadership. If you do not stand by your terms, what surety is there in our case? We believed your terms to be *minimum* terms, from which you would never depart. Instead, we find you bargaining and whittling these terms down. How can we even speak with certainty again, and who would believe us if we did?

4. From the purely tactical point of view I cannot see what you have gained. Civil disobedience was commenced, I take it, because the Government would not accept the Delhi Manifesto. They have not accepted it today—not one of your four points. The arguments you use now for conciliatory methods are the very arguments which were then used by many to dissuade you from your course and bring you to the Round Table Conference. Those arguments you then rejected; why do you now advance them? The country has suffered terribly, but what for? Many are still in prison, much confiscated property is unrestored, so are the dead, and the work of the lathi cannot be expiated—what have

[1] *Vide* Vol. XLII, pp. 320-1.
[2] *Vide* Vol. XLII, pp. 80-1.
[3] *Vide* Vol. XLII, p. 434.
[4] *Vide* Vol. XLIII, pp. 415-7.
[5] *Vide* Vol. XLIV, pp. 81-4.

CWMG - XLVI

you to show for this? What offer has Lord Irwin made that he was not ready to make before Civil Disobedience began? With the exception of the small concession in the matter of salt, I can see no single right or principle that has been established. The truce does not even represent the *status quo ante bellum*: it is a partial and patronizing restoration on the part of the Government of some of its spoils acquired *during* the struggle, but not of any of those rights *for which the struggle itself was fought*.

You will, I know, forgive my bluntness. I have neither age nor experience, but I have, I believe, enough common sense to appreciate such a situation as this. You will see that I attack your position from two sides, as it were. Firstly, because it is too moderate and secondly because (having regard to the moderation of your final position) your methods seem to me now needlessly drastic. Had you been moderate throughout I should have disagreed but understood. But to adopt the method of a non-violent revolution with all its suffering in order to gain nothing at all—that is a policy I do not understand. Will India understand it?

I would like to venture one more final criticism. You live for the Indian masses—for the peasant and the labourer. Everywhere in this country I have made that clear, and done my best to dispel the common idea that swaraj means the rule of the Brahmin and the Bania and the oppression of the poor. How then can the reactionary proposals of St. James' Palace in any way satisfy you? There has always been one point on which I have agreed with our worst English reactionaries such as Churchill—though I doubt whether they seriously care about it. They say that the so-called "reforms" are only designed to benefit and conciliate the propertied classes of India and increase their power over the illiterate millions. *I agree with this*, and I have always said, swaraj is not that: it is the opposite of that: it is the overthrow of the present conspiracy between British Imperialism and Indian Capitalism, and its replacement by a living and conscious democracy, which alone can protect the classes now socially or economically depressed. If this is true—and nothing less would have led me to the service of swaraj — what do you hope from conferences of princes, zamindars, industrialists and the like? I know there are men among them who are above the interests of class; but what do these as a body represent that is not more bound up with British Imperialism than with Indian democracy?

I have removed nothing from the letter except domestic and personal references. I publish the letter at Mr. Reynolds's wish. And I do so with pleasure as I know that though by reason of amazing faith in me the Congress endorsed the Pact[1], there are Indians who share this brave Englishman's views. There must be

[1] Gandhi-Irwin Pact, *vide* Vol. XLV, Appendix VI.

CWMG - XLVI

also some Englishmen, be they ever so few, who are puzzled like Reynolds over my moderation and so-called inconsistency. I must, therefore, attempt to answer Reynolds's complaints for his and their sakes. India will want their active help and sympathy for many a year to come.

The charge of moderation I must admit. Friends who know me have certified that I am as much a moderate as I am an extremist and as much a conservative as I am a radical. Hence perhaps my good fortune to have friends among these extreme types of men. The mixture is due, I believe, to my view of ahimsa.

Inconsistency is only apparent. It appears so to many friends because of my responsiveness to varying circumstances. Seeming consistency may really be sheer obstinacy.

The real point is this. Charges of moderation or extremism or inconsistency ought not to matter. What must count with a public servant is the approbation of his own conscience. He must be like a rudderless vessel who, leaving the infallible solace of his own conscience, ever seeks to please and gain the approbation of the public. Service must be its own and sole reward. Whether therefore the argument and facts I am about to set forth serve their purpose or not, it must be sufficient for the reader as it is, I am aware, for Reynolds to know that in entering upon and advising the acceptance of the Settlement, I have done what in my opinion was not only right but obligatory.

Now for the facts and the arguments. Reynolds and those who think like him have been led into confusion because he and they have missed the historical perspective. A single new factor may change a whole situation. Reynolds mentions four events: (1) The Delhi Manifesto of November 1929, (2) The Eleven points, (3) The terms given to Mr. Slocombe, (4) The Gandhi-Nehru terms.

The Delhi Manifesto was an answer to Lord Irwin's famous declaration and was therefore just confined to that declaration.

The Eleven-point letter was written as a precursor to Civil Disobedience and set forth the conditions on which Civil Disobedience could be averted. It had therefore to be different from the November Manifesto.

The terms to Mr. Slocombe were given just after the commencement of civil disobedience. There was therefore a slight variation from the Eleven-point letter but no reduction of it.

The Gandhi-Nehru terms were given during the height of the movement and whilst we were all in custody and thus by being shut out of the world at a disadvantage. In all the four stages the

Round Table Conference had not been held, the Government policy was not declared.

The Settlement is the natural evolution from the first stage. Whatever the variations between the stages, they are due to the varying situations. Unlike as in the four stages, the Round Table Conference had been held and the Government policy declared before the fifth stage, i.e., the Settlement, was reached.

At no other time was it possible to offer co-operation at the Round Table Conference because the British Government would not declare its policy and the intention of the delegates to the Conference was not known. But at Delhi last March the demand of the Conference delegates was known as was also known the British policy. The demand was Dominion Status. The British policy was a declaration tantamount to the acceptance of the demand.

Not that either the Indian demand for Dominion Status or the British declaration satisfy the Congress requirement, especially as they are hedged in by the so-called safeguards which, according to the Congress notion, certainly are not designed in the interest of India.

Nevertheless this is an unmistakable advance upon the past uncertainty. And when it was ascertained that it was possible for the Congress to press forward its view to the fullest extent, it was felt that the Congress would put itself in the wrong if it had declined to put forth its demand and press for its acceptance at a Round Table. The Congress would have been bound at any stage to enter upon a discussion of its claims after such declaration as has been made by the British Government. A satyagrahi never misses, can never miss, a chance of compromise on honourable terms, it being always assumed that in the event of failure he is ever ready to offer battle. He needs no previous preparation, his cards are always on the table. Suspension or continuation of battle is one and the same thing to him. He fights or refrains to gain precisely the same end. He dare not always distrust his opponents. On the contrary he must grasp the hand of friendship whenever there is the slightest pretext. The pretext here was the unexpectedly unanimous Indian demand, the British response, inadequate though it was, and the utter sincerity running through Lord Irwin's conversations.

I have never claimed any change of heart on the part of the powers that be. That has still to come. When it comes, there will be a settlement not merely provisional but absolutely permanent. Then there will be full surrender on the part of the satyagrahi;

for change of heart means surrender to the Indian demand *in toto* and without any mental reservation.

Lastly, throughout all the stages there never has been a lowering of the flag. Dominion Status was given up on 23rd December 1929. It is now Complete Independence, i.e., association if possible with the British on equal terms and with the right to either party to dissolve it at will. That this may not be attained through conference as yet is quite possible; that the so-called safeguards may remain the halters that they are is also highly possible. If so the Congress will not be responsible for failure, but it will come out with enhanced moral prestige and its demand more fully known and equally fully justified. It is true that all the political prisoners are not discharged. Their discharge could not be demanded as part of the *Provisional* Settlement. They will be discharged if full settlement is reached. If it is not reached, those who are temporarily out will then be in and increase the army of political prisoners. For a satyagrahi a prisoner's life is no disability, no unhappiness. Prison for him is the gateway to freedom.

Lastly, let there be no mistake as to what *purna* swaraj means to the Congress. It is full economic freedom for the toiling millions. It is no unholy alliance with any interest for their exploitation. Any alliance must mean their deliverance.

*Young India*, 16-4-1931

## 3. *NOTES*

### Malaviyaji and Working Committee

A reader asks:

> You explained to the Subjects Committee at Karachi why you kept out the members from the South; you never explained why you kept out Pandit Malaviyaji.[1]

The explanation was so obvious that nobody called for it. There could be no question of offending Malaviyaji. He is above being offended. No organization can add to his status or importance by enrolling him as a member. His membership can add to its prestige. The Working Committee deliberately kept him out in order to preserve his independence and freedom of action at a given moment. Without being a member, since the release of leaders, he has always been attending the Working Committee

[1] *Vide* Vol. XLV, pp. 378-80.

meetings and taking an active part in its deliberations. Valuable as his work on the Committee has been, the members thought that his being subjected to the Committee's discipline might prove embarrassing to him. Indeed Dr. Ansari was so eager for Malaviyaji to be on the Committee that he preferred to be dropped out in favour of Malaviyaji. But the consideration I have just mentioned was so effectively urged by Jamnalalji that Dr. Ansari too became reconciled to Malaviyaji being kept out. This arrangement permits the Committee to avail itself of Malaviyaji's advice at its deliberations and at the same time leaves intact his freedom of action. Indeed even the Government has recognized his unique position in society by separately inviting him to the Round Table Conference.

## Boycott Through Khadi

Last year saw a striking increase in the production and sale of khadi all over the country. This was in the main due to the phenomenal demand stimulated by the struggle of which khadi at once became the symbol. Sales so far outran the demand that workers were hard put to it to organize new fields of production to meet the sudden rise in demand.

The ground thus gained during the year of national awakening should not be lost, but on the contrary, should be made the basis of still further expansion. The devotion of war time must continue during the period of peace, if the fruits of the work are not to be lost. The Congress attitude in favour of khadi remains the same in spite of the recognition of indigenous mills as a part of the boycott programme. It must not mean supersession of khadi. Mill manufacture is to supplement khadi where the latter is absolutely unobtainable. But at the present moment khadi can overtake all the demand that can be made upon it. Khadi holds the key position in the foreign-cloth boycott programme. Not merely is no effective boycott of foreign cloth possible without working up the vast possibilities of khadi production, but if the fruits of the national boycott are to benefit the millions of our village population and not merely the moneyed few, it can be done only by the widest possible spread of the life-giving wheel. That is why the Congress at Karachi has again emphasized the unique position of khadi in the boycott programme, and has appealed to all "Congress organizations and allied bodies to intensify foreign-cloth boycott by increasing khadi propaganda." The experience of the last year has shown the capacity of khadi production to respond promptly to any increase in demand; and we have to

maintain not merely the existing work, but extend the spinning activities still further. The least that we must do is to reach the level of last year if we cannot show a substantial increase upon it.

*Young India*, 16-4-1931

## 4. *LETTER TO PRABHAVATI*

*April 18, 1931*

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

I got your letters. You seem to have made a mistake in going there. However, don't feel unhappy and spoil your health. I feel that, now that you have gone, you will have to stay there for at least some days for the sake of form. If Harasbabu recovers, you should come away. Today I am in Bombay, and will return to Ahmedabad tomorrow. It seems I may have to remain there for some days. Let that not give you a fright. I am all right.

Mirabehn is here.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3398

## 5. *INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS*

BOMBAY,
*April 18, 1931*

Answering questions put to him by a group of pressmen, regarding the recent complaint in a section of the Press, to which the retiring Viceroy also had alluded in his reply to the Mill-owners' Association address, Mahatma Gandhi declared:

I have no war mentality. I have peace mentality at the present moment and I should strain every nerve to retain that mentality and establish permanent peace in the country for which my companions also are striving.

Proceeding, he reiterated his view that he would not go to the Round Table Conference until the communal problem was solved. He added that for the present he had dismissed the idea of going to the Round Table Conference until a communal solution was found.

Asked what his next programme was, he said he didn't know it and would

CWMG - XLVI

not be able to evolve one until he felt that no solution to the communal problem was in sight.

Q. Can you make any statement regarding the communal problem?

A. I am unable to make any statement except that I shall leave no stone unturned and pray for success because I know prayer can move even mountains.

Q. Are you against separate electorates?

A. I am against nothing that will end the communal trouble.

Q. Will not separate electorates widen the gulf between communities?

A. These are not things for me to consider.

Q. Do you expect to satisfy every section of Muslims?

A. I hope to satisfy all sections.

Q. What do you say about Mr. Shaukat Ali's recent statement about you being a danger in Indian politics?

A. Seeing that he is an old friend of mine, he was perfectly right to say that thing about me.

Q. What do you say to the complaint made in the Anglo-Indian Press that the Congress is not keeping the terms of the Truce?

A. I say emphatically "No", except there have been isolated cases and I am surprised to read Mr. Benn's reply. In Gujarat, there was satisfactory response. In Bardoli, for instance, peasants have been paying up dues as quickly as possible. Up to the 16th instant, Bardoli and Valod have paid Rs. 1,16,658 while Jalalpur paid Rs. 1,96,453, after the announcement of Provisional Settlement. I regard these as handsome figures and I cannot help saying they have been grossly misinformed. Regarding lands already sold to third parties, he said he would ask on bended knees these purchasers to return them and felt sure that every inch of land would be returned.

Asked if he was not keeping the country in suspense, he said that the country knew that every effort was being made to achieve lasting peace and if it be not available, the country should be prepared to suffer.

Asked if he thought that by negotiations he could achieve permanent peace, he declared that in negotiations backed by real strength, he most decidedly believed real peace could be had. Referring to the re-export of foreign cloth, he said that the scheme[1] was being put into execution and also con-

[1] At a meeting which Gandhiji had with the mill-owners, it was decided to appoint an executive committee "to proceed with the scheme of speeding up re-export" (*The Bombay Chronicle*, 17-4-1931)

tradicted the report that he had any talk with Mr. Geoffrey Corbett about the same.

*The Hindu*, 19-4-1931

## 6. *SPEECH IN REPLY TO CORPORATION ADDRESS, BOMBAY*[1]

[*April 18, 1931*][2]

I had thought that the one address you had given me six years ago[3] was quite enough, but love knows no bounds and your love has prompted you to present to me another address. But you may be sure that I am not so unthinking as to appropriate all that love for myself, for I know that as in 1924 so now it has been given to me as a representative of the toilers of the land. I claim to live for the semi-starved paupers of India and swaraj means the emancipation of these millions of skeletons. *Purna* swaraj denotes a condition of things when the dumb and the lame millions will speak and walk. That swaraj cannot be achieved by force, but by organization and unity. Your address I take it is a token of your sympathy for *Daridranarayana*.

You have in your address referred to my endeavour for the uplift of the so-called untouchables. Their rights should be our sacred trust, but one of the indispensable conditions of swaraj is that Hindus wipe out that stain on Hinduism.

India does not live in its towns but in its villages. But if the cities want to demonstrate that their populations will live for the villagers of India the bulk of their resources should be spent in ameliorating the condition of and befriending the poor. We must not lord it over them, we must learn to be their servants. When the cities realize that they must live for the welfare of the poor, they will make their palaces and institutions and the life of their inhabitants correspond somewhat to our villages. Whilst therefore I am accepting an address from you for a second time you will permit me to hope that you will more and more make the cause of the poor your own and as an earnest of your desire to do so I want you to identify yourselves with the thousands of workers in the city. I want you to make them feel that the Corporation is

[1] Extracted from Mahadev Desai's "Weekly Letter"; Gandhiji spoke in Gujarati.

[2] The date is from *The Hindu*, 19-4-1931.

[3] *Vide* Vol. XXV, pp. 52-3.

theirs as it is of the well-to-do. Handsome is that handsome does, and Bombay the beautiful must do beautiful things for the poor. If Bombay is the premier city in India it is chiefly because of the Parsis whom the world recognizes as the most generous in their charities. Does not this Corporation owe its influence to the signal services of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta who was justly called the father of this Corporation? You may not then lag behind in the service of the poor.

You have referred to the question of communal unity. Let all of us Hindus, Mussalmans, Parsis, Sikhs, Christians, live amicably as Indians, pledged to live and die for our motherland. Let it be our ambition to live as the children of the same mother, retaining our individual faiths and yet being one, like the countless leaves of one tree. You have blessed my endeavour to achieve communal unity. But it cannot be achieved by the efforts of a single individual.

One word more. If the appeal I have made in the cause of the poor has gone home and if you will identify yourselves more with the villages, a beginning can be made by introducing hand-spinning in your schools and making your 80,000 boys and girls spin on the *takli*. This can be done at the least expense and without any difficulty, and in the wake of the *takli* khadi will follow as a matter of course. What can be better education for our boys and girls than that they should learn through spinning to identify themselves with the poor. May God give you the strength and the will to serve the inarticulate millions of India.

*Young India*, 23-4-1931

## 7. *TO THE SATYAGRAHI FARMER*

Many satyagrahi farmers in the Kheda, Surat and Broach districts forfeited their lands, lost their crops, had their homes robbed; they were rendered homeless, the homes of some were burnt down and a settlement was made without getting anything in return for this and, going even further, those who could pay have been asked to pay up their revenue dues and, as if this was not enough, so many Patels and Talatis have not been restored to their offices—those who think along these lines can never be satisfied.

But another line of thought can be as follows. The farmer has no grounds whatsoever to complain. This is so because when he joined the struggle, he had decided to risk the loss of his

fields, his home, his livestock and his life and property. He was prepared to lose his all in order to win swaraj. Hence, if he gets something back now, it should be regarded as a windfall. If he reasons on these lines, he would have no cause for complaint at all. Some may argue in their impatience: How can we be reconciled to the losses as long as swaraj has not been won? The reply to this is that this Truce has been signed in the midst of the struggle; it is not the end of it. While suffering a total loss, whatever has been spared should be gladly accepted. We should welcome any opportunity of sacrificing our all, till such time as swaraj is won. Hence no one should have any reason for despondency because of losses incurred. This Settlement has not been made in order to make good our losses; rather, it is a step towards swaraj. Underlying it is indeed the idea that we should spare ourselves any avoidable loss. This is already being realized. Whatever has been made good from the loss already incurred should be regarded as a fresh gain. Those who realize this should not become impatient; let those who are being tried be released at a later date, let there be delay in returning lands which have been attached, let some time elapse before Patels and others who had resigned and relinquished their offices can take up their posts again. This may involve a violation of the Pact in some respects on the part of the Government. We should put up with it and continue to observe the conditions which bind us. If we do so, we shall add to our strength in every way.

As we are not at present practising non-co-operation with the Government, we can meet its officials and put before them whatever complaints we wish to.

One of the biggest complaints is in respect of the lands which have been sold. It is necessary to be patient in regard to this. Owners of lands should be convinced at heart that in the end they will certainly be restored to them. But we wish to do so only in a straightforward way and not through force. We have a right to reason and plead with those who have bought these lands. I believe that we shall succeed in persuading them. But even if we fail, what does it matter? That should not make anyone conclude that we shall never recover the lands. We should have the self-confidence that we shall secure swaraj within a short time. The first task of the government under swaraj should be to redress such acts of injustice. Here I am speaking not of the distant future but of the immediate future. Suppose we do not win swaraj in the near future, then the time will again come for us to abandon our lands and our homes, and the Sardar, I and

others will be enjoying ourselves in the prison-palace. Hence those whose lands have been sold, should have patience.

However, I myself have not lost hope of persuading those who have bought the lands. These are our own brethren. It is reported that there are Parsis, Muslims and Dharala Thakores amongst them. All of them have a heart. They all know that they have bought the land cheap. They too would be ashamed of this fact. I believe that they will certainly return the land if they realize the fact that the land had been owned by those who had come forward to suffer for the sake of swaraj. The Patidars have a special duty towards the Dharala Thakores. They should remove whatever injustices the latter have suffered in the past; they should be made to feel one with the rest of us. It does no credit to a swarajist to give up hope of ever persuading the purchasers. Whatever happens, we should not start a struggle of any kind against them. We should avoid all such situations which would lead to a clash with them. The land will remain untilled this monsoon. It is our dharma to put up with this loss and those who have self-confidence will do so.

A few words now regarding the payment of revenue dues. It is the dharma of those who can to pay up their dues. Let no one believe in the topsyturvy justice that if one person pays up, others must necessarily do so; likewise, it is contrary to law to believe that no one should pay up because someone does not do so. The right course is the one which I have suggested. Those who can should certainly pay up. There is no question here of paying up by contracting debts. It is solely a question of one's own capacity. Our goodness and our strength lie in abiding by the conditions of the Settlement even at the cost of some hardship to ourselves.

[From Gujarati]

*Navajivan*, 19-4-1931

## 8. LETTER TO REGINALD REYNOLDS

SABARMATI,
*April 19, 1931*

MY DEAR ANGADA[1],

You will see I have dealt with your letter in *Young India*[2] as you had wished. Tell me if it gives you any satisfaction. If you are not convinced of the correctness of the step now, you will in course of time. It is either war or the attainment of the goal. Do not therefore desert the cause or give me up.

But I am concerned more with your personal references than with your spirited attack on the Settlement. Why has the engagement been again broken? What are you doing now? If you are not at peace with yourself there, will you not come here? You know that the Ashram is your second home.

For the first time after my discharge[3], I feel I have a little time today.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: C. W. 4540. Courtesy: Swarthmore College, Philadelphia

[1] The messenger sent by Rama to negotiate the return of Sita by Ravana, in the *Ramayana*; *vide* also Vol. XLIII, p. 185, footnote 2. Reginald Reynolds had carried Gandhiji's letter of March 2, 1930 to Lord Irwin; *ibid.*, pp. 2-8.

[2] *Vide* pp. 3-8.

[3] On January 26, 1931, from Yeravda Central Prison



CWMG - XLVI

## 9. LETTER TO SAHABJI MAHARAJ

AHMEDABAD,
*April 19, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

It is only today that I find a little quiet to attend to the arrears of my correspondence. I thank you for your letter.

*Yours sincerely,*
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI SAHABJI MAHARAJ
DAYAL BAGH
AGRA

From a photostat: G.N. 2158

## 10. LETTER TO DR. SYED MAHMUD

*April 19, 1931*

DEAR DR. MAHMUD,

Twice I took up the pen to write to Syed Hassan Imam and twice I lacked the courage to write. I felt and still feel that it is best for me not to write to any Muslim friend so as to influence him in favour of the Nationalist Muslim view. But I shall redeem my promise to you if you still want me to write to Syed Hassan Imam.

*Yours sincerely,*
M. K. GANDHI

DR. SYED MAHMUD
SWARAJ BHAVAN
ALLAHABAD

From a photostat: G.N. 5077

CWMG XLVI

## 11. LETTER TO GOKIBEHN

VIDYAPITH,
*April 19, 1931*

DEAR SISTER,

Lakshmidas has already written to you and informed you that it has been decided to marry Chi. Lakshmi to Chi. Jivandas immediately. I am dictating this letter in case Lakshmidas has not communicated the *tithi*[1] to you. The ceremony will commence at 7.15 p.m. next Tuesday. I know that we should not expect your presence on that occasion. But the bride and the bridegroom must get your blessings. You should get this letter tomorrow, that is, Monday. If you do, you may send your blessings even by a letter and the couple will receive them in time. If, however, you get this letter on Tuesday, send your blessings by wire. All of us doubted whether it would be proper to celebrate this wedding so soon. We all share your grief. If any impropriety has been committed in fixing this wedding, the blame and the responsibility for it rest on me. As usual, Lakshmidas has taken no responsibility upon himself. He has not even arrived here till now—he will arrive tomorrow. I had only one reason for deciding to fix the wedding immediately. I don't look upon marriage as an occasion for enjoyment. I look upon it as a purely religious ceremony. We cannot postpone a religious ceremony, whatever the circumstances. Both Lakshmi and Jivandas desired that the wedding should take place early, and the former was keen that the ceremony should be performed in my presence. Since it was quite uncertain where I would stay now and how long, I selected the earliest *muhurt*[2]. I thought that it was necessary to tell you all this, and I satisfy my wish to do so while begging you to send your blessings. Send the letter or the wire c/o the Ashram. The marriage ceremony will take place in Dr. Mehta's bungalow near the Ashram. Give my blessings to Mani. I am sure she fulfils all your expectations. Also ask her to write to me.

*Jai Shri Krishna from*
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9812

[1] Date
[2] Auspicious day and hour

## 12. LETTER TO J. H. GARRETT[1]

*April 20, 1931*

I enclose herewith a translation of what purports to be a notice from the Borsad Mamlatdar. You had left me under the impression that you would investigate the matters I had discussed with you and that I would know from you what was intended to be done. The notice seems to ignore these conversations and the Congress as the intermediary between the Government and the people. If this is to be the position to be finally taken up by the Government it will, in my opinion, be a distinct breach of the Settlement.

After the conference with the local workers Sardar Vallabhbhai and I have come to the following conclusions:

1. Ras has been so hard hit that it can hardly pay anything.
2. The remaining villages will endeavour to pay one year's dues to the utmost extent possible. I am having an exhaustive note prepared on this matter.
3. Taqavi and the balance of arrears should be suspended. If the Government notice of 11th March last re-suspends suspended arrears in all cases, how much more are the villages affected by the movement in need of such relief ? That in the opinion of the Government their misfortunes may be considered to be due to their own fault is an irrelevant consideration after the Settlement.
4. The Settlement clearly contemplates waiver of Rakha, attachment, and notice-fee charges. These therefore should not be demanded.

On receipt of a reply from you I shall arrange with the people for payment in accordance with the foregoing offer.

I leave Ahmedabad for Bardoli on 21st by the 10.55 p.m. passenger train.

*Young India*, 20-8-1931

[1] Garrett was then Commissioner, Northern Division.



CWMG XLVI

## 13. LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI

AHMEDABAD,
*April 20, 1931*

CHI. MANILAL AND SUSHILA,

I kept thinking about you the whole of yesterday and today. I cannot spare time to write a long letter. I pray that in East Africa all three of you may make great progress in every direction. Do all work without attachment. Read the preface to *Anasakti-yoga*[1] frequently, if it does not tire you. The more you study it, the more clearly will you understand how to act, and in consequence you will experience spiritual contentment.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4783

## 14. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO HARI GANESH PHATAK[2]

[After *April 20, 1931*][3]

The Congress cannot permit any seals to be broken. By British cloth I suppose you mean foreign cloth. Under the terms, the Cong[ress] cannot distinguish between British cloth and other foreign cloth and give preference to the latter.

From a microfilm: S.N. 17006

[1] *Vide* Vol. XLI.

[2] President, Swadeshi Sabha, Poona

[3] The letter was written in reply to addressee's letter dated April 20, 1931, which read: "We are putting the following urgent matter before you for your advice. In last December the cloth merchants of Poona entered into an agreement with the Swadeshi Sabha that they would put seals on the British cloth in their stock, that they would not import foreign cloth and would not order cloth from mills boycotted by the Congress. They took assurance from the Sabha that it would not picket their shops. These terms were entered into under pressing circumstances. All merchants without exception entered into this agreement. Some 80 shops have their British cloth sealed till the Gandhi-Irwin Settlement and 50 shops are yet remaining. We stopped to seal the cloth as we thought it would run counter to the terms of settlement. But as the agreement was made before the Settlement of Truce terms and only

## 15. LETTER TO J. H. GARRETT

GUJARAT VIDYAPITH,
AHMEDABAD,
*April 21, 1931*

DEAR MR. GARRETT,

I have to thank you for your exhaustive reply.[1]

The chief point of the moment is with reference to the status of the Congress in the Settlement. If you agree that the Settlement is between the Congress and the Government, and if it is the Congress that has to implement its terms so far as they are applicable to the people, it follows that the Congress must be recognized as the intermediary between the Government and the people whom the Congress represents. If such was not the case, I suppose that I should have no right to see you or to correspond with you or to receive your replies in the several matters arising out of the Settlement. Your letter raises a question of the first magnitude, and on your reply to it will depend the action to be taken by me in connection with the Settlement. Meanwhile, I refrain from dealing with the details covered by your letter.

*Yours sincerely,*

J. H. GARRETT, ESQUIRE
AHMEDABAD

A.I.C.C., File No. 16-C. 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

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its execution was left we do not think it would affect the Truce. We know that in Delhi the agreement prior to the Gandhi-Irwin Settlement has been allowed to stand as it was. If our agreement stands the vigilance committee would see that not an inch of foreign cloth comes to Poona hereafter. However, we would like to know from you whether we should proceed with our work or should give it up and allow the merchants to break their seals. The matter is very urgent and we hope it will claim your early attention."

[1] *Vide* Appendix I.



CWMG - XLVI

## 16. LETTER TO BALKRISHNA BHAVE

*April 21, 1931*

CHI. BALKRISHNA,

All these days I had no free time at all when I could write to you. But you were constantly in my thoughts and I used to inquire after you daily. I should advise you to remain peaceful in mind now and let things happen as they will. The best remedy is to do as follows:

1. Drink every fifteen minutes as much warm water as you can.
2. Take an enema daily.
3. If you feel hungry, drink the juice of oranges, pomegranates, pineapples or fresh grapes.
4. I put Ramanama last, but I believe it to be the best remedy. The other three go with this *japa*[1].

If you are destined to live longer, these measures will suffice. If not, I have no doubt at all that other remedies will fail, too.

I am sure that your mind is at peace.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 804. Courtesy: Balkrishna Bhave

## 17. SPEECH AT SABARMATI ASHRAM, AHMEDABAD

*April 21, 1931*

Mahatma Gandhi was present this evening on the occasion of the marriage ceremony of Lakshmi, daughter of Lakshmidas Gandhi, a khadi worker, in Dr. Pranjivandas's Bungalow near Sabarmati Ashram. The marriage ceremony was very simple and brief. Mahatma Gandhi administered the marriage oath.

Before the marriage ceremony, Gandhiji entered his Ashram and attended the evening prayer for the first time after his Dandi March. Addressing a small congregation consisting of the inmates of the Ashram, Mahatma Gandhi said that he did not expect to be back in the Ashram at so short a time. He had, however, not returned to the Ashram after the conclusion of peace. He

[1] Recitation

had come for a special occasion, viz., the marriage of a girl who was brought up in the Ashram. The marriage of one connected with the Ashram during the time of war would cause surprise, but this marriage was not to serve as an example. Those who could not do without marriage were at liberty to marry. Celibacy was enjoined in the Ashram, but it was not compulsory. Those who could not remain celibate, might leave the Ashram.

It was not known, when the fight would be resumed. But it would be a fierce fight, if it was resumed. The inmates of the Ashram should therefore be alert and augment their strength. Courage and purity of the people had been fully awakened, and if the fight was resumed, crores would take part. But if all of them lost heart and remained aloof they (inmates of the Ashram) were to set example and give the lead.

*The Bombay Chronicle*, 23-4-1931

## *18. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI*

*April 22, 1931*

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

I got your letters. Why is it that you fell ill as soon as you got back there? Cannot you again run away from there and go to the Ashram? If there is nothing particular you have to do there, you should come away. I am writing this from Surat on my way to Bardoli. I think I shall have to stay in Bardoli for at least eight days. I am more or less all right.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3399

## *19. LETTER TO R. M. MAXWELL*[1]

BARDOLI,
*April 22, 1931*

I enclose herewith copies of the latest correspondence between the Commissioner, Northern Division, and myself. If His Excellency too takes the same view that Mr. Garrett does about the Congress mediation, I feel that it nullifies the whole Settlement. It was only when the Government of India and the British Government recognized that the Congress truly represented the people

[1] Private Secretary to Acting Governor of Bombay

that there was the Settlement between it and the Government. To repudiate the Congress as the intermediary between the people and the Government means repudiation of the Settlement.

In the light of this extraordinary development, the other matters about which I complained on the 17th instant pale into insignificance. But I recapitulate the main points here to show how far Government have till now failed to implement the Settlement.

1. Some of the Sholapur prisoners and several other prisoners who the Congress claims are covered by the Settlement still remain undischarged.
2. Several such prosecutions are still continued.
3. Civil resisters coming under the Foreigners' Act have not yet had the ban removed.
4. Vatan and Inam cases against civil resisters have not yet been withdrawn.
5. Officials such as Patels, etc., who resigned during the Civil Disobedience period still remain unreinstated though the appointments held by the new incumbents are all, so far as I am aware, temporary or "until further orders", and although several new Patels are undesirable.
6. Confiscated movables and immovables have not yet under some pretext or other been returned.
7. Liquor vendors still continue their unlicensed business in spite of the knowledge of the authorities.
8. Names and prices of the forfeited lands with the dates of sales and the way in which they were sold have not yet been supplied.
9. On the ground of 'non-co-operation' during the Civil Disobedience period, the Government still withhold grants from the Ahmedabad municipality for education, dispensation from revenue dues for lands used for purposes of sanitation and for a hospital and maternity home. This matter though not specifically mentioned in the Settlement clearly falls within its scope.

I would like to have Government's final decision on all these points. I promised to furnish Mr. Collins with details of the cases under clauses 1 and 4. These are being collected. But I think a general order will cover these cases. But if the Congress is not recognized as the proper intermediary, everything else recedes in the background.[1]

*Young India*, 20-8-1931

[1] For addressee's reply, *vide* Appendix II.

## 20. LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON[1]

BARDOLI,
*April 22, 1931*

DEAR MR. EMERSON,

It grieves me to have to bother you again. But the Settlement, so far as Gujarat is concerned, is in imminent danger of a breakdown. I enclose copies of the correspondence between the Bombay Government and myself. I am straining every nerve to prevent a breakdown. I am trying all the powers of persuasion I can command. But the strain is proving unbearable.[2]

*Yours sincerely*,
M. K. GANDHI

Home Department, Political, File No. 33/XI & KWs/1931. Courtesy: National Archives of India

## 21. LETTER TO T. B. SAPRU

BARDOLI,
*April 22, 1931*

DEAR SIR TEJ,

Many thanks for your letter. I am getting better.

I am trying in my own way to reach a solution of the communal tangle. If there is no success I would not have the heart to go to London. I said as much to Lord Irwin. I did not meet the new Viceroy[3] in Bombay. I shall await the volumes on the Round Table Conference I thought something was already printed.

*Yours*,
M. K. GANDHI

SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU
19 ALBERT ROAD, ALLAHABAD

From a photostat: G.N. 7591

[1] Home Secretary to the Government of India
[2] For the addressee's reply, *vide* Appendix III.
[3] Lord Willingdon



CWMG-XLVI

## 22. TELEGRAM TO LAXMIDUTT[1]

[On or after *April 22, 1931*]

EXPOSE THEM.

GANDHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 17014

## 23. FOREIGN CLOTH AND OTHER BRITISH GOODS

It is devoutly to be wished that Englishmen in general and Lancashire mill-owners in particular will realize that India to be free from chronic starvation must for ever banish foreign cloth whether English, Japanese or any other. This is an economic necessity which will not be removed even when India acquires the most complete independence. Among the very first acts of a popular government would certainly be complete prohibition of foreign cloth.

And foreign cloth will be replaced not by indigenous mill-cloth but by khaddar spun and woven in 7,00,000 villages of India. Though the indigenous mills undoubtedly and automatically benefit by the foreign-cloth boycott, the Congress concentrates its main energy in this boycott on behalf of khaddar, i.e., the toiling millions. Let all the foreigners understand that this boycott movement is a mass movement, it is a humanitarian movement. Foreign manufacturers will in the end advance their own and their operatives' interest by realizing and recognizing the intensity and the purity of the movement. It has political consequences, but being a purely economic and humanitarian movement it should command the support of the whole world.

And yet needlessly bitter and unwarranted agitation has been launched out against foreign-cloth boycott in England. The tremendous advantage gained by England owing to the removal of the boycott of British goods is hardly ever noticed. This is not fair play. This suppression of a fact of very great importance

[1] This was in reply to the addressee's telegram dated April 22, 1931, from Indore, which read: "Foreign cloth dealers have broken promise. Please advise what to do. Laxmidutt Swadeshi Pracharak Mandal."

makes much more difficult the solution of the Indian question which is already difficult enough. Do the English public know that the British goods boycott movement is over thirty years old? Do they realize that it gained the greatest impetus during the last struggle and that it attained success almost as great as the movement against foreign cloth? India will for a long time to come, if not always, need certain things from foreign countries. Today the Settlement is provisional. Suppose there is a lasting settlement and an honourable partnership between England and India, will not the trade with England in other articles that India may need to import more than compensate for the loss of the piece-goods and yarn custom which England must forgo in every case?

The thing to realize is that India can no longer be the dumping ground for every thing English or foreign whether she wants it or not. The days of exploitation are over. We may or may not achieve communal unity. If we fail, we may not have immediate independence. But the world will find that all Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, Parsis, Jews, for whom India is their home, will fight unitedly to resist the exploitation of India's resources for the benefit of the foreigner. They will resist the ceaseless annual drain which starves all the communities with ruthless impartiality.

*Young India*, 23-4-1931

## *24. FOREIGN MISSIONARIES*

Correspondents angry or curious have sent me clippings from the Press or their comments on what has been ascribed to me by interviewers on the subject of foreign missionaries.[1] Only one correspondent has been cautious enough to ask me whether I am correctly reported. Even George Joseph, my erstwhile co-worker and gracious host in Madura, has gone into hysterics without condescending to verify the report. That is the unkindest cut of all.

This is what a reporter has put into my mouth:

> If instead of confining themselves to humanitarian work and material service to the poor, they do proselytization by means of medical aid, education, etc., then I would certainly ask them to withdraw. Every nation's religion is as good as any other. Certainly India's religions are adequate for her people. We need no converting spiritually.

[1] *Vide* Vol. XLV, p. 320.

I have given so many interviews that I cannot recall the time or the occasion or the context for the statement. All I can say is that it is a travesty of what I have always said and held. My views on foreign missions are no secret. I have more than once expounded them before missionary audiences. I am therefore unable to understand the fury over the distorted version of my views.

Let me retouch the statement as I should make it:

'If instead of confining themselves purely to humanitarian work such as education, medical services to the poor and the like, they would use these activities of theirs for the purpose of proselytizing, I would certainly like them to withdraw. Every nation considers its own faith to be as good as that of any other. Certainly the great faiths held by the people of India are adequate for her people. India stands in no need of conversion from one faith to another.'

Let me now amplify the bald statement. I hold that proselytizing under the cloak of humanitarian work is, to say the least, unhealthy. It is most certainly resented by the people here. Religion after all is a deeply personal matter, it touches the heart. Why should I change my religion because a doctor who professes Christianity as his religion has cured me of some disease or why should the doctor expect or suggest such a change whilst I am under his influence? Is not medical relief its own reward and satisfaction ? Or why should I whilst I am in a missionary educational institution have Christian teaching thrust upon me? In my opinion these practices are not uplifting and give rise to suspicion if not even secret hostility. The methods of conversion must be like Cæsar's wife above suspicion. Faith is not imparted like secular subjects. It is given through the language of the heart. If a man has a living faith in him, it spreads its aroma like the rose its scent. Because of its invisibility, the extent of its influence is far wider than that of the visible beauty of the colour of the petals.

I am, then, not against conversion. But I am against the modern methods of it. Conversion nowadays has become a matter of business, like any other. I remember having read a missionary report saying how much it cost per head to convert and then presenting a budget for 'the next harvest'.

Yes, I do maintain that India's great faiths are all-sufficing for her. Apart from Christianity and Judaism, Hinduism and its offshoots, Islam and Zoroastrianism are living faiths. No one faith is perfect. All faiths are equally dear to their respective votaries. What is wanted therefore is living friendly contact

among the followers of the great religions of the world and not a clash among them in the fruitless attempt on the part of each community to show the superiority of its faith over the rest. Through such friendly contact it will be possible for us all to rid our respective faiths of shortcomings and excrescences.

It follows from what I have said above that India is in no need of conversion of the kind I have in mind. Conversion in the sense of self-purification, self-realization is the crying need of the times. That however is not what is ever meant by proselytizing. To those who would convert India, might it not be said, 'Physician heal thyself'?

*Young India*, 23-4-1931

## 25. *'ONE OF THE MANY'* (?)

The open letter written by "One of the Many" is the late Sukhdev's letter. Sjt. Sukhdev was Sardar Bhagat Singh's comrade. The letter was delivered to me after his death. Want of time prevented me from giving the letter earlier publication. It is printed without any alteration.[1]

The writer is not "one of the many". Many do not seek the gallows for political freedom. However condemnable political murder may be, it is not possible to withhold recognition of the love of the country and the courage which inspire such awful deeds. And let us hope that the cult of political assassination is not growing. If the Indian experiment succeeds, as it is bound to, the occupation of the political assassin will be gone for ever. At any rate I am working in that faith.

The writer does me less than justice when he says that I have made no more than sentimental appeals to the revolutionaries to call off their movement, and I claim on the contrary that I have given them hard facts which, though they have been often repeated in these columns, will bear recapitulation:

1. The revolutionary activity has not brought us near our goal.
2. It has added to the military expenditure in the country.
3. It has given rise to reprisals on the part of the Government without doing any good.
4. Whenever revolutionary murder has taken place, it has for a time and in that place demoralized the people.
5. It has in no way contributed to mass awakening.

[1] *Vide* Appendix IV.

6. Its effect on the masses has been doubly bad in that they had to bear the burden ultimately of additional expense and the indirect effect of Government wrath.

7. Revolutionary murder cannot thrive in the Indian soil, Indian tradition, as history teaches us, being unfavourable to the growth of political violence.

8. If the revolutionaries seek to convert the masses to their method, we would have to wait for an indefinitely long time for it to permeate the masses and then to gain freedom.

9. If the method of violence ever becomes popular, it is bound to recoil, as it has done in other countries, on our own heads.

10. The revolutionaries have an ocular demonstration of the efficacy of the opposite method, i.e., non-violence, which has gone on in spite of sporadic cases of violence on their part and in spite even of violence occasionally done by the so-called votaries of non-violence.

11. Revolutionaries should accept my testimony when I tell them that their activity has not only not done any good to the movement of non-violence, but it has on the contrary harmed the cause. In other words, if I had a completely peaceful atmosphere we would have gained our end already.

These, I claim, are hard facts and no appeal to sentiment. But the writer further objects to my making public appeals to the party and suggests that thereby I help the bureaucracy to crush the movement. Surely the bureaucracy is in no need of my help to deal with the movement. It fights for life both against the revolutionary and me. It scents more danger from the non-violent movement than from the violent. It knows how to deal with the latter. It is baffled by the former which has already shaken it to its foundations.

Moreover, authors of political murder count the cost before they enter upon their awful career. No action of mine can possibly worsen their fate.

And seeing that the revolutionary party must work in secret, I have no other way open to me but that of making public appeals to its unknown members. I may say parenthetically that my public appeals have not altogether fallen on deaf ears. I count many past revolutionaries among my co-workers.

The open letter complains that prisoners other than satyagrahis have not been released. I have explained in these pages the reasons why it was impossible to insist on the release of the other prisoners. Personally, I want the release of all of them. I would make every effort to secure their release. I am aware

that some of them ought to have been discharged long ago. The Congress has a resolution in that behalf. Sjt. Nariman has been appointed by the Working Committee to collect all names. As soon as he has got the list, steps will be taken to secure their release. But those who are out must help by preventing revolutionary murder. We may not have the cake and also eat it. Of course there are political prisoners who should be discharged in any case. I can only give the assurance to all concerned that the delay is due not to want of will but to want of ability. Let it be also remembered that when the final settlement comes, if it does, in the course of a few months, all political prisoners must be discharged. If it does not come, those who are trying to secure the release of the other political prisoners will find themselves in prison.

*Young India*, 23-4-1931

## 26. *VADAPALLI SHOOTING*

The following report[1] deserves public attention and action. Since my discharge from prison, I have had many stories of police high-handedness in the South. The impression left on my mind was that in no other part of India was it worse than in the South and in the South nowhere worse than in Andhra. This verified instance perhaps bears out the previous evidence.

*Young India*, 23-4-1931

## 27. *AGAINST PICKETING*

A retired Government officer from the South writes:[2]

> I gather from the *Hindu* of Madras that you have published in *Young India*[3] a new code of picketing liquor and foreign-cloth shops, and have invited your readers to send you any other rules for picketing they might think of. May I venture to suggest Punch's famous advice: "Don't" in this connection? In your most excellent address[4] to the journalists explaining the terms of the Peace Pact you said among other things that freedom was not worth having if it did not include freedom to err and even to

[1] Not reproduced here. It had stated that the police firing on March 30 during the car festival at Vadapalli, 15 miles from Rajahmundry, was unjustified.

[2] Only excerpts are reproduced here.

[3] *Vide* Vol. XLV, pp. 291-2.

[4] *Vide* Vol. XLV, pp. 250-6.

CWMG - XLVI

sin, and you pointed out that when Almighty God Himself had given the humblest of His creatures full freedom even to sin it was unthinkable that any man should dare to deny the same complete freedom to his fellow-creatures. May I most respectfully ask you then why you are toiling night and day to prevent people from drinking liquor or wearing foreign cloth if they liked to do so? . . . with results that would be totally embarrassing. I hope you will not fail to bestow your best thought on the matter and be quite sure that in encouraging picketing in any form you are not helping to 'sow the wind'.

The writer is plausible but not convincing. He forgets that picketing is as old as time. It does not need legalizing. The Settlement does not legalize that which was illegal before it. Picketing is the right of a reformer which he may not give up without giving up his cause.

The writer has been betrayed into the common error of thinking that because a man has the freedom to err or to sin, any warning against sin would be an unpardonable interference with the freedom. The fact is that individual freedom to sin carried with it the freedom on the part of the public to wean the sinner from his sin and even to legislate against it. 'The wages of sin is death.' No one can sin or err with impunity. What I have protested against and what the world has always resented is the arrogant and unctuous assumption by authority to force people against their will to be 'good' and to claim infallibility about its standard of what is good and what is bad. Peaceful picketing on the other hand is a friendly warning against a practice that a reformer thinks to be bad. When it goes beyond that point, and becomes violent, the law steps in and prevents the person from interfering with the human liberty. The writer has pictured the dangers of picketing in certain conditions. He is not even original in his illustrations. Temples have been picketed before now. Only the attempt proved futile and was given up. And there is nothing to prevent any person from renewing such picketing so long as he observes the rule of the game and does not mind public opprobrium. Picketing of drink and drug shops and foreign-cloth shops has been possible and largely successful because there is a public feeling against these shops. There is therefore no danger of the Congress having 'sown the wind and reaping the whirlwind'. Picketing of the educative type has come to stay, for it has proved its usefulness.

*Young India*, 23-4-1931

## 28. AN INGENIOUS SUGGESTION

A correspondent sends the following ingenious suggestion for solving the communal puzzle:

> The Hindu and Muslim communities should have equality of votes in every province. As an adjustment of communal voting, this is obviously unjust to the majority community. The idea, however, is not to adjust but to nullify communal voting. The result of adopting my suggestions will be that every question on which the two communities find themselves ranged on opposite sides at the polls will in effect be decided by the votes of the other (minority) communities. It is understood that these other communities will have proportional representation.

I make no comment on it for the simple reason that everything will commend itself to me if it commends itself to the communities concerned. Will the Mussalmans be satisfied, and how would the Sikhs fare?

*Young India*, 23-4-1931

## 29. LETTER TO RAMBHAU KHARE

*April 23, 1931*

CHI. RAMBHAU,

You seem to have become so lazy that you never write to me. Why is that so? You should now shake off your lethargy and do some work. Otherwise your having gone there will have served no purpose.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 288. Courtesy: Lakshmibehn Khare

## 30. CABLE TO "DAILY HERALD"

[After *April 23, 1931*][1]

EDITOR
"DAILY HERALD"
LONDON

YOUR WIRE. REPORT ABOUT FOREIGN MISSIONARIES WAS DISTORTION OF MY VIEWS. HAVE PUBLISHED "YOUNG INDIA" FULL ARTICLE SETTING FORTH VIEW. AM CERTAINLY AGAINST USE OF HOSPITALS SCHOOLS AND LIKE FOR PURPOSES CONVERSION. IT IS HARDLY HEALTHY METHOD AND CERTAINLY GIVES RISE BITTER RESENTMENT. CONVERSION MATTER OF HEART AND MUST DEPEND UPON SILENT INFLUENCE OF PURE CHARACTER AND CONDUCT OF MISSIONARIES. TRUE CONVERSION COMES IMPERCEPTIBLY LIKE AROMA OF A ROSE. THUS AM NOT AGAINST CONVERSION AS SUCH BUT AM CERTAINLY AGAINST PRESENT METHODS. CONVERSION MUST NOT BE REDUCED TO BUSINESS DEPENDING FOR INCREASE UPON POUNDS SHILLINGS PENCE. I ALSO HOLD THAT ALL GREAT RELIGIONS ARE OF EQUAL MERIT TO RESPECTIVE NATIONS OR INDIVIDUALS PROFESSING THEM. INDIA IS IN NO NEED OF CONVERSION OF TYPE DESCRIBED. WHILST UNDER SWARAJ ALL WOULD BE FREE EXERCISE THEIR OWN FAITHS. PERSONALLY I WOULD WISH PRESENT METHODS ADOPTED BY MISSIONARIES WERE ABANDONED EVEN NOW AND THAT UNDER CONVICTION NOT COMPULSION.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 17027

[1] The article "Foreign Missionaries" referred to in the text was published on April 23.



CWMG-XLVI

## *31. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT*

BARDOLI,
*April 24, 1931*

CHI. VASUMATI,

I got your letter. Take proper care of your health while working. Be patient in everything you do. Let service be its own reward, no matter what the results of your work. Who are the others with you?

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9322

## *32. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI*

BARDOLI,
*April 24, 1931*

CHI. NARANDAS,

I got your letter. Ranchhodbhai should take Santok to Robinson for treatment of her molar.

Lilabehn may leave if she wishes, but she should be told that she should not hope to be permitted to return.

Can I take it that Jamna is responding to treatment? If Kusum, too, responds, you may call Radha there. She has still not recovered.

I will write about the vow[1] if I get the time. I spend the little time I have got in overtaking the correspondence which has accumulated. I keep fairly fit.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./I.

[1] The swadeshi vow; *vide* "The Law of Swadeshi", 31-5-1931. Gandhiji had written earlier on the other Ashram vows but had omitted the swadeshi vow since in writing about it he might have had to touch upon political matters.

## 33. ADVICE TO PEASANTS, BARDOLI

*April 24, 1931*

Mahatma Gandhi had an informal discussion for an hour this afternoon with those peasants of Bardoli taluka whose confiscated lands have been sold by Government to third parties.

It is understood Gandhiji advised them not to obstruct the purchasers of their lands if they came to take possession and to work on the lands. Mahatma Gandhi added that they should have faith that they would get back their lands at no distant date. For the present they might consider them lost in the struggle for freedom.

*The Bombay Chronicle*, 25-4-1931

## 34. VIOLATION OF PLEDGE

A friend writes:[1]

It is my confirmed belief that my pledge not to visit the Ashram is still intact and that it has not been violated in the least. To abstain from going to the Ashram implies not staying there for any length of time. This never implied, and should not imply, that in case of need I cannot visit the sick there. Moreover, it did not and does not mean that I cannot go there if it becomes necessary to do so for the sake of the struggle itself. I cannot go there for my convenience or other selfish end.

The Ashram is everything to me. I feel an attachment to it, as it is my creation. For me it is the place where my ideals can be realized. It is a source of inspiration to me. Ever since my return to India, it is there that I derived the inspiration for many, if not all, of the fresh steps which I have taken. By beginning this latest struggle through the Ashram inmates, I hope that even in the unhappy event of everyone being defeated someone from the Ashram will come forward to continue the fight to the very end. Regarding the Ashram I cherish the hope and the delusion that at a time when violence prevails, a witness for

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had referred to Gandhiji's vow not to return to the Ashram before India attained swaraj. *Vide* also Vol. XLIII, pp. 59-60 and Vol. XLV, pp. 421-2.

non-violence will come forth from the Ashram. It may be that there are no grounds for this hope. It may well be that the person of whom we may entertain expectations may disappoint us, whereas one from whom we expect nothing at all may surpass our hopes. This may well happen. I am publicly giving expression to my fond hopes. I am pointing out where my expectations lie. My prayer is that many non-violent, truthful persons may arise in the country who will fight unto death. For me who has the illusion that even if this prayer is not granted, some fruit will at least be reaped from the Ashram—it is too much to give up the Ashram. My renunciation holds good only so far as my self-interest is concerned; it cannot imply the giving up of any occasion for rendering service. Such renunciation cannot involve doing harm to its very object.

I find no substance in the opposition to the red bungalow. The only offence which it has committed is that it is in the neighbourhood of the Ashram. It is absolutely detached from the Ashram. Why should I not stay in the red bungalow if I have some work pertaining to the Ashram but do not wish to live in it? If there is no harm in staying at the Vidyapith, if there is no harm in staying at Ambalalbhai's house, why cannot I stay at the red bungalow?

As a matter of fact, I would not regard it as a violation of my pledge even if during my visits to Ahmedabad I put up at the Ashram. But I gave up the idea of doing so as that would have been misunderstood by people and from experience I find that it was all to the good.

It is not right that we should interpret a pledge literally. Rather than stick to the letter, we should consider its spirit. This is the golden rule of interpreting a pledge. If more than one interpretation is possible, we should give up that which is favourable to us and suffer any inconvenience which results from an unfavourable interpretation and stick to it. Hence I cannot go to the Ashram or stay there for accepting some service there. If I am hungry and the Ashram is nearby, I cannot go there to get food but should suffer my hunger until I find food elsewhere.

[From Gujarati]

*Navajivan*, 26-4-1931

## 35. THE SARDA ACT[1]

A correspondent asks the following questions:[2]

In my opinion, the following are the replies, in the order of the questions:

1. One can go and register complaints.
2. A true priest would not yield to threats or pressure.
3. Risks have to be taken in trying to do a good deed. Hence when a certain course of action clearly seems to be our dharma, it should be followed even at the risk of one's life and property. Every individual should decide for himself on every occasion whether his duty demands risking his life and property.
4. The Congress does not stop with mere political activity. It takes up all tasks which help in the uplift of the people. All servants of the nation—whether men or women—should bear this in mind while making their own decisions. Making a decision is not always an easy task. There are many reforms which have to be abandoned in the larger interests of the country. Hence the question that arises is always as follows: "By taking up the cause of this reform, do I increase or diminish my overall usefulness?" If the reply tends towards the latter, we should think twice before taking up the cause of that reform.

[From Gujarati]

*Navajivan*, 26-4-1931

## 36. WOMEN VOLUNTEERS AND KHADI

There is an association of women volunteers in Nadiad and this question has come up there. Some people claim that a woman volunteer can carry on picketing while clad in a mill-made sari, etc; that it is no longer necessary now for those working for the Congress to wear khadi. This reasoning is erroneous and the use of mill-made saris and other clothes is not permitted. The rule passed by the Congress is almost eight years old now. It was

[1] This required that at the time of marriage a boy should be at least 18 and a girl of 14 years of age.

[2] These are not translated here.

attacked by many and was fully discussed at the annual session. Despite this, Congress representatives have refused to alter the clause relating to khadi and hence khadi has now taken deep roots. No member of the Congress has the right to violate that rule or break that tradition. In my opinion, therefore, the above question should not have arisen at all.

But I have been told that if the condition in regard to khadi is not relaxed, there will be a sharp fall in the number of women volunteers and perhaps not a single woman volunteer will be forthcoming locally in the Kheda district who would be prepared to wear khadi. If this is a fact, it is a sad thing. Nevertheless, as the person who has laid down the Shastra of khadi, I am prepared to put up with this set-back. If there is real strength in khadi and if there is any *tapascharya* behind it, it will overcome this new difficulty which it is facing.

In the world, wherever people have swerved from the path of truth they have done so to evade such difficulties. There is no other motive for swerving from the path of truth. Human nature tries to avoid difficulties. It seeks an easy way out. The easy way takes one downhill, the difficult way leads one upwards. The rule of physics applies also to spiritual matters. An object drops heavily to the ground due to gravitation, whereas trying to lift it up makes one breathless. Hence neglecting khadi in our impatience to boycott foreign cloth is like abandoning the path of truth. Every volunteer — man or woman — should bear in mind that the boycott cannot succeed by deviating from that path, and even if succeeded, it would not be worth while. We regard the boycott of foreign cloth as our dharma because in it we see the means of satisfying, more or less, the hunger of crores of persons and the spinning-wheel is the means and this implies khadi. Hence no Congress volunteer, whether a man or a woman, can use anything but khadi.

What, then, of mill-made cloth?—some people thoughtlessly ask. The movement for boycott was not started for the sake of the Indian textile mills. However, mills too grow under the shade of the great tree of khadi. Khadi spreads at a snail's pace. Its use has not yet become widespread. It is not available in every town and every locality. In such circumstances, the Indian mills can readily sell their stocks. But if these compete with khadi, both would be faced with ruin. Whereas khadi needs the assistance of advertising and exhibitions, the Indian textile mills stand in no need of these. The latter get protection through the khadi movement.

A woman volunteer who is aware of this situation, while pleading for boycott will insist upon the use of khadi and never ask the people to use mill-made cloth. She would not recommend the use of mill-made cloth even to those who refuse to use khadi. Patiently and lovingly, she will refute the arguments against khadi and to the very end she will recommend its use. Fearlessly, yet with determination, she will say, "Indian mill-made cloth is not meant for you, it is only for those who have not heard the message of the Congress."

[From Gujarati]

*Navajivan*, 26-4-1931

## *37. WORTH WHILE QUESTIONS*

A co-worker has sent me the following questions[1] which were put to him:

I do not know of any freedom to import foreign cotton.[2] I personally believe that if foreign cotton is required to produce fine cloth, there is no harm in importing it. I see no harm in importing raw material from abroad if we can make use of it. We have seen that much harm is done by exporting raw material which we can utilize, but just as it is advantageous to export that which we cannot utilize, even so it is good to import any necessary raw material.

Like raw cotton, raw silk may be imported from abroad, if that is necessary.[3] Silk in its raw form means cocoons. If these can be imported from abroad and anyone orders them, there is no harm in doing so from the economic stand-point. However, from the stand-point of non-violence I would not approve of this trade.

I have not heard of woollen "tops".[4] But just as in accordance with the rule mentioned above, we cannot import foreign cotton or silk yarn, likewise we cannot import woollen "tops". However, I do not know if an exception has been made in regard to this.

[1] Not translated here

[2] The question was why import of foreign cotton was permitted while boycott of foreign yarn and cloth was being advocated.

[3] The question was whether import of foreign raw silk was permitted like that of foreign cotton.

[4] Indian mills were importing woollen tops for the manufacture of high quality woollens. Would the Congress policy permit such import?

How is it possible that no one would have to undergo any suffering while a country, steeped in slavery and reduced to dust, is attempting to recover from this plight?[1] This has not happened anywhere in history. A much larger number of weavers than those engaged in weaving foreign yarn at present were once engaged in weaving exclusively Indian yarn. If I had my way, I would make these weavers who are unemployed at present weave Indian yarn alone. With regard to such hardships, it is sufficient to realize that if those who have used foreign yarn or traded in it suffer losses or hardships now, it is their atonement for the sins they have committed so far.

The answer to this[2] is contained in the above. In great struggles we cannot like Banias make petty calculations. Such calculations go ill with noble sentiments.

The success which was achieved was due to the sentiment for khadi and the knowledge that the poor were being helped thereby.[3] However much the Indian mills step up their production, boycott cannot be achieved if this sentiment is absent. The suggestion not to buy new cloth will not find acceptance without such sentiment. The shortage of khadi was experienced for one or two months only. At the end of that period, large quantities of khadi began to be produced. If there is a demand, the requisite amount of khadi can be produced within a short time. This is because the means which are at hand for the production of khadi are not available for the production of cloth in Indian mills. Nature is favourable to khadi. Indian mills have to take risks by opposing nature. I do not cite this as a drawback. Man goes

[1] The question was: "Since the Congress advocated boycott of foreign yarn which was largely used to feed handloom, there might be unemployment among handloom weavers and as the yarn produced by the mills and on the handloom did not come up to 40 counts, was it not prudent to postpone the boycott of such yarn, until the same could be produced in the country?"

[2] That foreign silk yarn and woollen yarn were being used hitherto because they could not be produced indigenously. The stoppage of their import would lead to large-scale unemployment. Moreover, 60 to 75 per cent of the value of the cloth so produced remained in the country. Why then prohibit this import?

[3] It was stated that Gandhiji had said that boycott of foreign cloth was possible only through khadi, that when the boycott proceeded well the previous year and the stocks of khadi ran out, there were two factors responsible for its success, viz., cutting down cloth requirements to a minimum and increasing indigenous mill-made cloth. Was it then not wise to make the boycott easy by resorting to these means rather than insisting on the use of khadi only?

in for many adventures by opposing nature and some of these are even desirable. At this juncture, by bringing in nature and showing that khadi is in keeping with it, I am only describing an existing situation. Experience has shown us that it is only after the advent of khadi era that we began to believe in the possibility of the boycott of foreign cloth, it is only after that that there was an awakening among the people. It is only through the presence of khadi that we can, to some extent, save the mill-owners from the clutches of self-interest.

[From Gujarati]
*Navajivan*, 26-4-1931

## *38. LETTER TO J. H. GARRETT*

BORSAD,
*April 26, 1931*

I have your letter of 24th instant.

It is hardly fair to tear from its context a sentence[1] from my letter so as to give it a meaning wider than what it would bear if the sentence was read in its context. If you accept the representative character of the Congress, the party to the Settlement, is it right to issue over the heads of the representatives the notice that the Mamlatdars have issued in the place of the one about which I complained?

I must confess that I miss the friendly response which I had hoped our interview would evoke. I still ask you to approach the Settlement in the spirit that actuated Lord Irwin. The way you are going is the way of war. I assure you that I want to work the Settlement in the friendliest spirit possible. Will you not reciprocate ?

*Young India*, 20-8-1931

[1] *Vide* the following item.

CWMG-XLVI

## 39. *LETTER TO R. M. MAXWELL*

AS AT BORSAD,
*April 26, 1931*

DEAR MR. MAXWELL,

I thank you for your letter[1] of the 24th instant. I must apologize for the omission to send you a copy of my letter of the 20th instant to Mr. Garrett. I repair the omission now and send you a copy herewith as also translation of the circular now recalled. From the copy you will observe that I never claimed that the Government and the people can have no dealings with one another except through the Congress. My objection was to the Mamlatdar's notice issued over my head whilst negotiation was going on between Mr. Garrett and myself. Mr. Garrett, you will note, gave the following categorical reply:

> You refer to the Congress as an intermediary between the Government and the people. This is not one of the matters agreed upon in the Settlement and I am unable to agree to the suggestion.

The position taken up in your letter under reply is surely different from this as also different from what Mr. Garrett has taken up in his latest letter of which I attach copy herewith. He writes under date 24th instant.

> You write that 'the Congress must be recognized as the intermediary between the Government and the people whom the Congress represents'. I am unable to see anything in the terms of the Settlement which bears on this point. There is nothing to prevent the Congress advising people as to what they should do, nor can any restriction be placed on the duty of the Government officers to perform their functions directly with those concerned.

It will be observed that the quotation from my letter is torn from its context and is thus made to bear a meaning which is wider than the one it bears when read in its context. Mr. Garrett wrote the letter after having ordered the issue of a revised notice by Mamlatdars not very different from the notice which it substitutes.

[1] *Vide* Appendix II.

My contention is that even the new notice is premature and that in any case it should not have been issued without consultation with the local workers. Such notices become necessary only when it has become clear that the people affected are deliberately withholding payment. That this is not the case at present is manifest from the fact that the people have been paying as fast as it is possible in spite of the non-fulfilment in several respects by the Government of the terms of the Settlement. This is hardly consistent with the terms of the Settlement which contemplates amicable relations and mutual trust. I confess that here, in Gujarat, see not only no trust but a secretiveness and distrust which one sees when the relations are strained. I hope that the matter will receive His Excellency's immediate attention. Notwithstanding the serious grievance, I want to give my assurance that I am anxious that the people should carry out their part of the Settlement to the fullest extent possible.

If His Excellency the Acting Governor thinks that any useful purpose can be served by mutual discussion let him consider me to be at his disposal.

*Yours sincerely,*

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-B, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Also *Young India*, 20-8-1931.

## *40. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA*

BARDOLI,
*April 26, 1931*

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I have not been able to overtake the immense arrears of correspondence, but now that I have got shorthand assistance, I hope to overtake them, if I get a few more quiet days that I have been getting just now. Your letters make instructive reading. I wholly agree with you that it would be better for you to suspend your picketing activity till the atmosphere is clearer and you are not liable to be misunderstood. I like also the idea of your steering clear of all parties. Please give my love to Dr. Roy. I hope he is now fully restored. He has yet plenty of service to see through. In launching out on *Rashtravani*[1], you will follow the golden prescription that it must be self-supporting.

[1] A Bengali Weekly

What is your food now and how many pounds of weight have you regained? It is probable that for some days to come I may be in Gujarat.

Did you see Mr. Mujibar Rehman and if you did, what happened?

*Yours sincerely,*

SHRI SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA
15 COLLEGE SQUARE, CALCUTTA

From a microfilm: S.N. 17017

## *41. LETTER TO E. STANLEY JONES*

BARDOLI,
*April 26, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

Your open letter has come upon me as a shock, the more so as you yourself distrusted the report and have suffered yourself from misreporting. If you had just dropped a line before writing your long open letter how much precious time, that for you and me belongs to God, would have been saved. As it is, in the language of the *Gita*, you have been guilty of theft and, in the bargain, have done a wrong to a friend.

It will please you to know that three unknown friends have been more cautious. They have written to me to enquire whether the report correctly sets forth my view. Next time you see something about me which may appear to you to misrepresent me as you have known me, may I ask you to refer to me before you pen another open or private letter. Lastly, if you have loved me before, as I know you have, I hope that after reading my article[1] in *Young India* on the subject matter of your open letter, you will feel that you have no cause to change your attitude. And why will you not love me even though I may err in your estimation? Or must love require a consideration?

*Yours sincerely,*

REV. E. STANLEY JONES
SAT TAL ASHRAM
SAT TAL (DT. NAINI TAL)

From a photostat: S.N. 17015

[1] *Vide* pp. 27-9.

CWMG - XLVI

## 42. LETTER TO SURENDRA SINGH[1]

BARDOLI,
*April 26, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter as also a copy of the speech you would have made at the Sikh League[2]. With some parts of your letter I can heartily agree and I wish that we were rid of the slightest communal taint. But it seems that, if there is any settlement in the immediate future, there would be at least some communalism about it.

I have never been able to understand the nationalism which remains nationalistic only if all the rest do so and otherwise become uncompromisingly communalistic.

I have not the dread that you have of adult suffrage. Every form of suffrage will be liable to abuse, adult suffrage perhaps the least so. And I have an effective antidote that might, to a certain extent, obviate the mischief. But I need not dilate upon it at the present moment.

I am also in agreement with you that we should have education on the widest scale possible of the masses, not so much of children as of grown-up men and women who will presently be armed with great powers for good or evil. That education, I think, the Congress has given not always successfully, not always well, but on the whole undoubtedly successfully and well.

I do think that the association of high salaries with efficiency and public honesty is an hypnotic effect produced by the rulers. The sooner we get out of it the better it will be for us. The present civil service is open to influences which are far more subtle and deadly than open bribery. Nor do I consider the administration to be efficient except in so far as it guarantees at the point of the bayonet safety for the lives of the European population but certainly not of the masses. I think that we have patriotic men and women enough in the country who, when we come to our own, will gladly give their services for maintenance money that will easily bear comparison with the average income of the toiling

[1] Of the Ministry of Agriculture

[2] The meeting of the Sikh League was held at Amritsar on April 8.

but starving millions. Poverty, if it is due to ignorance, is no less due to heartless unparalleled exploitation.

Thus though we have differences of opinion I have valued your letter and the enclosure, both of which I have read with a great deal of interest. Do please therefore favour me again whenever you have anything of importance to tell me.

*Yours sincerely*,

SARDAR SURENDRA SINGH
PUNJAB CIVIL SECRETARIAT
LAHORE

From a photostat: S.N. 17016

## *43. SPEECH TO VILLAGERS, AKOTI*

*April 26, 1931*

When Mr. Gandhi arrived the villagers told him that all their rice crop worth about Rs. 50,000 which was the main crop of the village, had been attached and sold to a Parsi for Rs. 1,400. They had no means of support and depended on the relief given by the Congress, but still the Mamlatdar called upon them to pay land revenue.

Mr. Gandhi said that in view of their condition they were entitled under the terms of the Truce to get time for the payment of land revenue. He advised them as well as all peasants in Gujarat to pay land revenue if they could, but if they could not pay they should not be afraid to refuse to pay land revenue and patiently bear all the consequences. . . .

*The Bombay Chronicle*, 29-4-1931

## *44. LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON*

AS AT BORSAD,
*April 27, 1931*

DEAR MR. EMERSON,

When I wrote to you last copy of an important letter[1] was not sent to you for which I apologize and which I now send. More correspondence has grown since. I send you copies of these also. There are other ominous things which I need not mention now.

You will recall that the Government of India authorized coercive measures on the strength of the Bombay Government report of which you gave me a copy. I have already shown to you how misleading that report was and how nobly, in my opinion,

[1] To J. H. Garrett"; *vide* p. 19.

CWMG XLVI

the people have paid in spite of the fact that even now the terms of the Settlement in several matters remain unfulfilled by the local officials. I attach hereto a list which will enforce what I have said. These people deserve better treatment than notices of coercive processes. If the matters brought to your notice are not clear to you, and if you think it necessary, you may drag me to Simla. And if you do, it will be necessary for you to stop all coercive processes at least pending our conversations.

I want your help in preventing a breakdown of the Settlement. I have pledged my honour to Lord Irwin that I shall do nothing that I could honourably refrain from doing to prevent a breakdown. But it takes two to play a game. I feel safe in the confidence that you on your part will not, if it is at all possible, allow a breakdown in regard to what you have rightly said is a gentleman's agreement.

*Yours sincerely,*

H. W. EMERSON, ESQ.
HOME SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
SIMLA

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-B, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Also *Young India*, 20-8-1931

## *45. LETTER TO R. M. MAXWELL*

BORSAD,
*April 28, 1931*

DEAR MR. MAXWELL,

A friend has given me a copy of Government instructions about relaxation of salt laws in terms of the Settlement but I have seen nothing in the papers about the Government resolution. I have purposely refrained from giving any guidance to my co-workers or the public as I was given to understand by Mr. Emerson that instructions regarding salt administration would be publicly issued. Will you please tell me whether the Bombay Government propose to issue definite public instruction so that the parties interested may know exactly how they stand? I have already enquiries from many quarters.

*Yours sincerely,*

R. M. MAXWELL, ESQ.
PRIVATE SECRETARY TO H. E. THE GOVERNOR OF BOMBAY
MAHABALESHWAR

A.I.C.C., File No. 16-C, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

CWMG - XLVI

## 46. TELEGRAM TO THAKURDAS KHUSHALDAS[1]

[After *April 28, 1931*]

WHEN PEOPLE WON'T LISTEN TO REASON YOU MAY FOR THE TIME BEING LET THEM DO WHAT THEY LIKE.

A.I.C.C. File No. 3-A, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

## 47. TO THE CULTIVATORS OF KHEDA

[*April 29, 1931*][2]

I had written in *Navajivan*[3] that no cultivator[4] is obliged to pay revenue by incurring debt. I write the following further to clarify the matter.

1. Whether the cultivator has gone on 'Hijarat' or not if he has suffered substantially by reason of satyagraha movement such a satyagrahi Cultivator is not obliged to pay revenue by incurring debt.

2. The duty of all other cultivators—those who have not taken part in the satyagraha movement and those who have not suffered substantially—is to pay the revenue even if it becomes necessary to incur debt for such purpose.

3. The cultivators covered by item 1 should realize that in my opinion their interest lies in keeping the Truce. I shall make every endeavour to get suspension of their land revenue up to next year but if I fail the peasants will have to undergo considerable suffering and this suggestion does not apply to those who are not prepared to undergo such suffering.

[From Gujarati]

*Navajivan*, 3-5-1931

[1] Secretary, District Congress Committee, Mirpurkhas (Sind), who in his letter dated April 28, had sought Gandhiji's views on Mirpurkhas cloth merchants' decision to sell sealed foreign cloth against the Congress directive and the counter-decision of satyagrahis to resort to picketing and hunger strike.

[2] From *The Hindu*, 30-4-1931

[3] Dated 19-4-1931; *vide* pp. 13-5.

[4] In a translation of the item found in Home Department Political file the word "Khatedar" has been used.



CWMG-XLVI

## 48. LETTER TO CHARU PROBHA DEVI

BORSAD,
*April 29, 1931*

DEAR CHARU PROBHA,

I was delighted to have your letter. You would certainly not reject the company of the young men who may not hold the same view on non-violence that you and I do but you will expect to convert them by your affection and still more by proving the efficacy of your own method in daily conduct. You will not expect me to give you long letters. No apology is needed for faulty English. Why should we be ashamed of making errors in a foreign tongue? What, however, I would like you to do is to pick up Hindi and begin to write in Hindi. Hindi you can learn in a very short time.

BAPU

CHARU PROBHA DEVI
RAJBARI (BENGAL)

From a photostat: G.N. 8701

## 49. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

[AS AT] SABARMATI,[1]
*April 29, 1931*

I have had so many letters[2] from you but I have seemingly neglected you. The fact is I have had no time. Karachi washed me out completely. The fatigue has not yet left me entirely. I am obliged to sleep two or three times during the day so as to keep me fresh for work that I must do.

I hope your sister is better if not completely restored. Anyway I am glad you are by her side. Please give my love to her.

You have taken it for granted that I am going to London. I am not at all sure and I am certainly not going if there is no

[1] Gandhiji was at Borsad up to May 11 when he left for Simla. This address was given in this and in other letters for convenience of reply.

[2] Written from the United States and England



CWMG - XLVI

Hindu-Muslim solution. There is no immediate prospect. And then the Settlement itself runs the risk of being broken to pieces in Gujarat. Of course I am making every endeavour to see that it is honoured by the officials here. But it is an uphill fight and you know how tender the officials are over revenue matters. If I do come and if I have the choice, I would like to accept Muriel Lester's invitation. If however you think that it would be better not to do so and to occupy Ghanshyam Das's hostel you will please see her.

And now for the Transvaal question. It is becoming more and more difficult day after day. Unless India comes to her own in the near future, I see no prospect of improvement in the situation. Of course the resident Indian population will somehow drag on its existence there. They have sufficient resourcefulness but it would be living from hand to mouth. However we must do all we can. Yours I know is just now the largest share. I have become almost incapacitated for that work. But when we meet we must discuss the situation and I might be able to find out some effective method of dealing with it.

I hope you are getting your copy of *Young India*. This letter is merely a supplement to that weekly letter.

C. F. ANDREWS, ESQ.

From a photostat: S.N. 17024

## *50. LETTER TO C. VIJAYARAGHAVACHARIAR*

BORSAD,
*April 29, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

Ghanshyam Das Birla asks me to write to you if it is only a few lines. I have failed because up to last week I had practically ceased to deal with the voluminous correspondence that comes daily. Pyarelal and Mahadev dealt with it as they liked and I knew that in that pressure you did not expect anything from me. And now that I have a few moments to dictate some letters what shall I say to you? Why do you think that because you had no acknowledgments, your wires and letters were not considered? They were. But the unfortunate fact is that your suggestion could not be accepted. The legality of the convictions[1] was discussed threadbare by jurists like Sir Tej Bahadur

[1] Of Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and Rajguru

Sapru with the Viceroy and you know what great influence he had with him. But it was all of no avail. The Congress therefore had to take up the only attitude that was open to it. I would ask you please therefore not to be sensitive. Remember that we have a new generation of men and women dominating the Congress. They brush aside legal forms. They have found by experience how powerless these forms have proved for advancing freedom and they have by bitter experience realized how powerful they have been for curbing freedom. Why will you not therefore be satisfied with blessing these young men and women knowing that they are, on the whole, on the right track[?] This of course does not mean that you should not continue to give the Congress and especially me the benefit of your advice. But that you should do without expectation of its being always followed. I hope, in spite of old age creeping on you, you are well and able to follow the vast changes that are taking place in the country.

*Yours sincerely,*

SYT. C. VIJAYARAGHAVACHARIAR
THE ARAMA, SALEM

Copy to Sjt. Ghanshyam Das Birla

From a photostat: S.N. 17022

## *51. LETTER TO R. B. GREGG*

[AS AT] SABARMATI,
*April 29, 1931*

MY DEAR GOVIND,

I have your letter and I read your letter to Mira. I quite understand and appreciate all the anxiety shown by you in your letter to her. I do not know that I shall be going to London at all and I shall certainly not go if the way is not clear for me to deliver my message. That it is not likely to be accepted just now I have realized all along. But had the Congress not accepted the offer to discuss terms, the Congress would have put itself in the wrong. As it is we are safe either way. It will be great, good and grand if peace can be made permanent through negotiation. I shall therefore leave no stone unturned to reach that state but it will be equally good and grand if the negotiations proved fruitless. Then India will be put upon her mettle and will have to show her capacity for further suffering. There is no

question of my being invited to parties, feted and lionized. I can eat nothing and thank God my loin-cloth will protect me from being exhibited as a specimen in Barnum's show. If therefore I go to London I go for solid business and to drink in the deep affection of chosen friends there. I refuse to speculate. I would go where the light leads me in the fullest faith that all will be well if I follow it.

Do not believe the rumours about my intended visit to America. Much as I should like to visit that great country I know that my time is not yet and I do not want to come as a nine days' wonder.

Love to you and Radha.

*Yours sincerely,*
BAPU

R. B. GREGG, ESQ.
543 BOYLSTON ST.
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETS

From a photostat: G.N. 4663; also S.N. 17023

## *52. LETTER TO JAMNADAS GANDHI*

BORSAD,
*April 29, 1931*

CHI. JAMNADAS,

How is it that you do not write to me at all? I cannot write to you, but I do think about you. What is your present state of mind? How are Father and Mother? How is the school? Write to me and describe some of your experiences in jail. What kind of person is the new ruler? Ask Purshottam to write to me.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 9291. Courtesy: Jamnadas Gandhi

CWMG - XLVI

## 53. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

BORSAD,
*April 29, 1931*

BHAI GHANSHYAMDAS,

I have your two letters. I send you a copy of the letter[1] I have written to Vijayaraghavachariji.

What shall I write about the Hindu-Muslim problem? The Nawab of Bhopal is doing something. Whenever you have an opportunity of rendering service to a Muslim you should do so. It does not mean financial assistance. Financial assistance of course has to be rendered in the case of a deserving but poor Mussalman. And it is also our duty to try and remove the rowdyism among Hindus. The atrocities committed by Hindus in Cawnpore and Kashi do not help the Hindu religion, but undoubtedly harm it.

I have as yet no idea whether I am to go to England or not. The situation here is rather serious.

Do go to America. It will certainly do some good.

Do whatever is possible for the boycott of foreign cloth.

I am well.

BAPU

From Hindi: C.W. 7885. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

## 54. THE LOIN-CLOTH

A critic has fallen foul of my remark made before the meeting of the Federation of Chambers of Commerce at Delhi that the Indian civilization must not be allowed to be wiped out by the inroads from the West. The critic has confused Indian civilization with the loin-cloth and then condemned it.

Mr. Churchill has been kind enough gratuitously to advertise my loin-cloth to the whole world. It has therefore become the fashion to laugh at it as the said critic has done. Let me then explain what it means.

[1] *Vide* pp. 51-2.



CWMG - XLVI

In 1921 Maulana Mahomed Ali was arrested at Waltair whilst he and I were going on a tour to the South.[1] He was torn from Begum Mahomed Ali who was travelling with us. I was deeply moved, she bore the separation bravely and attended meetings in Madras. I left her at Madras and went as far as Madura. On the way I saw in our compartment crowds that were wholly unconcerned with what had happened. Almost without exception they were bedecked in foreign fineries. I entered into conversation with some of them and pleaded for khadi. For I had no other way open to me to secure the release of the Ali Brothers save through khadi. They shook their heads as they said, "We are too poor to buy khadi and it is so dear." I realized the substratum of truth behind the remark. I had my vest, cap, and full dhoti on. When these uttered only partial truth, the millions of compulsory naked men, save for their *langoti* four inches wide and nearly as many feet long, gave through their bare limbs the naked truth. What effective answer could I give them, if it was not to divest myself of every inch of clothing I decently could and thus to a still greater extent bring myself in a line with the ill-clad masses? And this I did the very next morning after the Madura meeting?[2]

Here then there is no question of loin-cloth civilization. The adoption of the loin-cloth was for me a sheer necessity. But in so far as the loin-cloth also spells simplicity let it represent Indian civilization. It is a mingling of the cultures represented by the different faiths and influenced by the geographic and other environment in which the cultures have met. Thus Islamic culture is not the same in Arabia, Turkey, Egypt and India but it is itself influenced by the conditions of the respective countries. Indian culture is therefore Indian. It is neither Hindu, Islamic nor any other, wholly. It is a fusion of all and essentially Eastern. I had in mind that culture. And every one who called himself or herself an Indian is bound to treasure that culture, be its trustee and resist any attack upon it.

European civilization is no doubt suited for the Europeans but it will mean ruin for India, if we endeavour to copy it. This is not to say that we may not adopt and assimilate whatever may be good and capable of assimilation by us as it does not also mean that even the Europeans will not have to part with whatever evil might have crept into it. The incessant search for material comforts and

[1] *Vide* Vol. XXI, pp. 98-9.

[2] Held on September 22, 1921; *vide* Vol. XXI.

their multiplication is such an evil, and I make bold to say that the Europeans themselves will have to remodel their outlook, if they are not to perish under the weight of the comforts to which they are becoming slaves. It may be that my reading is wrong, but I know that for India to run after the Golden Fleece is to court certain death. Let us engrave on our hearts the motto of a Western philosopher, "Plain living and high thinking". Today it is certain that the millions cannot have high living and we the few who profess to do the thinking for the masses run the risk, in a vain search after high living, of missing high thinking.

*Young India*, 30-4-1931

## *55. HE LIVES BY DYING*

Sjt. G. V. Ketkar writes of an example of great bravery which is worthy of record:

> "Sjt. Purushottam, who was popularly known as Bapu Gayadhani, was a young worker of Nasik. For the past few years he was working as assistant Secretary of the Gulalwadi public gymnasium of Nasik. He was also occasionally taking part in Congress and swadeshi propaganda. On the 4th of April a house in Nasik caught fire. Bapu Gayadhani took a leading part in the work of quenching the fire. On learning that there were children in the house he rushed in without caring for consequences and rescued all the children. He re-entered the house to save the cattle also. Unfortunately the fire had spread all over the house and a burning beam crashed over his head. He was badly burnt and bruised all over his body and was taken to the civil hospital where he succumbed to his injuries on the 11th instant."

His parents, if they are alive, should be proud of their brave son. Bapu Gayadhani lives through his glorious death.

*Young India*, 30-4-1931

CWMG - XLVI

## 56. THE GUJARAT FARMER

"Give a dog a bad name and hang him." Say that the Gujarat farmer is contumacious and sell him out. In a Press interview[1] I said some days ago that it was unfortunate that Mr. Benn was misled into saying that the Gujarat farmer was not playing the game; in other words, he was not paying up. When the suggestion was first made I was startled, for I had faith that the Gujarat farmer though hit hard would carry out the terms of the Settlement to the full extent of his ability. The Settlement expects nothing more.

The complaint made to me in Delhi was that whereas large sums were collected in Bardoli and Valod before 28th February, only Rs. 3,212 were collected during the fortnight ending 15th March. The implication was that since the Settlement very little was paid.

Now, the Settlement was announced on 7th March. Sardar Vallabhbhai and I reached Bardoli on 14th March. It is clear that nothing could be expected before we arrived in Bardoli and explained the position to the farmers and they could return to their homes. Here, however, are the figures of payment:

Revenue Collections in Bardoli and Valod

| DATE | BARDOLI | VALOD |
|---|---|---|
| Collections before 15-3-31 | Rs. 2,500–0–0 | Rs. 20,000—0–0 |
| On 16th March | .. | .. |
| 17th „ | 200–0–0 | .. |
| 18th „ | 400–0–0 | .. |
| 19th „ | 200–0–0 | 136—0–0 |
| 20th „ | .. | 228—0–0 |
| 23rd „ | 500–0–0 | 379—0–0 |
| 24th „ | 1,700–0–0 | 1,114—0–0 |
| 25th „ | 800–0–0 | 364—0–0 |
| 26th „ | 1,000–0–0 | .. |
| 27th „ | 1,000–0–0 | 117—0–0 |
| 30th „ | 2,000–0–0 | 2,229—0–0 |
| 31st „ | 1,500–0–0 | 1,949—0–0 |
| 1st April | 4,000–0–0 | 1,361—0–0 |

[1] *Vide* pp. 10-2.

| Date | | Bardoli | Valod |
|---|---|---|---|
| 2nd | April | Rs. 2,000–0–0 | Rs. 1,208—0–0 |
| 7th | „ | 10,000–0–0 | 1,829—0–0 |
| 8th | „ | 900–0–0 | 2,246—0–0 |
| 9th | „ | 2,200–0–0 | 2,429—0–0 |
| 10th | „ | 5,500–0–0 | 1,379—0–0 |
| 11th | „ | 6,800–0–0 | 1,700—2–3 |
| 13th | „ | 20,000–0–0 | 6,932–11–9 |
| 14th | „ | 6,500–0–0 | 1,455–15–9 |
| 15th | „ | 10,028–0–0 | 1,011–12–7 |
| 16th | „ | 11,446–0–0 | 2,791—5–4 |
| 17th | „ | 7,622–0–0 | 3,736—0–0 |
| 18th | „ | 9,981–0–0 | 5,545–14–0 |
| 20th | „ | 11,518–0–0 | 6,349–11–0 |
| 21st | „ | 7,365–0–0 | 1,856–11–0 |
| 22nd | „ | 6,162–0–0 | 3,421—6–6 |
| 23rd | „ | 4,456–0–0 | 1,090—4–0 |
| 24th | „ | 9,000–0–0 | 4,006–10–7 |
| 25th | „ | 7,129–0–0 | 1,162—3–5 |
| 26th | „ | .. | 5,500—0–0 |
| | | 1,54,407–0–0 | 83,528-12-2 |

I claim that the Bardoli farmers have done exceedingly well and this in spite of the fact that the forfeited lands had not yet been returned, that some of these had even been sold, that the old Patels and Talatis had not been reinstated, that all the prisoners had not been released and that prosecutions against them were still pending.

But here I must draw the curtain. I may say that great difficulty is being experienced in establishing friendly touch with the local officials. The result is that many things that should have long ago been done on behalf of the Government are still not done and though there is no unwillingness to pay, threats of coercive measures are kept hanging like Damocles' sword over the heads of the people. The process has begun with Kaira. They do not seem to realize that there is peace now, provisional though it is, between the people and the Government and that efforts are being made to make enduring what is today only temporary and provisional.

The difficulties in the way are enormous. But I have pledged my word to Lord Irwin that so far as it is humanly possible, I shall prevent the Truce from breaking. The Settlement has been

called a gentleman's agreement. I know that Lord Irwin was sincerely anxious to see that it was fully carried out by the Government's agents as he testified more than once that I was to see it being as fully carried out by Congressmen.

It has hurt me to take the public into confidence even to the extent I have done. But I feel that I can no longer suppress the fact that there are ominous signs on the horizon. A satyagrahi has no weapon at his disposal but that of public opinion and suffering. Let the public read no more into this article than the natural meaning the written word conveys. I shall hope and pray that next week I may be able to report that the threatening cloud has lifted.

*Young India*, 30-4-1931

## *57. OUR DUTY TO THE VILLAGERS*

The intensive political struggle of last year brought out prominently the importance of foreign-cloth boycott in the fight for national freedom. That the boycott programme has been in a measure effective, is evidenced by the fall in the import of foreign cloth. We have reason for satisfaction in the results achieved, but let us not in our satisfaction at the measure of success gained, forget the true purpose and implications of the boycott programme. Let us remember that our nation lives in the millions of village homes and the true and primary aim of the boycott programme will be missed if the boycott is not worked in such a way that the benefits accrue pre-eminently to the villagers. If it is to benefit them it can only be by the nation according to khadi a position above all other indigenous cloth.

In order to do this it is necessary for us to revise our taste. We must take to coarse, thick khadi. The cotton grown in India is mostly short stapled and can yield only low count yarn. The spinners who have been spinning generally only for themselves or the neighbourhood are accustomed in most of the areas only to the spinning of coarse yarn and it is difficult therefore at once to raise the count of yarn spun. This is the case with practically the whole of North India. In the Punjab, Rajasthan, U.P., Bihar, and Bengal, where lakhs of unemployed or partially employed charkhas exist, only thick khadi is being woven. A limited quantity of fine and medium khadi is available in the South, but even there the largest quantity is only made of low count yarn. The activities under the auspices of the All-India Spinners' Asso-

ciation, much as they have grown, have not touched even a tenth of the known and definitely ascertained facilities for production in these provinces. There are practically no limits to the possibilities of thick khadi production and if only the nation can give its reasoned preference to thick khadi, it can to a very large extent take the place till now occupied by foreign cloth and the fruits of the national programme will go to benefit the vast majority of the population of the country and not merely the moneyed few.

This general plea for khadi from the point of view of the boycott is further strengthened by one peculiar feature of the economic situation of the country in the current year and the year that is past. The abnormally low prices of cotton and indeed of all agricultural produce, have caused great distress in the villages. The prices prevailing do not, in many cases, fully meet even the cultivation and other expenses. The smaller cultivators of cotton, therefore, have sought to earn something more on their cotton by plying one or two spinning wheels in their homes. The cultivators of other agricultural produce have also similarly sought to add to their scanty income by spinning. The result is that in many parts of the country spinners from surrounding villages in great numbers flock to the nearest khadi depots offering the yarn for sale. The output of hand-spun yarn even before last year was very much more than what the existing depots could manage. But now the position has become more difficult still. With their very limited capital resources the depots are unable to take in all the yarn and have therefore to turn away many of the spinners. If the demand for khadi can be increased the consequent increased turn-over may enable the depots to afford a greater amount of relief to the spinners. More private capital may also flow into khadi, as to some extent it did last year. Both from the general viewpoint of the boycott, therefore, as well as the affording of immediate relief for present distress the duty of the country to give preference to khadi is obvious.

If large numbers of people, even if they feel it difficult to wear a khadi dhoti or sari because of its heaviness, choose only khadi for their other requirements — towels, shirting, coating, and bed sheets, carpets, and the like — it will become possible not merely to absorb all the hand-spun yarn that is produced today but also many times the present output. It requires only a proper exercise of imagination to realize all the possibilities. And if we would adapt our dress to the climatic requirements and the resources of villagers, we would discard the many articles, reduce the size of the dhoti or sari, change the turban for the cap and in the

bargain secure greater comfort and greater cleanliness, not to speak of the great reduction in the cost of clothes.

*Young India*, 30-4-1931

## *58. WHAT IS THE TRUTH?*

Sjt. S. D. Nadkarni of Karwar writes a letter from which I take the following:

> I have just noticed that in a letter addressed to you and already published in the Press Mr. Mushir Hussain Kidwai, one of the leaders of the 'All-Parties Muslim Conference', referring to the minority problem in Egypt, says: 'In my opinion, the attitude of the Hindus here should be what Zaglul's was in Egypt, i.e., they should sign blindfolded the demands of the minority. . . .'
>
> Without concerning myself here with any other statement made by Mr. Kidwai in his letter to you, I should like to draw your attention to the true fact about the one above, where a parallel is sought to be drawn from Egyptian politics. The enclosed excerpt from a leading article in the *Servant of India* of August 15, 1929, whose writer had to deal with a similar statement made about that time by Sir Ibrahim Rahimatoola, will show you how the truth about affairs in Egypt (where the Muslims are the majority, and the native Christians called Copts are the minority) is just the opposite of what your correspondent Mr. Kidwai would have you believe.
>
> Every single statement in the excerpt, I am sure, can be vouched for by reference to any work on contemporary history or any standard work of reference.

From the excerpt referred to by Sjt. Nadkarni, the following relevant parts are taken:

> Indeed Sir Ibrahim seems to have misread history. Look, for instance, at what he says about Egypt. In pleading for a generous treatment to be meted out by the majority community to minority communities, he cites the example of what Saad Pasha Zaglul did to the Christians in Egypt. He appears to think that Zaglul's sensitive regard for the rights and interests of the Copts persuaded the latter to accept the rule of the Moslems. The facts, however, are just the contrary. It is the throwing in by the Copts of their lot unreservedly with the nationalists in Egypt that has persuaded the Muslims to treat them so liberally as they have done. The Copts were not entirely free from persecution before. The improvement was solely due to the fact that they were not only not hostile or indifferent to the national campaign for freedom, but took a very prominent

part in the Wafd. This was a very wise policy for the Coptic community to follow, to which they owe the inclusion of Copts in the Ministry.

I give the extract for what it is worth. I have verified neither the statement made in the extract nor the one to which it purports to be an answer. Nor am I interested in it except for the sake of truth.

As a satyagrahi I believe in the absolute efficacy of full surrender. Numerically Hindus happen to be the major community. Without reference therefore to what the Egyptian majority did they may give to the minorities what they may want. But even if the Hindus were in a minority, as a satyagrahi and Hindu I should say that the Hindus would lose nothing in the long run by full surrender.

To this argument a retort has thoughtlessly been made, 'Why then do you not advise India to surrender to the English? Give them the domination they want and be happy.' The hasty retort ignores the vital fact that I have not advised surrender to the bayonet. In the code of the satyagrahi there is no such thing as surrender to brute force. Or the surrender then is the surrender of suffering and not to the will of the wielder of the bayonet. A satyagrahi's surrender has to come out of his strength, not out of weakness. The surrender advised by me is not of honour but of earthly goods. There is no loss of honour in surrendering seats and positions of emoluments. There is loss of honour in haggling about them. Let the Englishmen give up the bayonet and live in our midst as simple friends and I should plead for them. The law of surrender and suffering is a universal law admitting of no exceptions.

*Young India*, 30-4-1931

## *59. LETTER TO PADMA*

BORSAD,
*April 30, 1931*

CHI. PADMA,

I got your letter. I had certainly not forgotten you. But I was helpless. I am glad that you are trying to learn verses from the *Gita* by heart. How many rounds do you spin in an hour on the Magan spinning-wheel? For how many hours at a stretch can you spin?

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati original: G.N. 6118

CWMG-XLVI

## 60. INTERVIEW TO "FOX MOVIETONE NEWS"

BORSAD,
[*April 30, 1931*][1]

The following is the full text of the interview intended for the Talkie that the *Fox Movietone News* and the Associated Press of America had with Mahatma Gandhi at Borsad. The copy has been corrected by Gandhiji before releasing for publication, says *The Bombay Chronicle*.

Mr. Gandhi prefixed the interview with the following remarks:

I do not like this kind of thing, but I shall reconcile myself to it, if not more than a few minutes have to be given: Although I know this sort of enterprise will advertise you, which is your primary object, I know also that it will serve to advertise the cause which I represent — India's independence. I do not discount the value of propaganda. I have been described as the greatest propagandist in the world. I may deserve the compliment. But my propaganda is unlike the ordinary. It is that of truth which is self-propagating. Truth abhors artificiality.

You will therefore excuse me for declining to pose for you from which, apart from the reason I have given above, I am debarred by a solemn vow I made in 1905.

He therefore declined to give a sitting in a suitable courtyard. The interview took place in his room.

Q. Mr. Gandhi, *Fox Movietone News* and the Associated Press of America, which combined, reach an audience of several hundred million people throughout the world, have sent us their representatives across the Seven Seas from New York to India to see if you will be good enough to give the American people, through the medium of *Fox Movietone News*, a message of greeting and friendship. As you probably know, there is a great deal of interest and sympathy in the United States for India's struggle for independence, because America itself had a similar struggle for liberation 150 years ago.

A. I appreciate all the interest and sympathy America has shown in our struggle, and I hope we shall be able to retain the friendship and goodwill of the American people to the end of our struggle.

[1] From *The Hindu*, 1-5-1931

Q. When do you expect to visit America?

A. Much as I should like to visit your country, I have absolutely no notion about it, except that I should not like to visit America until the present struggle for India's freedom has proved demonstrably successful.

When do you expect to leave for London for the second Round Table Conference?

About this also, I have no idea, except that I don't expect to go to London unless the Hindu-Muslim communal question is satisfactorily solved. Of course, if there should be a break in the present Truce, I will not go to London at all.

Have you given Lord Irwin any written message for the British Prime Minister?

It is wholly wrong to say I gave Lord Irwin any such message for Mr. MacDonald.

Do you expect England will grant all your demands at the second Round Table Conference?

It is more than I can say.

But you are really hopeful England will this time grant your demands?

All I can say is I am an optimist.

If England does not give you what you want, what course of action will you follow?

Of course, Civil Disobedience and all other phases of satyagraha, (obedience to the principles of truth) are always at our disposal. But whether we shall resort to these weapons immediately, or what other steps we shall take, it is not possible to say offhand at present.

Are you prepared to go back to jail if England refuses to grant your demands?

I am always ready to go to jail in the cause of India's freedom.

Are you willing to die in such a cause?

That is a bad question.

If England should accede to your demands, do you intend to have complete prohibition in the new Indian State?

Yes, I expect to see absolute prohibition enforced in the new Indian State.

CWMG - XLVI

Do you intend to abolish child-marriages when the new Indian State is established?

I should very much like to see child-marriages abolished even before that time.

Do you expect in the new Indian State to exterminate the present caste system which makes social outcastes of India's so-called sixty million "untouchables"?

Most decidedly.

Do you intend to abolish the present system of Indian widows living lives of strict seclusion and celibacy?

There is nothing now to prevent widows from remarrying if they so wish. It is likewise wholly wrong to say, or to suggest, that Indian widows in general live in seclusion.

I refer to the system of widows living in *purdah*.

The system of *purdah* is in fact confined to a very small number of the middle-class people, and that too not over the whole of India.

In the new Indian State, do you expect there will be complete communal social unity and harmony between Hindus and Muslims?

I certainly look forward to seeing complete social harmony and unity established between these two great branches of the Indian family in the new State.

If the King of England invites you to dinner at Buckingham Palace when you attend the second Round Table Conference, will you dress in native Indian attire or will you appear in European dress?

It would be a discourtesy to the King for me to appear in any dress other than my customary Indian apparel. If the weather permits, I shall dress in England exactly as I do in India, that is, in loin-cloth.

Mr. Gandhi, you have frequently said that you number among the British people some of your best friends and partisans. Will you be kind enough to give a brief message of greeting to those friends and other members of the great British public, through *British Movietone News*, which reaches a vast audience throughout the British Empire?

I am glad to be able to say that the circle of my British friends is increasing. It could not be otherwise, as the present satyagraha movement, however much it may be mixed with dress, is nothing but a movement for promoting the establishment of

goodwill with those against whom we seem to be fighting. Therefore, I have no misgivings as to the ultimate result.

Will you give to the world a new Decalogue, or a new Ten Commandments in the light of present-day needs?

That is too big an order.

*The Hindu*, 5-5-1931

## *61. TELEGRAM TO H. W. EMERSON*

BORSAD,
*May 1, 1931*

MR. EMERSON
HOME SECRETARY
SIMLA

I OBSERVE THERE IS INSPIRED AGITATION AGAINST ABDUL GAFFAR KHAN OF CHARSADDA. HE LEFT ON ME AT KARACHI IMPRESSION FOR BEING QUITE SINCERE IN HIS PROFESSIONS OF NON-VIOLENCE. IF THERE ARE COMPLAINTS AGAINST HIM WOULD LIKE TO HAVE THEM SO AS TO ENABLE ME APPROACH HIM. BELIEVE HIM AMENABLE REASON. IT WOULD BE EMBARRASSING IF HE WAS ARRESTED WITHOUT GIVING ME OPPORTUNITY GETTING EXPLANATION FROM HIM. LORD IRWIN'S WISH THAT I SHOULD NOT GO TO FRONTIER PROVINCE IS ADDITIONAL CAUSE ANXIETY FOR ME. FEEL SURE MY PRESENCE THERE MUST HAVE SOBERING EFFECT. AS TO PUNJAB GOVERNOR'S SPEECH[1] COULD YOU SEND SPEECHES WRITINGS OR PARTICULARS OF ACTIVITIES HE HAD IN MIND WHEN HE GAVE PUBLIC WARNING.

GANDHI

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-B, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

[1] Following the agitation over the execution of Bhagat Singh the Governor of the Punjab, on April 25, 1931, had issued a warning that the ordinary law about incitement to violence would in future be vigorously enforced against Congressmen as well as others.

CWMG-XLVI

## 62. LETTER TO G. N. COLLINS

[*May 1, 1931*][1]

DEAR MR. COLLINS,

I had hoped to be able to write to you about the various cases I had in mind. But I am sorry I am not yet ready. I write this therefore purely about Mr. Rajwade's case.

You told me he was not discharged because he had incited to violence. I have now got the certified record of the case and the writing on which the case was based. The charge-sheet has 'committing an act which is to the prejudice of good order and of public safety and evading arrest'. There is no violence here.

I have read the writing in the original Marathi. It is an unvarnished report of the events. So far as I can see, there is not a trace of incitement to violence in the report. In my opinion, therefore, the case clearly falls within the Settlement.

If there is any other writing placed before the court you will please let me have it. If there is nothing more, I hope Mr. Rajwade will be discharged without delay.

*Yours sincerely*,

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-C., 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

## 63. LETTER TO LAKSHMINARAYAN GADODIA

BORSAD,
*May 1, 1931*

BHAI LAKSHMINARAYANJI[2],

I have your letter. I am grateful to you for the help you extended to Ramanandji. Have you seen his work?

Give me the news about the foreign-cloth trade.

What is the dispute in the Congress Committee about?

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 5617

[1] From the addressee's reply of May 9 on behalf of Home Department Government of Bombay

[2] A noted business man of Delhi

## 64. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS[1]

BORSAD,
*May 2, 1931*

There was no Patel who had not expressed the desire to resume service and there was no question of giving an assurance of working faithfully. That assurance was implied in the resumption of service. Such terms were, at the beginning stages of the Settlement, issued to Patels, and on complaint being made by me, they were withdrawn.

If 25 per cent of forfeited lands has not been returned, because owners had not paid land revenue, it is a distinct breach of clause 17 B of the Settlement, because forfeited lands have to be returned unless there is reasonable ground for supposing that there is any contumacy on the part of the holder. It is common ground that there is no question of contumacy in Bardoli or any of the affected districts.

It is wholly wrong to suggest that there is lack of discipline in any of the Congress camps and whilst I have pressed every one of the Congress workers to implement the terms of peace as zealously as they fought during the struggle I have had no occasion to admonish any of the workers.

On the contrary, it gives me great joy to find complete response to every one of the instructions given to the workers. I have no knowledge of any worker in Congress organizations, especially in the districts of Surat and Kaira on which Vallabhbhai Patel and I are concentrating attention, having been dismissed for embezzlement of Congress funds except one unfortunate case.

*The Bombay Chronicle*, 4-5-1931

[1] This was issued to contradict certain reports which had appeared in a Bombay newspaper.



CWMG - XVI

## 65. TELEGRAM TO HARIBHAU UPADHYAYA

BORSAD,
*May 2, 1931*

HARIBHAU
"TYAGBHUMI"
AJMER

YOUR TELEGRAM. HAVE NO CONFIDENCE ABOUT MY TELEGRAM UDAIPUR.[1] LET JAMNALALJI OR MALAVIYAJI INTERVENE.

GANDHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 17049

## 66. LETTER TO MANAGER, OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, BOMBAY

BORSAD,
*May 2, 1931*

DEAR SIR,

I thank you for your letter. I do not know how far Mr. Andrews's volumes[2] would be affected by your suggestion. Personally I have no objection to your publishing a selection of extracts. You perhaps know more than I do about the first difficulty. So far as the proposed book is concerned I would like you to expand your suggestion so as to enable me to give it fuller consideration.

*Yours faithfully,*
M. K. GANDHI

THE MANAGER
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
BOMBAY

From a photostat: G.N. 5685

[1] *Vide* pp. 92-3.

[2] *Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas* (1929) and *Mahatma Gandhi : His Own Story* (1930)

## 67. LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA

BORSAD,
*May 2, 1931*

MY DEAR KUMARAPPA,

I quite agree with you that Mr. Wadia[1] should have some work given to him. Here is another letter also for your consideration. I hope your work is making steady progress. I would like your report to be a text book on the subject.[2]

BAPU

Encl. 1

SYT. J. C. KUMARAPPA
CONVENER, CONGRESS SELECT COMMITTEE
ON INDO-BRITISH FINANCIAL SETTLEMENT
65 ESPLANADE ROAD, BOMBAY

From a photostat: G.N. 10093

## 68. LETTER TO SAILENDRA NATH GHOSE[3]

[AS AT] SABARMATI,
*May 2, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I do indeed know what a life of exile means both from my own experience and that of others. I admit that my own experience has not the same value as yours for the simple reason that mine was a self-imposed exile but I can easily make it a rule of three and imagine that if my self-imposed exile meant much to me how much more must enforced exile be to friends like you. If things shape themselves properly, exiles won't have to remain away at the outside beyond a year. As for my rumoured visit, there is nothing in it and therefore we

[1] Prof. P. A. Wadia

[2] *Vide* also "Bahadurji Committee's Report", 23-7-1931.

[3] Ghose was President of the Indian National Congress of America, New York city



CWMG - XIV

need not discuss it any further. I must not visit America till the experiment here has become a proved success.

*Yours sincerely,*

SAILENDRA NATH GHOSE, ESQ.
31 UNION SQUARE, NEW YORK CITY

From a photostat: S.N. 17046

## *69. LETTER TO MARTIN C. MILLER*

[AS AT] SABARMATI,
*May 2, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter for which I thank you. In reply to your question I can say that I have profited much by a prayerful reading of the Sermon on the Mount. I regard Jesus to have been one of the greatest teachers of the world. I do not believe in his exclusive divinity.

*Yours sincerely,*

MARTIN C. MILLER, ESQ.
THE CLEVELAND GRAPHITE BRONZE CO.
CLEVELAND (U.S.A.)

From a photostat: S.N. 17047

## *70. LETTER TO UPTON CLOSE*

[AS AT] SABARMATI,
*May 2, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your two letters, the last one dated 8th April. My visit to America must still remain a rumour and your anticipation of what is likely to happen if I come to America makes me still more nervous. At the present moment therefore I must not think of even tentatively discussing arrangements about an event which is not likely to happen in the near future.

*Yours sincerely,*

UPTON CLOSE, ESQ.
NEW YORK CITY (U.S.A.)

From a photostat: S.N. 17048

## 71. LETTER TO KARAMCHANDANI

BORSAD,
*May 2, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter[1]. I share your feelings about the Garhwali prisoners and if I can get them discharged today I should do so. I need not therefore argue about our views. But I can say broadly that any one whose conscience tells him to disobey certain instructions or orders is certainly at liberty to do so, but is also expected to suffer the consequence. You will excuse the delay in replying to your letter.

*Yours sincerely,*

SYT. KARAMCHANDANI
KARACHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 17050

## 72. LETTER TO LALJI PARMAR

*May 2, 1931*

CHI. LALJI,

I got your letter. Be patient. I am inquiring into the matter. If you wish, you may come over here.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3291

[1] In this the addressee had pleaded the case of the Garhwali soldiers who had disobeyed orders and had been sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.



CWMG - XLVI

## 73. A TWENTIETH CENTURY SATI (?)[1]

### I

I hope that the incident as reported in the Press is not true and that the lady in question died through illness or through accident, not by suicide. A sati has been described by our ancients, and the description holds good today, as one who ever fixed in her love and devotion to her husband signalizes herself by her selfless service during her husband's lifetime as well as after, and remains absolutely chaste in thought, word and deed. Self-immolation at the death of the husband is not a sign of enlightenment but of gross ignorance as to the nature of the soul. The soul is immortal, unchangeable and immanent. It does not perish with the physical body but journeys on from one mortal frame to another till it completely emancipates itself from earthly bondage. The truth of it has been attested to by the experience of countless sages and seers and can be realized by anyone who may wish to even today. How can suicide be then justified in the light of these facts?

Again true marriage means not merely union of bodies. It connotes the union of the souls too. If marriage meant no more than a physical relationship the bereaved wife should be satisfied with a portrait or a waxen image of her husband. But self-destruction is worse than futile. It cannot help to restore the dead to life, on the contrary it only takes away one more from the world of the living.

The ideal that marriage aims at is that of spiritual union through the physical. The human love that it incarnates is intended to serve as a stepping-stone to the divine or universal love. That is why immortal Mira sang: "God alone is my husband — none else."

It follows from this that a sati would regard marriage not as a means of satisfying the animal appetite but as a means of

[1] The Gujarati original of this appeared in *Navajivan* 3-5-1931. This is a translation by Pyarelal, with the following introductory note: "A lady correspondent from Ghatkopar having invited Gandhiji to express his opinion on an alleged case of sati that was recently reported in a Bombay vernacular paper Gandhiji has delivered himself on the subject in an article in the *Navajivan* as follows." *Vide* also "Opinion Unchanged", 17-5-1931.

realizing the ideal of selfless and self-effacing service by completely merging her individuality in her husband's. She would prove her satihood not by mounting the funeral pyre at her husband's death but she would prove it with every breath that she breathes from the moment that she plighted her troth to him at the *saptapadi*[1] ceremony, by her renunciation, sacrifice, self-abnegation and dedication to the service of her husband, his family and the country. She would shun creature comforts and delights of the senses. She would refuse to be enslaved by the narrow domestic cares and interests of the family, but would utilize every opportunity to add to her stock of knowledge and increase her capacity for service by more and more cultivating renunciation and self-discipline, and by completely identifying herself with her husband, learn to indentify herself with the whole world.

Such a sati would refuse to give way to wild grief at the death of her husband but would ever strive to make her late husband's ideals and virtues live again in her actions and thereby win for him the crown [of] immortality. Knowing that the soul of him whom she married is not dead but still lives she will never think of remarrying.

The reader will here be perhaps tempted to ask, "The sati that you have pictured is a being untouched by passion or animal appetite. She can have no desire for offspring. Why should she marry at all?" The reply is that in our present-day Hindu society, marriage, in a vast majority of cases, is not a matter of choice. Again, there are some who believe that in our ramshackle age marriage is necessary as a shield to virtue and as an aid to self-restraint. And as a matter of fact, I personally know several instances of persons who, though at the time of the marriage, were not free from animal passion later on became imbued with the ideal of absolute chastity and found in their married life a powerful means for realizing their ideal. I have cited these instances to show that the ideal of sati that I have depicted is not merely a counsel of perfection that has no place outside the world of theory but something that has to be lived up to and realized in this very matter of fact world of ours.

But I readily concede that the average wife who strives to attain the ideal of sati will be a mother too. She must therefore add to her various other qualities mentioned above a knowledge of rearing and bringing up children so that they might live to be true servants of their country.

[1] Seven steps

All that I have said about the wife applies equally to the husband. If the wife has to prove her loyalty and undivided devotion to her husband so has the husband to prove his allegiance and devotion to his wife. You cannot have one set of weights and measures for the one and a different one for the other. Yet we have never heard of a husband mounting the funeral pyre of his deceased wife. It may therefore be taken for granted that the practice of the widow immolating herself at the death of her husband had its origin in superstitious ignorance and the blind egotism of man. Even if it could be proved that at one time the practice had a meaning, it can only be regarded as barbarous in the present age. The wife is not the slave of the husband but his comrade, otherwise known as his better half, his colleague and friend. She is a co-sharer with him of equal rights and of equal duties. Their obligations towards each other and towards the world must, therefore, be the same and reciprocal.

I therefore regard the alleged self-immolation of this sister as vain. It certainly cannot be set up as an example to be copied. Don't I appreciate at least her courage to die?—I may perhaps be asked. My reply is 'no' in all conscience. Have we not seen even evil-doers display this sort of courage? Yet no one has ever thought of complimenting them on it. Why should I take upon me the sin of even unconsciously leading astray some ignorant sister by my injudicious praise of suicide? Satihood is the acme of purity This purity cannot be attained or realized by dying. It can be attained only through constant striving, constant immolation of the spirit from day to day.

*Young India*, 21-5-1931

## *74. NOTES*

### To Correspondents[1]

Letters rain down on me. Even if I am in absolutely good health, I can neither read all those letters immediately nor can I reply to them. In my present delicate state of health, it is impossible to cope with those letters, to attend to the Settlement, to write for *Navajivan* and *Young India* and do other jobs. Hence only a select number of letters are put up to me and from among these I reply immediately to as many as I can and deal later

[1] A similar item "To Private and Personal Correspondents," under "Notes", also appeared in *Young India*, 7-5-1931.

with the rest. I am not happy about this situation. I know that my correspondents expect timely replies. But my helplessness is my defence. My correspondents can help me and my co-workers. They should oblige me by abiding by the following conditions:

1. They should not write letters unless absolutely necessary.
2. They should not use lead pencils for writing.
3. They should not write long letters.
4. They should not repeat the same arguments again and again.
5. As far as possible, they should not argue at all.
6. They should write in a beautiful hand.

These rules are simple and all stem from non-violence. My handwriting is very poor. I have full experience of what difficulties readers find in deciphering it. To do anything which causes hardship to others implies violence. Hence everyone can see that bad handwriting constitutes violence. The same can be said in regard to the other conditions. The above rules have permanent application and, in my present state of health, they are doubly relevant. Be that as it may, if my correspondents receive no replies, they should not conclude that this is due to lack of civility.

## 'There Is No Basis for Unity'

The second question[1] posed by the same correspondent is as follows:

There is imperfect reasoning underlying this question. Distinctions such as those which have been described are there for other reasons even in countries like England and the United States of America; despite this there is political unity in those countries. Moreover, it is only in cities that some of the distinctions mentioned above are to be found. There are no distinctions in villages. What is required is not the so-called unity achieved through schools, gymkhanas or through games and sports. Unity of hearts is all that is necessary. If this cannot be had, all else is futile; if this is accomplished, nothing else is necessary.

[From Gujarati]
*Navajivan*, 3-5-1931

[1] Not translated here. The correspondent had pointed out the artificial separation of Hindus and Muslims in various fields and suggested that these barriers be broken. For the first question, *vide* pp. 105-6.

CWMG - XLVI

## 75. LETTER TO COLLECTOR[1], KHEDA DISTRICT

*May 3, 1931*

It is a common cause between us that the people should pay revenue to the utmost of their capacity. I know that in defining the word "capacity" there may be a difference, or there is a difference as I now see from your letter. During our talk I thought that you agreed that no one need borrow money in order to pay the revenue dues. I am carrying out that healthy formula. I know that it has not been carried out before, and may not be carried out in future. In any case, for this exceptional year, I think that there is no way out of it, as I hope to show conclusively in due course. This of course, does not mean that those who wish to pay by borrowing should be prevented by me from doing so. Only I could not take it upon me to press them to do so.[2]

*The Bombay Chronicle*, 8-10-1931

## 76. LETTER TO JAMES T. RUTNAM

BORSAD,
*May 3, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

I am publishing your letter and a brief reply to it in the forthcoming issue of *Young India*[3]. I hope that the reply will satisfy you and those friends who had any misgivings about my attitude.

*Yours sincerely,*

JAMES T. RUTNAM, ESQ.
ST. XAVIER'S
NUWARA ELIYA (CEYLON)

From a microfilm: S.N. 17028

[1] Mr. Perry

[2] In reply, the addressee wrote: " I agree with you about borrowing on interest. We do not exclude arrangements amongst friends or the like."

[3] *Vide* pp. 109-10.

## 77. LETTER TO HARIDAS T. MUZUMDAR

[As at] Sabarmati,
*May 3, 1931*

MY DEAR HARIDAS[1],

Your letter of 26th March[2] and the snatch from your diary have come upon me as a surprise. Your certificate could not be worth much if a cablegram containing a garbled report of my doings or even an act of mine truthfully reported which you could not understand should create such a revulsion in you as to undo your previous certificate. Do you see the terrible implication, namely, that your first certificate was based upon just as hasty calculation as your recantation? But more surprising still is your protestation that your personal loyalty remained as deep, intense, whole-hearted and unquestioning as it was a year ago. Do you not see the flat contradiction between this statement and your latest opinion of me? Surely your loyalty had no other foundation than your estimate of me and when your estimate had to be revised your loyalty became baseless. If you have kept copies of your letters you will understand more fully than I can convey the implications of your letters. However there is this consolation for me that I have survived ruder shocks than you have given.

*Yours sincerely,*

Haridas T. Muzumdar, Esq.
Editor, "India Today and Tomorrow"
20 Vesey Street, New York (U.S.A.)

From a photostat: S.N. 17053

[1] Dr. Haridas T. Muzumdar, author of *Gandhi the Apostle* (1923), *Gandhi versus the Empire* (1932), *Gandhi Triumphant* (1939), *Mahatma Gandhi: Peaceful Revolutionary* (1952), *Mahatma Gandhi: A Prophetic Voice* (1963) and *The Grammar of Sociology: Man in Society* (1966). He visited India during the Lahore Congress, 1929, stayed with Gandhiji at the Sabarmati Ashram during January-March 1930 and accompanied him on the Dandi March. He was also with Gandhiji during the Round Table Conference.

[2] Not available; the addressee, it would appear, had written a strong letter accusing Gandhiji of letting down the people by agreeing to attend the Round Table Conference without securing an impartial inquiry into police brutality.

## 78. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

BORSAD,
*May 3, 1931*

CHI. BRIJKRISHNA,

I continue to get your letters. My health is all right, but the programme is uncertain. I have no knowledge as to when and where I may have to go. The diet consists of milk, dates and any fruit available locally. I am unable to take more than 1½ lb. of milk. My weight is 103 lb.

How are you and how is your brother-in-law?

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2389

## 79. TELEGRAM TO FRAMROZE B. GARDA

BORSAD,
*May 4, 1931*

SARDAR FRAMROZE GARDA[1]
NAVSARI

HEAR POSSESSION NOT YET GIVEN OWNERS OF LAND YOU KINDLY RESTORED. PREPARATION FOR CULTIVATION MUST SOON BEGIN. WOULD LIKE YOU THEREFORE GIVE IMMEDIATE POSSESSION. CASES TOO NOT YET WITHDRAWN. HOPE DELAY NOT DUE NONPAYMENT AGREED AMOUNT. YOU KNOW THAT PAYMENT IS ASSURED. IF YOU HAVE ANY COMPLAINTS WOULD GLADLY INVESTIGATE. PLEASE WIRE REPLY.

GANDHI

A.I.C.C. File No. 16.-C, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

[1] *Vide* pp. 102-3.

## 80. LETTER TO DR. SYED MAHMUD

BORSAD,
*May 4, 1931*

DEAR DR. MAHMUD,

I was anxiously awaiting your letter. I am thankful you have absolved me from having to write to Mr. Hasan Imam.[1] Of course I have been following your movements. I am not going to shower congratulations till I see some definite shape being given to the work. If it is to be lasting it must touch the masses. And you will not touch the masses until you fulfil two conditions:

1. Your programme must appeal to the Mussalman mass mind. It must therefore be in their interest.
2. You must have an army of workers to give effect to it.

Why do you say I have broken the contract? Have I spoken or written about the question anything in contravention of the contract? I could not very well reject Bhopal's well intentioned advances. And after all he was to have sent for you all to discuss the possibilities. Since our meeting in Bombay, I have heard nothing from him. Nor have I seen the Big Brother[2] save for half an hour in Bombay. Mrs. Naidu brought him and I greeted him as warmly as before. Beyond this I have done nothing save liberal praying even as I said to a newspaper reporter. Of course I saw the Mullaji too at his request. Did I do wrong?

Yes, the old widow's[3] condition must be pathetic in spite of her bravery. I suppose you see her daily. Please give her my loving regards. Is Sarup[4] there?

*Yours sincerely,*
M. K. GANDHI

[PS.]

I may have to go to Simla about 11th instant.

From a photostat: G.N. 5080

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Dr. Syed Mahmud", p. 17.
[2] Shaukat Ali
[3] Motilal Nehru's widow
[4] Vijayalakshmi Pandit

## 81. LETTER TO TAN YUN-SHAN[1]

[As at] Sabarmati,
*May 4, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

You must come again whenever you like.

My message to the Chinese students is: "Know that the deliverance of China is through ahimsa pure and unadulterated."

*Yours sincerely,*
M. K. Gandhi

From a photostat: G.N. 9673; also *The Sino-Indian Journal—Gandhi Memorial Number*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 37

## 82. LETTER TO DALAI LAMA[2]

[As at] Sabarmati,
*May 4, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your gift. I am sorry I cannot understand your language. My desire and hope is that Tibetans should understand and follow the secret of the message of ahimsa given by Lord Buddha.

*Your friend,*
M. K. Gandhi

His Highness the Lama
Tibet

From a photostat: G.N. 9674. Also C.W. 6208. Courtesy: Mirabehn

[1] The addressee had met Gandhiji at Bardoli and requested him to bless the Chinese students with a message. The message "was widely published in almost all the important Chinese journals and was appreciated, not only by the students, but by the whole people".

[2] Tan Yun-Shan had brought a letter from the 13th Dalai Lama of Tibet. It was written in Tibetan and no one could read it. Gandhiji said that he would acknowledge the message in Gujarati so that the Dalai Lama might enjoy it without understanding it. According to Mirabehn's note this is an English rendering of the Gujarati original which is not available.

## 83. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

*May 4, 1931*

CHI. NARANDAS,

There will be one more burden on you. Jamnadas will tell you about Ratilal[1]. When he arrives there, lodge him in the bungalow. If he gets out of control, there will be no option but to put him in chains. Call in Dr. Kanuga and Dr. Haribhai. Pay them their fees and do as they advise. Dr. Haribhai may keep Ratilal in his own hospital or may get him admitted to the asylum, as he thinks best. It is possible that he will come round. All the same, it will be necessary to be careful about him. See that no knife or other sharp instrument is within his reach at any time. If necessary, appoint some person to keep watch over him. It does not matter if you have to engage a person especially for that and pay him. I don't wish that you should have to spend much of your time over this, but you have to accept the responsibility. Perhaps Ratilal may respond to love. If Champa[2] accompanies him, I don't think she will be able to stay with him. If she comes, let her stay in the Ashram. But she may certainly stay with him if she herself has the courage to do so.

The second problem is about Lakshmi[3]. She has been so brought up that she will not be happy if she is married to an *Antyaja.* Fortunately Maruti wishes to marry her. Read Lakshmidas's letter and let me have your opinion. From a moral stand-point, the proposed step seems to me justified and even necessary. Even then I wish to have your independent opinion.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./I.

[1] Son of Dr. Pranjivan Mehta, who had become demented
[2] Ratilal's wife
[3] Dudhabhai's daughter adopted by Gandhiji

## 84. LETTER TO KISANSINH CHAVDA

BORSAD,
*May 4, 1931*

BHAI KISANSINH,

I got your letter. I read no new argument in it. All the objections which you urge have been answered several times in *Young India* and *Navajivan.* All that I can do now is to discuss the question briefly with you if you come and see me some time. I cannot spare the time for this before the month of June. I would advise you meanwhile to think again over what I have been writing.

*Vandemataram from*
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 9295. Courtesy: Kisansinh Chavda

## 85. LETTER TO JAMNADAS GANDHI

*May 4, 1931*

CHI. JAMNADAS,

Arrange to deliver the accompanying two letters to the addressees. I have sent a long telegram to the Doctor and also written to him. Write to me regularly. It would be good if you write to the Doctor. I have mentioned you in my letter and telegram to him.

Write to me about Manu after ascertaining the facts. If you have seen Kelly, write to me about him too.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 9320. Courtesy: Jamnadas Gandhi

CWMG - XLVI

## 86. LETTER TO SHARDA C. SHAH

BORSAD,
*May 4, 1931*

CHI. SHARDA,

Can you expect my letter without writing me one yourself? Right now, all of you can write to me even if I do not write.

Anandi is not here. What are your five classes and who teaches you?

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 9900. Courtesy: Shardabehn G. Chokhawala

## 87. LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON

BORSAD,
*May 4, 1931*

DEAR MR. EMERSON,

I have taken some time in getting a reply to the various charges about Bihar of which you were good enough to send me copies. I now send you Babu Rajendra Prasad's summary of the enquiry that he caused to be made into all the allegations. I am not burdening you with the report itself. But I would be pleased to send it to you if you would care to follow up the summary.

I send you also a copy of the complaints made by Babu Rajendra Prasad with reference to the implementing by the local government of the various clauses of the Settlement. Technically, about the lawyers, I know that the Government cannot be held responsible. But there are ways.

*Yours sincerely,*

H. W. EMERSON, ESQ.
HOME SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
SIMLA



CWMG - XLVI

[*May 5, 1931*]

[PS.]

This was dictated yesterday. Today is my silence day. I have your kind letter of 2nd instant. By mistake the first Bihar statement was not given to my typist. I am therefore sending the original. Please return.

You have said 'about 11th' for my coming to Simla. 11th is a Monday. Will it be enough if I reach Simla on 13th instant? Please wire the latest date. I want to finish the Kaira affair so far as I am concerned, if it is at all possible. But, of course, I will interrupt the work if my early presence is necessary.

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-B, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

## *88. LETTER TO FLORENCE ROSENBLATT*

[As at] Sabarmati,
*May 5, 1931*

DEAR YOUNG FRIEND,

I have your good letter. You should possess your soul in patience. Whatever good you might have seen in my life you can adopt even being there and it would be as good as seeing me, indeed much better. What you can do effectively for India is to put in a good word whenever anybody talks uncharitably about India and her people and in order to be able to put in that good word with confidence, you have to find time to study the Indian struggle. You can then speak with authority.

*Yours sincerely,*

Florence Rosenblatt
Brooklyn, New York (U.S.A)

From a photostat: S.N. 17029

## *89. LETTER TO V. T. KRISHNAMACHARYA*

Borsad,
*May 5, 1931*

DEAR DIWAN SAHEB,

In Vijapur there is an industrial institution called Udyogalaya. I procured through the good office of your predecessor a plot of ground for founding a centre for spinning and weaving especially through women and it was registered in the name of

a lady co-worker. She has now retired from that work and so far as she is concerned the legal right has been transferred to the trustees of the Satyagraha Ashram. One of the trustees is working in the Udyogalaya. He has tried to get the land transferred in the name of the trustees of the Satyagraha Ashram. After waiting a long time the officer concerned has rejected the application. He has given, so far as I am aware, no reasons for it. At one time it seemed that by giving an undertaking that the institution will have nothing to do with politics there would be no difficulty about the transfer. Then, I believe, there was a change of officer. Of course, from its very conception according to my own method of work like my activities in other Indian States, this institution has been kept out of politics altogether. It remained so during the last struggle. As you may be aware, the Baroda State has been receiving the help of the All-India Spinners' Association for village reorganization through the spinning-wheel. The Vijapur activity is also a kindred activity. Could I trouble you to interest yourself in this matter and if you are satisfied about the facts presented by me, could you please order transfer of the land in the name of the above-mentioned trustees? At the present moment this land is given by the State for a nominal sum for benevolent purposes. But I would like to buy it right out if the State has no objection. It was offered before. I may add that we have buildings on this land which have cost over Rs. 12,000. Through the institution we are supporting several poor women of Vijapur by giving them spinning work and we are supporting a colony of weavers and carders. The institution engages in no other activity. I am sorry to have to trouble you over a matter which may appear to be trifling. But it is not so to me as a guardian of the several interests entrusted to my care.

*Yours sincerely*,
M. K. GANDHI

V. T. KRISHNAMACHARYA, ESQ.
DIWAN OF BARODA
BARODA

From a photostat: S.N. 17030

## *90. LETTER TO BOYD TUCKER*

BORSAD,
*May 5, 1931*

MY DEAR BOYD,

I was delighted to have your letter and to find that you were having a little respite from the heat of India's plains. Of course there is no truth in the rumoured visit to America. But as soon as the rumour went abroad, I got a peremptory cablegram signed by Mr. Page, Dr. Sherwood Eddy, Rev. Holmes, Dr. Ward and others warning me against going to America.[1] They say emphatically that I would be exploited if I went there and that I would serve the cause better from a distance than by appearing in the midst of the people of America. All this, mind you, in the cablegram. And by this mail I have received a letter from an unknown American friend who, whilst appreciating my work and message, pleads with me not to go to America. I do feel exactly like these friends. Therefore even if I went to London and could spare a few weeks I should not care to go in the teeth of these warnings from friends whose opinion I respect. Would not yours coincide[2] with theirs after further reflection?

Now about London. There is no probability of my going there so long as the Hindu-Muslim problem remains unsolved. Even if I went there, whilst I should value your society, I do not know of the use I could make of your services. Andrews is already there and as you know he will take possession of me body and soul. I have a letter from him in which he takes my London visit for granted, has appointed himself as my chaprasi, tells me where I should stay. There is again Henry Polak who was in my office in South Africa for years. Then there is Muriel Lester. Therefore if you went with me to London you would not go as Secretary. Then I must not forget Mira. She will of course be with me. But of course everything is premature. I felt that you should know all about the appointments should the visit come forth. I was glad you were with me in Karachi. I was only sorry that I was not able to have long chats with you. That

[1] *Vide* also p. 139.

[2] The source has "Would you not coincide".

you continually lost your things was certainly bad but that would be no disqualification for taking you with me. I could have much better use for you than to make you keeper of my belongings.

BOYD TUCKER, ESQ.
C/O POSTMASTER
SRINAGAR (KASHMIR)

From a photostat: S.N. 17031

## *91. LETTER TO RAJENDRA PRASAD*

BORSAD,
*May 5, 1931*

DEAR RAJENDRABABU,

In order to save time I am dictating this letter. I have sent copy of your letter addressed to the Secretary, All-India Congress Committee, as also your two statements to the Government, and I expect to go to Simla next week where I shall discuss the Bihar affairs together with the others. I shall therefore write to you after a visit to Simla. I hope you are keeping good health. How is Brijkishore Babu?

SYT. RAJENDRA PRASAD
SADAQUAT ASHRAM
DT. PATNA

From a photostat: S.N. 17032

## *92. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS*

[AS AT] SABARMATI,
*May 5, 1931*

This is to write to you about Reginald Reynolds. His address is Turner's Court, Benson, Near Oxford. He is disconsolate towards the Settlement. The engagement with the girl whom he was to marry is broken. His pecuniary condition is bad. My whole heart goes out to him. I do not think that my reply to his letter in *Young India*[1] has given him any satisfaction. I would like him to know that all is well and that the Settlement is not a surrender of principle. I would like you to go to him, argue

[1] *Vide* pp. 3-8.

out the matter with him and otherwise help him and draw him out of his seclusion. He is as good as gold and is very brave. Perhaps all that I have written to you is superfluous and that you have met him and had already known more about him than I have told you. But I could not restrain myself and you can sympathize with me having done such things much more often than I do. Gujarat still absorbs my attention to the exclusion of everything else. Implementing the Settlement in the teeth of official sullenness, unwillingness and even opposition is a very difficult business. It tries even my patience but I hope not to be baffled. The atmosphere is already somewhat clearer. I expect next week to go to Simla over this and other matters arising out of the Settlement as also over the Round Table Conference. We are no nearer Hindu-Muslim solution and till that barrier is removed there is no question of my going to London.

C. F. ANDREWS, ESQ.

From a photostat: S.N. 17033

## *93. LETTER TO NANIBEHN JHAVERI*

BORSAD,
*May 5, 1931*

CHI. NANIBEHN[1],

I got your letter. We should be satisfied if you somehow recover your health. Where is Gangabehn now? How is she?

You have selected a good number of books. Amritlal Maniar's books are worth reading.

Pannalal may write to me again and again if his questions have not been satisfactorily answered.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3112

[1] Wife of Pannalal Jhaveri, manager of the dairy in the Ashram

CWMG-XLVI

## 94. LETTER TO MAHAVIR GIRI

*May 5, 1931*

CHI. MAHAVIR,

I got your letter. In writing, the case terminations should not be separated from the stem. The constituent parts of a compound phrase also should not be written separately. Hence, one should write, not *charan kamal man*[1], but *charankamalman*. Do you write your daily diary? Are you learning the *Gita* by heart?

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6228

## 95. MESSAGE TO PEOPLE OF BHUTAN[2]

BORSAD,
*May 5, 1931*

I am glad to meet you. I hope the people of Bhutan will fully understand the message of truth and non-violence and act according to it.

*The Bombay Chronicle*, 6-5-1931

## 96. MESSAGE ON KHADI[3]

BORSAD,
*May 5, 1931*

People ask me why I am khaddar-mad. There are seven lakhs of villages. A large number of these villages are living in a condition of semi-starvation. There is no employment for them for nearly six months in the year. It is necessary to find for them

[1] Literally, 'at the lotus feet'

[2] It was given in Hindi when the brother of the King of Bhutan presented Gandhiji with two small boxes of gold and silver and a few pieces of hand-woven cloth.

[3] Given to an Indian film company first in Hindi and then in English



CWMG - XLVI

some supplementary occupation. We must give them an occupation they are used to. Such an occupation is hand-spinning. If hand-spinning is to be introduced in the villages, it is but natural that we should be expected to wear khaddar. Hence it is that I have become khaddar-mad.

*The Bombay Chronicle*, 6-5-1931

## 97. TELEGRAM TO FRAMROZE B. GARDA[1]

BORSAD,
*May 6, 1931*

SARDAR FRAMROZE GARDA
NAVSARI

RECEIVED SURPRISING WIRE. DO I UNDERSTAND YOU REPUDIATE AGREEMENT. HAVE ASKED YOU NATURE HARASSMENT CONCRETE CASES.

GANDHI

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-C, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

## 98. TELEGRAM TO SIR COWASJI JEHANGIR

[*May 6, 1931*][2]

SIR COWASJI JEHANGIR
NEPEAN SEA ROAD
BOMBAY

SARDAR GARDA WIRES PRACTICALLY REPUDIATING AGREEMENT ON VAGUE CHARGES CONTINUING HARASSMENT. HAVE ASKED HIM GIVE SPECIFIC INSTANCES. PLOUGHING SEASON APPROACHING.

GANDHI

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-C, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

[1] In reply to the addressee's telegram which read: "Sorry nothing can be done in the matter. Behaviour of people even after negotiations most harassing."

[2] *Vide* the preceding item

CWMG - XLVI

## 99. LETTER TO HARIBHAU UPADHYAYA

BORSAD,
*May 6, 1931*

BHAI HARIBHAU,

I get your letters. But I have not yet got your acknowledgment of the telegram I sent you.[1] You should have sent one. The telegram only stated that I would not be able to wire to someone in Udaipur as I knew no one there, and suggested that Malaviyaji or Jamnalal might do so. You have written to Ram at any rate. That was good. I do not even know where Manilal is. I had addressed a telegram to him, to which there has been no reply.

You are put in a difficult situation. It is possible that the State may pay no attention to your complaint. Though Trench[2] will not be able to appreciate the letter which you have written to him, you did well in writing it. It will do no harm. If the people's grievance has not been redressed you should, since you have accepted their leadership, cross the border and court imprisonment. If the peasants remain truly non-violent, they are bound to win. Of course the question will remain how far non-violence can be observed in taking possession of land. What will the people do when the State police come to dispossess them of the land? Will they oppose them? Will they remain there squatting? Several questions arise here. I have found that the non-violence observed in such cases is merely physical. Do what you think right in the light of the circumstances prevailing there, no matter if what you believe to be non-violence appears to me violence. We can do nothing more than act sincerely according to our lights. If everything was as clear to me as daylight I would not have thrown on you the responsibility for deciding. From what is happening in the States, for similar things are happening in the other Indian States too and in British India, it seems to me that the effect of all that happened during the last struggle was only temporary and not enduring. That experiment in non-violence was on a mass scale, but it was not, or did not remain uniformly pure in quality. Our non-violence was the non-violence

[1] *Vide* p. 69.
[2] Revenue Commissioner of Udaipur State

of the helpless. I do not feel unhappy about this. Nothing more than that was possible. The foregoing criticism has no other aim but to help us to understand the real facts about the nature of the struggle.

I understand what you say about *Tyagbhumi* and also about advertisements. Do what is possible.

Ramnarayan ought to go somewhere and take complete rest. See that he gives up work. Perhaps he will have fewer difficulties if he goes to Almora. Wherever he goes he may be sure that he will get some opportunity for service.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

[PS.]
Immediately after the morning prayer.

From Gujarati: C.W. 6073. Courtesy: Haribhau Upadhyaya

## *100. LETTER TO ABBAS TYABJI*

BORSAD,
*May 6, 1931*

MY DEAR BHRRR[1],

I have not received your letter sent to the Vidyapith. I suppose it will come to me in due course. I am delighted that you have had a successful operation. I hope this will be the last. How long will they keep you in the hospital? I am in Borsad up to Monday at least. I might then have to go to Simla.

I have now got your Vidyapith letter. I am writing to the Gaikwar. I wonder if it will be too late. I must not go to Baroda just yet.

*Yours,*
BAPU

SJT. ABBAS TYABJI
K.E.M. HOSPITAL
BOMBAY

From a photostat: S.N. 9575

[1] A form of greeting used between Gandhiji and the addressee whenever they met or wrote to each other

CWMG XLVI

## *101. LETTER TO YOUSUF HUSSAIN*

[As at] Sabarmati,
*May 6, 1931*

DEAR YOUNG FRIEND,

I was delighted to receive your letter of 10th March. You will forgive me for not having acknowledged it earlier. I have been so busy and constantly on the move. Young students can certainly do a great deal for the country. First of all they can wear khadi and thus support the poor people who spin and weave in their own homes. They can also do hand-spinning and carding themselves. They will thus add to national wealth and, when they have finished their studies, become competent village workers. Young students can also promote goodwill between the two communities by making friends with one another and doing all kinds of mutual service and, at times of tension, risking even their lives in serving and saving those who may be in danger.

*Yours sincerely,*

Yousuf Hussain, Esq.
Muslim University
Aligarh

From a microfilm: S.N. 17035

## *102. LETTER TO H. HARCOURT*

[As at] Sabarmati,
*May 6, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. You will forgive me for sending you a belated reply but I was helpless. I am not able to say that the Round Table Conference has established lasting goodwill between the two nations. But it can do a great deal of good if the representatives of both the nations are determined to come to an agreement. I am quite aware and I am thankful that I



CWMG - XLVI

have a very large circle of unknown friends in the British Isles.

*Yours sincerely,*

H. HARCOURT, ESQ.
LONDON S.E. 19

From a photostat: S.N. 17036

## *103. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI*

[AS AT] SABARMATI,
*May 6, 1931*

Here is a letter from Chinnapavu of Coimbatore. He refers to you in his letter. Please tell me all about him and his activity. I would like you to deal with this letter by writing to him. Can it be true what he says about the treatment of *Adi-Dravidas* in Singanallur?
Encl. 1

SJT. C. RAJAGOPALACHARI
TIRUCHENGODU (S. INDIA)

From a photostat: S.N. 17037

## *104. LETTER TO H. RUNHAM BROWN*

[AS AT] SABARMATI,
*May 6, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter of 4th February. You will excuse me for not acknowledging it earlier. It was practically impossible to do so. I think that Prof. Einstein's suggestion is sound. And if it is right for those who do not believe in war to refuse war service, it follows that they are entitled at least to the sympathy of war resisters even if the latter are too weak to follow the example of those who suffer for their conscience's sake.

*Yours sincerely,*

H. RUNHAM BROWN, ESQ.
11 ABBEY ROAD, ENFIELD
MIDDLESEX, (ENGLAND)

From a photostat: S.N. 17038

CWMG - XLVI

## 105. LETTER TO KHAN CHAND DEV

[As at] Sabarmati,
*May 6, 1931*

DEAR LALA KHAN CHAND,

I have your letter. I am in correspondence with the Government in all these matters and I am likely to go to Simla to discuss every one of them. At the present moment, therefore, I can only advise you to keep me informed of what is going on there. I would advise you also not to start picketing and even stop picketing if absolute peacefulness cannot be ensured. There should be no rowdyism. I do not know what truth there is in the Punjab Governor's charge that there has been wild speaking. Are you able to control the Punjab Press? I know that there is often violent writing. I would not like anybody connected with the Congress to speak or write violently. Our case is weakened by such writing or speaking.

*Yours sincerely,*

Lala Khan Chand Dev
Punjab Provincial Congress Committee
Bradlaugh Hall, Lahore

From a microfilm: S.N. 17039

## 106. LETTER TO GULZARI LAL NANDA

Borsad,
*May 6, 1931*

MY DEAR GULZARI LAL,

You should firmly tell Mr. Gidney that there is absolutely no coercion used. But you have the right of fixing conditions of membership. What the Settlement requires is that picketing shall be absolutely peaceful, which it admittedly is. And in no case can the Government connive at direct breaches of liquor laws. I am likely to have to go to Simla next week in connection with the breaches of the Settlement alleged to have taken place on the part of the Government as well as of the people. Please there-

fore give me all the particulars. I have got the sections you have sent me.

SJT. GULZARI LAL NANDA
TEXTILE LABOUR ASSOCIATION
LABOUR OFFICE
LAL DARWAZA, AHMEDABAD

From a microfilm: S.N. 17040

## *107. LETTER TO KONDA VENKATAPPAYYA*

[AS AT] SABARMATI,
*May 6, 1931*

MY DEAR VENKATAPPAYYA,

Please read the enclosed. Tell me all you know about Needu[1] or enquire and let me know. Is he responsible for all this misfortune himself? I am anxious to help him if only for the memory of Annapurna[2]. But you have to guide me.

Encls. 2

SJT. KONDA VENKATAPPAYYA
GUNTUR (MADRAS PRESIDENCY)

From a microfilm: S.N. 17041

## *108. LETTER TO MAGANTI BAPI NEEDU*

[AS AT] SABARMATI,
*May 6, 1931*

MY DEAR NEEDU,

My whole heart goes out to you in your trouble though, if you will take it calmly and correctly it will be your making. It is not prosperity but adversity that makes a man. Prosperity spoils him. And after all, if you belong to the starving group, you are one of the many millions. But I know that this philosophy, however correct it is, will bring you no solace. Before therefore I can make a concrete suggestion, you must let me know what your minimum requirements are, and in fixing this, do not think of what you have been materially but think of what you should be.

[1] Maganti Bapi Needu; *vide* the following item.
[2] Needu's wife who had died in 1927; *vide* Vol. XXXV, pp. 197-8.



CWMG - XLVI

In fact in doing this you will have to be courageous and even apparently heartless. You are telling me you have to support your own people and Annapurna's. This is absurd. You have to support those who may be physically maimed and therefore incapable of doing anything for themselves. You have no such in either family. Nor must they be pampered. They must all, men and women, work for their living and if they will do so, you will find that the problem is satisfactorily and honourably solved. Now you know what I want from you. Give me a letter full of particulars and it shall receive prompt attention.

*Yours*,
BAPU

SJT. MAGANTI BAPI NEEDU
ELLORE (WEST GODAVARY DT.)
MADRAS PRESIDENCY

From a photostat: G.N. 8826; also S.N. 17042

## *109. LETTER TO K. KELAPPAN NAIR*

[AS AT] SABARMATI,
*May 6, 1931*

MY DEAR KELAPPAN,

I have your letter. Please continue to send me full report of whatever irregularities you may notice. I might have to go to Simla to discuss all these things. Meanwhile you must use all the tact you are capable of using.

*Yours sincerely*,

SJT. K. KELAPPAN NAIR
KERALA PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE
MATHRUBHUMI BUILDINGS
CALICUT

From a microfilm: S.N. 17043

CWMG - XLVI

## *110. SPEECH AT BOCHASAN*

*May 6, 1931*

I thank you all for giving me the honour of laying the foundation of this Vidyalaya. This institution has been named "Vallabh Vidyalaya" and hence it has become the duty of all — the present and future managers of the Vidyalaya and those who will receive education here—to imbibe Vallabhbhai's virtues and to teach others to do the same. Vallabhbhai is an embodiment of sacrifice; Vallabhbhai is synonymous with courage; Vallabhbhai stands for heroism, for removal of distinctions between high and low. Vallabhbhai does not regard Patidars as high and the others as low because they are Bhangis, Baraias and Patanwadias.[1] To disprove these distinctions, the laying of the foundation has been entrusted to me.

Bhai Narahari has stated in his speech that for the most part the children of Dharala Thakores[2] and Patanwadias will receive education in this Vallabh Vidyalaya. I put aside my work and came here only to meet the Dharala Thakores. Ever since I made your acquaintance, I have recognized you as Thakores [leaders]. Those brothers among you who attended the mammoth meeting at Vadtal[3] will remember that I had described you all as Dharala Thakores. Just as Kaliparaj[4] became Raniparaj, the Dharalas became known as Thakores. You have only benefited from the great struggle, even though some of you purchased the lands of others, proved faithless to the people, and vacillated. But, can one forget the fact that in Bochasan the Baraia brethren are with the people? That way, no one can claim that the Patidars are a hundred per cent on the side of the people. If all Muslim brothers here did not stand by the people, they have done so in other parts of the country.

There is no element of compulsion or force in our struggle, it is a voluntary fight. Hereafter whenever we have to fight, all will join in. I wish the temporary Truce with the Government to become permanent. Let the Truce end in our winning complete swaraj. Complete swaraj means a government in which we can

[1&2] Names of certain backward communities in Gujarat
[3] *Vide* Vol. XIX, pp. 249-57.
[4] A Scheduled Tribe in Gujarat

run our own administration. If the dream entertained by Sardar Vallabhbhai, my many comrades and myself comes true, then that government will belong to the Patidars, the Dharala Thakores and the Bhangis also. It will belong to the Muslim brethren too. That government will not belong to any one community, but to all the men and women, boys and girls, of India. That alone is to be called complete swaraj. A government other than this is no government. None should hope that the government should be his and not of the Muslims and the Bhangis. That will indeed be the government of the thirty crores of people of India. If all of them do not receive a fair deal, that will not constitute swaraj at all. Therefore the Vidyapith thought that the job would be only half done if they did not serve the backward classes. Dharala Thakore brethren come to see me. They cannot even sign their names. But I do not care if they do not know how to sign their names, they should know what is swaraj. You ought to know what our duty to the people is, why we should spin, why we should wear only khadi and why we should not wear cloth made even by mills in our country. What a sad and shameful thing it is if you do not know all this! If you do not know this, how can our administration run? The Dharala Thakores, the Bhangis and all other communities can participate in our administration. It is for this that Shamalbhai is here. You may say that the Patidars have exploited you to the uttermost limit. Perhaps there may be some truth in it. There may not be unity between the Patidars and the Dharala Thakores in all matters. But an organization of youths has arisen from among the Patidars themselves which has deemed it its duty to serve you. They believe in serving others first and themselves afterwards.

You few Dharala Thakore brothers who have come here, please carry my message to everyone in his home. The Patidars and we are not adversaries. If you have considered them as your enemies, forget it. The Patidars and the Dharalas are both brothers. Only just now I was introduced to a brother who had presented yarn to me. He used to drink liquor and even offer it to others—but he has given it up and is making others follow suit. Everyone ought at any rate to give up liquor and also thieving and looting. Have you ever seen a thief becoming a millionaire? None has become a rich man through theft. And even if anyone has done so, ultimately he has remained a beggar only. One cannot, like the merchant, become a millionaire through theft. Nothing is to be gained through theft, looting, violence, etc. But if we want to live in this world cleanly and thus present

ourselves at God's court, take it for certain that our hands, legs, eyes, ears and hearts ought to be pure. Else we would not be fit to remain in His court. In order to make all this possible, the Vallabh Vidyalaya has been established. It is my hope that Shamalbhai will complain to me that there are so many children of the Patanwadias and Dharala Thakores that the school is too small to accommodate them. In this Vidyalaya, those who have no money are going to be fed and clothed. But none should take wrong advantage of it. It is my desire that those who have money should study even by paying fees and there will come a time when I shall have to say that I shall set up as many schools as you require. You may know that we have a plentiful supply of teachers and we shall get them from anywhere. We shall teach boys and by and by even girls. But all that depends on the extent to which you give encouragement to the Vallabh Vidyalaya.

You have asked for my blessings. Them you certainly have. But you have them on the condition that you impart lustre to this Vidyalaya and its name. The Patidars also should benefit by it and should disgrace neither the Vallabh Vidyalaya nor my name. I do not care for the sort of Vidyalaya which may prove a millstone round my neck and be a burden to me. Education liberates us, frees us from bondage, helps us to shine, adds to the country's wealth, enriches character; our boys and girls become smart and intelligent thereby. This Vidyalaya has been established with this end in view. May this end be realized. I express gratitude to all those who have given donations for this Vidyalaya and have offered lime, labour and other types of help. What we build with our own money will shine forth better than what we do with money got from the rich men of Bombay.

[From Gujarati]

*Navajivan*, 10-5-1931

## *111. INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS*

BORSAD,
*May 6, 1931*

Interviewed by the Associated Press correspondent regarding the resolution passed by the Manchester Royal Exchange, Mahatma Gandhi said:

The resolution of the Manchester Royal Exchange is partly based on misapprehension. There is no hostility towards Britain in the present movement but, on the contrary, the Congressmen

are trying against heavy odds to promote goodwill as far as it is possible under the present circumstances. It is not sufficiently realized what tremendous step the Congress had taken in lifting boycott of British goods.

The boycott of foreign cloth should not be mixed up with British goods. It is a misnomer to call boycott of foreign cloth as boycott. That name therefore has been intentionally omitted from the Delhi Settlement. I use the word boycott even for the exclusion of foreign cloth because it has become a current popular expression. Nobody, however, mistakes its purpose. The exclusion of foreign cloth does produce political consequences but it is a predominantly economic and social proposition and an economic necessity for the semi-starved millions. Instead therefore of agitating against the permanent movement of economic uplift, if the leading men in Lancashire will find out ways and means of disposing of their manufactures in other countries where they are wanted, they will save much time and really promote goodwill between the two countries.

I regard the attempt to suppress peaceful picketing as fruitless. Surely Lord Irwin did not accept peaceful picketing of foreign cloth and liquor shops without sound reasons and anyone who studies this question as patiently as he did cannot but come to the same conclusion as Lord Irwin.

*The Hindustan Times*, 8-5-1931

## *112. NOTES*

### SOLD LANDS[1]

To sell a farmer's land and that for a song is vivisection. The sale of forfeited lands in Gujarat was such an operation. The clause in the Settlement about these lands was for Sardar Vallabhbhai the biggest bite to swallow. But he swallowed it because ultimately he shared my faith that the lands could not long be withheld by the buyers from the original owners and in any case they were bound to be restored when the full settlement was attained. It must be said to the credit of the buyers that they are one by one realizing the necessity of restoring the lands they made the mistake of buying. The reader already knows how through the kind intervention of Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Syts. Nariman, Vimadalal and Modi, Sardar Garda has agreed to restore

[1] A similar note also appeared in *Navajivan*, 3-5-1931

to the original holders the lands bought by him in Bardoli Taluka and how Syt. Cowasji of Kukadbeda and Thakur Khumansing of Borsad have returned lands bought by them without asking for a refund of money paid by them. The latest instances are those of Sheth Virchand in Bardoli and Thakore of Dehvan in Borsad. The Thakore would not think of having even the price paid by him returned to him. He had paid Rs. 1,200 for nearly 120 acres of good land. Three poor Dharalas too returned eleven acres which they had bought for Rs. 48 stating in their letter addressed to me that they were sorry that being poor they had to ask for the refund of the actual amount paid by them although they recognized that they should not ask for it. It reflects credit on all these buyers for their having patriotically returned the lands. I say patriotically for there was no pressure save that of silent public opinion brought to bear upon these buyers. Their friends certainly approached them but there was no threat or coercion employed by anybody. Healthy public opinion has an influence of which we have not realized the full significance. But we are not yet out of the wood. There are yet tough buyers who have not come forward. But I have little doubt that if the workers don't lose patience and the Settlement does not otherwise break down, they will also respond to the influence of that opinion. Public opinion becomes intolerable when it becomes violent and aggressive.

I am happy to be able to inform the reader that otherwise too the things in Gujarat seem to be moving, though very slowly, towards a settlement. How we are implementing the Truce in Gujarat on behalf of the Congress is partly told by Mahadev Desai in his weekly letter.[1]

At this juncture, it is necessary for me to add that it is not dharma for a satyagrahi to harass anyone. He should wish well even to those who hate him. Sardar Garda is afraid that the farmers may harass him. He was even complaining of harassment. I have told him that I would look into the matter if he sent me the details of any specific complaint, and I have also assured him that no satyagrahi will harass him. I have no doubt that the farmers will fully honour this assurance which I have given on their behalf. If we wish to win swaraj without delay, it is our dharma to live amicably with everyone and win everyone's heart. It should not be forgotten that this includes the official class as well.

[1] The paragraph that follows is from *Navajivan*.

## Police Tyranny

A correspondent asks: "Do you advise taking legal proceedings against the police or other officials for their lawlessness during the struggle?"

Whilst this is provided for in the Settlement, I cannot advise such proceedings except where the lawlessness persists in some shape or other and where it is possible to produce conclusive evidence of the past lawlessness. But generally speaking, we must, in view of the Settlement try to bury the dead past and hope and work for a lasting settlement.

## In the Name of 'Cashmere'

Sjt. Kotak of the A.I.S.A., Kashmir, writes:[1]

> People have by now begun to know real khadi from the base imitation. Fine woollen things come only from Kashmir, and so it has become the fashion nowadays to palm off foreign woollens as cashmere, i.e., fabrics hand-spun and hand-woven in Kashmir.
>
> Can you not do anything to stop this fraud?

Let those who go in for fine woollens and silks take note of the warning. One moral is to trace every article to its source. This can only be done by confining one's sales to things manufactured in one's own neighbourhood. But this is not always possible. The next thing therefore is to buy from certified stores or from those whose managers are personally known to us. Swadeshi dharma like every other dharma is difficult to observe. Lovers of swadeshi must never therefore mind the trouble of knowing the history of every piece of cloth and for that matter every article they use. While khadi is both the centre and the circumstance of swadeshi, there is much else to fill in the intervening spaces. A person who, using khadi, gives himself or herself the license to buy everything else foreign does not know the spirit behind khadi and discredits it.

*Young India*, 7-5-1931, and *Navajivan*, 3-5-1931

[1] Only extracts are reproduced here.

CWMG XLVI

## *113. POWER OF AHIMSA*[1]

A correspondent writes a Gujarati letter of which the following is a translation[2]:

If I have anywhere referred to India having received the fullest support from world opinion, it should be set down as an unconscious exaggeration. I should like to be shown such a statement of mine if I have made one. For myself I have absolutely no idea of having made any such statement.

The correspondent, by comparing the condition of unarmed India pitted against the British military power to that of a defenceless woman thrown at the tender mercy of a ruffian, has done an injustice to the strength as well of non-violence as of woman. Had not man in his blind selfishness crushed woman's soul as he has done or had she not succumbed to 'the enjoyments' she would have given the world an exhibition of the infinite strength that is latent in her. What she showed in the last fight was but a broken and imperfect glimpse of it. The world shall see it in all its wonder and glory when woman has secured an equal opportunity for herself with man and fully developed her powers of mutual aid and combination.

And it is wrong to say that a person is unarmed in the sense of being weak who has ahimsa as his weapon. The correspondent is evidently a stranger to the real use or the immeasurable power of ahimsa. He has used it, if at all, only mechanically and as an expedience for want of a better. Had he been saturated with the spirit of ahimsa, he would have known that it can tame the wildest beast, certainly the wildest man.

If, therefore, the world's blood did not boil over the brutalities of the past year, it was not because the world was brutal or heartless but because our non-violence, widespread though it was, good enough though it was for the purpose intended, was not the non-violence of the strong and the knowing. It did not spring from a living faith. It was but a policy, a temporary expedient. Though we did not retaliate, we had harboured anger, our speech was not free from violence, our thoughts still less so. We generally

[1] A similar article also appeared in *Navajivan*, 3-5-1931 under the heading "Why Did Not Their Blood Boil?"

[2] Not reproduced here

refrained from violent action, because we were under discipline. The world marvelled even at this limited exhibition of non-violence and gave us, without any propaganda, the support and sympathy that we deserved and needed. The rest is a matter of the rule of three. If we had the support that we received for the limited and mechanical non-violence we were able to practise during the recent struggle, how much more support should we command when we have risen to the full height of ahimsa ? Then the world's blood will certainly boil. I know we are still far away from that divine event. We realized our weakness at Cawnpore, Benares, Mirzapur. When we are saturated with ahimsa we shall not be non-violent in our fight with the bureaucracy and violent among ourselves. When we have a living faith in non-violence, it will grow from day to day till it fills the whole world. It will be the mightiest propaganda that the world will have witnessed. I live in the belief that we will realize that vital ahimsa.

*Young India*, 7-5-1931

## *114. DANGERS OF DEMOCRACY*[1]

There is no human institution but has its dangers. The greater the institution the greater the chances of abuse. Democracy is a great institution and therefore it is liable to be greatly abused. The remedy therefore is not avoidance of democracy but reduction of possibility of abuse to a minimum.

The Congress has become a vast democratic body. It reached a high water-mark during the past twelve months. Without being technically on the register millions took possession of it and added lustre to it. But goondaism also entered the Congress to a much larger extent than hitherto. It was inevitable. The ordinary rules prescribed for the selection of volunteers were practically set aside during the last stages of the struggle. The result has been that in some places goondaism has made itself felt. Some Congressmen have even been threatened with disaster if they will not give the money demanded of them. Of course, professional goondas may also take advantage of the atmosphere and ply their trade.

The wonder is that the cases I have in mind are so very few compared to what they might have been, regard being had to the great mass awakening. My conviction is that this happy state

[1] *Navajivan*, 3-5-1931; also published an article on the same subject, under the title "A House Divided Cannot Stand".

is due to the Congress creed of non-violence, even though we have but crudely followed it. But there has been sufficient expression of goondaism to warn us to take time by the forelock and adopt preventive and precautionary measures.

The measures that suggest themselves to me are naturally and certainly a scientific and more intelligent and disciplined application of non-violence. In the first place if we had a firmer faith in non-violence than we have shown, not one man or woman who did not strictly conform to the rules regarding the admission of volunteers would have been taken. It would be no answer to say that in that case there would have been no volunteers during the final stage and therefore there would have been a perfect failure. My experience teaches me to the contrary. It is possible to fight a non-violent battle even with one satyagrahi. But it, i.e., a non-violent battle, cannot be fought with a million non-satyagrahis. And I would welcome even an utter failure with non-violence unimpaired rather than depart from it by a hair's breadth to achieve a doubtful success. Without adopting a non-compromising attitude so far as non-violence is concerned, I can see nothing but disaster in the end. For, at the critical moment we may be found wanting, weighed in the scales of non-violence, and may be found hopelessly unprepared to meet the forces of disorder that might suddenly be arrayed against us.

But having made the mistake of indiscriminate recruiting how are we to repair the mischief in a non-violent way? Non-violence means courage of the highest order and therefore readiness to suffer. There should therefore be no yielding to bullying, bluff or worse, even though it may mean the loss of a few precious lives. Writers of threatening letters should be made to realize that their threats will not be listened to. But at the same time their disease must be diagnosed and properly treated. Even the goondas are part of us and therefore they must be handled gently and sympathetically. People generally do not take to goondaism for the love of it. It is a symptom of a deeper-seated disease in the body politic. The same law should govern our relations with internal goondaism that we apply in our relations with the goondaism in the system of government. And if we have felt that we have the ability to deal with that highly organized goondaism in a non-violent manner, how much more should we feel the ability to deal with internal goondaism by the same method?

It follows that we may not seek police assistance to deal with the disease although it is open, during the Truce, to any Congressman to seek it precisely in the same manner as any other citizen.

The way I have suggested is the way of reform, conversion, love. Seeking police assistance is the way of punishment, fear, want of affection if not actual disaffection. The two methods therefore cannot run together. The way of reform appears at some stage or other to be difficult but it is in reality the easiest.

*Young India*, 7-5-1931

## *115. FOR 'FOLLOWERS'*

A friend sends me the following:

> It will be very helpful if you will kindly guide your followers about their conduct when they have to engage in a political controversy. Your guidance on the following points is particularly needed:
>
> (a) Vilification so as to lower the opponent in public estimation.
> (b) Kind of criticism of the opponent permissible.
> (c) Limit to which hostility should be carried.
> (d) Whether effort should be made to gain office and power.

I have said before in these pages that I claim no followers. It is enough for me to be my own follower. It is by itself a sufficiently taxing performance. But I know that many claim to be my followers. I must therefore answer the questions for their sakes. If they will follow what I endeavour to stand for rather than me they will see that the following answers are derived from truth and ahimsa.

(a) Vilification of an opponent there can never be. But this does not exclude a truthful characterization of his acts. An opponent is not always a bad man because he opposes. He may be as honourable as we may claim to be and yet there may be vital differences between him and us.

(b) Our criticism will therefore be if we *believe* him to be guilty of untruth to meet it with truth, of discourtesy with courtesy, of bullying with calm courage, of violence with suffering, of arrogance with humility, of evil with good. 'My follower' would seek not to condemn but to convert.

(c) There is no question of any limit to which hostility may be carried. For there should be no hostility to persons. Hostility there must be to acts when they are subversive of morals or the good of society.

(d) Office and power must be avoided. Either may be accepted when it is clearly for greater service.

*Young India*, 7-5-1931

## 116. FOREIGN MISSIONARIES AGAIN

DEAR MAHATMA,

. . . A friend of mine gave me a copy of the *Madras Catholic Leader* of the 26th March, and it is there that you are reported to have given expression to the . . . remarks. . . . "*Every nation's religion is as good as any other. Certainly India's religions are adequate for her people. We need no converting spiritually.*"

I am a Christian, but I certainly am against Christianity being brought as an instrument of Imperialism. But as a message of love and fellowship, who will deny it a place in Indian life? In this great struggle for swaraj, are we not fighting for liberty, liberty to worship our God as we please, liberty to convince our fellows who are willing to be convinced by us, liberty to be convinced by our fellows who can convince us? . . . Is India so bigoted as to think that within her are confined all the riches of the world, all the treasures of knowledge and human experience? . . .

Religion, I deem, is a matter between an individual and his own conception of right conduct. Religion belongs to the great realm of thought and personal experience which knows neither boundaries nor nations. . . . But I would like to know, if you made those remarks, what you meant by them, or I confess they are a mystery to me.

ST. XAVIER'S
NUWARA ELIYA, CEYLON
*11th April, 1931*

*I remain,*
*Yours respectfully,*
JAMES P. RUTNAM

I do not know that in reply to this letter[1] I need do more than refer the writer to my article in *Young India*.[2] It might be as well to add that in mentioning Hinduism, Islam, Zoroastrianism, etc., as India's religions, I had no desire to claim them as India's exclusively or to exclude Christianity. The issue was Christianity on the one hand claimed as the one true religion and other religions on the other being regarded as false. In joining issue I contended that the great world religions other than Christianity professed in India were no less true than Christianity. It was thus neither relevant nor necessary for me to assert before Christian

[1] Of which only excerpts have been reproduced here.
[2] *Vide* pp. 27-9.

missionaries and their protagonists that Christianity was true. Moreover, with my known partiality for the Sermon on the Mount and my repeated declarations that its author was one of the greatest among the teachers of mankind I could not suspect that there would be any charge against me of underrating Christianity. As for Christian Indians, I count among them many warm friends and I have had no difficulty whatsoever in establishing friendly touch with the Christian masses wherever I have gone. Nor is there any fear of my estranging even the foreign missionaries among whom I claim many personal friends. The attack against me has therefore surprised me not a little especially because the views I have now enunciated have been held by me since 1916, and were deliberately expressed in a carefully written address read before a purely missionary audience in Madras and since repeated on many a Christian platform. The recent criticism has but confirmed the view, for the criticism has betrayed intolerance even of friendly criticism. The missionaries know that in spite of my outspoken criticism of their methods, they have in India and among non-christians no warmer friend than I. And I suggest to my critics that there must be something wrong about their method or, if they prefer, themselves when they will not brook sincere expression of an opinion different from theirs. In India under swaraj I have no doubt that foreign missionaries will be at liberty to do their proselytizing, as I would say, in the wrong way; but they would be expected to bear with those who, like me, may point out that in their opinion the way is wrong.

*Young India*, 7-5-1931

## *117. LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON*

[As at] Sabarmati,
*May 7, 1931*

DEAR MR. EMERSON,

I thank you for your letter of the 30th.[1] I can fully understand what Sir Malcolm Hailey says and nothing would please me better than to find that my visit to him is rendered unnecessary by the cultivators getting the relief which they need.

I thank you too for your enquiry about my health. There is

[1] *Vide* Appendix V.

now nothing wrong with it. I still need some rest which I am taking as far as possible in the circumstances.

*Yours sincerely,*
M. K. GANDHI

H. W. EMERSON, ESQ.
HOME SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
SIMLA

Home Department, Political, File No. 33/XI & K.Ws 1931 p. 170. Courtesy: National Archives of India

## *118. LETTER TO R. M. MAXWELL*

AS AT SABARMATI,
*May 7, 1931*

DEAR MR. MAXWELL,

I thank you for your letter of the 4th instant. I shall await your further letter. May I however remind you that your receipt of a copy of the revised notice referred to in your letter will only enable His Excellency to deal with one matter whereas my original letter[1] covers several matters out of which unlicensed liquor selling is becoming more and more urgent daily because it seems to be increasing. His Excellency will perhaps agree that this is a manifest breach of the Settlement.

There is one other matter which I wish to add. There is the *Young India* press[2] still undelivered. The district officer suggests that the Manager should himself remove the press from where it is lying, I believe, in Bombay and a portion in Ahmedabad. The district officer in Kaira suggests a like procedure for a motor and a bicycle lying somewhere in Kaira. Cl.16(a) of the Settlement clearly contemplates the return of movable property seized in connection with the movement. It does not say that the seized property is to be taken on application by the person but it is to be returned, and if it is not irrelevant to mention it here, I may inform you that the word 'returned' was chosen after discussion. I may also add that, whilst I do not know anything about the condition of the *Young India* press and other seized property, I do know that the motor-car, and the bicycle seized in Kaira are

[1] *Vide* pp. 23-4.

[2] Which had been forfeited during the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930 for non-payment of security under an ordinance of 27th April, reviving the powers of the Press Act of 1910. *Vide* also "Letter to H. W. Emerson", 2-6-1931.

admittedly in a broken-up condition. It is also common ground that, when they were seized, they were in good order and condition. The district officer in Kaira in reply to my letter in connection with these articles says as follows in his letter:

> Reference the delivery of a motor-car and cycle. Government have issued orders that ordinarily the owner of property attached under the ordinance should be asked to remove the property from the place where it is and that Government cannot undertake to undergo expenditure in restoring it. I have no funds to which I could debit the cost of towing the car—I understand it is not in running order—to Nadiad. I shall be in Kaira tomorrow morning and suggest that the owner should have it removed from my office there. If he thinks he has a right to recover from Government the cost of removal and reconditioning, he should send in his bill to Government and no doubt Government will call for a full report on the whole circumstances, and the matter can be thrashed out, but at present there is a stalemate which results in the car still suffering depreciation.

I venture to suggest that these articles should be returned in the same condition in which they were at the time of seizure. I do not know that the officials of the Government had any authority or right to use these articles. But even if they had and if they broke them, at the time of return they should be in good order and condition. I would like the Government to give these two matters prompt attention. Unlicensed liquor is causing daily havoc amongst those who are gradually being weaned from the drink habit and the detention of the seized articles which are of daily use is causing a loss and inconvenience to the owners.[1]

*Yours sincerely,*

R. M. MAXWELL, ESQ.
PRIVATE SECRETARY TO H.E. THE GOVERNOR OF BOMBAY
MAHABALESHWAR

A.I.C.C. File No. 4, 1931 Part I, pp. 27-8. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

[1] In his reply dated May 13, Maxwell stated: "You have suggested that the word "returned" in clause 16(a) of the Agreement should be interpreted to mean "taken back to the place where the property was seized". In the absence, however, of any such explanation in the terms of the Settlement itself, the Government are unable to attach to the word in question any but its ordinary meaning, viz., "given back", and, while they are ready at any time to carry out the agreement in this sense, they do not feel justified in throwing

## *119. LETTER TO G. V. KETKAR*[1]

[As at] Sabarmati,
*May 7, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. In order to enable me to give a decisive opinion I should certainly like to have Shankar Rao's version also. But subject to that reservation I have no hesitation in agreeing with you that all parties should be represented on Congress Committees by agreement or there should be an open honest election without any wire-pulling. You should show your letter and my reply to Shankar Rao and let him say whatever he likes in opposition to my opinion if he wants to oppose it. I would like to see the happy relation established in Maharashtra between the two parties[2] not only to continue unbroken but to grow in strength.

*Yours sincerely*,
M. K. Gandhi

Sri G. V. Ketkar
The Kesari and the Mahratta Office
568 Narayan Peth
Poona City

From a photostat: G.N. 7962. Also C.W. 981. Courtesy: G. V. Ketkar

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on the taxpayers the expense of transporting the articles from the places where they now are. I am to say that your further contention that the Government are responsible for delivering such articles in the same condition in which they were seized, does not appear to be warranted by anything in the terms of the Settlement. On the contrary clause 16(c) of the Settlement expressly says that "compensation will not be given for deterioration". I am to add that under section 4(3) of Ordinance IX of 1930 even property seized but not forfeited may be used in such manner as the Magistrate may direct. The motor-car and cycle now in question were, however, actually forfeited and had they been sold or destroyed, the original owners would have had no further claim to them, since clause 16(a) of the Settlement agrees to the return of seized movable property only if it is still in the possession of Government. I am therefore to express the hope that you will now make arrangements to take delivery of these forfeited articles without more delay, since it will not be possible for Government to be responsible for their custody indefinitely if those interested do not choose to avail themselves of clause 16(a) of the Settlement.

[1] Grandson (daughter's son) of Lokamanya Tilak

[2] Responsivists and Non-co-operationists

## *120. LETTER TO KHAN CHAND DEV*

[As at] Sabarmati,
*May 7, 1931*

DEAR LALA KHAN CHAND,

Here is copy of a complaint received by me from the Central Government. Will you please make a detailed enquiry and let me know the result as early as you can?

*Yours sincerely,*

Encl. 1

Lala Khan Chand Dev
Bradlaugh Hall, Lahore

From a microfilm: S.N. 17058

## *121. LETTER TO G. RAMACHANDRAN*

[As at] Sabarmati,
*May 7, 1931*

MY DEAR RAMACHANDRAN,

It was a perfect pleasure to receive a letter from you after such a long time. I did indeed enquire about you from so many persons by word of mouth as also through letters. I did know that you were resting in some prison. Do come and see me whenever you wish and can.

Sjt. G. Ramachandran
Narayanath House
Taikad
Trivandrum

From a microfilm: S.N. 17059

CWMG - XLVI

## 122. LETTER TO H. W. B. MORENO

[As at] Sabarmati,
*May 7, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I shall certainly deal with the subject in the pages of *Young India*[1] as you desire and therefore need not give you a detailed reply. The original of which you have enclosed a copy was never received.

*Yours sincerely,*

H. W. B. Moreno, Esq.
General President
The Anglo-Indian League
9 Marsden Street, Calcutta

From a microfilm: S.N. 17060

## 123. LETTER TO K. S. NAGARAJAN

[As at] Sabarmati,
*May 7, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

Your letter of the 11th March has been on my file all these long weeks but the delay was inevitable.

If you are really free from any animal passion, you have a right to retain that freedom. You should share your opinion and your condition with your wife. If she on her part cannot restrain her animal appetites, seeing that there has been no consummation of marriage, she should be free to regard the present marriage as no marriage at all and to marry where she likes. If she is afraid of public opinion you should offer to help her to defy public opinion and in every way make her way smooth and

[1] *Vide* pp. 143-4.

easy. I am satisfied that in no case are you called upon to share the bed with your wife if you have really no desire.

*Yours sincerely,*

SJT. K. S. NAGARAJAN
233 LOYOLA HOSTEL
CATHEDRAL P.O., MADRAS

From a photostat: S.N. 17062

## *124. LETTER TO JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM*

BORSAD,
*May 7, 1931*

MY DEAR JAIRAMDAS,

This letter[1] is for your information. If you have anything to say you will please guide me.

*Yours sincerely,*
GANDHI

Encl. 1

SJT. JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM
SWARAJ ASHRAM, BARDOLI

A.I.C.C. File No. 273, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

## *125. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS*

BORSAD,
*May 8, 1931*

It is astonishing how ignorant responsible Englishmen, like Mr. Grey[2], are as to the real condition. I have to impute ignorance to Mr. Grey as I could not bring myself to believe that he was wilfully distorting the real condition. The Delhi Agreement tabooed threats, intimidation and coercion of every form in con-

[1] From Vatan G. Gidwani, President, District Congress Committee, Mirpurkhas (Sind). He had mentioned that one Thakurdas, who had styled himself as Secretary of the Congress Committee, was inciting cloth merchants to revolt against the Congress decision to boycott foreign cloth.

[2] Acting Chairman, Master Cotton Spinners and Manufacturers' Association

CWMG - XLVI

nection with picketing which has to be absolutely peaceful. I insisted that this condition was carried out and it is being carried out in a vast majority of cases. If a *bona-fide* case of intimidation, coercion or threat is made out I will have no hesitation in every such case in advising and insisting on suspension of picketing. I know how important it is from our own stand-point to carry out the Agreement in the strictest manner possible.

*The Bombay Chronicle*, 9-5-1931

## *126. TELEGRAM TO COWASJI JEHANGIR (JUNIOR)*

BORSAD,
*May 8, 1931*

SIR COWASJI JEHANGIR (JUNIOR)
NAPEAN SEA ROAD
BOMBAY

THANK YOU FOR EXHAUSTIVE TELEGRAM[1]. MAKING IMMEDIATE INVESTIGATION. CAN GIVE YOU DEFINITE ASSURANCE NO [HARM] WILL BE DONE TO SARDAR GARDA OR HIS MEN.

GANDHI

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-C, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

## *127. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA*

*After Morning Prayers, Friday, [May 8, 1931]*[2]

CHI. GANGABEHN,

I got your letter.

Do not grieve over the death of Kaku's[3] brother. Such tragedies will always occur in this world. The body is rightly compared to a glass bangle. It takes less time for the body to perish than for a glass bangle to break. If we preserve such a

[1] This read: "Garda complains harassment since Agreement. On twenty-seventh his men abused while taking cotton vakharias gin. On twenty-eighth Babla people scared away labourers threatened to burn huts and inmates. On twenty-ninth stones thrown from back of his bungalow Navsari same time lorry full of men threw stones from front proving concerted action. His son jeered hooted at Sabsorn showing militant attitude. Wiring Garda to send further specific instances. Earnestly request that if allegations true such harassment should immediately stop. Letter follows."

[2] From the reference in the last paragraph to his forthcoming visit to Simla

[3] Purushottam D. Saraiya, addressee's grandson

CWMG - XLVI

bangle with care, it will remain intact for thousands of years, but the body never lasts for more than a hundred years. And it is rarely that one lives even that long. Kaku's brother may have passed away, but the soul which dwelt in his body has not perished. It had no brother, or rather all were its brothers. When, therefore, there are deaths among relations, instead of letting ourselves be swayed by ignorance we should cultivate greater capacity for endurance, greater disinterestedness towards the world and greater knowledge. . .[1] (This death has no connection whatever with the fact of Kaku having strayed from the path of dharma. Do not remind Kaku of what he did). Let Kaku remain there now and work and earn. He may take up voluntary work if and when he feels inclined to do so.

I shall leave for Simla on Monday. Come and see me before that. I see no need for you to go to Bombay, but you may certainly go if you cannot restrain yourself.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

*Bapuna Patro–6: G. S. Gangabehnne*, p. 53. Also C.W. 8774. Courtesy: Gangabehn Vaidya

## *128. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU*

CAMP BORSAD,
*May 8, 1931*

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

I had your telegram and now I have your letter of 30th ultimo but not the previous letter. There is certainly no urgent need about your returning. From your telegram I have gathered that you were all Al in spite of the chill of which you write to me in your letter. What you read in the papers about a breakdown was not without foundation but just now in Gujarat there is no immediate danger of a breakdown. I am going to Simla next week to confer with Mr. Emerson about several outstanding matters and he says in his letter that incidentally there would be meeting with the Government about the Round Table Conference. He expects me also to go to Nainital on or about the 18th. I do not know how things are progressing in the U.P. just now. But it will be as well for me to go to Nainital. Of course you

[1] Omission as in the source

CWMG - XLVI

were quite right in writing to me on the Hindu-Muslim question as frankly as you have done. I should have felt hurt if you had done less. You have a perfect right to unburden yourself without the least fear of being misunderstood by me. Of course I do not plead guilty to your charge. I have always taken good care to say that I was speaking for myself. So long as we have not evolved a concrete policy how could I help expressing my own personal views? But the occasions have not been many when I have let myself go. I quite agree with you that Dr. Ansari's proposal about arbitration consisting of the many names he suggests is highly unpractical. Nothing of course has come out of it. Dr. Mahmud's fear is absolutely baseless. I did see Bhopal at the latter's instance and when he discussed the Hindu-Muslim question I naturally said that he might call in Shaukat Ali and his other friends and then summon me to Bhopal if he thought that there was anything to be done. I could not say to him that he was not to move at all. That same day Mrs. Naidu brought Shaukat Ali to Mani Bhuvan and I related the conversation I had with Bhopal. Nothing more has happened. I have made no movement and have written not one single line beyond saying that I was praying, which I am literally doing. I wrote last week as much to Dr. Mahmud[1] when he complained that I had broken the pact that I was to be dumb. When you return completely restored, we must have a meeting of the Working Committee and if we can evolve a formula for the guidance of all Congressmen, nothing will please me more. Personally I think that we shall not be able to evolve any formula just now and I am more and more driven to the idea I adumbrated before you on the day of your departure or the day previous. When you reach Bombay of course you will first of all seek me out wherever I am. It is highly likely that I shall be by that time in Borsad or Bardoli.

No going to London without Hindu-Muslim unity.

Love to you all.

BAPU

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU
NUWERA ELIYA
CEYLON

From Gandhi-Nehru papers, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

[1] *Vide* p. 80.

## 129. LETTER TO DARCY LINDSAY

SABARMATI,
[AS AT] *May 8, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter of the 24th April. The matter you refer to is very delicate. There is a romance around the life of Bhagat Singh. He was no coward. From all enquiries made by me I find that he was a man of spotless character and of great daring. He exercised also great influence on some young men. Somehow or other he had developed a belief that political assassination had its use. It was impossible not to notice the execution, I believe quite unwise, of Bhagat Singh and his comrades, whom the execution made martyrs. I have no doubt whatsoever that the execution has surrounded these lives with a halo which they would not otherwise have had. The only thing therefore that was possible and that the Congress was bound to do was to pass a resolution[1] condemning murderous deeds as also the execution and at the same time appreciating the bravery and sacrifice underlying such deeds. I however quite agree with you that there is undoubtedly a great deal of thoughtless approval of political murder. But many of us are doing everything we can to counteract the growth of the violent revolutionary movement. Whilst it is being held under check, I fear that the spirit that is at times breaking out in violence will not altogether die till India comes to her own. I am not publishing your letter because the end both you and I have in view is not likely to be served thereby.

*Yours sincerely,*

SIR DARCY LINDSAY
MANDELIEU CANNES, A.M.
[FRANCE]

From a microfilm: S.N. 17064

[1] *Vide* Vol. XLV, p. 363.

## *130. LETTER TO LIVINGSTON & DOULL*

[As at] Sabarmati,
*May 8, 1931*

DEAR SIR,

With reference to your letter of the 3rd March last, I enclose herewith power of attorney form duly signed by me in favour of Mr. Doull.

*Yours faithfully,*

Encl. 1

Messrs Livingston & Doull
Solicitors & Notaries
Durban, Natal

From a microfilm: S.N. 17065

## *131. LETTER TO ABDUR RAZZAQ MALIHABADI*

[As at] Sabarmati,
*May 8, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

I was delighted to receive your letter. Of course I wish the Egyptians full independence and all the prosperity that their ancient and fertile land deserves. I do not know the precise nature of the boycott movement in Egypt and therefore you will excuse me for my inability to express any opinion on it.

*Yours sincerely,*

Abdur Razzaq Malihabadi, Esq.
304 New Circular Road, Calcutta

From a microfilm: S.N. 17066

CWMG-XLVI

## 132. LETTER TO KUSUM DESAI

*May 8, 1931*

CHI. KUSUM,

I got your two letters. If you were not satisfied with those letters, neither was I. I did not understand what you wished to say. But I will not harp on the subject. I understood something and I will content myself with that.

See that your picketing does not become mechanical. If you are convinced of what I said, act upon it. Through your picketing, enter the homes of addicts. How long will you go on working like an automaton?

*Blessings from*
BAPU

[PS.]

I shall be leaving this place on Monday.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1821

## 133. LETTER TO PANNALAL JHAVERI

*May 8, 1931*

CHI. PANNALAL,

My letter to Nanibehn must have been given to you to read. I don't think that the Vidyapith course is for persons like Nanibehn and Gangabehn, though I see nothing wrong in their desire and would let them satisfy it without raising any objection. They lack self-confidence and long to acquire something more, but do not know what. If they go on trying like this they will discover one day what it is, for their hearts are pure. On Monday I shall leave this place for Simla.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

SHRI PANNALAL
THEOSOPHICAL COLONY
JUHU, SANTA CRUZ, BOMBAY

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3113



CWMG - XLVI

## *134. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI*

BORSAD,
*Friday, May 8, 1931*

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

I got your letter. I feel like writing to Jayaprakash about you. It will be good if you have a frank talk with him once. As long as you have not completely recovered, you ought to stay with me. The state of your health from time to time is closely connected with that of your mind. If you stay with me, probably both your body and mind will grow strong and then you may be fit enough to live with self-confidence anywhere. Do what seems best to you.

I will leave this place on Monday and proceed to Simla. You don't require my address while I am there. If you write only my name on the letter, it will reach me the soonest. If you address it C/o the Congress Committee, the letter may be delayed a little. I am likely to stay in Simla for five days.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3409

## *135. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI*

BORSAD,
*May 8, 1931*

CHI. NARANDAS,

I got your two letters.

I felt a weight off my mind to know that you approved of my suggestion regarding Lakshmi. Kaka and Vallabhbhai are also of the same opinion as yours. I have yet to hear from Vinoba and Kishorelal. I was not at all pleased by Dwarkanath's bill. I have kept it back and written to him strongly about it. I will let you know after I hear from him. You need, therefore, do nothing about it for the present. The general suggestion you have made concerning such bills does not require to be acted upon immediately.

I understand what you say about Shankarbhai. I wholly agree with your decision. Don't mind what Bhagwanji thinks about it. You will have to pay Rs. 35 to that Punjabi vaid[1]. All of them charge their fees in this way. If all the patients improve, the fee charged by him will not seem excessive. All the same, we should know on what basis he charges his fee. You, therefore, did right in writing to Chandrashankar about it. Don't put too many persons under his treatment at a time. Watch how he treats each case and then proceed further. I shall be leaving for Simla on Monday. No address is necessary for writing to me there. I have replied to Pragji. Rukhi[2] and Benarsi[3] have arrived. The latter is returning today. Rukhi will stay on today at any rate. I may send her by some train tomorrow.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./I

## *136. LETTER TO JAMNADAS GANDHI*

BORSAD,
*May 8, 1931*

CHI. JAMNADAS,

I have the Doctor's telegram: "Since Jamnadas and Nanalal are looking after Ratilal, he should stay at Rajkot till he gets well and may then go to Sabarmati. I am sorry that Champa was beaten." I wonder how the Doctor came to think that you and Nanalal look after Ratilal. Tell this to Nanalalbhai too. It is likely he sent a telegram to Nanalal. Tell me in detail in what circumstances Champa was beaten.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

[PS.]

I am leaving this place on Monday evening for Simla.

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 9321. Courtesy: Jamnadas Gandhi

[1] Physician practising the Ayurvedic system of medicine
[2] Rukmini, Maganlal Gandhi's daughter
[3] Benarsilal Bazaj, Rukmini's husband

CWMG - XLVI

## 137. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

BORSAD,
*May 8, 1931*

CHI. JAMNALAL,

Tell the people of Karnatak[1] that they have already contributed much to the struggle; they must also now take part in the constructive work. Much still remains to be done for khadi; the boycott of foreign cloth is for the sake of khadi. Had the boycott not had the purpose of serving the poor, at least I would not have been as absorbed in it as I am now.

Some friends from Karnatak are possessed with the idea that Karnatak should form a separate province. Why do they worry? The Congress has already formed a province of Kannada-speaking people, it will come into being when we have *purna* swaraj.

I am happy that Lingayats and others have come together. It is as it should be.

MOHANDAS

[From Hindi]

*Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad*, pp. 73-4

## 138. INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS

BORSAD,
*May 8, 1931*

Regarding the report published in a Bombay paper about the refusal by Sardar Garda to return the confiscated lands purchased by him in Bardoli Taluk, Mr. Gandhi, interviewed, said that the report was correct, but added that so far as he knew there was no obstruction deliberate or otherwise on the part of men who had strict instructions not to interfere with those who might be removing crops from the fields in question. He had undertaken to enquire into every complaint that might be made by Sardar Garda. He had asked for specific instances and not one was supplied to him. He was therefore pain-

[1] The sixth Karnatak Provincial Conference commenced on May 26, 1931 at Hukeri, District Belgaum, under the presidentship of Jamnalal Bajaj; for the text of the message, *vide* pp. 166-7.

ed and surprised at Sardar Garda's attempt to evade or repudiate the agreement which after full deliberation he had entered into. Mr. Gandhi had already brought the matter to the notice of Sir Cowasji Jehangir[1] who was the principal negotiator.

Asked whether Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel had asked the people of Bardoli Taluk not to pay unauthorized arrears, Mr. Gandhi said it was not a question of Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel asking people not to pay arrears. It was a question of inability on the part of people to pay. The fact was it was really difficult to pay even the current year's dues in many cases. In affected areas of both Surat and Kaira districts, they were obliged to ask for suspension even in some cases in respect of current year's dues. The chief thing to aim at was not insisting on pound of flesh but to see that the political movement for non-payment of taxes was discontinued in a *bona-fide* manner and people paid whatever they could under the circumstances.

*The Hindu*, 9-5-1931

## *139. MESSAGE TO HINDUSTANI SEVA DAL*

[Before *May 9, 1931*][2]

Camping for Congress volunteers should mean greater dedication, greater self-purification, greater service of the poor, greater skill in hand-spinning and carding, greater skill in dealing with repairs to various machines required for spinning, ginning, carding, etc.; and above all, greater regard for truth and ahimsa. A Congress volunteer in camp should mean cleaning up of surrounding villages.

M. K. GANDHI

*The Bombay Chronicle*, 9-5-1931

## *140. MESSAGE TO LABOURERS, KARACHI*

BORSAD,
*May 9, 1931*

I am clear that the movement initiated by Mr. Gajadhar is mischievous and unpractical and therefore must not be encouraged.[3]

*The Hindustan Times*, 11-5-1931

[1] *Vide* p. 91.
[2] The report was published on this date.
[3] *Vide* also pp. 139-41.

## 141. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL SHAH

BORSAD,
*May 9, 1931*

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

Can you say positively that cod-liver oil has benefited Sharda visibly? You can ascertain by noting her weight, etc. I have heard doctors praise cod-liver oil with great enthusiasm, though I have not come across much evidence of its value.

You should send for Annapurna when you can summon courage to do so. Remain in contact with her through letters. The only fear can be lest she should turn out to be a bad type. Even if you have such fear, you should not be guided by it provided you can get proof that at present she is all right. That way, there is risk in all things. According to Bhartrihari, the only state in which one can live free from fear is that of non-attachment. True non-attachment is that taught in the *Gita*, and it is cultivated by giving up interest in the fruits of action. In the present case too, if your duty lies in letting her come and in discarding all fear about the result of such a course, you should shed that fear and do the duty.

If Shakribehn remains absorbed in work, she will be able to recover peace of mind.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 24371

## 142. THE PROBLEM OF FOUR LAKH DHARALAS

With this heading, someone has written the following letter[1] under the pseudonym, "A Dharala" :

This letter certainly is full of bitterness, even after I have cut out certain sentences which were very venomous. The handwriting is very well formed and the language is very sophisticated. Hence I guess that it has not been written by a Dharala Thakore but

[1] Not translated here

by a person who has an animus against Patidars. Be that as it may, the letter calls for some clarification.

### Dharala Thakores[1]

Although the letter has a good deal of venom towards the Patidars, nevertheless there is some truth in the complaints listed in it. The failing which is found all over India is also there among the Patidars, viz., those who are more knowledgeable and richer enjoy a superior status and misuse it vis-a-vis those who are ignorant and poor. The feeling of superiority and inferiority is certainly involved in this. The greatest barrier to our progress, to our attainment of swaraj, is the fact that those who are better off do not become the protectors of those who are not so well placed. However, having admitted this with regard to the Patidars, I must say that there is much exaggeration in this letter. Some years ago, about fifty thousand Dharalas had assembled in Vadtal and the Patidars had helped this effort. It was these who since then made the Dharalas known as Thakores. Today at all places in Gujarat, the Patidar youths are destroying the idea of superiority and inferiority and many aged Patidars are helping them in it. Young Patidars are engaged in many kinds of service. They do not recognize any distinctions between Patidars and others. Their field of action is as wide as India.

### Shri Ravishankar's Services

The correspondent had to admit that Shri Vithalbhai, Durbarsaheb Gopaldas, Shri Dadubhai and others looked upon the Dharala Thakores with a feeling of equality. Even a little child knows that to the Sardar all are equal. He wishes to serve all who are poor, whether they happen to be Brahmins or Bhangis, Gujaratis or Madrasis, and it is because the people have recognized this virtue in him that he has been made the Congress President. This correspondent regards Shri Ravishankar's services as nominal. I do not know who renders true service if this very incarnation of sacrifice renders merely nominal service!

### Vallabh Vidyalaya

Although the above has been founded, I admit that much still remains to be done for the Dharala Thakores and such other communities. However, as the spirit of service grows, the unity among the various communities will become greater day by day. The school whose foundation stone was only recently laid in

[1] The source consistently has "Thakars", which is evidently a misprint.

CWMG - XLVI

Bochasan[1] and which has been named as Vallabh Vidyalaya—this too is for the sake of the Dharala Thakores.

Hence I would request the above correspondent not to add to mutual bitterness but rather seek and suggest ways which would promote friendliness among all. From the manner in which he wields his pen, it seems that he has the ability to do so. I invite him to put it to good use.

### PATIDARS

A few words to the Patidars. They should look deep within themselves and rid themselves of any impurity which may be there. They have shown great courage and sacrificed much. They should find out any failings which they may still have and get rid of them.

[From Gujarati]

*Navajivan*, 10-5-1931

## *143. NOTES*

### HYPOCRISY DURING ELECTIONS

Only a handful voted at the elections to the Provincial Committee held in Bulsar. The elections had to be held because there were factions. Voters have to be habitual wearers of khadi. Now a friend writes thus about the kind of khadi-wearers these voters were :[2]

How great is the disrespect towards the Congress if after a year's fierce struggle and after knowing how important a place khadi occupies in the boycott of foreign cloth, and ordinary rule of the Congress is violated in this manner! How will these members of the Congress fare during a crisis? Such hypocrisy sullies the fair name of the Congress. How are the elections so important that voters have to pretend that they abide by this rule? And however important they may be, how can work of any value be done through the practice of untruth ?

It is likely that at other places in Gujarat also and in the whole country, wherever there are many candidates and keen rivalry, similar practices may have been resorted to. If there are such laxity and such hypocrisy in regard to the reputation of the

[1] *Vide* pp. 99-101.

[2] The letter is not translated here. It had described how voters wore borrowed khadi clothes at the time of elections.

Congress, it can be guessed with the help of the rule of three how much this will increase on attainment of swaraj. In the elections following swaraj, there will be greater temptations because money will be involved then. I believe that such conduct is shameful and harmful for us. It will benefit neither us nor the country.

If we are averse to wearing khadi, if we do not believe in the necessity of khadi, why should we not start a movement for getting the clause regarding khadi deleted from the Congress regulations? If the khadi clause remains, we should abide by it. If that clause meets with disapproval or if many members of the Congress are not willing to respect it, they should try to get it removed through an agitation.

## KHADI AND THE DESH SEVIKA SANGH OF NADIAD

Shrimati Kashibehn and Shrimati Gangabehn have written the following to the Taluka Committee on behalf of the Nadiad Desh Sevika Sangh.[1]

Whatever injustice has been done to the women of Nadiad through my article should be removed. Along with it, let me draw their attention to one matter. The correspondents say in their letter that fifteen women have been using pure khadi in the past and still continue to do so while working for the Congress. If this is the case, how many women wear khadi regularly? For those who believe in khadi, it is not a dress to be worn only on certain occasions—not a uniform, but something which should be habitually worn. Swaraj cannot be secured or the poverty of the starving masses cannot be removed by a few persons wearing khadi on certain occasions. That can be achieved only when khadi takes root in every home. Hence I hope that not only Nadiad but also all other towns will take to wearing khadi exclusively.

## TWENTY-FOUR CAPS AND THREE SHIRTS

What would we say of a man who believes that crores of Indians are starving and half-naked and who at the same time somehow puts on twenty-four caps on his head and three shirts, one on top of the other? Should we not say that, although he is compassionate, his kindness is misguided?

Despite this, we come across many such persons. On reading this sentence, hasty persons will burst out laughing and some will think me a fool. However, there is no reason either to laugh or to think me stupid.

[1] The letter is not translated here. It denied the accusation in Gandhiji's note on "Women Volunteers and Khadi", pp. 38-40.

Let us consider the Kathiawari dress. It consists of a dhoti, a long shirt, a short shirt and a turban. In view of the climate there, so many clothes are not at all needed. Two short shirts can easily be made out of a single long shirt. Twenty-four caps can easily be made out of a twelve yard turban. Hence it cannot be regarded as an exaggeration but is rather the bare truth to say that such a person is wearing twenty-four caps and three shirts. Those reasonable Kathiawaris who understand this straightforward matter and who are kind-hearted will suggest a remedy for my perplexity.

This question is not directed towards politicians. They will defeat me with many arguments, namely, that they have to attend at the ruler's court, etc. Neither is this question meant for employees of the agencies. Like Drona and Bhishma, they will point to their stomachs and may even go so far as to sing the lines of Shamal[1]:

Stomach it is that makes us slaves
Who dance to the tune the piper plays.

This question is addressed to those who are free of such bondage. They should either give me a satisfactory answer or spare those twenty-three caps and two shirts for the poor.

## Marriage Conditions

The common custom in regard to marriage in the Anavil community is that the bride's father has to pay a handsome sum to the bridegroom's father. In the Bardoli Swaraj Ashram, there is a gentleman named Shri Dayalji Gulabbhai who lives under the care of Shri Lakshmidas. He had married once and had lost his wife. That was some time ago and he has no children. He thought of marrying again. He felt, however, that he should not marry during the struggle. When the Settlement came about, he was inclined to yield to desire. A father was prepared to marry his daughter to Shri Dayalji by paying him a sum of Rs. 800. He may have been momentarily tempted, but was later able to overcome the temptation. He will now marry a seventeen-year old girl named Shantabehn. As the conditions on which this marriage is to take place are both worth knowing and worth copying, I give them below:

> The dowry will be accepted in the form of yarn instead of cash. And that yarn weighing eight and a quarter pounds should be spun exclusively by members of the family.

[1] A seventeenth-eighteenth-century Gujarati poet

Not more than twenty-five persons in all consisting of fifteen persons from the bride's side and ten from the bridegroom's side (including men, women and children) should be invited and all of them must be clad in khadi.

Everyone should eat food cooked in a common kitchen and the meal should consist only of dal, rice and vegetables. As it is summer, there would be no harm in taking buttermilk. They would stop the custom of offering ghee to Brahmins.

Whereas no gifts in the form of cash from relations or as dowry will be accepted, giving of religious books will be permitted.

After the marriage takes place, those present will be allowed to take fruits or sherbet instead of betel-leaves and areca-nuts. Tea will not be served at all.

By way of dowry, only such things as a spinning-wheel, carding-bow, *takli*, or carpet or something to sit upon should be given.

Such edible items as sweet balls and *puris* or any such articles of food should not be accepted in any form.

At the wedding ceremony, the bride and the bridegroom will wear garments made of yarn spun with their own hands. No clothes will be bought for this purpose. Likewise, if anyone wishes to make a present, he would be permitted to give only yarn spun by him.

At the time of the wedding, the bride will wear no ornament other than a single piece of each item symbolizing her state of married happiness. Later, she may accept anything, which anyone wishes to give.

The interval between arrival and departure for the wedding will be three days during which the ceremony will be performed.

Bangles made of hand-spun yarn should replace those made of gold.

The marriage ceremony will be in accordance with Ashram practice. Gandhiji's articles on the shastrik rites regarding marriage vows and his speeches will be read out. The officiating priest too will be clad in pure khadi and will accept no fee.

No band will be played and, while devotional songs may be sung, no vulgar wedding songs will be allowed.

Shri Dayalji and the bride's father are signatories to this. The wedding will take place on the 13th. Even ordinary marriages in the Anavil community involve large expenses, hence it is no small matter that in this marriage only the religious ceremony has found a place and khadi is compulsory for the bride and the groom as well as for the guests present to bless the couple and the priest. *Dhardhaman* implies dowry. The bride's father provides all household articles by way of dowry; whereas in this marriage only the implements needed for spinning may be given, if so de-

CWMG - XLVI

sired. Let us hope that this example will be copied and such marriages will become a common practice among all communities and that the couples, united under such auspicious circumstances, will turn out to be true servants of the country.

[From Gujarati]

*Navajivan*, 10-5-1931

## *144. KHADI IN KAIRA*

Shri Gopaldas Purushottam Desai sends the following account of khadi activity in Petlad — Nadiad:[1]

Some corrections are required in the above note and figures. Where information has to be given regarding the actual state of affairs and where the figures are not beyond our capacity to get, no conjectures should be made. No meaning can be deduced from the sentence, "about 50 to 75 spinning-wheels are being plied". The number may be below 50 or it may exceed 75. It is likely that the figure is actually below 50. Hence where the number can be easily counted, the exact figure should be given and neither one more nor one less. Moreover, the various qualities of khadi produced in Petlad—Nadiad should be mentioned as also the count of the yarn. Mention should also be made of how much khadi has been received from other places. There should be a comparative statement of figures showing yarn spun for a living and that spun for becoming self-sufficient. Amongst the latter kind of spinners, there should be a break-up of the number of men and women. How much yarn they spin on an average should be indicated. Do they spin only for themselves or for others as well? Alongside the statement that the workers numbered 151, how much they had earned should also have been mentioned. There should be sub-divisions even amongst them. All this accounting without details cannot be regarded as scientific and no conclusions can be drawn therefrom.

With regard to the above figures, it may be noted that the figures for Petlad and Nadiad are given separately. It may be said in general that the figures for Nadiad are about half of those for Petlad. It is for Nadiad to say why this is so.

Let me now turn to Limbasi. Shri Vithaldas writes from there as follows:[2]

[1] & [2] The letters are not translated here.

Along with this, the names of those in whose homes the spinning-wheel is being plied have been mentioned. In regard to this report also, the above criticism should be regarded as applicable to the extent it is relevant. The reference to a dearth of spinning-wheels should put us to shame. At every place, we should develop the capacity to make spinning-wheels. One or two samples should be obtained from Bardoli and spinning-wheels should be made everywhere. Moreover, this recommendation is far more applicable to places where inmates of the Ashram happen to be living. What kind of wood should be used for making spinning-wheels and other information should be obtained from Bardoli. All should remember that the workshop there is not meant for earning money but is a training centre. Hence everyone can get the necessary information from there. A time will come when people will demand spinning-wheels and *taklis* in every home. If even then we continue to depend on Bardoli, Satyagraha Ashram and such other places, our work will certainly come to a stand-still. Even the largest single factory cannot provide crores of spinning-wheels. This is neither necessary nor desirable. The meaning of the khadi movement and its special feature is that every process involved in its production can be carried out in every village. Khadi is not an enterprise that supports a single activity, but it feeds many activities. Hence every one of its limbs should blossom forth in every village.

[From Gujarati]

*Navajivan*, 10-5-1931

## *145. LETTER TO SHANTA PATEL*

*May 10, 1931*

CHI. SHANTA,

I got your letter. The fact that you find the rules and the work there too much for you shows that, when you were living outside, you did not lead a disciplined life. Your desire to remain like a child is certainly good, but being like a child does not mean remaining lazy, it means being innocent and pure in mind. You are certainly not pure in mind. Are you innocent? If you are not, you should strive to be. It is a dangerous thing that you like very much to mix with boys, and not with girls. This will some day bring about your fall. Have a look at the world around. If all the girls wished to live as you wish, no girl would have the

company of another girl. Do you think you can jump about and play with boys as freely as you can with girls? It is dangerous for you to wish to cross the bar which God has created. Think over this and try to understand it. Show this letter to Premabehn and discuss it with her, and then reply to me. Obey her and help her in her work.

Your letters will not be read by anyone by whom you do not wish them to be read. Anandi will not accompany me. She is still at Bardoli.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4059

## *146. LETTER TO GANGASHARAN SINGH*

BORSAD,
*May 10, 1931*

BHAI GANGASHARAN SINGHJI,

I have your letter. Success must come where Rajendrababu is the leader. Boycott of foreign cloth, propagation of khadi and the boycott of liquor and other intoxicants are of the utmost importance for us today.

*Yours,*
MOHANDAS GANDHI

SHRI GANGASHARAN SINGH
CONGRESS COMMITTEE, AMAHRA
P.O. NIHATTA, DIST. PATNA, BIHAR

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 11008

## *147. LETTER TO LAKSHMINARAYAN GADODIA*

*May 10, 1931*

BHAI LAKSHMINARAYANJI,

I have your letter.

I saw the letter from Alexander Drew. Your reply is pertinent. I regard this loss as gain. The condition of the Congress committees is everywhere poor.

There is much risk in picketing the ships bringing foreign cloth. We shall see what is possible and proper if the struggle is renewed. The best work is to work among the masses.

CWMG - XLVI

I am proceeding to Simla tomorrow (Monday). The halt at Delhi will be for about three hours. Jamnalalji will be accompanying me.

*Yours,*
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 5621

## *148. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI*

*May 11, 1931*

CHI. NARANDAS,

I am writing this letter at midnight at Baroda station. Champa came and saw me here. I think Ratilal will not come at present. I shall be in Simla for about five days; and then in Nainital for five days. I expect to return to Borsad round about the 25th.

Buy the land at Bidaj. I was sorry to hear about Hanumansingh. Can you tell me how his condition became what it is? Keep him mostly on fruit.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U/I

## *149. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI*

[On or after *May 11, 1931*][1]

CHI. NARANDAS,

Since you are not likely to feel the burden, I have no worries on that account. I see that you will continue to have guests and visitors. See that those who come are well looked after. Try to dissuade people who may wish to accompany me.

Shri Malik is the Municipal Engineer there. He will visit the Ashram in a day or two and advise you how to pump more water. Take him to see Chandrabhaga too. I have talked to him about Parnerkar. Cultivate Shri Malik's acquaintance and introduce Parnerkar also to him.

How is Purushottam? Has he agreed to go for a change of air? If he had been in better health, I would have certainly taken

[1] From the reference to Gandhiji taking Purushottam with him, most probably to Simla

CWMG - XLVI

him with me. You may write to me for my opinion on any matter if you think it necessary to do so.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

*Bapuna Patro – 9: Shri Narandas Gandhine*, Pt. I, p. 273. Also C.W. 8189. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

## *150. INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS*

*May 13, 1931*

Asked by the Associated Press representative for any 'story', Mr. Gandhi remarked:

You can write about the flowers and garlands that you see in the car.

At the octroi post, the car stopped for a minute when a letter from Mr. Emerson, Home Secretary, was handed to Gandhiji.

Gandhiji, interviewed by a representative of the Associated Press of India who stood on the running board of his car, stated that he had received no invitation from the Viceroy but from the Home Secretary. He would stay in Simla for two or three days, possibly longer, and then proceed probably to Nainital.

Q. Will you be going to London?

A. I cannot say yet.

Q. What about the prospect of communal settlement?

A. I have been far too absorbed in affairs in Borsad and therefore could not tell you.

Q. You might have known of the proceedings of the Conference at Bhopal?[1]

A. No.

Q. Do you expect to attend the informal meeting in Simla of Indian members of the Federal Structure Committee?

A. I have no notion.

*The Hindu*, 14-5-1931

[1] On May 10 and 11. The Nawab of Bhopal had invited the leaders of the All-India Nationalist Muslim Party and the All-India Muslim Conference to work out an agreed formula on the question of electorates.

CWMG - XLVI

## 151. NOTES

### 'A Cry in the Wilderness'

I take the following passage with slight changes from a communication in my file:

> Protection of indigenous cloth by exclusion of foreign cloth and foreign yarn from the country—this is vague and gives room for suspicion. The starving millions living in the villages cannot be fed by the Indian mills. For the last four months the demand for khadi has been going down steadily and that for mill-cloth is increasing. The reason is that Congress organizations are supporting the Indian mill-manufacture. Gandhiji's cry of boycott through khadi is a cry in the wilderness. Therefore the real position of the Congress with regard to khadi must be made clear.

I have had a similar complaint from other sources too. There is no doubt that the Congressmen think that because the Congress is having help from and dealings with mill-owners, Congressmen are free to use mill-manufactures in the place of khadi or at least to use either optionally. Such however is certainly not the case. The Congress policy in this matter remains unchanged. The Congress expects everyone under its influence to use hand-spun and hand-woven khadi to the exclusion of all other cloth. Any laxity in this observance is not only bound to harm khadi and therefore the villages but it is also bound to harm boycott of foreign cloth. It will be found that in the end the boycott will be possible only through khadi. The success hitherto obtained is due to khadi. This is not to say that the indigenous mills have played no part in the campaign against foreign cloth. But it is contended that the mills came in when the owners realized that khadi was doing it, that khadi had shown the way, that khadi had brought about the psychological change. What is however the most important to remember is that boycott of foreign cloth will not be worth the tremendous energy that has been put into it if it was designed merely to stimulate the dividends of a few hundred thousand shareholders. It is a national necessity only because through khadi the crores of money saved through boycott of foreign cloth will be distributed among the millions of villagers. It is therefore necessary for men and women belonging to the Congress not to slacken their effort for khadi.

### Rumoured American Visit

An American friend says in the course of a letter[1] dated 6th April that

> . . . This evening an Associated Press despatch from New Delhi, as given in the *Boston Transcript*, reports that 'Mahatma Gandhi is considering a visit to the United States, etc,. . . .
>
> The Soul of India has greater tasks than can be performed through physical presence in the United States at this time. . . .

Whether I represent the soul of India or not is a debatable point. But with reference to the American visit I have felt exactly like my correspondent. The work in India, if it has any spiritual value, will affect America and every other country outside India far more than the physical presence. Indeed when the spirit is free the physical case often becomes a hindrance rather than a help. The invisible effect of the spirit free must be a million times greater than that of the spirit limited by the earthly tabernacle. Much therefore as I should love to visit America, the voice within warns me against feeding the wish. Happily other friends like Rev. Holmes, Mr. Kerby Page, Dr. Sherwood Eddy, Dr. Ward sent me a cable[2] about the same time the above letter was posted warning me against the visit. They thought that I would be exploited without serving the cause at the present juncture. I feel sure that these friends are right. Those friends therefore who have been pressing me to go to America would please excuse me till the time is ripe, if it ever is for me to go to their great country. Meantime let them dispel, if they will, the ignorance and the misrepresentations that prevail in abundance about Indian affairs in their land.

*Young India*, 14-5-1931

## *152. DANGER LOOMING*[3]

The public know little of what took place in Karachi the other day. A half-cracked man like me by name Gajadhar Shau from Central Provinces but as little known there as in Karachi took it into his head that he could establish swaraj in a few days. He collected all the unemployed and other labourers, promising

[1] Of which only extracts are reproduced here
[2] *Vide* also pp. 87-8.
[3] *Vide* also p. 126.

them two rupees per day and delivered an ultimatum to the merchants and moneyed men that they should stop export and import business, stop the manufacture of mill-cloth, collect one crore rupees in a fortnight and utilize it for giving employment to all who were in need at a level wage of two rupees per day through the spinning-wheel and the like. Meetings were held and fierce resolutions were passed. Keys of safes were demanded. The indefatigable Mayor of Karachi met the men and in a lucid moment Sjt. Gajadhar said he would stop his activity if I disapproved of it. This was good enough for Sjt. Jamshed Mehta and his friends and Sjt. Gajadhar who by this time had become a Mahatma came to me as also later Sjts. Sidhwa and Isherdas. I recognized in Sjt. Gajadhar an old correspondent who always tried my and my co-workers' patience by sending long letters and even wires. We became friends on sight. I had to give him nearly two hours I could scarcely spare. The upshot of it all was that he promised to stop his activity though I did not carry conviction to him. Whether he will carry out his promise remains to be seen. Even if he does not, the workers of Karachi will be able to deal effectively with any crisis that may arise.

But the incident of Karachi is a portent. If the acts of Congressmen are not firm and absolutely correct, there is every danger of the Congress and all other healthy activities being swallowed up by the onrushing floods for want of the necessary embankment of discipline. Storms and floods there always will be. But discipline is to disorder what bulwarks and embankments are to storms and floods.

The awakening of the masses hitherto drugged into sleep by ignorance and despotism can easily prove their own undoing together with a wreckage of the social structure. The attempt of the Congress is to reform the social structure, remove abuses and at the same time help the masses to occupy the position of which they have been long deprived.

Behind the crazy demand of Sjt. Gajadhar Shau there was a substratum of truth. Unemployment there undoubtedly was and still is in Karachi as elsewhere, as throughout the 7,00,000 villages of India. No society can long endure that harbours or creates an army of unemployed. There is something wrong in such society. There must therefore be some occupation always available for those who will work. The Karachi scheme asked for employment through the charkha. Unfortunately the author knew no more perhaps about the charkha than the name. But I do believe that in its extensive meaning so as to include all the cotton pro-

cesses from picking to weaving and washing, colouring and tailoring, it does provide permanent and unlimited occupation for the city-dwellers as well as the villagers. This does not exclude other occupations. But this one thing may be adopted anywhere and everywhere.

One thing we must rigidly guard against and that is free kitchens. Free kitchens are a dangerous institution designed to manufacture paupers. Public kitchens may be run wherever they are a felt want. Everyone can work for a meal and be sure of getting a cheap clean meal in healthy surroundings. It is necessary for us to learn that it is a sin to give a free meal to one who is fit to do any remunerative work at all.

*Young India*, 14-5-1931

## *153. 'NO CHANGE OF HEART'*

This heading has no reference to change of heart among the rulers. It refers to absence of change of heart among ourselves according to the following impeachment[1] of a Sindhi correspondent.

I believe that the complaint about foreign cloth is substantially correct. There is not in the cities at least that real change of taste such that the people will not touch foreign cloth whether it comes from England, Japan, France or elsewhere. Though the intellect admits the desirability of abjuring foreign cloth, the heart yearns after the fineries which only come from foreign countries. Love of self predominates over love of the country or rather love of the semi-starved millions.

Picketing of foreign-cloth shops has but a limited use. The real thing is the education of the masses in these matters. Better even than education is the example of workers and better still is teaching the people how to produce cheap khadi through self-spinning. In practice all the three methods will go together. There must be therefore imparting to the people a knowledge of the economics of boycott through khadi. People should know from well-chosen illustrations how khadi can bring and has brought prosperity to the villages. People should come in touch with sincere workers who are habitual wearers of khadi and should be enabled to know how to prepare their own khadi in their own

[1] Not reproduced here. The correspondent had complained that the old love for foreign cloth was still alive and blamed Gandhiji for having a soft corner for the mill-owners. *Vide* also pp. 26-7.

villages. Congress workers should therefore have a competent knowledge of the boycott and khadi literature, they must be honest wearers of khadi and they must know the cotton processes sufficiently so as to be able to instruct those who would know how to gin, card, spin or even weave.

Those therefore who realize that boycott of foreign cloth and manufacture and use of khadi are permanent institutions of the highest economic value will welcome the Settlement which enables them to know how far the people have been converted to the national ideal. Our real strength must lie in the people doing in normal times the things they did in abnormal times under the severe pressure of public opinion or worse.

One word as to the mills. I have no tender spot in me for our mills. They are well able to take care of themselves. They have still many limitations to overcome. They have not yet put the national interest before that of the agents, owners and shareholders. But after having said all this I would like the correspondent to test the truth of the fact that they have striven this time to respond to the national call be it to ever so small an extent. And this apart from the financial aid they might have given to the movement. I should count that help of no import, if they did not regulate prices and production. I believe that they made an honest attempt in that direction.

Much however has yet to be done by them. They have not yet frankly recognized the premier place khadi has in national economy. They have not yet organized the foreign cloth merchants for change of their trade to swadeshi, they have not yet learnt the inestimable value of regarding themselves as trustees for the whole nation including the mill-hands. But this change will come if the Congressmen will play the game. Conversion, not coercion, must be the aim.

*Young India*, 14-5-1931

## *154. ANGLO-INDIANS*

Dr. H. W. B. Moreno writes:[1]

I can only say that every community would be on a par with every other under the swaraj Constitution. I invite the attention of all the minorities concerned to the Fundamental Rights Resolution[2] of the Congress. So far as the Working Committee could, it took care to see that the rights of minorities were fully secured under that Resolution. That Resolution is now before the Congress Committee with a view to strengthening it. All those who have useful suggestions should send them to the Committee for consideration.

But I know that this is not what Dr. Moreno wants. He wants to know where the Anglo-Indians will come in specifically. My answer is they would come in where their merit would take them. There would most decidedly be nothing to prevent them from occupying the highest position that any other Indian may be capable of occupying. The fact however is that the Anglo-Indians as a class have occupied or attempted to occupy the position of rulers. They have not as a class taken part in the national movement. They have isolated themselves in their favoured position. Under swaraj there will be no favoured position for anybody. Hence like the Englishmen whose cry for equality means retention of favoured position the Anglo-Indians may feel aggrieved that they would be at a disadvantage under swaraj if they did not have the present favoured position guaranteed.

I hope however that Dr. Moreno has no such favouritism in view. If I know him correctly, I expect he seeks information about the submerged Anglo-Indians. Of them I can say with confidence that I should be surprised if they did not in common with the submerged of the other communities find themselves in a better position than they are in today. Anyway, there are enough Congressmen who are pledged to the abolition of all unjust privileges, all unnatural inequalities. If the condition of the masses is found to undergo rapid improvement under swaraj, the

[1] The letter is not reproduced here. The correspondent wanted to know what the position of the Anglo-Indian community would be under the new constitution for India.

[2] *Vide* Vol. XLV, pp. 370-2.

Anglo-Indian poor must share it to the fullest extent possible. The Congress aims at swaraj for the whole nation and not a section. And it will fight on till that end is achieved. I therefore invite all the minorities to join the national movement and to hasten the advent of the happy day. Let it not also be said of any of them that in the hour of the nation's trial, they stood aside and came in to enjoy their share of the happiness. They will get the share but they will not relish it even as a man who has not toiled for his meal cannot enjoy it though it is placed before him.

*Young India*, 14-5-1931

## *155. THE ALLAHABAD CONGRESS HOSPITAL : AN APPEAL*

In June last year Pandit Motilal Nehru visited Bombay and saw the good work that the Congress hospital was doing there. He was impressed by this and, on his return to Allahabad, he expressed a desire that a similar hospital be started in Allahabad also. . . . Largely owing to the generosity of friends in Bombay, some funds and material were collected for the proposed hospital. On Pandit Motilalji's discharge from prison, the hospital was formally started in a wing of Swaraj Bhawan. . . .

The limited funds collected have now been exhausted and the committee had to consider whether it should continue the hospital or not. . . .

This appeal for financial assistance is therefore being issued in the hope that there will be a generous response to it. The question of having a permanent hospital in Swaraj Bhawan has not been decided yet. But the committee would like to have sufficient funds for the carrying on of the hospital for at least three years. The estimated expenditure on the hospital, if it is run on its present limited scale, is rupees one thousand a month. . . .

KAMALA NEHRU
MOHANLAL NEHRU
RAMAKANT MALAVIYA

*May 11, 1931*

I hope that the foregoing appeal[1] will receive a quick response from the public. It has been purposely not signed by any except those who are connected with the management of the hospital, because it is not to be in any way considered as a national memorial. But the appeal is not the less important on

[1] Of which only extracts are reproduced above

CWMG - XLVI

that account. Thirty-six thousand rupees to carry out a wish of Pandit Motilal Nehru is a paltry sum. I hope, therefore, that there will be no delay and no hesitation in responding to the appeal made by Shrimati Kamala Nehru and her co-signatories. The reader should know that from the commencement of the hospital she has been its soul. The public may wonder why the appeal treats the hospital as a temporary thing. The idea is to watch how the institution works and by actual experience to know what will be the real need. Moreover, whilst everything is in the melting pot, it was thought that the wisest course would be for the time being to be satisfied with meeting the daily need.

*Young India*, 14-5-1931

## *156. FOR THE DANDI PILGRIMS*

All the fellow pilgrims who undertook the march to Dandi on 12th March 1930[1] being scattered all over and not being in constant touch with me, it is necessary to remind them through these columns that they are still under the same discipline and vows that they took before beginning the march and after. They are therefore expected to keep an accurate diary of the day's work from day to day, to attend to the two prayers, to keep their wants as low as possible and therefore to keep their diet as simple as possible and to do the daily sacrificial spinning. Those who are living in villages can conduct village schools, teaching the children in addition to a knowledge of the three R's, hand-spinning and other processes of cotton, insisting on their attending to personal hygiene and village games and athletics, doing village cleaning themselves, seeking at the same time the assistance of the villagers and their children and collecting and tabulating all the necessary information about the villagers. The workers would also find out those using foreign cloth and intoxicating drinks and drugs and try to wean them from both by paying them friendly visits and otherwise creating public opinion in the villages in these matters. They will wherever possible and necessary organize peaceful picketing. Of course they would seek to remove untouchability. The workers should send to Sjt. Chhaganlal Joshi a report every month of their work including an abstract from their diary. Needless to say they are

[1] *Vide* Vol. XLIII, pp. 454-5.

expected to keep an accurate account of every pice they may spend and receive.

While these instructions are meant for and binding on the original pilgrims, they may serve as a guide for all the national workers as well in cities as in villages. There will be naturally some changes in the cities. There is no Hindu-Muslim quarrel in the villages but national workers in cities have to add this essential service to the others.

*Young India*, 14-5-1931

## *157. HOW THEY ARE TAUGHT*

A correspondent who gives his name and address writes from Wilmington, North Carolina.[1]

> The newspapers tell of your efforts together with many others of your nation for complete independence, which is good in itself, but they also give accounts of Indian life and that show that you lack understanding what freedom really is and upon what it rests in the beginning. . . .
>
> India is trying for independence by her very endeavour from God's Rule as well as from a Christian nation, whereas the greatest enemy of India are the majority of Indians, who neither thoroughly understand God's Holy Will or even her Christian neighbour, England.
>
> Just as it was an act of charity and goodness on the part of God to provide more ample clothing for the fallen and erring parents of ours, mine as well as yours, so is the endeavour of England and others to provide for India more cloth only as an act of Christian charity and goodness. . . .
>
> India should first of all seek ample clothing and education on the Holy Will of God as narrated in Holy Scripture as a base to obtain independence. . . .
>
> The greatest enemy of India causing the most oppression and suffering is ignorance on your own part and that of the people, not England. . . .

I have made hardly two alterations in the text for easier reading. The correspondent addresses me "Dear friend in Jesus Christ". His sincerity is as clear as his ignorance. The reason why I publish the letter is to show how even in the enlightened West people can be mistaught. In this letter there is ignorance of history and, if I may venture to say so, ignorance even of the Bible. This letter represents teaching of one type.

[1] Only extracts are reproduced here.

CWMG - XLVI

A correspondent from New York the other day sent me cuttings showing how events in India were misreported and misrepresented. The correspondent warned me against being deceived by the attention paid to me by American Pressmen here into believing that the whole of America was bubbling with enthusiasm for us. He implied that for one sympathetic message or article there were ninety-nine prejudiced articles or reports belittling everything Indian.

Reginald Reynolds cites a third variety. He thinks that the English people from their infancy have no chance of knowing the truth about India. False history is dinned into the ears of boys and girls. The table talk too about India is no better. Of this type of teaching we here have also some experience. We know what history we learn in schools and what we have to unlearn by bitter experience. We are taught to imagine the blessings and virtues of British rule; we learn, as we grow, to know the contrary. Our greatest enemy is therefore ignorance spread often wilfully to prejudice us. It is true that we have also to clean our own stables but not in the sense and the manner suggested by the Wilmington correspondent.

*Young India*, 14-5-1931

## *158. 'JUDGE LYNCH DECIDES'*

A correspondent writes:

> I am taking the liberty of enclosing herewith a small cutting from the *Literary Digest* which will speak for itself. I wonder what you think of the whole shameful affair? I dare say you meet many an American visitor or interviewer who often demand of you a message to their country or invite you to their continent. Would it be too much to ask of you to give them a message to see that such atrocities as lynching of a hapless and coloured race are put a stop to?

The cutting he referred to has the above heading and reads as follows:[1]

This does make sad reading. If we had no faith in the ultimate Good, we would lose all hope. I have faith and therefore hope that this lynching will yield place to proper justice. I do not pretend to the influence over American opinion that the correspondent credits me with. But I have no doubt that the

[1] The report is not reproduced here. It described how a Negro was lynched.

people of that continent are fully alive to the evil and are trying their best to remove this blot on American humanity.

*Young India*, 14-5-1931

## *159. LETTER TO SYED AZMATULLAH*

*May 14, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter[1]. I can only give you my assurance that I shall do my best to promote Hindu-Muslim unity. What I am striving for is a heart unity. The solution of the constitutional question rests in many other hands than mine.

*Yours sincerely,*

From a photostat: S.N. 17034

## *160. LETTER TO HENRY NEIL[2]*

*May 14, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your characteristic letter[3]. Only I am not going to America in the near future.

*Yours sincerely,*

From a photostat: S.N. 17072

[1] The addressee had written: "If only you make it known to the Muslims that you would accept the other thirteen points of Mr. Jinnah, if separate electorates are given up, I assure you the Muslims would adopt a more accommodating attitude and agree to joint electorates. . . ."

[2] Judge Henry Neil, founder of the Centenarian Club

[3] The addressee had written: "I would like to be of service to your campaign for freedom. Especially if you should come here."

CWMG-XLVI

## *161. LETTER TO S. RANGOO RAM*

As at Sabarmati,
*May 14, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. It is not at all certain that I am going to London. The odds are that I am not. But if I do, personally I would like to accept the offer of Miss Muriel Lester who has an institution of hers somewhere in the East End. But as I do not know the ins and outs I have simply left it with Mr. C. F. Andrews who is fortunately now there and who knows all about me. Naturally I would love to accept your offer also but I have already told Miss Lester that if the political exigencies do not come in the way and if any reception committee that might be formed also does not come in the way and the choice rests with me, it shall be to live in her institution. Now you know my inclination. You will do what you like in consultation with Mr. C. F. Andrews or the committee that may be formed.

Please do not ask me to send anything for your magazine if only because I do not know what it is to be like. But you must forgive me also because I hardly get time to cope with the regular correspondence. I do not therefore like to take up even small things that may occupy only a few minutes because it is an aggregate of few minutes that makes a cycle.

*Yours sincerely,*

S. Rangoo Ram, Esq.
Indian Students Central Association
London S.W. 3

From a photostat: S.N. 17073

CWMG - XLVI

## 162. LETTER TO SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI

As at Sabarmati,
*May 14, 1931*

MY DEAR SURESH,

I have your letter. I do not see anything on the horizon to warrant the hope that peace will be established as a result of the Round Table Conference. On the contrary, as I have said openly, nature seems to be against us. I hold it to be impossible practically to get the constitution we want without a heart unity amongst the different communities. That unity is not likely to be forthcoming in the near future. There are many other things too that are against us. But as God confounds man's hopes and out of his disappointments brings forth hope, it is difficult to say precisely what is going to happen. My business-like answer to you therefore is you should hope for the best, prepare for the worst, but a satyagrahi's preparation for the worst and the best is always the same. You would still be spreading the gospel of the wheel. You would still be nursing the needy sick. You would still be looking after the pauper children and things of this kind are the best preparation for civil disobedience and the like when they come. Have I made myself quite clear to you? If not, tackle me again. Your own particular business is to become well. I have the extra Rs. 1,000 in mind. About the rest you will discuss with Jamnalalji when he comes to Calcutta which he will do some time or other. I am likely to be back in Borsad at the end of the month.

Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerji
Abhoy Ashram
Comilla (Bengal)

From a photostat: S.N. 17074

CWMG - XLVI

## 163. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, SIMLA

*May 14, 1931*

You will like to hear why I have come to Simla and what talk I am having with the Government. I cannot tell you everything, but I can tell you that I came to hold consultation with regard to the complaints on our side as well as on the Government side with regard to the Settlement arrived at between Lord Irwin and the Congress. These consultations still continue. What I have to emphasize is that if you are Congress sewak[1] and want to serve Hindustan, then it is your duty to observe that Agreement irrespective of whether the Government observes it or not.

After we have fulfilled our obligation, and if after that we find the Government has not fulfilled it we can take whatever step we like. We know that whatever settlement has been arrived at is conditional, but if we can use the settlement for some work, we should do it.

As a satyagrahi, if we get an opportunity for service as a result of understanding, we should welcome it. That opportunity came your way through the Settlement.

The Karachi Congress practically unanimously adopted it. Now our duty is what I have described. Do not think that after this Settlement we have to go to war. We should, on the other hand, do everything to see that we are not led to war and that the Settlement should become permanent, so that we may get *purna* swaraj.

You know the conditions that have been imposed by Congress on such of your delegates as will go to London to attend the Round Table Conference. But if, as the result of settlement, we cannot get complete swaraj, it is our ill-luck, and if our efforts towards a permanent settlement fail, we should be ready for a fresh struggle.

But there are two points more which I wish to emphasize besides the Settlement. If we wish to achieve what we want at the Round Table Conference, we must be properly equipped: and that equipment is that all the people of India—people who are born here and have made India their home, whether Hindus,

[1] Volunteer



CWMG - XLVI

Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, Parsis and others — should unite in the demand for swaraj. Unless we bring about such an understanding among ourselves my going to London is useless. Therefore we should all make such efforts as would make for unity among all communities in this country.

But I do not want unity on paper. If we write out a pact on paper, unity is not thereby achieved. The unity I want is the unity of heart and for that unity I always pray. And when that unity is achieved you will gain such strength as will give us success.

I am afraid my voice is not reaching you all and that you are feeling upset by rain. Let me pray to God that we may be saved a second struggle and that this Settlement may lead to final success.

As regards work, you have the Congress resolution before you and you have every scope for work in respect of the spread of khaddar and boycott of liquor. I thank you all.

*The Hindustan Times*, 16-5-1931

## *164. HOMAGE TO K. T. PAUL*

SIMLA,
*May 15, 1931*

I had the privilege of knowing Mr. K. T. Paul. The nearer I came to him the more I respected him. His Christianity appeared to me to be broad and tolerant. It not only did not interfere with his being a thorough nationalist, on the contrary, in his case it seemed to have deepened his nationalism. And in nationalist circles it will always be remembered, to the credit of the deceased, that he stoutly opposed the demand for any special concessions for Christian Indians in the forthcoming constitution, believing as he did that character and merit would always command not only proper treatment but respectful attention. His death especially at this time in the life of the nation is a distinct loss to the country.

From a photostat: S.N. 17075

CWMG - XLVI

## 165. CABLE TO "EVENING STANDARD"

[*May 15, 1931*][1]

Replying to *The Evening Standard's* question whether he is coming to London, Mr. Gandhi has cabled that it is contingent on certain circumstances, two of which are a satisfactory working of the Settlement and the solution of the communal question.

*Young India*, 21-5-1931, and *The Hindu*, 16-5-1931

## 166. INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS

SIMLA,
*May 15, 1931*

Mahatma Gandhi said his conversation was healthy and good and he was not seeing the Viceroy again in Simla. He would be seeing Mr. Emerson, the Home Secretary, again tomorrow and leaving Simla for Nainital positively on the 17th, Sunday.[2]

Mahatma Gandhi refused the answer the question if he was more optimistic regarding his going to London and the general political situation, and added:

For any further information you must go to the Viceregal Lodge.

While walking towards Sir Fazl Hussain's residence, he was asked whether he would favour Simla as the seat of the Swaraj Government. He replied:

We must go down five thousand storeys to the plains, for government should be among the people and for the people.

*The Hindustan Times*, 17-5-1931

[1] Reported from London on this date

[2] For the report of the interview with H. W. Emerson, *vide* Appendix VI.



CWMG-XLVI

## 167. TELEGRAM TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

SIMLA,
*May 16, 1931*

SARDAR VALLABHBHAI
BARDOLI

IF YOU HAVE HEARD FROM JAWAHARLAL SUGGEST YOUR HOLDING MEETING NINTH BARDOLI OR ANY OTHER PLACE YOU MAY THINK FIT. PROCEEDING NAINITAL TOMORROW.

BAPU

A.I.C.C. File No. 273, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

## 168. LETTER TO KHAN CHAND DEV

AS AT SABARMATI,
*May 16, 1931*

DEAR DR. KHAN CHAND,

I was glad to receive your exhaustive note and it came just in time. There will be difficulty about the release of the remaining prisoners. I must now ask you to give me copy of judgment and evidence in each case if it is at all possible or have a note prepared there on each case showing why you consider that the prisoners concerned fall within the Settlement. You must give me also a full description about the cases still pending.

*Yours sincerely,*

DR. KHAN CHAND DEV
BRADLAUGH HALL
LAHORE

From a microfilm: S.N. 17082

## 169. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

As at Sabarmati,
*May 16, 1931*

DEAR SATISBABU,

I have your two letters. Hemprabha Devi's condition makes me feel anxious. Please keep me informed.

Your description of the squabbles[1] there makes one sad and your reading of Subhasbabu sadder still. I am glad you are entirely keeping out of party affairs. The *Mussalman* cutting has not given me satisfaction. The translations of *Rashtravani* are good. I think you ought to add salt to your food. I had long chats here with the authorities on matters arising out of the Settlement. They are fairly satisfactory. I am now going to Nainital and then reach Borsad about the end of this month.

Syt. Satis Chandra Das Gupta
Khadi Pratishthan
Sodepur (Bengal)

From a photostat: S.N. 17083

## 170. LETTER TO A. FENNER BROCKWAY

As at Sabarmati,
*May 16, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your cablegram which has been redirected to me here. I am not replying by cable as my opinion remains the same as I explained to you in a previous letter. I gave you only one reason preventing me from going to London. But I should have mentioned another also namely the work of the Settlement. Though I am receiving help at the centre, local authorities are giving great deal of trouble in implementing the Settlement and they are accusing local Congressmen of breach on their

[1] Between Subhas Chandra Bose and J. M. Sen Gupta over the affairs of Bengal Provincial Congress Committee; *vide* footnote to p. 315.



CWMG - XIV

part. I have ample evidence and I am investigating every case of breach on the part of individuals, but in the vast majority of cases Congressmen have fully implemented the Settlement. I am making no mention whatsoever of breach on the part of the authorities whilst I am still negotiating with them and in the hope that things will be put right in the near future. But this thing practically takes away all my time and keeps me in India.

*Yours sincerely,*

FENNER BROCKWAY, ESQ.
RICKMANSWORTH
HERTS. (ENGLAND)

From a photostat: S.N. 17084

## *171. LETTER TO RAMLAL SINGH*

AS AT SABARMATI,
*May 16, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. Perhaps you do not know that I am under a vow[1] not to live at the Ashram until a full settlement is made and India has got what she wants. If you would stay at the Ashram notwithstanding this fact, I would like you please to write to the Manager of the Ashram and I have no doubt that he will admit you for the few weeks' stay.

Syt. Vithalbhai Patel's address is: C/o Thomas Cook & Son, London.

*Yours sincerely,*

THAKUR RAMLAL SINGH
KANTIT ESTATE
P.O. BIJAIPUR (MIRZAPUR)

From a microfilm: S.N. 17085

[1] *Vide* Vol. XLIII, pp. 46-8.

CWMG-XLVI

## 172. LETTER TO K. NATARAJAN

As at Sabarmati,
*May 16, 1931*

DEAR MR. NATARAJAN,

You will please excuse me for the delay in acknowledging your letter. You know the reason why. The statement imputed to me is a pure invention. The conclusion that the British regime is an evil was arrived at after laborious studies fortified by painful experiences. I have set forth the whole process in *Hind Swaraj* as also in *My Experiments with Truth*. It was good of Mr. Bittman that he refused to believe the report without verification. I may add that I do not even remember the meeting with Bishop Azariah. I return Mr. Bittman's letter.

*Yours sincerely,*

Encl. 1

SYT. K. NATARAJAN
"INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER" OFFICE,
BOMBAY

From a microfilm: S.N. 17086

## 173. NOTES

### HOW TO END DARKNESS?

A graduate asks:[1]

This is partly true. In a letter which is lying along with the above, I find the following: "Amongst us, the expenses incurred on the death of a person have been completely stopped, there is less of weeping and wailing, marriages are becoming simpler and less expensive." This is not surprising. Such reforms ought to come about at the end of a great sacrifice. What, however, is surprising is that despite the sacrifice, despite correct understanding of the situation, untouchability has not been totally uprooted. At many places the untouchables are still prohibited from drawing

[1] The letter is not translated here. It had complained that the people continued to be ignorant in spite of a year of struggle.



CWMG - XLVI

water from the village well, their children cannot freely attend all public schools, caste distinctions and considerations of high and low still persist, mutual quarrels still take place, girls continue to be sold, young men continue to expect to receive cash from a girl's father.

What is the reason for this?

Our attention is directed outwards, we do not look within ourselves. We find it exciting to fight the Government. We adopt those reforms which are absolutely necessary for carrying on that struggle and continuing it. But we find no excitement in fighting against ourselves, in carrying on a peaceful war against society, or we find it less exciting to do so.

Who will end this laxity?

Volunteers, graduates of the Vidyapith, women volunteers and *vanarsena*[1] "But if the salt hath lost its savour, wherewith shall it be salted?" The volunteers—both men and women—find this work uninteresting. They do not realize that swaraj cannot be won if these tasks are not done, or even if it is won, it cannot be preserved. It is clear as daylight that swaraj is nothing but the development of all sections of the people. Hence if the rural workers now come forward in large numbers and carry out these tasks silently and with determination and diligence, darkness will disappear and dawn will break.

## Bhagini Seva Sangh

Shri Karsandas Chitalia and Shrimati Surajbehn Manilal have jointly decided to set up an organization under this name. Thanks to the efforts of Shri Karsandas, the Bhagini Seva Mandir was built and opened in Vile Parle. He has now issued a pamphlet for the establishment of the Sangh. Whoever wishes to read the whole of it should obtain a copy from Shri Karsandas. It gives the following information about the Sangh:[2]

Women who have the following qualifications can join it:[3]

The pamphlet concludes as follows:[4]

I wish Shri Karsandas success in this enterprise.

[From Gujarati]

*Navajivan*, 17-5-1931

[1] Literally, "monkey-army"—name given to volunteer bands of children during the Civil Disobedience Movement.

[2], [3]&[4] These excerpts are not translated here.

## 174. OPINION UNCHANGED

Commenting on the article entitled "A Twentieth-Century Sati(?)[1]", Shri Mathuradas Devram writes as follows:[2]

I have published this letter for the sake of fairness. My opinion remains unaltered even after having known all these facts. The facts as they were published have been corroborated and so my grief is all the greater and my opinion has been strengthened. This is an example not of love but of strong emotion. What does man not do when overcome by emotion? If that very woman had survived, she could have perpetuated her husband's memory by her dedicated life. Having died, she did not accompany her husband. It is an error to believe that the relationship ends as soon as the body perishes. But even if that were at all true, she could not preserve that relationship. Just as her husband's body was reduced to ashes, hers too was reduced to ashes; hence along with the departure of the one, the other too followed suit. In this pathetic incident, I find nothing at all praiseworthy. I hope that even this woman's relatives do not consider this suicide as the act of a sati. Rather than teach women to love their husbands blindly, we should liberate them and show them through our conduct that the soul in a woman has equal rights with the soul in a man.

Now about Shri Mathuradas's last question. In the sentence "A woman who is a sati will participate in the function of procreation within limits," the phrase 'a woman who is a sati' has been used to denote a woman of good character whose husband is alive. My ideal is to make husbands and wives practise total celibacy. If that is not possible, my purpose was to say that both should, within limits, participate in the function of procreation. That is to say, sexual union between the two should be permitted only for the sake of this function and that too for the limited number of children that both desire. This, in my opinion, is limited self-restraint.

[From Gujarati]

*Navajivan*, 17-5-1931

[1] *Vide* pp. 73-5.

[2] The letter is not translated here. It had described and justified the action of the woman who had burnt herself on the pyre of her husband.

## *175. PUBLIC EXPENSE*[1]

No province in India has enjoyed such privileges in the matter of public funds as Gujarat. The Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee has never found its exchequer empty. Nor have its district or taluk branches ever been left to want the funds that they needed. It has been my conviction for years that such affluence cannot be good for any public institution. There comes a point in the life of every institution that has a prestige in public, when it experiences this plethora of funds and all the risks and dangers attendant on it. At that time, if it does not take care and does not spend like a miser, it is bound to come to grief. Because an institution happens to have plenty of funds it does not mean that it should anyhow spend away every pie that it possesses. The golden rule is not to hesitate to ask for or spend even a crore when it is absolutely necessary and when it is not, to hoard up every pie though one may have a crore of rupees at one's disposal.

I am afraid that this golden rule has not been always followed by the Gujarat Committees. In fact I should not be surprised if I discovered the existence even of a certain laxity in this respect. I would therefore suggest to every Taluka and District Congress committee in Gujarat to hold a close scrutiny into its accounts and to relentlessly apply the axe wherever it is found to be necessary. We may not build a pucca building when a thatched cottage would do. We may not use a motor-car when a bullock-cart would serve the purpose and we must avoid the bullock-cart when the journey can be made on foot. Similarly the rigidest economy should be exercised in regulating the expenses of feeding the workers. The best course would be for all Congress organizations to get their account books inspected by some experienced person who knows how to economize public expenditure and to invite criticisms and suggestions from him for future guidance. Ten years ago there used to be a golden rule in Gujarat that every District, Village or Taluka Congress Committee was expected to raise sufficient funds at least for its needs and to deposit them with the Provincial Congress Committee. The

[1] The original Gujarati of this was published in *Navajivan* on May 17. This is a translation by Pyarelal.

practice remained in force for some years and then fell into abeyance. Now all district organizations draw upon the Provincial Committee for funds. This is a dangerous situation. What guarantee is there that the exchequer of the Provincial Congress Committee will always remain brimful? Nor is it right for the Provincial Congress Committee to entertain such an ambition. It is therefore high time that the good old rule were revived. We may rest assured that funds will automatically come when there is good work done and there is need for them. Only we shall have to cultivate sufficient self-confidence and faith in our mission. It would be worth while to draw attention here to the rule laid down by the Congress in this connection. The All-India National Congress does not supply funds to the provinces; it is the latter that are required to contribute ten per cent of their income to the central organization. Why should not this rule apply to the provincial organizations as well? And why should not the districts be made to contribute ten per cent or a fair proportion of their income to provincial organizations? It is simply ridiculous for the provinces to be required to finance district organizations. In fact it is almost like a person trying to walk on his head instead of naturally on his feet. Such topsyturvydom cannot last for long.

"But what about times of emergency?" some doubting reader will perhaps, here, ask. "Do these rules of economy prescribed by you apply even when the country is in a state of war?" My reply is: "Certainly they do, even more when war is going on than when all is safe and well." God forbid, but should fighting have to be resumed, we shall need to have the capacity to carry on with the minimum of funds or even without funds. It is a fundamental principle of satyagraha that the tyrant whom the satyagrahi seeks to resist has power over his body and material possessions but he can have no power over the soul. The soul can remain unconquered and unconquerable even when the body is imprisoned. The whole science of satyagraha was born from a knowledge of this fundamental truth. In the purest form of satyagraha there should be no need for conveyances, carriage fare or even of doing *Hijrat*[1]. And in case *Hijrat* has to be performed it will be done by journeying on foot. The *Hijratis* would have to be satisfied with whatever hard fare falls to their lot and keep smiling when even that fails. When we have developed this 'be careful for nothing' attitude, we shall be saved from many a botheration and trouble and freedom will dance attendance upon

[1] Emigration enjoined on Muslims when faced with religious persecution

us. Nor should one suppose that a 'careful for nothing' person shall have always to be starving. God that provides the little ant its speck of food and to the elephant his daily one maund bolus will not neglect to provide man with his daily meal. Nature's creatures do not worry or fret about tomorrow but simply wait on tomorrow for the daily sustenance. Only man in his overweaning pride and egotism imagines himself to be the lord and master of the earth and goes on piling up for himself goods that perish. Nature tries every day by its rude shocks to wean him from his pride but he refuses to shed it. Satyagraha is a specific for bringing home to one the lesson of humility. We have travelled so much distance during the last year, we have gone through so much suffering and had so many rich experiences that we ought to have sufficient faith in us to be able to feel that if we throw ourselves upon God's mercy untroubled by doubt or fear, it would be well with us.

*Young India*, 21-5-1931

## *176. LETTER TO BHUPENDRA NARAYAN SEN*

As at Sabarmati,
*May 17, 1931*

MY DEAR BHUPEN,

I have your letter. You will see the use I have made of your reference to Habu's mother[1]. Why have you not got her name? You should have known her age also and had a snapshot. Just now my movement has again become uncertain. I do not know when I shall go to Bardoli. But as soon as I am fixed up somewhere for some time, both of you may certainly come and stay with me.

*Yours sincerely,*

Syt. Bhupendra Narayan Sen
Khadi Mandal
Calcutta

From a microfilm: S.N. 17087

[1] *Vide* pp. 189-90.

CWMG - XLVI

## 177. LETTER TO A. SUBBIAH

As at Sabarmati,
*May 17, 1931*

MY DEAR SUBBIAH,

I got your letter just as I was moving from Borsad. Since then there has been no time before now. I understand your difficulties. I am therefore sending your letter to Rajaji and asking him to relieve you as soon as he can. This is unfortunate but it is inevitable. I agree with you that you must be with Seshan and you owe a duty to Lalita also. Your indifferent health is an additional reason for relieving you. I shall be in Borsad about the end of this month. We are leaving Simla this afternoon to go to Nainital which we reach tomorrow, Monday. If your health permits, you will not leave Rajaji till he is otherwise suited and you should leave him with the intention of returning to him whenever you are free and he needs you.

Syt. A. Subbiah
Gandhi Ashram
Tiruchengodu (S. India)

From a microfilm: S.N. 17089

## 178. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

As at Sabarmati,
*May 17, 1931*

Here is a letter from Subbiah. I think you should relieve him at the earliest opportunity. The question is what you will do.

Somebody had sent Mr. Emerson your printed circular of instructions. He was most enthusiastic about it and asked me specially to congratulate you on his behalf. I had a very busy time here, also profitable but exasperating. Local Governments have responded only up to a point. Evidently they have not liked the Settlement. To get them to implement the Settlement is therefore like drawing the lion's teeth. All the grace is therefore lost.

With Lord Willingdon we exchanged courtesies, renewed the old acquaintance and the work being finished I am now off to Nainital to meet Sir Malcolm Hailey over the U.P. troubles. More from Mahadev if he has been writing to you. Do write if you have the time, but not otherwise.

Encl. 1

SYT. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR
GANDHI ASHRAM
TIRUCHENGODU (S. INDIA)

From a microfilm: S.N. 17090

## *179. INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS*

*May 17, 1931*

Mahatma Gandhi stated that he was on the whole satisfied with his visit and he was able to understand that so far as the Central Government was concerned they were trying to give effect to the terms of the Delhi Pact. He reiterated his attitude that he would go to the London Conference if the communal question was solved and if there was a satisfactory working of the Pact throughout India.

As for the communal problem itself he recognized there was a good deal of mistrust but after Bhopal discussions; he was more optimistic.

QUESTION. Supposing you or the Congress do not attend the Round Table Conference and the Conference produces a constitution which is approved by Parliament. What would be the attitude of the Congress ?

ANSWER. I may speak on behalf of the Congress that it will examine the scheme and if good, will certainly work it.

Q. Do you believe in self-determination ?

A. Yes.

Q. Would you allow any province to exercise self-determination and separate herself from India?

A. I shall fight through reason but shall not impose my will by force of arms.

Pressed regarding his views on the communal problem, he reiterated his position that if the Sikhs and Mohammedans presented agreed demands, he would accept them unhesitatingly[1].

[1] What follows is from *The Statesman*.

When asked whether he did not think it a pity that nation-wide progress should wait for local settlements, he said:

Well, if we can look after the pennies, we can look after the pounds too. Why do I insist on this? These local settlements are like the straws which show the way the wind is blowing, and that wind may turn the weather-vane even of the Round Table Conference —even perhaps veer it right round.

Q. *The Bombay Chronicle* says: "Need we repeat that the most effective method speeding up the work of the Round Table Conference and making it completely successful, is to intensify the boycott of foreign cloth?" That obviously means that *The Bombay Chronicle* regards the boycott as a political weapon and as a discriminatory weapon, because a boycott of Japanese cloth could hardly speed up the work of the Round Table Conference. Don't you think that that sort of talk is inconsistent with both the spirit and the letter of the Delhi Agreement?

A. I have not seen the article from which you have quoted. But I can say broadly that it would be inconsistent both with the spirit and the letter of the Pact to think of the foreign-cloth boycott as a political weapon. Foreign cloth includes Japanese cloth just as much as British cloth, if not much more at present, for the simple reason that it ousts khadi and Indian mill cloth far more effectively than British cloth. The economic and social reasons for the boycott are all-sufficing.

Q. How far are you prepared to go to conciliate the British Conservatives' anxiety about safeguards?

A. To the utmost extent, consistent with the interests and honour of India.

In answer to the question whether he thought the local difficulties in respect of the Agreement would be removed, say by July, Gandhiji replied:

That I can't say. But of course, I hope so, and I have hopes that they will.

Q. And the Hindu-Muslim question? What do you think of the steps taken at the Bhopal meetings of Muslims?

A. They are encouraging, and both the Muslim parties are evidently doing their best to arrive at unity among themselves. But, of course, when I speak of the Hindu-Muslim question I mean the entire communal question. When the Hindu-Muslim side of the matter is brought up, the Sikhs, for instance, will have their say. There will be difficulties. I hope that they will not prove insurmountable.

Q. So you will really go to the Round Table Conference, whether early or late, when those two problems are out of the way?

A. Yes, certainly. And I shall be very pleased to go, because I hope that when I get to England I shall find the British people not uninterested in what I have to say and open to conviction by what I tell them. Or, at the worst, I hope I shall persuade them that I am only a harmless lunatic.

Q. And Lord Rothermere?

A. Oh yes. . . . even Lord Rothermere.

*The Hindustan Times*, 20-5-1951, and *The Statesman*, 19-5-1931

## *180. MESSAGE TO KARNATAK PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE*[1]

[*May 18, 1931*][2]

The resolution on fundamental rights is the most important resolution of the Congress. It shows what kind of swaraj the Congress wants to achieve. That swaraj is the poor man's swaraj or *Ramarajya*. Rama symbolized justice and equity, Rama symbolized truth and charity.

The resolution insists on religious toleration, which means, that no one will be prevented from discharging his religious obligations, and the State shall favour no religion.

Justice and equity mean the establishment of just and equitable relations between capital and labour, between the landlord and the tenant. The landlord and the capitalist will cease to exploit the tenant and the labourer but will studiously protect his interests.

Not that these things will be there as a matter of course as soon as we get the powers. I only mean that they will follow as the natural consequence of truth and non-violence if swaraj is achieved by those means. The question is whether we are following truth and non-violence. *Ramarajya* cannot be the result of truth and non-violence followed as a mere temporary expedient or policy. *Ramarajya* can only come out of truth and non-violence pursued as a creed. Could a son ever fulfil his filial duties as a policy? Policy is essentially a temporary expedient which one might alter as circumstances altered. It is easy enough to follow truth and

[1] *Vide* also p. 125.

[2] According to Mahadev Desai, Gandhiji wrote this message "last Monday". May 18 was a Monday.

non-violence so long as no sacrifice or suffering is involved, but he who adheres to them in all circumstances even at the cost of life follows them as a creed. It is time truth and non-violence were a creed and not policy with us Congressmen.

Let us therefore find out what parts of the resolution we can enforce even now. If we do not enforce the things that can be enforced today, swaraj will be meaningless, for we will not suddenly do after swaraj things which we can do but will not do today.

The resolution states that there shall be no untouchability under the swaraj constitution. Have we cast out the canker of untouchability? The resolution says that under the swaraj constitution there shall be no facilities for the licensing of liquor and drug shops. Have we cast out the drug and drink evil from our midst? The resolution goes on to say that under swaraj all foreign cloth would be banned from India. But have we given up our infatuation for foreign cloth and become khaddar clad? Similarly under swaraj, according to this resolution, Hindus and Mussalmans and Christians will live together like true blood brothers. Have we cleansed our hearts of distrust and suspicion of one another? Under swaraj, which the resolution pictures, there shall be no hatred or ill-will between the rich and the poor. Have the rich identified themselves with the poor, and have the poor ceased to have ill-will toward the rich? Under the swaraj constitution we want the maximum monthly emoluments of officials not to exceed Rs. 500. But do those who are getting more today devote the balance to philanthropic purposes? Have our millionaires adjusted their standard of living to this scale of payment?

It is difficult to give a decisive reply to these questions today. We are today slowly groping our way towards our ideal of *Ramarajya* or the Kingdom of Righteousness. This resolution is intended to keep this goal constantly before our eyes and to stimulate our endeavours to attain it.

*Young India*, 28-5-1931

## *181. LETTER TO PRABHASHANKAR PATTANI*

*May 18, 1931*

SUJNA BHAISHRI,

I got your letter. Your complaint is entirely justified. I have written to Bhai Fulchand. Need I give you a time to see me? In fact you do not come at all. You have a right to come

and see me wherever I may be and whenever you may wish to. I am going today from here to Nainital, and from there I shall go to Borsad, where I shall reach by the 27th instant. You may come here. The air and water of the place are good and the accommodation also may be said to be fairly good.

*Vandemataram from*
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5916. Also C.W. 3231. Courtesy: Mahesh Pattani

## *182. LETTER TO SHARDA C. SHAH*

*May 18, 1931*

CHI. SHARDA,

I have your letter. Do not spoil your handwriting. Read the translation of a poem on handwriting by Ramdas Swami which I had sent. Send me a copy of it. I shall publish it in *Navajivan* some time.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From the Gujarati: C. W. 9901. Courtesy: Shardabehn G. Chokhawala

## *183. TELEGRAM TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL*[1]

NAINITAL,
*May 18, 1931*

TO
SARDAR VALLABHBHAI
BARDOLI

SUGGEST YOUR SEEING COLLECTOR ALSO COMMISSIONER. AM WIRING SIMLA. HOPE REACHING BORSAD ABOUT TWENTYFIFTH.

BAPU

A.I.C.C. File No. 273, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

[1]In reply to the addressee's telegram which read: "Harassment peasants Valod Mahal continues. Pending cases not withdrawn still. Confiscated lands not returned in spite offer current year revenue. Yesterday police posted several places prevent peasants entering their fields. Wire programme."

CWMG - XLVI

## *184. LETTER TO JAMNADAS GANDHI*

NAINITAL,
*May 18, 1931*

CHI. JAMNADAS,

We have just arrived here. Prabhudas and Dhiru have come with me. I got your telegram. If Prabhashankar agrees to take Ratilal under his care and Ratilal is willing, where is the need to consult me in the matter? We have of course to think how to meet his expenses. Discuss the matter with Nanalal and then write to me. I understand from Champa that at present she obtains the money she requires for her expenses from Nanalal. Did you write a detailed letter to the Doctor? The problem is becoming more and more complicated. Have a talk with both Ratilal and Prabhashankar and then write to me. I expect to reach Borsad about the 25th inst.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 9322. Courtesy: Jamnadas Gandhi

## *185. LETTER TO V. A. SUNDARAM*

NAINITAL,
*May 18, 1931*

MY DEAR SUNDARAM,

I had no time to give you a letter for the Austrian friends. Here is the letter now as also a *hundi*[1] for Rs. 1000 on Jamnalalji's firm in Bombay. If you do not go to Bombay you can cash it anywhere. You need not pay any discount. If it is demanded you should return the *hundi* to me and tell me where you would have the money.

When will you be going? The money is earmarked for the European visit and no other purpose.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 3203

[1] A bill of exchange or draft

## *186. LETTER TO DUDABHAI*

NAINITAL,
*May 18, 1931*

BHAI DUDABHAI,

I have decided to give Lakshmi in marriage to a non-*Antyaja*. It seems necessary to me to do that. Let me know what you think in the matter. It will do if you send your reply to the Ashram.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3243

## *187. LETTER TO MAHAVIR GIRI*

*May 18, 1931*

CHI. MAHAVIR,

I got your letter. I am glad that you have changed your mind. You should remain where you are and learn to study. Take the help of Shivabhai and others whenever it is available. Write to me from time to time. Tell me how you have planned your study. One should learn to study by one's own effort. If a person has sufficient zeal to increase his knowledge he finds out for himself what and how to study.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6229

CWMG - XLVI

## *188. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK*

NAINITAL,
*May 18, 1931*

CHI. PREMA,

I liked your letter very much indeed. I see that during the journey you had observed things intelligently. I should like Kisan also to send me a description of her experiences. She may write either in English or Marathi.

Take great care of Lakshmi. My idea is to marry her to a non-*Antyaja*. She should be able to take her place in such a family. She should know cooking, and also how to run a home. She should know how to keep accounts. It would be excellent if she knew a little Sanskrit. Even if she does not know Sanskrit she should be able to recite the prayer verses and verses from the *Gita* with correct pronunciation.

All girls should know this. We ought not to neglect their education. Write to me in detail. Let me know your experience regarding Lakshmi.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10254. Also C.W. 6702. Courtesy: Premabehn Kantak

## *189. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT*

*May 18, 1931*

CHI. VASUMATI,

Though there is no letter from you, I am writing this letter as today is my silence day. Have you started working among the people of Nagarwada and other places? I suppose you are now required to report yourself only once to the police station. I hope to reach Borsad about the 25th instant.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9323. Also C.W. 539. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

## *190. LETTER TO FULCHAND K. SHAH*

NAINITAL,
*May 18, 1931*

BHAI FULCHAND,

Pattani Saheb writes to tell me that at the Bhavnagar session you had resolutions passed on the policy of the Jamnagar State, and also indulged in criticism of that State. This is against our policy. If you agree with this view, you should write in the matter to Pattaniji. Bhavnagar gives us many facilities and I do not wish that they should be misused.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 2843. Courtesy: Shardabehn Shah

## *191. TELEGRAM TO JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM*[1]

NAINITAL,
*May 19, 1931*

JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM
HYDERABAD (SIND)

ABSOLUTELY PEACEFUL PICKETING ORIGINAL SHOPS MAY CONTINUE BUT NOT FOR FINES.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 17103

[1] In reply to the addressee's telegram in which he had described how in Mirpurkhas seals had been broken and fresh foreign cloth had been surreptitiously introduced and had asked for telegraphic instructions whether "under above circumstances original shops may be picketed also if picketing permissible for recovery fines". *Vide* also p. 116.



CWMG - XLVI

## *192. LETTER TO N. R. MALKANI*

AS AT SABARMATI,
*May 19, 1931*

MY DEAR MALKANI,

I have your letter. I know nothing about the proposal to appoint you Secretary of the Sind branch of the A.I.S.A. Shankerlal does not worry me over the working of the Association. When he needs any opinion from me he writes. I am glad you have overhauled the Hyderabad Khadi Bhandar. I do not understand the opening of a central bhandar at Karachi. Are there not two or three going even at present including the one on behalf of the Meerut Ashram by Kikibehn? If there are these bhandars going on, would it not be an interference with the existing bhandars? You will do what Shankerlal suggests. If the Karachi project falls through or even if it does not, I would certainly like your settling down in a village. I attach far greater importance to it than to city work. But you can settle down in a village only if Syt. Choithram and Jairamdas agree. I have always felt that house to house propaganda is far more effective than picketing if the former is done systematically and persistently. I wish I could read and understand your translation.

BAPU

SYT. NARAINDAS R. MALKANI
C/O THE SIND PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE
HYDERABAD (SIND)

From a photostat: G.N. 898

CWMG - XLVI

## 193. LETTER TO QUMER AHMED[1]

As at Sabarmati,
*May 19, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. I would welcome anything that will remove the present deadlock. But what I notice is that the heart is lacking.

*Yours sincerely,*
M. K. Gandhi

From a photostat: G.N. 5119

## 194. LETTER TO DENNIS C. TROTH[2]

Nainital,
*May 19, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter for which I thank you. I am very sorry to inform you that I have no time to write the article you want.

*Yours sincerely,*

From a microfilm: S.N. 17003

## 195. LETTER TO SAILENDRA NATH GHOSE

Nainital,
*May 19 [1931]*[3]

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. I appreciate your anxiety for me to visit America but I cannot summon enough courage for

[1] The name of the addressee is supplied from the G. N. register.

[2] Professor of Education and Psychology, State College, Pennsylvannia, U.S.A.

[3] The year is inferred from the contents of the addressee's letter in which he had written: "What America may mean to the coming negotiations between you and the British Premier will be understood by you only when you will come to this country. The importance of America can be judged from the fact that all the biggest guns of the British—Churchill, Baldwin and a host of lesser figures will be coming to this country next fall to speak on India. . . . For the success of your negotiations—for the interests of India—it is absolutely desirable that you make up your mind to come to this country after the London Conference. . . ."



CWMG - XLVI

the visit as yet and you will have observed that many friends dissuade me from such a visit. You must have seen even my going to London is an uncertainty.

*Yours sincerely,*

From a photostat: S.N. 17013

## *196. LETTER TO DURGA PRASANNA CHATTERJEE*

NAINITAL,
*May 19, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter[1]. I have no power to help you in the matter referred to by you. But let me point out to you that to gain representation is surely not the way to deal with the undoubtedly critical economic situation in Bengal.

*Yours sincerely,*

From a microfilm: S.N. 17071

## *197. LETTER TO GULSHAN RAI*

NAINITAL,
*May 19, [1931]*[2]

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter[3] and the cuttings which I shall read with attention.

*Yours sincerely,*

From a photostat: S.N. 17076

[1] The addressee had written to Gandhiji for "directions as to the best course the poor Bengali merchants should adopt in their utter helplessness so far as their position is concerned in relation to the ensuing Indian Constitutional Reform measures, Franchise Committee and the Second Round Table Conference. . . ." He felt that "the absence of a competent representative from Bengal. . . has put the Bengali mercantile community in a sad plight. . . ."

[2] The year is inferred from the addressee's letter which is dated 15-5-1931.

[3] The addressee had enclosed for Gandhiji's perusal his articles published in *The Tribune* on the separation of Burma, Dismemberment of the Punjab, and the Minority or Communal Problem. He had written: "It is my conviction that the communal problem in the Punjab and Bengal will never be solved unless effective majority is assured to the Muslims in these two provinces. It would be better under the circumstances to constitute Chittagong, Dacca, and Rajshahi

CWMG XLVI

## 198. LETTER TO DR. GOPICHAND BHARGAVA

NAINITAL,
*May 19, 1931*

DEAR DR. GOPICHAND,

I have your letter[1] of 16th instant. I had to discuss a similar question with Mr. Emerson. I found that under ordinance 9, there was no question of compensation. I am afraid therefore that there is no prospect of getting any compensation.

*Yours sincerely,*

From a microfilm: S.N. 17078

## 199. LETTER TO BODHRAJ

AS AT SABARMATI,
*May 19, 1931*

DEAR LALA BODHRAJ[2],

I have your letter[3] about Lala Lok Nath. Could you send me a copy of the full record of his case. I shall then see what can be done.

*Yours sincerely,*

From a microfilm: S.N. 17079

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Divisions of Bengal into a separate province. In that case Muslims will be about 70% in East Bengal, and Hindus will predominate in West Bengal. Similarly if Ambala Division is separated from the Punjab, the Muslim population in the rest of the Punjab would be raised from 56% to 65%. If the Muslims got effective majority in the newly constituted provinces of Punjab and East Bengal, I am sure they will have no difficulty in accepting joint electorates."

[1] The addressee had passed on to Gandhiji the information received from the manager of Peshawar Khadi Bhandar that in 1930 the Government had confiscated all the goods, cash registers and cash box containing Rs. 198 and personal effects of the manager and that even after the Settlement only one-fourth of the goods and the broken cash box had been returned. He had requested Gandhiji to take up this matter with Emerson.

[2] President, Congress Committee, Multan city

[3] The addressee had informed Gandhiji about the continued incarceration of Lok Nath of Multan who had refused to give a bond of good behaviour while Sham Dass convicted in an identical case had been released after the Settlement.

## *200. LETTER TO M. I. DAVID*

AS AT SABARMATI,
*May 19, 1931*

DEAR MR. DAVID,

I have your letter of the 14th. I see that you are pushing forward your programme of goodwill. You know that you have my sympathy in your laudable endeavour and just now I feel that I can best serve the common purpose by saying nothing in *Young India* that might in any way hamper you. The letter to Lord Irwin of young Europeans, I am ashamed to have to confess, I had not seen. I am therefore thankful for the copy you have considerately sent me. It is undoubtedly a good letter. Lord Irwin's reply is worthy of him.

The proposed manifesto is still, I suppose, a private document. The reference to fair trade and living conditions requires a closer examination. I suppose you are aware that Indians in great Britain do not enjoy the rights the manifesto assumes they do enjoy. There can be no comparison between the Indian demands in South Africa and the European demand in India. The Indian in South Africa suffers from social, commercial and legal disabilities and is treated as an inferior being. The Indian demand therefore is to rise to a status of equality. The European in India enjoys in every walk of life a position of privilege and his demand for equality is tantamount to the retention of the privileged position. When, therefore, India comes [in] to her own, Europeans are bound to feel the pinch if they are not satisfied, that to be just, the position of privilege must be surrendered. Apart from this the European in Free India has not only nothing to fear but his resourcefulness and his ability will always make him a desirable citizen.

*Yours sincerely,*

M. I. DAVID, ESQ.
FORT, BOMBAY

From a photostat: S.N. 17095

## 201. LETTER TO SUKHENDUBIKAS CHAUDHURI

As at Sabarmati,
*May 19, 1931*

Can I make public use of your letter? Can you prove the facts related?

Syt. Sukhendubikas Chaudhuri
Patiya, Dt. Chittagong

From a microfilm: S.N. 17096

## 202. LETTER TO C. VIJAYARAGHAVACHARIAR

As at Sabarmati,
*May 19, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

Though your postscript tells me that you expect no acknowledgment to your latest letter, as I have a few moments I want to say that you ought not to be distressed by what you think is want of regard for you on the part of either myself or the other members of the Working Committee. What really is the case is that they do not see eye to eye with you on the things that are today agitating the country. And how shall you blame those who cannot see eye to eye with you even though they may wish to do so?

*Yours sincerely,*
M. K. Gandhi

Syt. C. Vijayaraghavachariar
Fairyfalls View
Kodaikanal Observatory P.O.

From a photostat: S.N. 17098

CWMG - XLVI

## *203. LETTER TO KIRBY PAGE*

As at Sabarmati,
*May 19, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. I deeply appreciated the cable sent by you and other friends. Without the cable too I had no intention of going to America just yet.[1] But of course your cable and the letters since received have shown that my disinclination was well-grounded.

*Yours sincerely,*

KIRBY PAGE, ESQ.
NEW YORK (U.S.A.)

From a photostat: S.N. 17099

## *204. LETTER TO BOYD TUCKER*

As at Sabarmati,
*May 19, 1931*

MY DEAR BOYD,

I have your letter. I understand more fully the reason for your wanting to accompany me to London should I go there. At the present moment however there is neither any prospect of going to London nor to America, to America much less. I shall certainly publish your letter[2] regarding missionary enterprise.

BOYD TUCKER, ESQ.
C/O POSTMASTER
SRINAGAR (KASHMIR)

From a photostat: S.N. 17100

[1] *Vide* also p. 139.
[2] *Vide* pp. 237-9.



CWMG - XLVI

## 205. LETTER TO K. T. MATHEW

As at Sabarmati,
*May 19, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. I do remember having received the letters and documents mentioned by you. I made no original suggestion. Members of the rival organizations saw me and I certainly approved of the idea of amalgamation of the two. Whether it was to be under the auspices of the Congress or not was a matter for the Amalgamation Committee to decide. There seems to me to be nothing in your letter to warrant a different opinion.

*Yours sincerely,*

K. T. Mathew, Esq.
General Secretary
All India States Subjects' Conference
Kunnamkulam (Cochin State)

From a microfilm: S.N. 17101

## 206. LETTER TO NIRANJAN PATNAIK

As at Sabarmati,
*May 19, 1931*

MY DEAR NIRANJAN,

I have your letter. I hope you will soon be free from your pecuniary troubles.

There is just now not even a prospect of my going to London, still less the idea of building up a secretariat. Nor have I pictured to myself the number of secretaries to be taken with me. I do not recall the remark imputed to me by you and if I did, it must have been more by way of a joke than anything else. What could an Utkal Secretary do in London? The real redistribution will take place here and not in London.

*Yours sincerely,*

Syt. Niranjan Patnaik
C/o Udyoga Mandir
Berhampur, B.N.Rly.

From a microfilm: S.N. 17102

## 207. LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON

NAINITAL,
*May 19, 1931*

DEAR MR. EMERSON,

I have received the enclosed account of a lathi charge in Ludhiana[1] from a member of the Ludhiana Congress Committee. Of course it has been given to me for publication. Although it has no direct connection with the Settlement I feel that its spirit should prevent such occurrences. If you agree with me, you will please enquire. I shall await your reply before publishing the details. An eye-witness came all the way from Ludhiana to Kalka to describe the whole scene.

*Yours sincerely,*

Encl. 1

H. W. EMERSON, ESQ.
SIMLA

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-B, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

## 208. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

NAINITAL,
*May 18/19, 1931*

CHI. NARANDAS,

We have just arrived at Nainital. But, today being my silence day, I have some peace. I am, therefore, trying to attend to part of the correspondence which has accumulated. I read Purushottam's letter. I should know who the lawyers are. Are you sure that connections with them have not been broken off in haste? I cannot judge from here. I suppose whatever is necessary has been done about Purushottam's demands.

Keep me informed about the success or failure of the Punjabi vaid.

[1] On May 16, 1931; *vide* Vol. XLVII, "Is It Crumbling?", 9-7-1931.



CWMG - XLVII

I think we shall return to Borsad some time about the 25th. I shall know more definitely on Wednesday.

Prabhudas and Dhiru have arrived. Rambhau is yet to arrive.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

[PS.][1]

Rambhau arrived yesterday evening.

[From Gujarati]

*Bapuna Patro – 9: Shri Narandas Gandhine*, Pt. I, pp. 252-3. Also C.W. 8161. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

## *209. LETTER TO MADHAVJI V. THAKKAR*

*May 20, 1931*

CHI. MADHAVJI,

I got your letter, and also Surendra's. The news is painful, but cases like this are bound to occur at a time of awakening such as the present. We cannot inform the authorities, as that might lead to the punishing of innocent people. Informing the authorities would have been a breach of trust, and I cannot, at the moment at any rate, think of any case or example in which breach of trust becomes a duty. It is one thing when a man puts confidence in us and confesses a crime, another when we come to have indirect information regarding anybody's crime. In certain circumstances it may be our duty to make use of the information indirectly received, but no such duty arises in this case at all. Hence your job at present is to bring about a reformation, by whatever means, among those now engaged in terrorism.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

[PS.]

I will leave for Gujarat in two or three days, or it may be even tomorrow.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6815

[1] This was added on May 19.

## 210. SPEECH AT NAINITAL

*May 20, 1931*

Replying to the address Mahatmaji referred to his interview with the Governor[1] and said that at such a time as this a man in his position could not say as much as the public might be expecting from him. He further said that non-violence was their duty so long as the Congress did not decide otherwise. He further asked the citizens what they had done towards the propagation of khaddar which they had promised to do two years before. He urged upon them the importance of khaddar towards helping the attainment of swaraj, without which, he said, India could not be free. He impressed upon them that by merely going to the Round Table Conference he could not achieve all that the Congress was fighting for unless the people stuck to their duties which is the precedent condition for the attainment of swaraj.

*The Hindustan Times*, 22-5-1931

## 211. CONGRESS VOTERS

A correspondent asks:

At the time of elections to Congress Committees

1. Can a Congress candidate register original Congress members and himself pay the four-anna fee?
2. In order to obtain votes can a candidate send conveyances at his own expense to the voters?
3. In order to influence voters can a candidate give feasts to voters?
4. Can a voter take part in voting although he is not a habitual wearer of khadi?

These are very relevant questions. My answer to the first three questions is that although the practice would be very reprehensible, I very much fear that there is nothing in the constitution and there are no bye-laws preventing it. My answer regarding the fourth is an emphatic 'no'. Thus therefore though a candidate can, if he wishes, pay the registration fee on behalf of the members and send them conveyances and give them feasts in

[1] *Vide* Appendix VII (A).



CWMG - XLVI

order to induce them to vote for him I do hope that for their own sakes and for the sake of the Congress and the country candidates will refrain from resorting to any practice that might amount to bribery or an improper inducement. I have never been able to understand this craze for membership of Congress Committees, and Congress Committees formed in such a manner instead of being instruments of service can easily become those of mischief and disservice. So far as the habitual wearing of khadi is concerned there is no doubt that the rule is more often broken than observed. It is a remarkable phenomenon that habitual wearers of khadi, and they are thousands, do not care to appear on the Congress register and those who are on the Congress register do not, in many cases, take the trouble of wearing khadi. One reason for the laxity is that partisans are brought in at the eleventh hour nominally to become members and to disappear from view as soon as the elections are over. New lists are made at new elections or even bye-elections. In spite of this tragic fact, the Congress is daily growing in power. It is becoming more and more popular. It attracts more and more crowds. Its mandates find ready acceptance from the vast mass of people. This phenomenon can only be explained on the supposition that though the Congress has indifferent representatives, somehow or other it represents and voices the wants and aspirations of the people who remain unaffected by the improprieties of the representatives and support the Congress merely for what it stands for without looking into or caring for the quality of its representatives. If my analysis is correct, the moral is obvious. The Congress will cease to be the power it is if the reprehensible practices referred to by the correspondent do not cease. Congress workers will not always be indifferent.

*Young India*, 21-5-1931

## *212. NOTES*

### PICKETING

Congressmen should know that the Government of India have been receiving complaints from the provincial Governments that picketing is not always peaceful. I do not know how far these complaints are justified. But we cannot be too strict in the observance of our part of the Settlement irrespective of how the authorities implement their part of it. Let us realize that the

stricter we are, the greater will be our prestige and strength. I therefore repeat what I have said before:[1]

1. There should be no coercion direct or indirect.
2. There should be no show of intimidation, hence not more than say five pickets should work at one and the same place at a time.
3. There should be no more than courteous entreaty and distribution of literature.
4. There should be no fine levied by Congress Committees for breach of promises by foreign-cloth dealers.
5. There should be no hooting of purchasers of foreign cloth.
6. There should be no cordons formed to surround the would-be purchasers.
7. There should be no lying down to block the passage of customers or trolleys carrying foreign cloth.

If there are those who think that picketing under such restrictions will be of no avail, they may give it up and run the risk of foreign cloth being sold under their noses. It is better that foreign cloth is sold than that, in order to prevent its sale, we should break the letter or the spirit of the Settlement.

Boycott of foreign cloth will ultimately succeed only when the Congress message has penetrated the masses and the khadi spirit permeates them. The real work of propaganda and production lies in the villages.

We should remember too that boycott of foreign cloth is pursued for its great economic and social consequence. And it is just as necessary to boycott Japanese or Italian cloth or yarn as it is to boycott British cloth or yarn. Indeed it is more necessary to boycott Japanese cloth because it offers greater competition both to khadi and indigenous mill cloth. We have no ill-will against Japan. We pursue foreign-cloth boycott because it is an economic necessity for the nation.

What I have said about the method of picketing applies equally to liquor picketing. That too depends for its ultimate success in penetration into the home of the drinkers.

## Settlement Prisoners

I have been receiving complaints from many provinces saying that there are still unreleased prisoners covered by the Irwin-Gandhi Settlement. These are claimed by the Governments

[1] *Vide* Vol. XLV, pp. 291-3.

concerned as not covered by the Settlement. The only way relief can be obtained in such cases is to study the records of each case. I would therefore ask all Committees who have sent me lists to examine the cases themselves and where they are satisfied that the record shows violence (not merely technical, or incitement thereto), they should for the time being omit their names. Where the local examination shows that there is no violence or incitement proved, they should send the record to me and I shall go through such records myself and wherever necessary obtain the opinion of some philanthropic counsel and press for their release. Let it be remembered that according to the strict interpretation of the relevant clause of the Settlement we shall have to go simply by the record although those who know may be certain of the innocence of any particular prisoner. Of those against whom the record gives no proof of violence, we can demand release. Such was Sjt. Rajwade's case.

The other prisoners and their friends may derive satisfaction from the assurance that in the event of a final Settlement their release is a certainty and in the event of a breakdown in spite of all efforts, they will find their old companions returning to them. For the result they will not have to wait long.

## POORMAN'S SALT

I regret that as yet the public do not know how the salt law relief clause of the Irwin-Gandhi Settlement is being worked. I have suggested to the authorities that they should issue definite instructions so that the people concerned may know where they stand. My suggestion has been accepted by the authorities. The public therefore may expect publication of the instructions in the near future.[1]

## THAT AMERICAN VISIT[2]

Dr. Harry Ward writes

> May I add a word to the cable which, with others, I sent you today. First let me emphasize the fact that the reason I previously gave against your coming to this country still holds now, and with increased force. Our papers have become increasingly sensational and you would be misrepresented by them, as well as exploited by the sensation-hunting section of our population. Thus your power to help us toward a better way of life would be seriously diminished, if not defeated. But the other reason against your coming is more important. I am sure that it would injure and

[1] *Vide* p. 241.
[2] *Vide* also p. 139.

not help the cause of India in your negotiation at London. There is under the surface a deep English resentment against the United States. This is due to her economic decline and our position of financial dominance. This feeling quickly seizes upon any utterances about British policy as a means for its expression. Thus a perfectly harmless appeal that some of us signed to MacDonald last year to meet with you face to face and seek an adjustment, was the occasion of much criticism of those who signed it, and of America in general, from British ministers of religion. Also there has been much complaint in British papers concerning our sympathy with the nationalist cause. Because British propaganda no longer dominated the situation here we have been told that we were only the victims of clever propaganda from nationalist sources. You can see at once, therefore, that any manifestation of sympathy with India which your presence here might evoke, would work strongly against you at London.

### How He Spent His Good Friday

Father Elwin writing to Mirabehn says:

> I thought I might tell you how I spent my three hours on Good Friday. I did not go to Church but spent the time in my cell spinning. I am sending a little of the yarn—very poor I am afraid—but it is a token. While spinning I meditated on the crucifixion. It seemed to fit in very well—the cry of desolation of God's poor stretched on the cross of exploitation, the age-long "I thirst" of those to whom the charkha with its message of love can bring relief, the wonderful patience of the poor—"Father, forgive them for they know not what they do." The charkha then seemed to be the dual symbol of our union with the poor and our union with God. It would be very good if people would generally keep Good Friday in this way. It was a real experience of purification.

I have examined the yarn sent by Father Elwin. It is by no means poor in quality as he thinks. It is quite weavable. The count is somewhere near 20. Nevertheless, I agree that it is poor for the spirit of love and dedication that lay behind the sacrificial act. But no amount of love or dedication can make up for the want of regular and long practice. If therefore I have agreed with the self-abasing verdict of Father Elwin I have done so not by way of criticism but to tell those who might be induced to turn to the spinning-wheel that they will not be satisfied with merely drawing the thread, for the thread thus drawn will not be yarn, even as any angle drawn will not be a right angle. Just as all right angles must be 90 degrees so must all yarn be even and strong enough to be easily weavable. The count does not matter. A spinner who draws an even and strong thread will automatically draw at least a six count and if his wheel is good

and his spindle straight and fine, he will draw without difficulty anything between 10 and 20 counts. I commend Father Elwin's experience to all who love and would identify themselves with the semi-starved millions of India.

*Young India*, 21-5-1931

## *213. IN 1828*

Sjt. Satis Chandra Das Gupta of the Khadi Pratishthan is editing a Bengali newspaper called *Rastravani*. He recently unearthed a letter addressed to the Editor of *Samachar Darpan* which was published in Bengali in the twenties of the 19th century. As the letter was of great importance showing how the charkha was being slowly destroyed and how it was valued by women in those days, he has published it in his paper and sent me its translation. I am sure, it will be read with interest by all who are at all interested in the khadi movement. Here is the letter:[1]

> The representation of a spinner
>
> To the Editor, *Samachar*
>
> I am a spinner. After having suffered a great deal, I am writing this letter. Please publish this in your paper. . . .
>
> When my age was five and a half *gandas* (22) I became a widow with three daughters. My husband left nothing at the time of his death. . . . I sold my jewellery for his *shraddha* ceremony. At last as we were on the verge of starvation God showed me a way by which we could save ourselves. I began to spin on *takli* and charkha. . . .
>
> The weavers used to visit our houses and buy the charkha yarn at three *tolas* per rupee. Whatever amount I wanted as advance from the weavers, I could get for the asking. This saved us from cares about food and cloth.
>
> In a few years' time I got together seven *ganda* rupees (Rs. 28). With this I married one daughter. And in the same way all three daughters. . . .
>
> Now for 3 years, we two women, mother-in-law and me are in want of food. The weavers do not call at the house for buying yarn. Not only this, if the yarn is sent to market still it is not sold even at one-fourth the old prices. I do not know how it happened. I asked many about it. They say that *Bilati*[2] yarn is being largely imported. The weavers buy

[1] Only extracts are reproduced here. Concerning a doubt raised as to the authenticity of the letter, *vide* p. 277.

[2] Foreign

CWMG - XLVI

that yarn and weave. I had a sense of pride that *Bilati* yarn could not be equal to my yarn, but when I got *Bilati* yarn I saw that it was better than my yarn. I heard that its price is Rs. 3 or Rs. 4 per seer. I beat my brow and said, "Oh God, there are sisters more distressed even than me." I know that all men of *Bilat* are rich but now I see that there are women there who are poorer than me. I fully realized the poverty which induced those poor women to spin. They have sent the product of so much toil out here because they could not sell it there. It would have been something if they were sold here at good prices. But it has brought our ruin only. Man cannot use the cloth out of this yarn even for two months; it rots away. I therefore entreat the spinners over there, that, if they will consider this representation, they will be able to judge whether it is fair to send yarn here or not.

SHANTIPUR

A representation from a
suffering spinner
*Samachar Darpan*

The reader will not fail to observe the nobility of the writer who in her blissful ignorance felt that yarn was spun by the hands of her *Bilati* sisters poorer than herself and therefore felt for them. Alas, her belief was baseless. She could have stood her own if the foreign yarn had been hand-spun. She could have stood her own even against the foreign yarn, if behind it there had been no policy of determination to capture the Indian trade and kill the national village industry.

*Young India*, 21-5-1931

## *214. A WOMAN'S SACRIFICE*

During the great awakening that took place last year amongst women there were heroines whose mute work the nation will never know. Now and then however one gets information of such village work. Here is one such sample sent by a friend:[1]

When our Congress camp was declared illegal and locked up by the police we shifted to the hut of a poor Mahishya woman — Habu's mother of Baradongal. We have read of Gorki's mother. We saw her incarnate in Habu's mother. Night and day she used to cook for us workers. She nursed the sick amongst us. She consoled those that were troubled in heart and thus became real mother to us who would other-

[1] *Vide* p. 162.

wise have felt motherless. We had graduates and M.A.s amongst us proud of their educational gifts but all of us were compelled to call Habu's mother our own. Her sacrifice and great devotion to duty commanded that homage from us.

*Young India*, 21-5-1931

## *215. TELEGRAM TO CHAMPABEHN*

NAINITAL,
*May 21, 1931*

CHAMPABEHN
CARE RASHTRIYASHALA
RAJKOT

VERY SORRY ABOUT RATILAL. AM ARRANGING ABOUT SPECIALIST GOING RAJKOT SEE RATILAL.

BAPU

From a microfilm: S.N. 17108

## *216. TELEGRAM TO DR. MEHTA*

NAINITAL,
*May 21, 1931*

DOCTOR MEHTA
CARE SIR MANUBHAI
SIMLA

RATILAL SON DOCTOR MEHTA OF RANGOON COMPLETELY DEMENTED BOISTEROUS UNRULY. HAS TO BE KEPT IN CHAINS. HE IS IN RAJKOT. IF YOU KNOW ANY SPECIALIST AND THINK WORTHWHILE PLEASE ASK HIM PROCEED RAJKOT EXAMINE RATILAL. HIS FEES WILL BE PAID. WIRE REPLY NAINITAL.

GANDHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 17115

CWMG - XLVI

## 217. TELEGRAM TO SECRETARY, CONGRESS COMMITTEE CHITTAGONG

NAINITAL,
*May 21, 1931*

SECRETARY
CONGRESS COMMITTEE
IMPOSSIBLE GIVE OPINION WITHOUT KNOWING FULL FACTS.
GANDHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 17116

## 218. LETTER TO DR. SYED MAHMUD

CAMP NAINITAL,
AS AT SABARMATI,
*May 21, 1931*

DEAR DR. MAHMUD,

I know you are doing most valuable work. I am not going to discuss with you how mass work can be most effectively done if only because I hardly scrape together a few minutes to attend to correspondence. I shall therefore reserve it for discussion when we meet.

As you see, I am writing this from Nainital where I saw the Governor yesterday. No final conclusion was reached about the revenue matters.

I leave for Gujarat in two or three days if not earlier. The earliest we shall meet, I suppose, will be when the Working Committee meeting takes place early next month. But of course you can anticipate that date and meet me whenever you like. You need no appointment. Do you?

*Yours sincerely,*
M. K. GANDHI

DR. SYED MAHMUD
BAR-AT-LAW
CHANRA (DT. SARAN)

From a photostat: G.N. 5109



CWMG - XIV

## 219. LETTER TO MOHAMMED ISMAIL KHAN

As at Sabarmati,
*May 21, 1931*

DEAR NAWAB SAHEB,

I thank you for your letter of 19th instant. I have not seen the report you refer to in your letter. But I may state my position thus:

So far as I am concerned I should endorse without hesitation any solution that Mussalman friends as a whole may present but that by itself would not solve our difficulties. Our difficulties could only be solved by either Hindus and Mussalmans settling with the Sikhs or Hindus settling both with Mussalmans and Sikhs. But so far as I am personally concerned I should endorse any solution presented by Sikh friends as a whole as I would the Mussalman claim. But if there is a conflict between the Sikh and the Mussalman claim, then my endorsement of the claim of each would be of little value. I have therefore assumed that whatever Mussalman friends or Sikh friends present as a final claim would take note of the other party. If you find any flaw in this, you will not hesitate to let me know. All I want is an honourable settlement wholly satisfactory to the Mussalmans, to the Sikhs as also to all other communities who may wish a communal solution.

As to your other question supposing that I survive the future constitution and am allowed to have any hand in its working I would have no solution on any but strictly national lines and I would so work the constitution that I should disarm all suspicion.

So far as the Europeans are concerned, the question is not what privileges they should get by reason of their being in a minority but what privileges they will surrender so as to be on a par with us. Am I clear?

I would ask you to believe me to be the same man whom you were good enough to have as your guest in Meerut in those days when for the moment we had begun to think that we were but children of the same mother having the same aspirations and having full trust in one another.

*Yours sincerely,*

Nawab Mohammed Ismail Khan Saheb
Mustapha Castle, Meerut

From a photostat: S.N. 17107

## 220. LETTER TO MAHARAJ KUMAR OF VIZIANAGRAM

As at Sabarmati,
*May 21, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. As I expect to deal with the subject discussed by you in the pages of *Young India* I need not send you a detailed reply.

*Yours sincerely,*

Maharaj Kumar Sahib of Vizianagram
Vizianagram Palace, Benares

From a microfilm: S.N. 17108-a

## 221. LETTER TO SECRETARY, CONGRESS COMMITTEE, CHITTAGONG

As at Sabarmati,
*May 21, 1931*

The Secretary
Congress Committee
Chittagong

DEAR SIR,

In reply to your telegram I have sent you the following:

Impossible give opinion without knowing full facts.

Subject to any change that might have to be made after knowing further facts I can say that punitive tax imposed for anything done since Settlement would be no violation thereof. Nor refusal to pay such tax will necessarily be violation of Settlement. But those who will embark upon no-tax campaign will do so after fullest consideration and on their own sole responsibility.

*Yours sincerely,*

From a microfilm: S.N. 17109



CWMG - XIV

## 222. LETTER TO S. G. VAZE

As at Sabarmati,
*May 21, 1931*

MY DEAR VAZE,

You never failed to send me the usual anniversary notice and I have ever failed to attend the function. The fact however that I have never been able to attend the function, I am sure, will not be interpreted by any of the members to mean that I have ceased to be one of you. Though our views may be as poles asunder, though we may not seem to be working together on the same platform, I have always felt that we are at heart one, being disciples of the same guru.

*Yours sincerely,*

Syt. S. G. Vaze
Servants of India Society
Poona

From a photostat: S.N. 17111

## 223. LETTER TO KRISHNA DAS

As at Sabarmati,
*May 21, 1931*

MY DEAR KRISHNA DAS,

Your old familiar handwriting shows that you have made remarkable progress. You will not be in a hurry to regain original strength. You must have no temperature at all. At the end of this dreadful sickness you should be stronger than you were before. Continue to write to me regularly. We all leave here for Borsad at the latest on Sunday.

Syt. Krishna Das
Shakti Ashram
P.O. Rajpur
(Dt. Dehra Dun),

From a microfilm: S.N. 17112



CWMG - XLVI

## 224. LETTER TO JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM

As at Borsad,
*May 21, 1931*

MY DEAR JAIRAMDAS,

You will see the enclosed. Do the needful and tell me who the writer is. Can the allegations be true?

Syt. Jairamdas Doulatram
Swaraj Ashram
Bardoli

From a microfilm: S.N. 17113

## 225. LETTER TO A. FENNER BROCKWAY

As at Sabarmati,
*May 21, 1931*

DEAR MR. BROCKWAY,

Evidently you have made up your mind that I am coming to London. But as yet I see no sign on the horizon warranting even the hope that I shall be with you soon. But if I am, of course I should love to be with the members of your society and to engage in an informal heart to heart conversation.

*Yours sincerely,*
M. K. Gandhi

A. Fenner Brockway, Esq.
126 Shepherd's Bush Road
London W. 6

From a photostat: S.N. 17114

CWMG - XLVI

## 226. SPEECH AT POLITICAL SUFFERERS' CONFERENCE

KUMAON,
[*May 21, 1931*][1]

You must have seen the resolution regarding the declaration of fundamental rights passed by the Congress. There are a few items in it such as the reduction of military expenditure to one half, which cannot be achieved before swaraj, but there are other items such as compulsory primary education, ban on foreign cloth, equality of rights and opportunities, for which we should not wait till the establishment of swaraj. We should establish these conditions just now and this will bring us nearer swaraj. We can open schools in every village, manufacture and encourage khaddar and make wars on untouchability.

(Here Mahatmaji referred to each item in the declaration of rights as published in an old issue of *Young India* seriatim.)

Referring to the maximum pay of the public servants, Mahatmaji said as follows:—

You should not think that this proposal is meant to remain on paper. This will be enforced when swaraj is obtained. This was added to the declaration of rights after full and careful consideration. I am old and even if I die, Jawaharlal is certain to enforce it. But it is unjust to suppose that old people die before young men, because it is not God's law. Let me assure you that this proposal will be enforced. In Japan, which is an independent country, the maximum pay of public servants is Rs. 500.

Ours is a country where the average income per individual is about Rs. 40 and this includes crores of millionaires. So anyone who lives on more than Rs. 500 lives on loot. We regard this amount as insufficient because seeing the exploitation of the foreigners and the life they lead, we want to copy them.

It is said that lawyers and industrialists will earn more than Rs. 500 per month. I say they should not earn more than Rs. 500 per month. If they do so in a country like ours they will be living on loot. They should pay the surplus back to the country.

*The Hindustan Times*, 31-5-1931

[1] From the *Hindu*, 21-5-1931

## 227. TELEGRAM TO VICEROY

*Important* [On or before *May 22, 1931*][1]

I am grateful for your telegram of 21st received through His Excellency the Governor of the United Provinces then directly. I should be . . .[2] to visit London even upon this subject and explain to responsible statesmen that whilst insisting upon making India free, Congress wishes to live on friendliest terms with the English people. But for reasons given to Your Excellency I am unable to take part in the Round Table Conference. Though open to conviction, I still retain the opinion that I could not usefully serve on the Conference unless communal settlement is reached. Moreover, being directly responsible for the settlement between Government and Congress I could not leave India whilst anxious difficulties are experienced regarding its working. I still remain the sole representative on behalf of Congress.

GANDHI

From a photostat: C.W. 9367. Courtesy: India Office Library

## 228. TELEGRAM TO JAMNADAS GANDHI

TAKULA, NAINITAL,
*May 22, 1931*

JAMNADAS GANDHI
RAJKOT

DOCTOR KADAM OF THANA WILL REACH RAJKOT EXAMINE RATILAL DO NEEDFUL. ESTABLISH COMMUNICATION WITH HIM.

BAPU

From a microfilm: S.N. 17122

[1] The telegram was quoted by the addressee in his telegram of May 22, 1931 to the Secretary of State for India.

[2] Omission as in the source



CWMG - XLVI

## 229. TELEGRAM TO RAMBHOROSELAL

TAKULA, NAINITAL,
*May 22, 1931*

RAMBHOROSELAL
CARE ARATHDHAR
BURDWAN

SEND FULL PARTICULARS PANDIT GOVINDBALLABH PANT.

GANDHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 17123

## 230. TELEGRAM TO MOHANLAL SAKSENA

TAKULA, NAINITAL,
*May 22, 1931*

MOHANLAL SAKSENA
CARE CONGRESS
LUCKNOW

HUNGERSTRIKE SEEMS WHOLLY UNNECESSARY. RIGHT OR WRONG EVERYBODY SHOULD SUBMIT DECISION SUPERIOR COMMITTEES.

GANDHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 17125

## 231. INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS

NAINITAL,
*May 22, 1931*

In the course of an interview to the Associated Press today, Mahatma Gandhi declared that he was unable to make any statement yet regarding his plans for going to London.[1] His views in respect of the Federal Structure Committee meeting in London on the 29th June were in the hands of the Government of India and there the matters stand.

*The Hindustan Times*, 24-5-1931

[1] The other delegates, including the princes, had agreed to sail on 13-6-1931.



CWMG - XLVI

## 232. CABLE TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI[1]

TAKULA, NAINITAL,
*May 23, 1931*

SASTRI
CARE KALOPH[2]
LONDON

YOUR KIND JOINT CABLE. IN ABSENCE SOLUTION COMMUNAL QUESTION HERE HAVE NO CONFIDENCE ATTENDING ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE. MOREOVER SOME LOCAL GOVERNMENTS' ATTITUDE SETTLEMENT MAKES MY LEAVING INDIA DIFFICULT IF NOT IMPOSSIBLE BUT IF SATISFACTORY WORKING SETTLEMENT CAN BE ATTAINED AND IF I AM INVITED FOR DISCUSSION AND EXPLAINING CONGRESS POSITION WILL GLADLY SAIL ON SHORT NOTICE.

GANDHI

A.I.C.C. File No. 273, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

## 233. LETTER TO MALCOLM HAILEY

TAKULA, NAINITAL,
*May 23, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

I have now completed my summary investigation. I have had the benefit of the advice of those taluqdars who were able to come to Nainital. I feel and perhaps you will agree that I must give some guidance to the *kisans*[3]. I could not tell them to accept as sufficient the relief proposed to be given by the Govern-

[1] This was in reply to a joint cable from V.S.S. Sastri, C.F. Andrews and H.S.L. Polak saying: ". . . If communal minorities problem insoluble immediately India we urge it be brought here where atmosphere better. Failing everything else in last resort impartial arbitration still possible. We therefore convinced prompt announcement affirmative decision your earliest arrival urgently desirable. . . "

[2] Telegraphic address of H.S.L. Polak

[3] Peasants

ment. Everything I have examined goes to show that it is wholly inadequate to meet the exceptional situation that faces the *kisans*. I propose therefore to do the next best thing possible. In the absence of response by the Government to any of the proposals made by me, I propose to tell the *kisans* what in my opinion is the least that they should pay, throwing the responsibility upon them of paying more wherever it is possible for them to do so. I have accordingly drafted a manifesto[1] which I enclose herewith. If you think that its publication will in any way embarrass the Government and if Your Excellency will show me a better way I shall gladly adopt it if it is at all possible for me to do so. And if you will have me to wait upon you in this connection I would gladly do so.

I have arranged, unless you have me to do otherwise, to leave Nainital this afternoon at 3 p.m.[2]

*I remain,*
*Yours sincerely,*

Encl. 1

HIS EXCELLENCY SIR MALCOLM HAILEY
GOVERNOR OF U.P., NAINITAL

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-E, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

## *234. TO THE KISANS OF THE U.P.*

NAINITAL,
*May 23, 1931*

During the late struggle, in some districts, the non-payment of taxes was being organized as part of Civil Disobedience for the attainment of *purna* swaraj. But by reason of the Settlement between the Congress and the Government Civil Disobedience was discontinued and therefore also the non-payment of taxes.

But there was then deep economic distress among you. Bad as your condition was even in normal times, the unprecedented fall this year in the prices of the crops usually grown by you made it infinitely worse. And Congress workers reported that many of you were utterly unable to pay in full the rents due by you. In several districts inquiries were made in a few hundred villages

[1] *Vide* the following item.
[2] For the addressee's reply, *vide* Appendix VIII(A).

CWMG - XLVI

disclosing a serious state of affairs. It was found that the price of your gross produce had fallen to such an extent that the sales were not enough to pay the rents. It was in this connection that I came to Nainital to see H. E. the Governor. His Excellency gave me a patient hearing and we fully discussed the situation. He was sympathetic. I told him that some Congress workers had assured me that the relief hitherto announced by the Government of the U.P. was hardly equal to the actual distress. And I submitted certain proposals which he kindly promised to consider.

I was bound meanwhile to tender you such advice as it was in my power to do. I have passed many an anxious hour discussing the situation with many co-workers. I have had the benefit of a frank and free discussion with important talukdars who were good enough to respond to my invitation to see me. I am glad to be able to say that they were in general agreement with the proposals suggested hereunder.

Concentrated work was done in the following among other districts: Agra, Muttra, Allahabad, Rai Bareily, Gorakhpore, Cawnpore, Lucknow, Pratapgarh, and Etawah. And for these it has been found that there should be a remission for the year 1338 Fasli of eight annas in the rupee in the case of statutory and non-occupancy tenants and four annas in the case of occupancy tenants. This general formula should be subject to variation as may be required by local conditions.

I have been told that in some districts the tenants are in a position to do with less reduction. Some districts again were hard hit by local calamities. The suggested reduction would naturally therefore not apply to the districts that might be able to pay more than what is suggested here, nor to those whose condition may be under the level found in the foregoing districts. Indeed even in the districts mentioned those of you who are able to pay more ought to do so. The Congress expects every tenant to pay as early as possible all the rent he can, and in no case as a general rule less than eight annas or four[1] annas as the case may be. But just as even in the same district there may be cases in which a larger payment is possible, it is equally possible that there may be cases in which less than eight annas or four[2] annas can only be paid. In such cases I hope the tenants will be treated liberally by the zamindars.

In every case you will see that you get against payment a full discharge from your obligation for the current year's rent.

[1] & [2] A slip for 'twelve'; *vide* "A Correction", p. 360.

I understand that several tenants were ejected during the struggle and others have been ejected since. Not to restore these to their holdings would be clearly against the atmosphere sought to be created by the Settlement. I have every hope, therefore, that against payment on the scale suggested here the ejected tenants will be fully restored without any penalty.

I am hoping that payment will begin at once. It may be that you are not able to pay the full eight annas at once. In that case I trust you will get suspension, and that no coercive processes will be issued whether for the unpaid balance or for arrears if any, till the next harvest.

I would like to suggest to the Government, in view of the loss that your inability to pay the rents in full will cause to the zamindars, that they get a proportionate reduction in the revenue payable by them to the Government.

Lastly let me warn you against listening to the advice, if it has reached you, that you have no need to pay the zamindars any rent at all. I hope that you will not listen to such advice, no matter who gives it. Congressmen cannot, we do not seek to injure the zamindars. We aim not at destruction of property. We aim only at its lawful use.

It has been suggested that you will listen to the Congress when Congressmen tell you not to pay anything at all, but you will not listen to the Congress when it asks you to pay according to your ability. The opportunity has now come for you to falsify the calumny.

You have complained of very harsh treatment by or on behalf of some landlords. The Congress is trying and will try to investigate all your complaints, plead with the landlords and even advise legal relief where such becomes imperative. But let it be also owned that sometimes some *kisans* too have gone astray and committed murderous assaults. These acts spoil the fair name of *kisans*, harm their cause and impair the usefulness of the Congress for service. For in the ultimate end you are the Congress. The Congress is incomplete in so far as it represents you insufficiently.

Please remember that the Congress aims at reaching *purna* swaraj through Truth and Non-violence. And it will fail in so far as the *kisans* fail to observe these two cardinal principles. You are millions. When millions become untruthful and violent, it will mean self-destruction. You will therefore suffer injury without retaliation. You have now perhaps learnt that the best way of resisting injury is never to injure the injurer, but ever to refuse, no

matter how much suffering the refusal costs us, to do his will when we know it to be wrong.

*I am,*
*Your friend and servant,*
M. K. GANDHI

*Young India*, 28-5-1931

## *235. LETTER TO MALCOLM HAILEY*

*May 23, 1931*

DEAR MR. HAILEY,

With reference to the Etawah case wherein the Congress Secretary was supposed to have circulated after the date of the Settlement notice amongst tenants advising them not to pay any rent at all I have made full inquiry and find that such notice was circulated in February last, but none after the Settlement. On the contrary a general notice withdrawing the no-tax agitation was circulated throughout the province on behalf of the Provincial Congress Committee. This matter was brought to the notice of Pt. Govind Ballabh Pant by the Chief Secretary and on the day that he received the intimation he made inquiries. The Secretary, Babu Gaya Prasad, immediately wrote in reply giving the information above mentioned. Moreover he is no longer occupying position of General Secretary of the Local Committee in Etawah. It would be perhaps interesting to know how the police came by the notice and came to the conclusion that it was being circulated after the date of the Settlement.[1]

*Yours sincerely,*
M. K. GANDHI

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-E, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

[1] In his reply dated 29-5-1931, Hailey confirmed these facts and regretted the inconvenience caused by his wrong report.

CWMG XLVI

## 236. SPEECH AT ZAMINDARS' MEETING, NAINITAL[1]

[*May 23, 1931*][2]

The Congress will stand by you certainly. But you will have to make your life correspond to your surroundings. In Bengal some years ago I was the guest of a zamindar who served me my milk and fruit in gold bowls and plates. The good host naturally thought that he was doing me the greatest honour by placing before me his costliest plate. He could not know what was passing through my mind. 'Where did he get these golden plates from?' I was asking to myself, and the answer I got was: 'From the substance of the ryots'. How then could I reconcile myself to those costly luxuries? I would not mind your using gold plates provided your tenants were comfortable enough to afford silver plates, but where their life is one long-drawn-out agony, how dare you have those luxuries? You will remember, how, fifteen years ago, on the occasion of the opening of the Hindu University, I shocked the Rajas and Maharajas by a reference to their glittering pomp and glory, and raised quite an uproar.[3] My views are the same today; only experience and life among the humble folk have confirmed them all the more.

*Young India*, 28-5-1931

## 237. LETTER TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

[After *May 23, 1931*][4]

MY DEAR BROTHER,

I had your touching cable. I have sent you a reply to soothe you. I am not shirking the R.T.C. But it is not possible through a letter to give you an idea of the difficulties that face me. Provincial governments are trampling the Settlement under foot. Repression is raising its spiked head. If you have the patience to follow the pages of *Young India* you can learn something of what

[1] Extracted from Mahadev Desai's "Weekly Letter"
[2] From the *Hindustan Times*, 25-5-1931
[3] *Vide* Vol. XIII, pp. 213-4.
[4] *Vide* p. 199.

I mean. I have published as yet not one tenth of what is happening. The question then may be: Can I leave India when trouble is brewing here? But I am in touch with Simla.

*Letters of Srinivasa Sastri*, p. 215

## *238. NOTES*

### Regarding Picketing

I extract the following questions from two letters:

1. Can fasting be resorted to while picketing those who break the seals of cloth which has been sealed?
2. Does fasting have a place in peaceful picketing?
3. If those against whom peaceful picketing is being carried on do not listen to reason, can social boycott be practised against them?
4. Can picketing be called off if a person promises not to import fresh foreign cloth and his old stock has already been sold out?
5. Should there be picketing against those who sell both foreign and Indian cloth?
6. Should we boycott those who have sealed up their stock of foreign cloth and promised to pay a certain fine if they break the seal? Should we sit a *dharna*[1] before them?

The answers to these questions would be as follows:

1. Fasting can be resorted to only in regard to those who are closely associated with the person picketing, who have given a pledge out of the love resulting from that relationship and then broken it.
2. The reply to this is contained in the rule mentioned above.
3. Social boycott, which would imply denying the individual the services of the dhobi, the barber, the vaid, etc., should not be practised. But one is permitted to cut off relationship with such individuals by way of going to their homes for feasts on occasions such as marriages, and indeed one should do so. In short, they should not be harassed. The pain which they feel when we do not go to their homes for meals cannot be regarded as harassment.
4. It is our dharma to withdraw picketing if we are sure about the pledge.
5. Certainly.
6. We cannot resort to picketing if someone does not pay the fine, but we can do so if he sells foreign goods. With regard to

[1] Squatting and fasting for the redress of a grievance

CWMG - XXVI

boycott, refer to reply No. 4[1]. *Dharna* does not mean self-torture to press one's point.

### One advantage of Boycott

I take the following extract[2] from letters received by me:

I hope that these women have given up foreign cloth and started wearing khadi. Whether they have started doing so or not, the basic fact is that they have learnt simplicity along with the boycott of foreign goods. Everyone has got the experience that our craving for enjoyment increases with the acceptance of foreign goods and the idea gains ground that clothes are meant for adornment rather than for the purpose of covering our body. Our newspapers are not yet full of items on fashion but if we glance at English newspapers, we shall see every day under the heading "fashion" pictures of new types of dresses together with alluring descriptions of them.

Hence, along with the giving up of foreign cloth we also rid ourselves of the glamour for false fashion and for this very reason khadi though expensive becomes inexpensive. A woman who used to wear separate saris while she is at home, while going out, while paying social calls, while visiting the temple, or who thus has four or five saris for daily wear now makes do with a single khadi sari and, therefore, easily saves a lot of money. When a person wearing a turban made of twelve yards of *mulmul*[3] starts wearing a khadi cap made of half a yard, however expensive khadi may be, he would easily save some money.

### Dishonesty of Business Men

An experienced gentleman makes the following complaint:[4]

There is nothing in this that is not well known. If business men had thought only of the good of the country, they would never have imported foreign cloth at all. To a large extent, dishonesty is implicit in all business. Merchants dealing in foreign cloth catch the eye because their business is widespread and, like a huge serpent, it has coiled itself around India and is gradually crushing her. No one can escape from that grip. We have now become conscious of how we are being crushed and hence we have started criticizing merchants dealing in foreign cloth and that is

[1] This should perhaps be 3.

[2] Not translated here. It described the simplicity of women in a particular household.

[3] Thin variety of plain muslin

[4] The letter is not translated here. It reported various ways in which foreign cloth was passed off as Indian cloth.

only proper. This awakening provides a remedy for the above-mentioned and many other similar dishonest practices. Picketing is the ready remedy. The true remedy lies in reaching the villages. All such questions as, for instance, whether a particular cloth is Indian or foreign, whether it is made in a mill which is boycotted or not, whether this khadi contains warp which is mill-made or hand-made, etc., will automatically disappear when the villagers spin yarn in their own homes, get it woven by their own weavers and start using such khadi. And hence I tell you for the thousandth time that the remedy for all deceit lies in khadi that is woven from yarn spun by yourselves. Just as adding jaggery makes a thing sweet, likewise, if we spin fine yarn, we get finer and cheaper khadi. There can be no other cloth which is as cheap or cheaper and, if there is such cloth, it deserves to be discarded as it is stained with the blood of the poor.

[From Gujarati]
*Navajivan*, 24-5-1931

## *239. LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON*

AS AT SABARMATI,
*May 24, 1931*

DEAR MR. EMERSON,

I have just arrived at Muttra and have to wait for the Frontier Mail for about five hours. Local people have given me a version of what happened in a village called Bijhari near Muttra on 20th instant. I enclose herewith a copy of the statement they have given me. 18 men were arrested under warrant. The gravamen of the complaint however is that the police acted far in excess of their authority. There is no complaint against the warrant itself. It was perfectly right for the authorities to arrest the men if in their opinion they had done anything wrong.

I am going to Bardoli and I am likely to be there for at least two or three days.

*Yours sincerely*,
M. K. GANDHI

Encl. 1

H. W. EMERSON, ESQ.
HOME SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
SIMLA

Home Department, Political, File No. 33/9, 1931. Courtesy: National Archives of India

## *240. LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON*[1]

As at Sabarmati,
*May 24, 1931*

DEAR MR. EMERSON,

I enclose herewith a copy of the report[2] received from Lala Duni Chand of Ambala, who is a prominent pleader in that part of the world. I would esteem a line from you even by wire as to whether you propose to take any action in the matter. Duty perhaps demands that I should take public notice of this action on the part of the Magistrate unless it is possible for you to get some relief. If the facts are as stated by Lala Duni Chand, the action on the part of the Magistrate denoted by these facts is surely against the spirit of peace which it was the prime object of the Settlement to establish.

*Yours sincerely,*

Encl. 1

H. W. Emerson, Esq.
Simla

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-B, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

[1] *Vide* also p. 181.

[2] In which Duni Chand had stated ". . . I proceeded to Ludhiana on the afternoon of 18th May, 1931, to enquire into the happenings of the 16th May which had been reported to you at Kalka, . . . I am sorry to say that most of the officials at Ludhiana probably consider the Irwin-Gandhi Settlement as a scrap of paper. . . In my opinion there should be an independent enquiry by the representatives of the Government and the public not only into the happenings at Ludhiana but also into the general policy of the local authorities that has been hitherto pursued. . . "

## 241. LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON

As at Sabarmati,
*May 24, 1931*

DEAR MR. EMERSON,

I have your three letters forwarding me extracts from reports received by you from Surat, Assam and the U.P. They are having attention.

*Yours sincerely,*
M. K. Gandhi

H. W. Emerson, Esq.

Home Department, Political, File No. 33/9, 1931. Courtesy: National Archives of India

## 242. LETTER TO GOSIBEHN CAPTAIN

As at Sabarmati,
*May 24, 1931*

I am waiting at Muttra Junction for the Frontier Mail to take me to Surat and thence to Bardoli. I have received your letter here. Did I say that even sewn pieces will be taken up? I do remember having said so about cut pieces. But let me have the number of people who want to get rid of cut pieces or sewn pieces together with the quantity and the market price.

I am glad the two sisters have at last gone to Panchgani for a little bit of rest and pure air. What about yours?

I reach Bardoli tomorrow noon.

Mrs. Gosibehn Captain
78 Napean Sea Road
Malabar Hill, Bombay

From a microfilm: S.N. 17138

## 243. LETTER TO HORACE G. ALEXANDER

As at Sabarmati,
*May 24, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter for which I thank you. Of course I passed on your cable to Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan as soon as I received it. Now that I know more about what you meant you may depend upon my doing all I can. One thing I am going to do is to put myself in correspondence with Capt. Barnes.

*Yours sincerely,*
M. K. Gandhi

Prof. Horace G. Alexander
144 Oaktree Lane
Birmingham

From a photostat: G.N. 1410

## 244. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

As at Sabarmati,
*May 24, 1931*

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I have your sad letter about Bholanath Sen[1]. I have read all about the murder. I knew that both the picture and the writing were wholly inoffensive. But the complaint was that there was any portrait of the Prophet printed at all. Of course it is a silly complaint but anything is good enough to inflame the simple minded Pathan. In the face of such tragedies I know nothing so efficacious as prayer and utter silence when we can present no visible remedy. If the Hindu heart can be melted, the thing becomes easy. But before it can melt, you and I and perhaps thousands like us will have to give our lives and in order that they may become a pure sacrifice, we have to endeavour to become purer day by day, or better put, less impure day by day. Your

[1] A book-seller who was murdered in Calcutta on 7-5-1931 for selling the book *Prachin Kahani*.



CWMG - XLVI

description of the Bengal state of affairs is also sad. I am today in Muttra waiting for the Frontier Mail taking me to Surat. Most probably Subhasbabu will travel as far as Surat. I have not yet seen him. This is being dictated at the station. I am going to Bardoli on the Sardar's orders. My destination is Borsad but when I shall be able to go there I do not know.

Subhasbabu is with me on the train.[1]

Love.

BAPU

SYT. SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA
KHADI PRATISHTHAN
SODEPUR (NEAR CALCUTTA)

From a photostat: G.N. 8033

## *245. LETTER TO CAPTAIN BARNES*

AS AT SABARMATI,
*May 24, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

Prof. Horace Alexander writes to me a long letter with reference to the troubles, he says, you are having in your work in Peshawar. Prof. Alexander tells me that you and Mrs. Barnes are real friends of India, but that things take place in your district which are not all as they should be. I would like you, if you could, to tell me all you know personally, not for publication, but for my private use and guidance. You will take my word when I tell you that the whole of my effort is directed towards establishing real peace in the land and in making people see that the way to progress lies not through bluster and violence but through quiet work and non-violence.[2]

*Yours sincerely,*

CAPT. BARNES
PESHAWAR

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-C, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

[1] This line is in Gandhiji's hand.
[2] *Vide* also Vol. XLVII, "Letter to Captain Barnes", 19-6-1931.

CWMG XLVI

## 246. LETTER TO NIRANJAN PATNAIK[1]

*May 24, 1931*

MY DEAR NIRANJAN,

I have your telegram about Syt. Narasinha Sahu. You must give me full particulars about him including record of trial.

From a microfilm: S.N. 17105

## 247. LETTER TO PERCY LACEY

AS AT SABARMATI,
*May 24, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your message received on my arrival at Muttra. I have purposely refrained from sending you a wire for there was no hurry about dealing with your message. Should I go to London I would certainly make it a point to visit Lancashire and demonstrate to the people of Lancashire that I personally and the Congress have no ill-will against Lancashire and that the Congress would do all in its power to help Lancashire. I would therefore naturally avail myself of and esteem the powerful help of the *Manchester Guardian* in facilitating my work in Lancashire. You will please keep the contents of this letter from the Press but you are at liberty to show it to friends and undoubtedly pass it on to the *Manchester Guardian*.

*Yours sincerely,*

PERCY LACEY, ESQ.
HOTEL CECIL
SIMLA

From a photostat: S.N. 17123

[1] In reply to the addressee's telegram which read: "Of Vizagapatam Agency State prisoners in Rajahmundry jail Narasinha Sahu released rearrested interned Bimlipatam Agency Regulation."

## 248. LETTER TO PREMNATH BAZAZ

As at Sabarmati,
*May 24, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. What young men can do is to make up their minds to marry only widows and if they cannot secure widows in the Pandit caste, they should travel outside if only by way of satyagraha. But if they are desirous of restricting themselves to their caste they should reason with the caste elders and give them notice that they would go outside the caste if they did not merely permit but encourage widows to remarry.

*Yours sincerely,*

Pt. Prem Nath Bazaz
Chondhpora
Srinagar (Kashmir)

From a photostat: S.N. 17129

## 249. LETTER TO WALTER B. FOLEY

As at Sabarmati,
*May 24, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter and the two articles.

I would indeed be delighted to meet you if it is at all convenient for you to go to Surat or Anand. Generally I am to be found between Borsad near Anand and Bardoli near Surat. Just at present I am on my way to Bardoli. I received your letter while waiting for the Surat train at Muttra Junction. I am not likely to be anywhere between Lahore and Calcutta in the course of next month.

*Yours sincerely,*

Walter B. Foley,[1] Esq.
3 Middleton Street
Calcutta

From a microfilm: S.N. 17130

[1] Editorial Secretary, the Methodist Episcopal Church, Calcutta

## 250. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

AS AT SABARMATI,
*May 24, 1931*

Here is another letter for you to read and deal with. I would like you to answer it directly. I have not acknowledged it. Please let me know whether there is any truth in the statement made.

Encl. 1

SYT. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR
GANDHI ASHRAM
TIRUCHENGODU (S. INDIA)

From a microfilm: S.N. 17131

## 251. LETTER TO JOHN BITTMANN

AS AT SABARMATI,
*May 24, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. If I visit London I would love to visit Denmark and other places, but I am not sure when I shall be able to do so. I am sorry to hear about Menon's misfortunes. But Esther ought not to worry about his failure. Please tell her with my love that I expect greater faith and therefore greater pluck from her and please ask her to write to me.

*Yours sincerely,*

JOHN BITTMANN, ESQ.
PT. 55, GRONDALSVEJ
COPENHAGEN

From a photostat: S.N. 17132

CWMG - XLVI

## 252. LETTER TO ATUL PRATAP SINHA

As at Sabarmati,
*May 24, 1931*

MY DEAR SINHA,

I thank you for your letter offering your service should I come to London. At the present moment I see no chance of my coming but if I do, you will seek me out. I am sorry I cannot recall the incident narrated by you in your letter.

*Yours sincerely,*

ATUL PRATAP SINHA, ESQ.
VICE-PRESIDENT, INDIAN STUDENTS CENTRAL ASSOCIATION
BROMPTON ROAD, LONDON S.W. 3

From a photostat: S.N. 17133

## 253. LETTER TO CARL J. BRUNSKOG

As at Sabarmati,
*May 24, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

My answer to your question is:

One way to promote world peace is to help India to attain her own through truth and non-violence.

*Yours sincerely,*

CARL J. BRUNSKOG
LILLA NYGATAN 4
STOCKHOLM

From a photostat: S.N. 17134

## 254. LETTER TO J. N. SAHNI

As at Sabarmati,
*May 24, 1931*

MY DEAR SAHNI,

I have heard that you had published a report of that interview. I must confess that I was grieved. Of course the proper thing for you was not to assume or receive consent either from

Malaviyaji or Anasuyabehn because it was a matter in which I alone could have judged. I do not think that any very great harm has been done. But these little mistakes repeated by so many newspapers make up a heavy indictment and betray bad taste. These domestic conversations do not admit of reporting. They lose their weight and influence by reporting. Anasuyabehn has also written to me about it. She is deeply grieved and she tells me that there are many mistakes. But I do not think that anything is to be gained by publishing corrections. The best thing therefore is to forget all about it and the amends you can make is not to repeat such a mistake not only in connection with myself but in every case. I think the mistake will have been well made if the point I have made is quite clear to you.

*Yours sincerely,*

SYT. J. N. SAHNI
"HINDUSTAN TIMES", DELHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 17136

## *255. LETTER TO ISHWAR DAS NAYYAR*

AS AT SABARMATI,
*May 24, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. As I am continuously travelling I cannot encourage you to see me. Staying with me is out of the question. But you can certainly stay at the Ashram for some time and feel your way there. If you accept my suggestion, you should write to the Manager and receive his permission before going there.

*Yours sincerely,*

SYT. ISHWAR DAS NAYYAR
HOUSE PROPRIETOR
PURANA BAZAR
GUJARAT[1]

From a microfilm: S.N. 17137

[1] A town in West Punjab (Pakistan)

## 256. LETTER TO SHANTA PATEL

BARDOLI,
*May 25, 1931*

CHI. SHANTA,

I got your letter. I had the same thing in mind that you now explain to me. But I still advise you to try to mix with girls and be satisfied with playing with them. Be as much as possible with Premabehn and secure a good certificate from her. Help younger girls, teach them, for instance. Pay attention to Pushpa's diet. She should eat less rice than she does.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4060

## 257. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

BARDOLI,
*May 25, 1931*

CHI. NARANDAS,

I arrived in Bardoli this morning. I had intended to go to Borsad, but came here. How can a mere servant have this way? You may not perhaps have read the accompanying letter from Bhagwanji. What is Hariyomal's complaint? It seems that we have not, after all, been able to cultivate contact with the thieves. How could we do that since we have not gone into villages? Whenever thieves trouble us, I feel sorry about our failure to do so. It seems the Punjabi vaid's treatment has not benefited Kusum and others.

I have sent a wire to Rajkot advising that Ratilal should be removed to Thana. I shall be here for a few days at any rate.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

[PS.]

Is Valji still in Bombay? And in a hospital?

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./I

## *258. LETTER TO MANAGER, OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, BOMBAY*

AS AT SABARMATI,
*May 26, 1931*

R. E. HAWKINS, ESQ.
MANAGER, OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
NICOL ROAD, BOMBAY

DEAR SIR,

Owing to my journeys and preoccupations I have not been able to reply to your letter of the 7th May earlier. The suggestions made in your letter, I like. I have personally never copyrighted any of my publications. I left Mr. Andrews free to do what he liked with his condensation. But if there is any permission to be had from Mr. Andrews or his publishers you will please get it from them. I note what you say about the royalty. When you have actually decided to publish the proposed book in accordance with your letter, I would expect the manuscript for inspection and revision where necessary.

*Yours sincerely,*

From a photostat: G.N. 5686

## *259. LETTER TO COWASJI JEHANGIR*[1]

AS AT SABARMATI,
*May 26, 1931*

DEAR SIR COWASJI,

You will please forgive me for not having sent you an earlier reply. I returned to Bardoli only yesterday from Nainital where and at Simla I was so overwhelmed with local work that I had no time to frame my reply to you or to Sardar Garda. I am now sending you a copy of my reply to Sardar Garda[2] which will speak

[1] In reply to the addressee's letter in which he had mentioned certain specific complaints of Sardar Garda and pleaded with Gandhiji that "all kind of harassment shall immediately stop. . . "

[2] *Vide* the following item.

for itself. I am sending you also a copy of his letter to me. At best his allegations are vague and even these are really denied by the people. But the complaint he could legitimately make could only be about matters happening after his promise to restore the land. That should be after the receipt of Rao Bahadur Bhimbhai's letter or so after the 25th April when we had the first conversation. If we were to take the 25th April as the date you will see that there is only one paragraph devoted to the happenings thereafter. It says: "On 28th April Babla people again scared away our labourers and cartmen that came from my *bet*. So also a Rajput family on the 3rd instant. With other threats they were told that their abodes would be burnt down together with the inmates."

These allegations I have carefully enquired into and I have statements on oath made by the people concerned repudiating them. If, however, this investigation does not satisfy you, I am quite willing that you should nominate someone on your behalf who would investigate these two complaints.

As to Bhikhabhai who is said to have refused to take up his bungalow, I understand that he denies having made the statement ascribed to him. But even if he did not, how could we interfere in such matters?

With reference to the other complaint in your letter I was painfully surprised to find this sentence: "I desire to draw your attention to other cases of harassment of Parsis which have been brought to my notice." This presupposes that you have taken the harassment of Sardar Garda for granted and you have generalized from two incidents yet unproved an indictment, I do not know against whom, for harassment of Parsis as a class. As a matter of fact throughout the last 12 years of intense political work the relations between the Congress and the Parsis have been of the happiest character. How can there be then any question of harassment of Parsis? And even if it can be proved, should the harassment of the lady[1] whose case you have mentioned affect Sardar Garda's promise of restoration of land which on his own showing he bought for a song. I am however anxious to give you all the satisfaction I can that there is no desire whatsoever on the part of Congress organizations to harass Parsis. In the lady's case there is an impeachment of Syt. Bharucha who has investigated the matter. In view of the fact that there are two contrary

[1] Miss Contractor who had foreign and country liquor shops at Thana and Ghatkopar

allegations by two Parsis of position, I can only ask you to name some person who would make the investigation and report to you. Pending receipt of your letter on this point, I am staying any further investigation into the lady's complaint.

*Yours sincerely,*

Encls. 2

SIR COWASJI JEHANGIR
READYMONEY MANSION
CHURCHGATE STREET
FORT, BOMBAY

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-C, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

## *260. LETTER TO FRAMROZE B. GARDA*[1]

AS AT SABARMATI,
*May 26, 1931*

DEAR SARDAR GARDA,

I am sorry that owing to my absence from Gujarat and other preoccupations I was not able to reply to your letter earlier. You will notice from your complaint that except two, the other complaints refer to times prior to your decision to restore the land to the original owners. With reference to the two incidents which you mention as having happened on the 28th April and 3rd instant. I have enquired into your allegations and the people point blank repudiate them. You have again mentioned some other cases before the 25th April which are before the courts. The rest I have enquired into. Although they are alleged to have happened before the 25th April, the allegations are denied by the people concerned. Of course you do not hold Congressmen responsible for things that may happen to your land in the Baroda territories through your tenants with whom Congressmen have no dealings of concern.

As a matter of fact it was up to you to have withdrawn the cases which are before the courts after the settlement with you. I cannot help therefore saying that you have shown absolutely no reason for going back upon your plighted word. In any case I suggest that your proper course was to seek redress for any wrong done to you after your promise of restoration by means of arbitra-

[1] *Vide* also p. 91.

tion or otherwise but not to repudiate the promise made after the fullest deliberation.

*Yours sincerely,*

SARDAR FRAMROZE GARDA
NAVSARI

A.I.C.C. File. No. 16-C, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

## *261. LETTER TO U. GOPALA MENON*

AS AT SABARMATI,
*May 26, 1931*

MY DEAR GOPALA MENON,

I have your letter. I know all about the case of M.P. Narayana Menon. I had a letter addressed to Lord Irwin by some missionary friend given to me to be delivered to Lord Irwin which I gladly did and asked him to endeavour to secure Narayana Menon's release. I have no doubt about the justice of the case. Unfortunately the talk with Lord Irwin took place only two days before he left Delhi. It is highly likely therefore that he was able to do nothing. Now as you say Sir. C. P. Ramaswami Iyer knows the case well you have to knock at his door continually.

I cannot give you any definite opinion upon the proposed Temple Entry Satyagraha unless I know what the other side has to say. The objection you have raised is certainly worthy of consideration. Beyond this I do not feel able to go.

*Yours sincerely,*

SYT. U. GOPALA MENON, B.A., B.L.
CALICUT

From a microfilm: S.N. 17143

## *262. LETTER TO JUGAL KISHORE*

AS AT SABARMATI,
*May 26, 1931*

MY DEAR JUGAL KISHORE,

I have your letter of the 14th instant. On my way back to Bardoli I had to pass nearly five hours in Muttra and I saw the friend who was with you. What is his name? Both he and I after discussion agreed that I should take no public notice of your

appeal till you were ready with the programme for making the Mahavidyalaya self-reliant by a definite date not distant. But I gave him a letter addressed to the Trustees in accordance with the terms we had discussed before.

I missed you at Muttra.

PROF. JUGAL KISHORE
PREM MAHAVIDYALAYA
BRINDABAN

From a microfilm: S.N. 17144

## *263. LETTER TO MAGANTI BAPI NEEDU*

AS AT SABARMATI,
*May 26, 1931*

MY DEAR NEEDU,

I have your touching letter. You are unnecessarily despondent. There is no occasion for despondency. I could see that you will have to support your father, mother and child. I therefore suggest your going to Sabarmati Ashram. Rs. 33 per month will be paid for these dependents. You won't have to pay anything for your boarding and lodging at the Ashram. If you take to the Ashram life your problem is easily solved, and of course you serve the country by the mere fact of your living at the Ashram for the simple reason that the whole of the Ashram activity is national activity. If you do not know what Ashram life is in detail you should ask Narayana Razu who lived there, I think, for over a year. So many other men also from Andhra Desh have off and on lived in the Ashram.

*Yours sincerely,*

SYT. MAGANTI BAPI NEEDU
ELLORE (WEST GODAVARI DT.)

From a microfilm: S.N. 17145

CWMG-XLVI

## 264. LETTER TO SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

As at Sabarmati,
*May 26, 1931*

Here is a letter from Patiya, Chittagong District. I telegraphed[1] to the writer to ascertain whether I could make use of his name and whether he could vouch for the facts. The telegram was not delivered for want of sufficient address. I wrote[2] to him also, but there is no reply as yet. If the facts mentioned in the letter are true, the matter is serious. But you can inquire and take such action as it is necessary. I hope you had a nice time in Ahmedabad.

Syt. Subhas Chandra Bose
C/o Bengal Provincial Congress Committee
Calcutta

From a photostat: S.N. 17146

## 265. LETTER TO L. R. GURUSWAMY NAIDU

As at Sabarmati,
*May 26, 1931*

MY DEAR GURUSWAMY,

I have your letter describing the difficulties of picketing. If you have correctly described your picketing there seems to me to be nothing wrong about it and that the action of the authorities was not only contrary to the terms of the Settlement but in my opinion also illegal. Please continue to give me information about any further development. I would like you also to keep in touch with Syt. Rajagopalachari to whom I have sent your letter.

*Yours sincerely,*

Syt. L. R. Guruswamy Naidu
President, Taluq Congress Committee
Koilpatti (Madras Presidency)

From a microfilm: S.N. 17147

[1] *Vide* p. 191.
[2] *Vide* p. 193.



CWMG-XLVI

## 266. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

As at Sabarmati,
*May 26, 1931*

Here is a letter from L. R. Guruswamy Naidu of Koilpatti Taluq Congress Committee. I enclose also a copy of my letter[1] to him. You should vigorously move in the matter if the facts are correctly set forth in Guruswamy's letter.

I expect to see you in Bombay on the 9th.

Syt. C. Rajagopalachariar
Gandhi Ashram
Tiruchengodu (S. India)

From a microfilm: S.N. 17148

## 267. LETTER TO SHANKERLAL BANKER

As at Sabarmati,
*May 26, 1931*

MY DEAR SHANKERLAL,

With reference to the suggestion of Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya advising purchase of the site and building at Masulipatam I agree to the proposal if the purchase price is anywhere between five and six thousand rupees.

Syt. Shankerlal Banker
Mirzapur, Ahmedabad

From a microfilm: S.N. 17149

## 268. LETTER TO DR. M. A. ANSARI

As at Sabarmati,
*May 26, 1931*

DEAR DR. ANSARI,

I have your telegram. I thought that you had agreed that if the communal question was not solved the Congress should not be represented at the Round Table Conference. Why do you now

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.



CWMG-XLVI

agree with the suggestion made by Sastri, Andrews and Polak?[1] But whether you do or not, you have to consider my own want of confidence in myself if I went without the solution. What can I ask and what strength can I put forth in the national demand if we are a house divided against itself? But I have in my reply to the cable said that if I was invited to go to London to discuss things apart from the Round Table Conference I would gladly go if the Settlement was being properly worked.

Have you seen the announcement made by Maulvi Mohammad Yakub? I do not know what the papers have reported about my statement about the necessity of the Sikhs joining any solution that might be arrived at. Do you see any escape from it?

There was much left over to talk about at Simla. I am looking forward to the 9th June when we should be able to resume the conversations.

DR. M. A. ANSARI
1 DARYAGANJ
DELHI

From a photostat: S.N. 17150

## *269. LETTER TO ABBAS TYABJI*

AS AT SABARMATI,
*May 26, 1931*

I have your cheerful letter. I returned to Bardoli yesterday on Sardar's orders and under those orders I am here at least for a few days. About the 3rd or 4th June I may be still here or in Borsad unless I am suddenly called away somewhere else. You see I am not my own master. There is the Sardar as also the Sarkar and between the two I am having a fine time.

I never received even an acknowledgement of my letter to the Maharaja. Do you suggest my writing to him again? If you do, please let me know his address. Why don't you see the Dewan yourself? I am glad Rehana has gone to Matheran. She must benefit by the rest.

SYT. ABBAS TYABJI
CAMP BARODA

From a photostat: S.N. 17151

[1] *Vide* p. 199.

## 270. LETTER TO SECRETARY, INDIAN ASSOCIATION, IRAQ

As at Sabarmati,
*May 26, 1931*

The Secretary
Indian Association in Iraq
P. Box No. 71, Residency Road
Baghdad

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your printed letter of 28th April last. I do not know anything of the previous ones. They were probably received whilst I was in jail. I wish your Association every success. Will you give me some idea of the number and the profession of Indians resident in Iraq and will you also tell me whether the relations between you and the Arabs are perfectly cordial?

*Yours sincerely,*

From a microfilm: S.N. 17152

## 271. LETTER TO HARDAYAL NAG

As at Sabarmati,
*May 26, 1931*

DEAR BABU HARDAYAL NAG,

Although you are perhaps the oldest member of the Congress you are proving your youthfulness now and again by favouring me with letters. Your latest I do not propose to publish. The communal question is there whether we like it or not. And if we cannot settle it I cannot put forth the national demand with the strength that a solution of the communal question would give me. Do you not see this fundamental objection to participation by the Congress in the Round Table Conference? If there is to be a Swaraj Constitution there has to be a solution of the communal trouble.

I hope you are retaining the same vigour as before.

*Yours sincerely,*

Syt. Hardayal Nag
Chandpur (Bengal)

From a photostat: S.N. 17154

## 272. LETTER TO L. J. BURGESS

As at Sabarmati,
*May 26, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. Though I should perhaps word the third proposition differently I have no hesitation in endorsing the general tenor of all the three propositions. I have never said that other nations' religion is as good as any other. I am trying to send you the two numbers of *Young India* which contain my views on the question. There never was any question of legal interference on my part with religious liberty.

*Yours sincerely,*

L. J. Burgess, Esq.
Salt Hill
Darjeeling

From a photostat: S.N. 17155

## 273. LETTER TO RAGHUBIR SINGH

As at Sabarmati,
*May 26, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. My answer to your first question is that if your mind really hankers after the degree or the knowledge that the college course gives you in physics you should rejoin the college.

As to the help to your friends I think that you are entitled to and even bound to help them if they are starving but not to further their aims. In no case [may] even you disclose their names to the police.

*Yours sincerely,*

Syt. Raghubir Singh
C/o Bengali Sarem
Collector's Office
Meerut

From a microfilm: S.N. 17156

## 274. LETTER TO M. G. DATAR

As at Sabarmati,
*May 26, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. If I omitted the Tilak Vidyalaya in my speech in Ahmedabad the omission was certainly not intentional.[1] I simply took the names as they came to me. I do know the contribution of the Nagpur Tilak Vidyalaya. My purpose was not to single out a particular national organization but to emphasize the fact that national educational organizations were the real thing.

*Yours sincerely,*

Syt. M. G. Datar
Headmaster, Tilak Vidyalaya
Nagpur

From a microfilm: S.N. 17157

## 275. LETTER TO SURENDRA SINGH

As at Sabarmati,
*May 26, 1931*

DEAR SARDAR SURENDRA SINGH,

You will pardon me for not having acknowledged your letter of the 30th April earlier. It will be difficult for you to convince me that the present administration really guarantees protection at critical times. I am at one with you in deploring the decline of spirituality in the national life. And I am quite at one with you that we cannot have too much of selflessness or discipline. I am trying all I can to secure these.

*Yours sincerely,*

Sardar Surendra Singh
Lahore

From a photostat: S.N. 17158

[1] *Vide* Vol. XLVII, "National Universities", 18-6-1931.



CWMG - XLVI

## 276. LETTER TO MANMOHANDAS P. GANDHI

*May 26, 1931*

BHAI MANMOHANDAS,

I am helpless. I have not been able so much as to glance at your book[1], thanks to constant travelling and pressure of other work.

1. How much cotton is imported from foreign countries for fine-count cloth?
2. Is it necessary to import that cotton?
3. Does the import harm the interests of indigenous cotton?
4. Does the growing of cotton harm or benefit the soil?
5. Would it be better to grow food crops instead of cotton?
6. Would it improve the soil?

Think over these questions and let me have your replies.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 13

## 277. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

BARDOLI,
*May 26, 1931*

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

I could not write to you from Nainital, but I did get your letter. I understand your difficulty. In what manner do you serve father-in-law? It would be very good indeed if he lets you serve all the time. That will keep your mind engaged and if, in consequence, the fainting fits stop, your health will improve. I completely forgot to write to Narandas about sending money to you, though of course he knows about it. Has there been any difficulty about the matter? Write to Narandas and request him to send you any sum you require. For some time I shall be staying in Bardoli.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3413

[1] *Pardeshi Kapadni Same Harifai Kem Karvi*, a Gujarati translation by the author of his English work; *vide* Vol. XLV, pp. 225-6.

## *278. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT*

BARDOLI,
*May 26, 1931*

CHI. VASUMATI,

I had your letter. Let me know about the effect of the vaid's medicine. What does he give you by way of medicine? For what is Maitri being treated? Tell Mahavir and Maitri to write to me. When is Gangabehn expected to come? For the present I shall have to stay here. Ramdas and Nimu have reached Almora. Rambhau has returned to the Ashram.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9324. Also C.W. 570. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

## *279. LETTER TO LAKSHMIBEHN KHARE*

BARDOLI,
*May 26, 1931*

CHI. LAKSHMIBEHN,

I suppose Rambhau has returned there. Don't get angry with him or beat him. Let him follow his own inclinations. If he does not like to study, he may do some manual work or learn some craft. There will be no harm either if he concentrates on cultivating his gift for music. Try to discover the bent of his mind and let him do what he chooses. No one else will be able to look after him or reform him better than you can. Be patient with him. Let me know what he decides to do.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 278. Courtesy: Lakshmibehn Khare

CWMG - XLVI

## *280. LETTER TO FIROZABEHN TALEYARKHAN*

BARDOLI,
*May 26, 1931*

DEAR SISTER,

It was only yesterday I came here. I have your letter. You may come over whenever you wish. I shall spare some time [for you].

*Vandemataram from*
MOHANDAS GANDHI

PS.

The train to Bardoli starts from Surat.

SMT. FIROZABEHN TALEYARKHAN
CUMBALLA HILL
BOMBAY

From Gujarati: C.W. 9774

## *281. TELEGRAM TO PRABHASHANKAR PATTANI*

BARDOLI,
*May 27, 1931*

SIR PRABHASHANKAR PATTANI
BHAVNAGAR

THANKS WIRE. COME BARDOLI WHENEVER YOU CAN.

GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 5915. Also C.W. 3230. Courtesy: Mahesh Pattani

CWMG - XLVI

## 282. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

BOMBAY,
*Silence Day* [Before *May 28*][1], *1931*

CHI. NARANDAS,

I remember your asking me to write to you on silence day and that is why I am writing this letter. Otherwise I really have no time.

Tell the inmates of the Ashram that they should not be very eager to receive letters from me. I have talked and reasoned much and what I taught I have practised as well as I could; let them assimilate as much as they can. We have with us those three shields to protect us, the *Anasaktiyoga*, the *Bhajanavali* and the *Ramayana*. I believe, and I want you all to believe, that the constant reading of these with faith will be a greater source of strength than letters from me or than living with me.

If the Punjabi vaid succeeds in his treatment of Jamna and Kusum, we shall have made a discovery. If he does indeed, we should put Radha and Anandi, too, under his treatment.

How does Santok keep now?

I have still not been able to find time for writing about the swadeshi vow.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

[PS.]

I have received a request from Rajkot that I should arrange for a companion for Ratilal who would look after him. Can you think of anyone? The person will of course be well paid.

I am leaving for Borsad today. For the present, therefore, write to me there.

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

*Bapuna Patro – 9: Shri Narandas Gandhine*, Pt. I, p. 250

[1] From the reference to the discourse on the swadeshi vow, despatched on May 28; *vide* p. 248.



CWMG - XLVI

## *283. TO THE U.P. ZAMINDARS*

In another column will be found my manifesto to the U.P. *kisans*.[1] I know that H.E. the Governor does not quite like it inasmuch as it goes beyond the relief given by the U.P. Government. But the advice given to the *kisans* in the manifesto is an honest attempt to express their capacity for payment. I am hoping, therefore, that if the *kisans* pay according to the suggestion made in the manifesto, the zamindars and the local Government will accept the payments in full discharge of the *kisans*' liability. But under the land revenue system prevalent in the U.P. the brunt will in the first instance fall upon the zamindars. I am hoping that the Government will grant proportionate relief to the zamindars who accept the tenants' terms.

To the zamindars I can give my assurance that I endeavoured to study the rural condition as much as it was possible for me to do. With the authoritative figures before me, it was impossible to offer better terms. Here are the two tables of prices:

*Index Nos. of the prices of the Principal Food-grains* (*Wheat, Barley, Gram, Rice and Bajra*) *on the basis of 1873=100*

| Year | Prices | Year | Prices |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1880 | 118 | 1906-10 | 195 |
| 1881-85 | 100 | 1911-15 | 194 |
| 1886-90 | 119 | 1916-20 | 272 |
| 1891-95 | 128 | 1921-25 | 294 |
| 1896-1900 | 166 | 1926 | 300 |
| 1901-05 | 136 | 1931 (May, U.P.) | 132 |

TABLE II

| Year | Price per maund in Rupees | Year | Price per maund in Rupees |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1880 | 1.5 | 1906-10 | 3.56 |
| 1881-85 | 1.68 | 1911-15 | 3.31 |
| 1886-90 | 2.08 | 1916-20 | 4.63 |
| 1891-95 | 2.22 | 1921-25 | 4.73 |
| 1896-1900 | 2.75 | 1926-28 | 4.9 |
| 1901-05 | 2.34 | 1931 May | 2.3 |

[1] *Vide* pp. 200-3.

They show that from 1915 there is 50% drop in the prices of staples. These prices go back to 1886. That means that within living memory they have never been so low as now. And if one were to go to the level of rents in those days, the tenants would have to pay much less than 8 as. or 12 as. as under the manifesto. It is admitted that the condition of the tenants has at no time been prosperous during recent years. Indeed an inquiry made in over three hundred U.P. villages in the eastern province shows that the price of the produce at the present rate does not even cover the rents payable. This makes no allowance for the cost of cultivation. I am prepared to admit that the inquiry was not made by experts. It therefore lacks scientific precision. But such as it is, it is revealing enough to make one pause and think.

Mr. Hooper, once a Settlement Officer, is said to have given the following landlords' definition of the U.P. tenant:

> One who is ready to live on one meal a day, and in native phrase to sell his wife and children to pay the highest possible rent for his holding, who submits to any cesses it may please his landlord to demand, and who is always willing to work for him without payment, to give evidence for him in court and speaking generally, to do any conceivable thing he is told.

The description is not flattering to the zamindars. But since Mr. Hooper's time the zamindars' ideas have undergone revolution. Many of them are sympathetic to their tenants. They try to make common cause with them. But the process has to be much faster than it has been. With the great awakening among the *kisans* there must be growing dissatisfaction with their lot, and a growing assertion of their rights.

I would like the zamindars to recognize the correctness of the *kisans*' position and make a corresponding change in their own outlook. The present crisis will be somehow tided over. But it would be wrong to go to sleep after it is over.

The zamindars would do well to take the time by the forelock. Let them cease to be mere rent collectors. They should become trustees and trusted friends of their tenants. They should limit their privy purse. Let them forgo the questionable perquisites they take from the tenants in the shape of forced gifts on marriage and other occasions, or *nazarana* on transfer of holdings from one *kisan* to another or on restoration to the same *kisan* after eviction for non-payment of rent. They should give them fixity of tenure, take a lively interest in their welfare, provide well-managed schools

for their children, night schools for adults, hospitals and dispensaries for the sick, look after the sanitation of villages and in a variety of ways make them feel that they, the zamindars, are their true friends taking only a fixed commission for their manifold services. In short they must justify their position. They should trust Congressmen. They may themselves become Congressmen and know that the Congress is a bridge between the people and the Government. All who have the true welfare of the people at heart can harness the services of the Congress. Congressmen will on their part see to it that *kisans* scrupulously fulfil their obligations to the zamindars. I mean not necessarily the statutory, but the obligations which they have themselves admitted to be just. They must reject the doctrine that their holdings are absolutely theirs to the exclusion of the zamindars. They are or should be members of a joint family in which the zamindar is the head guarding their rights against encroachment. Whatever the law may be, the zamindari to be defensible must approach the conditions of a joint family.

I like the ideal of Rama and Janaka. They owned nothing against the people. Everything including themselves belonged to the people. They lived in their midst a life not above theirs but in correspondence with theirs. But these may not be regarded as historical personages. Then let us take the example of the great Caliph Omar. Though he was monarch of a vast realm created by his great genius and amazing industry, he lived the life of a pauper and never considered himself owner of the vast treasures that lay at his feet. He was a terror to those officials who squandered people's money in luxuries.

*Young India*, 28-5-1931

## *284. NOTES*

### Maharaja Saheb of Mahmudabad[1]

The untimely death of the Maharaja Saheb of Mahmudabad removes one whose wisdom was needed at the present juncture in the life of the nation. He was genuinely anxious to promote Hindu-Muslim unity, and could be relied upon to give sound advice on national matters. I tender my respectful condolences to the deceased's family.

[1] A leading nationalist Muslim who died on May 23

## Poisonous Journalism

I have before me extracts from journals containing some gruesome things. There is communal incitement, gross misrepresentation and incitement to political violence bordering on murder. It is of course easy enough for the Government to launch out prosecutions or to pass repressive ordinances. These fail to serve the purpose intended except very temporarily, and in no case do they convert the writers, who often take to secret propaganda, when the open forum of the Press is denied to them.

The real remedy is healthy public opinion that will refuse to patronize poisonous journals. We have our journalists' Association. Why should it not create a department whose business it would be to study the various journals and find objectionable articles and bring them to the notice of the respective editors? The function of the department will be confined to the establishment of contact with the offending journals and public criticism of offending articles where the contact fails to bring about the desired reform. Freedom of the Press is a precious privilege that no country can forgo. But if there is, as there should be, no legislative check save that of the mildest character, an internal check such as I have suggested should not be impossible and ought not to be resented.

## Navajuvan Bharat Sabha

A member of this Sabha asked me at Muttra Junction whether I had suggested that no Congress member should be a member of that body or *vice versa* I told him that so far as I knew I had never expressed any such opinion. He immediately announced the purport of my reply to the young men on the platform, and said that some Congress member had ascribed such opinion to me, that it was wrong and that now every Congressman was free to join the Sabha as every member of the Sabha was free to join the Congress. That I had expressed no such opinion as was ascribed to me did not certainly imply that all Congressmen should or were free to join the Sabha. Every Sabha has its own rules. And I should be sorry to find Congressmen joining any of these Sabhas or for that matter any other institution without first ascertaining the condition of membership, the men composing it and the methods of its working. Certainly no one can be bullied into joining an institution. The Navajuvan Bharat Sabha will flourish if it shows a record of constructive service of the nation, never otherwise.

CWMG - XLVI

### Rival Congress Committees

Whilst at Nainital I heard of rival Congress Committees in the U.P. and elsewhere. I heard too of election disputes in several places. This is a bad sign. There must be something wrong in a place where such unhealthy rivalries take place. The hunt for office in Congress Committees is also a very ugly sign. A Congress office is or should be an opportunity for service. And where service is the motive, there can be no unhealthy rivalry. A man or a woman can easily do service without needing, or hunting for office. Wise servants of the nation will find it more profitable to stand out than to enter into unhealthy competition. Nor need one form a separate organization for the sake of service. Why do I, for instance, need an organization, if I want to teach the children of my village or street, or to sweep it, or to nurse my neighbours, to carry on khadi propaganda or to do kindred acts, all of which promote national well-being and keep me going the whole time?

### Congress and Communalism

A correspondent asks whether a Congressman who openly identifies himself with communal conferences, and other communal propaganda can hold any office under the Congress organization.

I do not think there is any rule prohibiting the election of any Congressman to any office because of his communalism. But if the Congress is to remain a purely national organization, and is to be absolutely just to all and guardian of weak minorities, Congressmen will never elect those who are known for their communal bias or tendency.

*Young India*, 28-5-1931

## *285. CHRISTIAN MISSIONS*

I gladly publish the following from Rev. B. W. Tucker:[1]

I am in full agreement with you in your protest against the methods employed by Christian missions in their efforts to gain proselytes through education, medical services and the like. Education when used for such purposes is really no education at all, but merely the perpetuation of the present substitute for education initiated by the Government, which no honest missionary, familiar with educational experimentation in the lands from which he comes would tolerate for a minute if his primary interest was education rather than

[1] Only extracts are reproduced here.

proselytizing. While not denying the right of the sick to relief from their sufferings, it might not be altogether unfair to presume, that it has been proselytizing zeal rather than lack of intelligence that has caused missionary doctors to specialize in hospitals of healing to the neglect of preventive medicine and health work. All humanitarian work must necessarily suffer if men are not dealt with with a single eye to their welfare and development as personalities, and this cannot be the case when they are looked upon merely as candidates for conversion into another social or religious grouping.

. . . It is the spirit of the age, that one's devotion to religion and God should find an immediate return in increased material prosperity, which is the negation of all spiritual religion. . . . In fact the whole Christian community have had their character vitiated by this sort of thing, . . . In no walk of life can the principle be justified that the end justifies the means, but least of all in religion where sincerity must reign supreme.

. . . Jesus had the same passion for social solidarity that has ever characterized Hindu religion at its best. While he was a devout Jew, he was never a communalist, and set his face sternly against everything, which hindered men from realizing their universal brotherhood. For this reason he was opposed to the nationalism of his day, even as you have been opposed to the current tendency towards a divisive nationalism in India. I believe that if modern Christian missions are to be true to their Lord and Master, they will eschew all efforts to proselytize and thus tear men away from their social order with the consequent lack of the sense of responsibility for the advancement of that social order.

. . . This Government has demanded that the non-British missionary not only remain neutral in such vital matters as the economic and political evils of this country, but has compelled him to give a pledge, which the Government has interpreted to mean that the missionary shall actively support the Government. . . . In my own case they objected even to my attending political meetings as a visitor, frankly admitting that they had no charge of moral obloquy to make against me, but that the Government interpretation of the pledge I had given would not allow me even this privilege. It is a standing indictment of the alliance of Christian missions in India with the world's greatest collective evil, imperialism, that they have acquiesced in this arrangement.

It is for this reason that I am pleased that you have signified that you would not perpetuate this evil in a swaraj government by creating any legal enactment compelling missionaries to withdraw if they failed to give up their proselytizing activities. No government can afford to abridge freedom of religion in this way. . . .

While I am sympathetic with your criticism of the exclusive claim of Christianity as the superior religion, I must protest against the implications of your statement that the religions of India are adequate for her. . . .

CWMG-XLVI

I can have nothing to add to this letter. But I must adhere to the statement to which Rev. Tucker takes exception and which is, "Religions of India are adequate for her." This surely means nothing more than that she does not need to change them. But as the context of the article in which the statement occurs shows, it does not mean that the professors of the respective faiths have nothing to learn. If there is sympathetic contact established between the various faiths and no evil designs suspected, each can gain a great deal from the rest. What is resisted is the idea of gaining converts and that too not always by fair and open means.

*Young India*, 28-5-1931

## *286. PANCHAYATS*

Panchayat has an ancient flavour; it is a good word. It literally means an assembly of five elected by villagers. It represents the system, by which the innumerable village republics of India were governed. But the British Government, by its ruthlessly through method of revenue collection, almost destroyed these ancient republics, which could not stand the shock of this revenue collection. Congressmen are now making a crude attempt to revive the system by giving village elders civil and criminal jurisdiction. The attempt was first made in 1921. It failed. It is being made again, and it will fail if it is not systematically and decently, I will not say, scientifically, tried.

It was reported to me in Nainital, that in certain places in the U.P. even criminal cases like rape were tried by the so-called Panchayats. I heard of some fantastic judgments pronounced by ignorant or interested Panchayats. This is what comes to me from far off Assam:

> It has been ascertained that the Congress Committee at Chaparmukh has set up a sort of rival administrative machinery there for the trial and disposal of civil and criminal cases. There are a few branch offices in the neighbourhood of Chaparmukh which dispose of similar business. At Chaparmukh office registers are being maintained for civil and criminal cases. It is understood that fines are imposed in criminal cases, and decrees are passed in civil suits, and that in a few cases attachments of property have been made or attempted in execution of decrees.

This is all bad if it is true. Irregular Panchayats are bound to fall to pieces under their own unsupportable weight. I

suggest therefore the following rules for the guidance of village workers:

1. No Panchayat should be set up without the written sanction of a Provincial Congress Committee;
2. A Panchayat should in the first instance be elected by a public meeting called for the purpose by beat of drum;
3. It should be recommended by the Tehsil Committee;
4. Such Panchayat should have no criminal jurisdiction;
5. It may try civil suits if the parties to them refer their disputes to the Panchayat;
6. No one should be compelled to refer any matter to the Panchayat;
7. No Panchayat should have any authority to impose fines, the only sanction behind its civil decrees being its moral authority, strict impartiality and the willing obedience of the parties concerned;
8. There should be no social or other boycott for the time being;
9. Every Panchayat will be expected to attend to:
   (a) The education of boys and girls in its village;
   (b) Its sanitation;
   (c) Its medical needs;
   (d) The upkeep and cleanliness of village wells or ponds;
   (e) The uplift of and the daily wants of the so-called untouchables;
10. A Panchayat, that fails without just cause to attend to the requirements mentioned in clause 9 within six months of its election, or fails otherwise to retain the goodwill of the villagers, or stands self-condemned for any other cause, appearing sufficient to the Provincial Congress Committee, may be disbanded and another elected in its place.

The disability to impose fines or social boycott is a necessity of the case in the initial stages. Social boycott in villages has been found to be a dangerous weapon in the hands of ignorant or unscrupulous men. Imposition of fines too may lead to mischief and defeat the very end in view. Where a Panchayat is really popular and increases its popularity by the constructive work of the kind suggested in clause 9, it will find its judgments and authority respected by reason of its moral prestige. And that surely is the greatest sanction any one can possess and of which one cannot be deprived.

*Young India*, 28-5-1931

CWMG - XLVI

## *287. SALT*

Simla has issued the following welcome communique:

Since the conclusion of the Settlement between Lord Irwin and Mr. Gandhi, the Government of India have been engaged in settling the details of arrangements and regulations in various districts to give effect to clause 20 of the Settlement, which related to the collection and manufacture of salt by local residents in villages immediately adjoining the areas where salt could be collected or made. These details in all cases are now practically completed, and the general manner in which effect is to be given to the arrangement may be stated as follows:

1. Clause 20 is intended to benefit the poor classes. It will be open, therefore, to those in villages adjoining the salt areas to make or collect salt for domestic use and sale in their respective villages.

NOTE: Domestic use shall include use for manure, cattle or fish-curing by individual fishermen.

2. For this purpose villagers may make salt pans or beds.

3. There should be no sale of salt for purpose of trade outside the villages. It follows, therefore, that such salt can be carried only on foot and not in carts or such other conveyances.

4. Wherever manufacture of salt under the foregoing clauses is permitted, salt pans will not be directed or otherwise interfered with by Government officers, and regular watches will be withdrawn.

5. The concession will be withdrawn from the villages where it is found that it is abused. Wherever it is discovered that salt is manufactured or collected in quantities above the requirements of a particular village, the abuse of the concession will be presumed.

I hope that workers will understand and carefully explain these instructions to the villagers, so that the limits are not overstepped.

*Young India*, 28-5-1931

## 288. TO DESHSEVIKAS

*May 28, 1931*

When I was in Bombay, I wished to meet the *deshsevikas*. I tried to find time to do so, but I could not meet all of them. Finally, the women contented themselves with writing a letter signed by all. Till today, I have not been able to write even a few lines to express my gratitude to them. It is true that I was unable to find time to write while travelling, but the fact is that I also forgot to write when I could have done so. I hope these women will forgive me. Some account of the work done by the *deshsevikas* did appear in the newspapers and, as I received two or three newspapers while in prison, I could get some idea of their work. My heart used to dance with joy on reading about their ceaseless service and their fearlessness. It is my hope that, with the very same enthusiasm, these women will do hereafter the more difficult constructive work and bring credit to themselves and to the country. The world has certainly been astonished at what Indian women have achieved in the past twelve months. But their task does not end there. This is merely the beginning.

[From Gujarati]

*Navajivan*, 31-5-1931

## 289. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

*May 28, 1931*

CHI. PRABHA,

I got your letter. If the marriage cannot be celebrated before the end of June, you should come away just now and return afterwards for a week for the marriage. According to me, every day should be treated as an auspicious day on which a marriage can be celebrated. If, however, the marriage cannot be celebrated soon and if Father and Mother willingly permit you to come away, you should do so immediately. But you may stay on for the whole of June if they are likely to feel hurt. You may go to Sitabadiyara, too, and stay there for some time and do your duty to the family. If you have to stay on, you should write

to uncle[1], Babaji and Vinoba about it and get their permission. I, on my part, will also speak to them. You alone know all the relevant circumstances for deciding whether you should stay on there; you should, therefore, do what seems best to you in the light of the circumstances there.

Write a strong letter to Jayaprakash in regard to the pain from which he suffers. If you stay on there, take an opportunity to meet him.

Keep up some study.

Gangabehn gave birth to a daughter. The child lived for a day and died.

Amtulsalaam feels rather unhappy. I cannot say whether she will continue to stay here till you return.

Why have you asked for slivers to be sent to you from here? Of course I will send them, but you yourself ought to card cotton. If the effort gives you pain in your hand, you should teach some others to card. Is there no one even in Chhapra who spins? And if a person spins, cannot he card? Wherever we stay, we should do our best to obtain slivers locally.

What is your weight?

*Blessings from*
BAPU

[PS.]

I will leave on the 29th and return on June 3.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3412

## *290. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI*

BARDOLI,
*May 28, 1931*

CHI. NARANDAS,

I got your letter. Write to Hanuman Singh's relations and tell them that his death has both grieved me and made me happy. His body had wasted away and it is good that it has perished. The soul which dwelt in that body is immortal. Since I knew him personally, I was bound to feel grieved at his passing away, but such grief ought to be suppressed. I, therefore, felt the pain only for a moment. Let the relations, too, feel in the same way. Translate this into Hindi and send it to them along with a copy of the Gujarati. Who is the Shankarrao who was bitten by a snake?

[1] Jamnalal Bajaj, according to *Bapuna Patro – 10: Shri Prabhavatibehnne*

How is he now? How did he come to be bitten by a snake? Did it get under his foot in the river or did it bite him unprovoked?

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./I

## *291. LETTER TO V. G. DESAI*

BARDOLI,
*May 28, 1931*

BHAISHRI VALJI,

Did you in any way benefit from your stay in the hospital? Or, are things just as they were? Don't let your constipation remain. If you come over here as soon as you get this letter, we will banish your constipation altogether.

I have written to Bhai Mohanlal about your article.

It seems that the Foreword did not reach you after all. Here is another:

"These eleven points have been explained so clearly that everybody may understand them. If every reader, having understood these points, immediately starts acting upon as many of them as he finds practicable, how very near would swaraj be?

MOHANDAS GANDHI"

Though I send you this Foreword, I wonder whether the eleven points have not become twenty now. Why won't you write about all of them? But in this matter you know better.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7414. Courtesy: V. G. Desai

## *292. LETTER TO JAMNADAS GANDHI*

BARDOLI,
*May 28, 1931*

CHI. JAMNADAS,

I have your letter of the 22nd; but the earlier one has not yet reached me. I fail to see why you are reluctant to write to the Doctor. Why should you feel any hesitation in explaining the facts as they are? I see nothing odd in your wish to ask Lallubhai to accompany you when you take Ratilal to Thana. He must be a strange man who, though he has enough money, re-

fuses to spend it at such a time. For whose sake should he hoard and save? I did get the telegram about Anna, and I replied to say that he would not be able to go. It is possible, however, that he went on his own.

How is the State being ruled? What happened to that petition in regard to drinking?

*Blessings from*
BAPU

[PS.]

At present I am here only.

From Gujarati: C.W. 9323. Courtesy: Jamnadas Gandhi

## *293. INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS*

BARDOLI,
*May 28, 1931*

Interviewed in connection with the report appearing in a Bombay paper saying that an ugly situation was again developing in and around Bardoli, Gandhiji declared:

I urge upon the public to disbelieve all sensational statements and be unruffled by them. It is news to me that the peasants have no intention to pay the land revenue. I do know that the peasants have been paying to the utmost of their ability all the time and are still paying. I hope to be able shortly to make a public statement to show how punctiliously correct Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and other workers in the Civil Disobedience Movement have been in implementing the Delhi Settlement.

*The Hindustan Times*, 30-5-1931

## *294. LETTER TO R. M. MAXWELL*

BARDOLI,
*May 29, 1931*

DEAR MR. MAXWELL,

I thank you for your several letters which I hope to deal with as fast as time permits me. But I must make time to reply to your latest, i.e., of the 25th instant and the previous one, i.e., of the 24th instant.

I do not know what there can be in the *prabhat pheris* to object to. Though they took form during the Civil Disobedience campaign

they were in themselves quite innocent. I do not know how far they disturb the peace of citizens. During my recent travels, I found them more or less in vogue in the other cities too. I can understand prohibition of inflammatory songs. But I do not know that the Government will be right in interfering with this innocent and beautiful institution which reminds citizens of their duty towards their Creator in early morning.

With reference to the Seva Dals the practices they go through are not new. They have for years been going through them without any interference. If there is anything specific that is objected to, I would like it to be specified. I am unable without further information to endorse the suggestion that 'these camps do not wholly reflect the spirit of the Settlement and that they are calculated in some degree to delay the restoration of normal conditions and feelings'.

As to the other letter, i.e., about liquor sales it comes upon me with painful surprise.

If whilst liquor picketing is recognized as legitimate, the Government counteract it through several practices even considered illegal, and contend that such practices are not in contravention of the Settlement, I venture to suggest that nothing that the Government may do or may not do need be deemed to be in contravention of it.

But your letter tells me that the present practice of sale out of ordinary hours and outside ordinary places of sale is perfectly legal. This I must confess is a revelation for which I was wholly unprepared. It means that the Collectors are guided by no legal restrictions or regulations that the public need know. Indeed if such is the condition of liquor law or rather if the sale of liquor is governed by no law save the will of Collectors, the sooner the public is informed of the fact the better for it. And it will be a serious matter for the Congress Working Committee to consider.

His Excellency will permit me to say that he is evidently unaware of the fact that picketing in Ahmedabad has been accepted by the previous District Officer and the Superintendent of Police as the most peaceful and inoffensive. His Excellency is also evidently unaware of the fact that the picketing was started by the Labour Union in the interest of labour long before the Civil Disobedience campaign was inaugurated. It has been admired by strangers from the West who have visited Ahmedabad.

His Excellency will pardon me for saying that the opening of the last paragraph of your letter betrays amazing ignorance of the working of picketing in Ahmedabad. I state here for his information

that the Labour Union including the drinkers are thankful for this watch and it is the Union that has borne the expenses. It was surely His Excellency's duty to be sure of his facts on which undeserved reflections upon the conduct of an honourable body of men and women are based.

The suggestion contained in the last sentence that such picketing cannot be peaceful implies a reflection on Lord Irwin who negotiated the Settlement which reflection I am sure His Excellency could never have intended.

In conclusion I repeat my humble opinion that if the practice of liquor sales now going on in Ahmedabad continues, the continuation will be in breach of the spirit if not the letter of the Settlement.

*I am,*
*Yours sincerely,*
M. K. GANDHI

A.I.C.C. File No. 4, 1931, Part II. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

## *295. LETTER TO GANGABEHN JHAVERI*

*May 29, 1931*

CHI. GANGABEHN,

Chhaganlal informs me that you have come to Nadiad. I also hear that you wish to see me. You may come whenever you wish. I shall not be required to go to Borsad for some time. Send the accompanying letter to Navin wherever he is.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3114

## *296. LETTER TO PADMA*

BARDOLI,
*May 29, 1931*

CHI. PADMA,

I met your father in Nainital. Do you write to him? How is your health now? Write to me and give me all the news about yourself.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6119. Also C.W. 3471. Courtesy: Prabhudas Gandhi

CWMG - XLVI

## 297. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

BARDOLI,
*May 29, 1931*

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

You must have received my letter. For some days, I could get no time to write to you. I did write to Narandas, however, about sending you money. I shall most probably be in Bardoli up to 7th June. Write to me here and give all details. My health is good. The diet remains the same, milk and fruits.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

*Bapuna Patro – 10: Shri Prabhavatibehnne*, p. 48.

## 298. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

BARDOLI,
*May 29, 1931*

CHI. NARANDAS,

I sent yesterday an article[1] for *Navajivan* on the swadeshi vow. It will be one of the discourses on the Ashram vows, that is, the discourses included in the series *Mangalprabhat*. With this is a letter for Dahibehn Sonabhai. She was a member of the Stri Swaraj Sangh, Udwada Bazaar, but had asked for permission to resign from it. She may not, therefore, be in Udwada. Send the letter to her, wherever she is.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

[PS.]

I had sent from jail a translation of Ramdas Swami's couplet[2] about handwriting. If you can find it, send it to me. I am not enclosing Dahibehn's letter. She is at Udwada.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./I.

[1] *Vide* pp. 254-7.
[2] *Das Bodha*, XIX. 1

## *299. LETTER TO K. F. NARIMAN*

AS AT SABARMATI,
*May 30, 1931*

MY DEAR NARIMAN,

I enclose herewith a copy of the latest from Sardar Garda and my reply. Unless you still think there is any use negotiating please follow up the suggestion made by you in your letter to Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel about legal procedure. If there is no cause of action and if there is to be no further negotiation, let us forget the matter at least for the time being.

*Yours sincerely,*

Encls. 2

SYT. K. F. NARIMAN
C/O BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE
CONGRESS HOUSE, GIRGAUM BACK ROAD
BOMBAY

From a photostat: S.N. 17165

## *300. LETTER TO F. KOTHAWALA*

BARDOLI,
*May 30, 1931*

DEAR MR. KOTHAWALA,

I now send herewith a note on allegations against Patel Jehangir of Varad. If an impartial open inquiry is held, full evidence will be led before the tribunal in support of all the allegations. There is no objection on the part of the people to the inquiry being entirely open.

Moreover, according to my information, Patel Jehangir holds a liquor license which, in my opinion, should be an effective bar against the holding of a Patelship. As the allegations made against this Patel are serious and as complaints about his high-handed treatment of the villagers continue to come in I request an early public investigation or an early removal from the office he holds. I must add that the question of undesirability is raised without prejudice to the general question, namely, that the temporary



CWMG - XLVII

appointments, no matter of what duration, are, in my opinion, only temporary in terms of the Settlement and in no sense permanent, especially when it is known that these appointments are for so many years or until further orders.

*Yours sincerely,*

Encl. 1

F. KOTHAWALA, ESQ.
COLLECTOR OF SURAT DT.
BARDOLI

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-C,1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

## *301. LETTER TO FRAMROZE B. GARDA*

BARDOLI,
*May 30, 1931*

DEAR SARDAR GARDA,

I have your letter. If you will not accept arbitration in the matter of your complaints, I do not know how to give you satisfaction. The matter must now pass into lawyers' hands and if they advise that the letter written by you undertaking to restore the lands in question to the original holders against the consideration named by you gives sufficient cause of action, law must take its course.

*Yours sincerely,*

SARDAR FRAMROZE GARDA
NAVSARI

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-C,1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

## *302. LETTER TO RATILAL*

BARDOLI,
*May 30, 1931*

BHAI RATILAL,

I got your letter. Work patiently and overcome your difficulties. Do have a discussion with Narandas about weavers.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7166

CWMG XLVI

## 303. LETTER TO FULCHAND K. SHAH

BARDOLI,
*May 30, 1931*

BHAISHRI FULCHAND,

I have learnt about the Dhrol[1] incident. My own view is that you should now forget all about the demand for the national flag. If you like, two or three of you may come to see me. It seems to me that many things are being done in haste. On your side, the right course at present is to apply yourselves exclusively to the boycott of foreign cloth through propagation of khadi, and to the campaign against drinking. Besides, there is no dearth of social reforms which need to be brought about.

Take every step after careful thought.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9193. Also C.W. 2844. Courtesy: Shardabehn Shah

## 304. LETTER TO NARAYAN MORESHWAR KHARE

*May 30, 1931*

CHI. PANDITJI,

I got your letter.

As for the boys and girls living in the Ashram who have joined the Vidyapith, I have already communicated my views to Kaka. Briefly, they are as follows: Though there is not much to justify the view that the students who had joined the movement should not return to the Ashram I would not oppose it either. The question is, what can they do if they cannot work elsewhere? Ordinarily, the Vidyapith would be the only choice. But we got alarmed when others, too, began to give up manual work and go away. It may also have happened that, under the pretext of exercising self-control and not returning to the Ashram, the students satisfied their desire for joining the Vidyapith. But we cannot hold back

[1] A town in Saurashtra

a flood. So I let the students do what they liked. There is a long history behind all this. It is difficult to say how far the students' action is inspired by their desire to join the Vidyapith and how far by a clear sense of duty. Ask me if you fail to follow anything in this. Show this letter to those who had doubts in the matter.

Write to me from time to time and inform me how Rambhau is faring.

I have followed what you say about Chi. Gajanan. There is no harm in letting him satisfy his love of painting. It is very good indeed that, at the same time, he also does spinning, etc.

I was eager to revise the draft of *Mananvishi* while I was in jail. But I was released before I could do so, and found myself again in the thick of affairs. Now print the thing off as it is. I have already given you one "meditation" to be added.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 215. Courtesy: Lakshmibehn Khare

## *305. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA*

BARDOLI,
*May 30, 1931*

CHI. GANGABEHN,

Why do you feel so unhappy? After all, no great tragedy has struck you down. There is no law that no one shall die young. Moreover, you and I have not one child, but countless children. Some of them will die and others will be born to take their place. Why, then, keep count of who dies and who lives? We should do our best to serve those who happen to be near us. It will then be the same to us that someone lives and another dies.

If the secretary has made the necessary arrangements, we need not think about the matter any further.

Cultivate non-attachment.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

*Bapuna Patro – 6: G. S. Gangabehnne*, pp. 53-4. Also C.W. 8775. Courtesy: Gangabehn Vaidya

CWMG - XLVI

## 306. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

BARDOLI,
*May 30, 1931*

BHAI GHANSHYAMDAS,

I saw your letter to Mahadev. You have sent the correct reply to Polak. I had sent an almost similar reply[1] to the cable from those gentlemen. Even now I hold that my going would be pointless until the Hindu-Muslim problem is resolved. But, to go to meet the members of the Cabinet and other people is another thing.

Subhasbabu met me again and we had a long talk. But it is difficult to say anything; I saw Sen Gupta's letter in the newspapers yesterday. Let us see what happens on the 9th. I have asked Subhasbabu too to come over.

*Yours*,
MOHANDAS

From a copy of Hindi: C.W. 7886. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

## 307. TELEGRAM TO WILLIAM SHIRER[2]

[On or after *May 30, 1931*][3]

WILLIAM SHIRER
CECIL HOTEL
SIMLA

YOUR WIRE. ALL REPORTS UNAUTHORIZED BEING UNINTELLIGENT ANTICIPATION. SO FAR AS I CAN SEE ABSENCE COMMUNAL QUESTION BLOCKS MY WAY PARTICIPATION ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE. DELICATE SITUATION AND IRWIN-GANDHI SETTLEMENT MAKES MY IMMEDIATE LEAVING INDIA DIFFICULT. APART FROM THESE DIFFICULTIES I AM ANXIOUS ATTEND ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE AND TAKE FULL SHARE DELIBERATIONS AND PRESS CONGRESS DEMAND. AM THEREFORE SEEKING WAY OUT OF DIFFICULTY. BUT IF COMMUNAL

[1] *Vide* p. 199.
[2] Correspondent of *Chicago Tribune*
[3] The addressee's telegram, to which this is a reply is dated May 30.

QUESTION IS NOT SOLVED HERE AND SETTLEMENT DIFFICULTY IS OVER AND IF I AM REQUIRED TO PROCEED TO LONDON TO EXPLAIN CONGRESS POSITION TO RESPONSIBLE STATESMEN AND PUBLIC IN GREAT BRITAIN I HAVE TOLD FRIENDS I SHOULD HOLD MYSELF READINESS PROCEED LONDON. IN SHORT I AM ANXIOUS SECURE PERMANENT PEACE BY NEGOTIATION CONSISTENTLY WITH FUNDAMENTAL POSITION CONGRESS.

From a photostat: S.N. 17167

## *308. THE LAW OF SWADESHI*[1]

Swadeshi is the law of laws enjoined by the present age. Spiritual laws, like Nature's laws need no enacting; they are self-acting. But through ignorance or other causes man often neglects or disobeys them. It is then vows are needed to steady one's course. A man who is by temperament a vegetarian needs no vow to strengthen his vegetarianism. For, the sight of animal food, instead of tempting him would only excite his disgust. The law of swadeshi is ingrained in the basic nature of man but it has to-day sunk into oblivion. Hence the necessity for the vow of swadeshi. In its ultimate and spiritual sense swadeshi stands for the final emancipation of the human soul from its earthly bondage. For, this earthly tabernacle is not its natural or permanent abode, it is a hindrance in its onward journey, it stands in the way of its realizing its oneness with other lives. A votary of swadeshi therefore, in his striving to identify himself with the entire creation seeks to be emancipated from the bondage of the physical body.

If this interpretation of swadeshi be correct then it follows that its votary will as a first duty dedicate himself to the service of his immediate neighbours. This involves exclusion or even sacrifice of the interests of the rest but the exclusion or the sacrifice would be apparent only. Pure service of one's neighbours can never, from its very nature result in disservice to those who are remotely situated, rather the contrary. 'As with the individual so with the universe' is an unfailing principle which we would do well to lay to heart. On the other hand a man who allows himself to be lured by 'the distant scene' and runs to the ends of the earth for service, is not only foiled in his ambition but fails in his duty

[1] The Gujarati original of this appeared in *Navajivan*, 31-5-1931. This is a translation by Pyarelal.

towards his neighbours also. Take a concrete instance. In the particular place where I live I have certain persons as my neighbours, some relations and dependents. Naturally, they all feel, as they have a right to, that they have a claim on me and look to me for help and support. Suppose now I leave them all at once and set out to serve people in a distant place. My decision would throw my little world of neighbours and dependents out of gear while my gratuitous knight-errantry would more likely than not disturb the atmosphere in the new place. Thus a culpable neglect of my immediate neighbours and an unintended disservice to the people whom I wish to serve would be the first fruits of my violation of the principles of swadeshi.

It is not difficult to multiply such instances. That is why the *Gita* says: "It is better to die performing one's duty or *swadharma*, but *paradharma*, or another's duty, is fraught with danger."[1] Interpreted in terms of one's physical environment this gives us the law of swadeshi. What the *Gita* says with regard to *swadharma* equally applies to swadeshi also, for swadeshi is *swadharma* applied to one's immediate environment.

It is only when the doctrine of swadeshi is wrongly understood that mischief results, e.g., it would be a travesty of the doctrine of swadeshi, if to coddle my family I set about grabbing money by all means fair or foul. The law of swadeshi requires me no more than to discharge my legitimate obligations towards my family by just means, and the attempt to do so will reveal to me the Universal Code of Conduct. The practice of swadeshi can never do harm to anyone and if it does it is not *swadharma* but egotism that moves me.

There may come occasions when a votary of swadeshi may be called upon to sacrifice his family at the altar of universal service. Such an act of willing immolation will then constitute the highest service rendered to the family. "Whosoever wants to save his life will lose it, and whosoever loses his life for the Lord's sake will find it," holds good for the family group no less than the individual. Take another instance. Supposing there is an outbreak of the plague in my village and in trying to serve the victims of the epidemic I, my wife and children and all the rest of my family are wiped out of existence, then in inducing those dearest and nearest to join me I will not have acted as the destroyer of my family but on the contrary as its truest friend. In swadeshi there is no room for selfishness, or if there is selfishness in it, it is of

[1] III. 35

the highest type which is not different from the highest altruism. Swadeshi in its purest form is the acme of universal service.

It was by following this line of argument that I hit upon khadi as a necessary and the most important corollary of the principle of swadeshi in its application to society. 'What is the kind of service,' I asked myself, 'that the teeming millions of India most need at the present time, that can be easily understood and appreciated by all, that is easy to perform and will at the same time enable the crores of our semi-starved countrymen to live,' and the reply came that it is the universalization of khadi or the spinning-wheel alone that can fulfil these conditions.

Let no one suppose that the practice of swadeshi through khadi would harm the foreign mill-owners. A thief who is weaned from his vice or is made to return the property that he has stolen is not harmed thereby, on the contrary he is the gainer consciously in the one case, unconsciously in the other. Similarly if all the opium addicts or the drunkards in the world were to shake themselves free from their vice, the canteen keepers or the opium vendors who would be deprived of their customers could not be said to be losers. They would be the gainers in the truest sense of the word. The elimination of the 'wages of sin' is never a loss either to the individual concerned or to society; it is pure gain.

It is the greatest delusion to suppose that the duty of swadeshi begins and ends with merely spinning so much yarn anyhow and wearing khadi made from it. Khadi is the first indispensable step towards the discharge of swadeshi dharma towards society. One often meets men who wear khadi but in all other things indulge their taste for foreign manufactures with a vengeance. Such men cannot be said to be practising swadeshi. They are simply following the fashion. A votary of swadeshi will carefully study his environment and try to help his neighbours wherever possible by giving preference to local manufactures even if they are of an inferior grade or dearer in price than things manufactured elsewhere. He will try to remedy their defects but will not give them up because of their defects and take to foreign manufactures.

But even swadeshi like any other good thing can be ridden to death if it is made a fetish. That is a danger that must be guarded against. To reject foreign manufactures merely because they are foreign and to go on wasting national time and money to promote manufactures in one's country for which it is not suited would be criminal folly and a negation of the swadeshi spirit. A true votary of swadeshi will never harbour ill-will towards the foreigner, he will not be moved by antagonism to-

wards anybody on earth. Swadeshism is not a cult of hatred. It is a doctrine of selfless service that has its roots in the purest ahimsa, i.e., love.

*Young India*, 18-6-1931

## *309. LIMITS TO FREEDOM*

Some Digambar[1] Jains have asked the Sardar how, in the face of the Congress resolution passed at Karachi regarding fundamental rights and duties, assuring religious freedom under swaraj, anyone can object to Digambar Jain sadhus roaming about naked in accordance with their religion. The Sardar had replied that religious freedom could not imply that an act which appeared indecent to many or hurts their feelings was permissible. And he had said it was his opinion that despite being sadhus, if they went about naked, it was bound to hurt people's feelings.

I feel that the Sardar could have possibly given no other reply. I myself believe that the ideal state for all human beings is nakedness. But an ideal human being would always be innocent and free of passions or desires. Without such innocence, anyone roaming about naked would be regarded as a sinful man.

There is no reason to conclude that because Digambar sadhus are known as sadhus they would necessarily be free of all passions. Even if they are so, it is their dharma to keep within the bounds of social decency. A few Jains may understand the state of these sadhus. But society by and large will fail to comprehend it and its feelings will be hurt. These naked sadhus have no need to visit cities. If they have, they should observe the minimum bounds of decency prescribed for citizens. Instead of doing that if they insist upon entering cities in a naked state, or if the *shravakas*[2] insist upon this, in my opinion it would be regarded as *adharma*[3]. I myself am fond of the state of nakedness. If I were living in a lonely forest I would remain in that state, but in this world full of passions, there is little likelihood of this becoming the commonly accepted practice. For the preservation of morality even great men of every persuasion have to cover their private parts; it is their dharma to do so. Freedom, both individual and religious, has always had and will always have many limits. Religion does not

[1] Literally, those who regard the sky as their garment
[2] Lay followers of Jainism
[3] Violation of dharma

hanker after rights, it hungers for restraints and restrictions. Anyone who knows religion and practises it does not think in terms of his rights. Nudity cannot be one's duty. It is one's duty to abandon all possessions. That is a dharma of the mind. If anyone puts any burden on me, that is not possession. But it becomes so if I start enjoying that burden. The sadhu who bears the burden of the loin-cloth for the preservation of the social order does not violate the principle of non-possession but rather exercises self-control. The sadhu who insists upon going about naked without worrying about the feelings of society is self-willed. The following dictum of the *Gita* is pertinent in this context: "For me there is naught to do in the three worlds, yet I am ever in action. If I were not to perform my task, these worlds would be ruined; I should be the cause of chaos and of the end of all mankind."[1] Sadhus should not do anything which would harm the people. Let society never encourage them to do so.

[From Gujarati]
*Navajivan*, 31-5-1931

## *310. NOTES*

### Distinguishing Swadeshi from Foreign Goods

The following question[2] has been received regarding this subject:

No royal road has been found for distinguishing foreign from swadeshi cloth. A picketer should acquaint himself well with this distinction. And hence the general advice is that no one should purchase from uncertified shops. These certificates are of two kinds: Those issued by the All-India Spinners' Association in regard to khadi and those issued by the Swadeshi Sabha in respect of cloth manufactured by Indian textile mills. I do not know if this second type of certificate has yet been issued. But khadi exclusively is the simpler way out. Where falsehood has become almost universal, the sentiment for khadi alone will stand the people in good stead. Untruth has entered even the domain of khadi, or, in other words, deceit is being practised with regard to it also; yet there is minimum room for deceit in it. Moreover, those who spin at home have nothing to fear.

[1] III. 22-24
[2] Not translated here

Then the question will arise as to what a picketing *sevika*[1] should do. If she shares my faith in khadi, she would regard picketing as a means for carrying on propaganda for khadi and, while turning the customers away from shops selling foreign cloth, she would direct them towards those selling khadi. If the latter do not take this course, she will remain patient and have faith that there is no other way to boycott foreign cloth. And even if there is one, it is futile; moreover, it is also well worth remembering that there is no special merit in boycotting foreign cloth. Such boycott is both useful and necessary for khadi propaganda. The woman picket who realizes this basic truth will not be insulted—because she will not feel insulted—or perplexed. She has somehow to carry on khadi propaganda for the sake of the poor. Other activities involve fear, insult, dishonesty and result in no benefit to the poor.

### Buyer's Obstinacy[2]

The answer to this question should be regarded as having been included in the above. If the customer is obstinate, we should be a hundredfold so. The customer's obstinacy has no ground, ours has a strong one. "The khadi that he wants" cannot mean that he should get khadi as soft as satin made in Paris at the very same price. Anyone who wears khadi has no other alternative but to wear khadi whether coarse or fine. We should remember that we cannot satisfy all people. It is not our job to satisfy everyone; rather, everybody should suit himself to the needs of the poor, that is, be satisfied. Khadi alone is the refuge of the afflicted. We should be patient even with those who disregard it.

### Such Pickets Are Too Few[3]

If the number of women pickets is five and there are five hundred shops, let them deal with only five shops or even with only one. Propaganda for khadi is a matter of dharma and not policy. Hence regardless of whether there is only one picket or many, that dharma must be performed. It will be good even if only one shopkeeper relents. It is not as if in this matter an individual shopkeeper did not have to act till all shopkeepers acted and gave up selling foreign cloth. Even if only one gives up, the five women should continue picketing, thinking that the work has

[1] A woman volunteer

[2] This was in reply to a question how to satisfy a customer who insisted on a particular kind of khadi only.

[3] This was written in reply to a correspondent who had observed that picketing was going to prove infructuous from the practical point of view.

progressed to that extent. Seeing them picketing, other women will come forward. If their picketing produces an effect on one merchant, there is a likelihood of its having an effect on the others also. If this does not happen, the merchant who relented will have no cause for regret. If trading in foreign cloth is a sin, although others may continue to be sinful he who has realized that this practice is sinful will give it up. It has always been thus. If I had waited for everyone, propaganda for khadi could never have been done. A Herculean task calls for Herculean courage.

"It is because of his courage that Columbus discovered a new world," says a poet. But Columbus's courage was exhibited for his own pleasure. It was not intended to serve anyone. Underlying it was his desire to discover a new world and to amass the wealth to be found in it. In order to do so, he navigated the seas; then how much more courage should we show in order to clothe the crores of naked people of India? The *sevika* who shares Columbus's faith and has his patience will continue her work even if she is alone. Day by day she will gain new strength and new faith, and will think of new ways of doing her work or, the "Kindly Light" will point out new paths to her. Meanwhile, she would sing:

"One step enough for me."

## Poor Man[1]

This question implies disparagement of khadi or one may say it implies ignorance of the importance of khadi. Has it been raised because it is supposed that producing khadi is an easy job or one for which only a few persons are needed? Khadi work is a great science which has so far been imperfectly studied. Let as many people, young and old, as may wish, take up this work; there cannot be too many of them. How many men will be required in order to meet the needs of seven hundred thousand villages? Khadi work is so vast that even if a hundred thousand men give eight hours a day to it, some work will still remain undone. In this very issue, there is a brief account of the production and sale of khadi in Gujarat alone. A glance at this should give everyone an idea of how many men are required for khadi work.

But I am aware that there is another question behind the above question, viz, khadi work is all very well, but if a man finds it uninteresting, what should he do? Such men should remove the filth in villages; they should instead of making speeches for that

[1] This was in reply to a question whether, during the Truce period, since women were assigned the work of boycott of foreign cloth and prohibition of liquor, men were expected to do any other work besides producing khadi.

purpose, take up a broom and clean up roads and latrines, stop garbage heaps from forming and spread rules of sanitation among the people. Although the women will do picketing, they will need much help in doing so; that help should be given by men; if the men are competent enough, they should sit under trees in villages and without any books run schools for children as also start night schools for adults. For anyone who is bent on serving, the field is limitless. And everyone should realize that, when the time for launching the struggle comes again, the strength for it will be generated only through such activities.

Even the violent soldiers of the world have acted in this manner and continue to do so. It is only the mercenary soldier who, when not engaged in fighting, becomes a drain because he eats bread which he has not rightfully earned. He is therefore a nuisance as he is busy seeking pleasures and is a burden to the earth. We have seen from history that Garibaldi and his soldiers tilled the land when they were not fighting. The Boers were farmers by profession and when the time for fighting came, right from General Botha down to the poorest Boer, they gave up their plough shares and showed such courage on the battlefield that it astonished the world—this I have seen with my own eyes. If soldiers who believe in violence preserve their fighting strength by doing such constructive work, I cannot understand why the non-violent soldiers of India in this age should find it difficult to do constructive work. Every reader should remember that a great deal of penance and constructive work lay behind the enthusiasm which was generated last year.

## If Poison Is Mixed with Milk?[1]

Just as milk in which even a drop of poison has fallen is fit to be shunned, so, in my opinion, should we have nothing to do with a shop selling foreign cloth along with Indian cloth. Just as a person who drinks pure milk at a brewer's shop will be regarded as a drunkard, so too a customer who buys swadeshi cloth at a shop selling foreign cloth will be misunderstood. Is there any dearth of shops dealing only in swadeshi cloth? Even if there are only a few such shops and those are not in our neighbourhood, we should go to these wherever they are located. For those who are picketing, the way is straightforward: they should warn people who approach shops selling foreign cloth and turn them away, if possi-

[1] This was in reply to the question whether customers could be asked to abstain totally from buying cloth from shops which sold both foreign and Indian cloth.

ble. I have recently received even this question whether swadeshi goods can be bought at a liquor shop if they are being sold there. I didn't hesitate to reply immediately that the answer was in the negative.

[From Gujarati]
*Navajivan*, 31-5-1931

## *311. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM*

*May 31, 1931*

MY DEAR AMTUL,

If you are not keeping well, you should live on only milk and fruit. I can understand your delicacy of feeling about money matters. I am writing to Narandas about this. Do continue to write to me and pour out your heart to me. I want you to grow mentally, morally and physically in the Ashram.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 239

## *312. LETTER TO M. REBELLO & SONS*

*May 31, 1931*

GENTLEMEN,

I have your letter of 22nd instant[1]. I have no copyright in my portraits but I am unable to give the consent you require.

*Yours faithfully*,

From a microfilm: S.N. 17120

[1] The addressee had asked Gandhiji's permission to use his photo as their trade mark for roofing tiles.

CWMG - XLVI

## 313. LETTER TO ALLEN W. SAYLER

As at Sabarmati,
*May 31, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

Mirabai has shown me your letter to her. I see several difficulties in your coming to the Ashram. A passport is necessary and it is highly likely that conditions will be attached to your passport. Therefore my advice to you is for the present to suspend the idea of coming to India to settle down with me but to follow the rules of the Ashram there and live the life as close to the Ashram life as possible in the circumstances. It is highly likely that then the way will be open for you to come to India without restrictions of any kind whatsoever.

If you are not getting *Young India* there you can look up the file in the University office.

*Yours sincerely,*

ALLEN W. SAYLER, ESQ.
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

From a photostat: S.N. 17168

## 314. LETTER TO KIRAN SANKAR ROY

As at Sabarmati,
*May 31, 1931*

DEAR KIRAN BABU,

I have your letter. The Working Committee will go into the whole of the affair as Subhasbabu has lodged a formal complaint. You may depend upon my taking my full share in the investigation and assisting the conclusions of the Committee. I am not writing separately to Sisir Babu who has sent me a separate letter.

*Yours sincerely,*

SYT. KIRAN SANKAR ROY
44 EUROPEAN ASYLUM LANE, CALCUTTA

From a microfilm: S.N. 17169

## 315. LETTER TO ANAND KISHORE MEHTA

As at Sabarmati,
*May 31, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter of the 27th instant which you have marked "*Reminder*". I am not aware of the receipt of a previous letter. I am sorry to have to tell you that I cannot sympathize with the object of your memorial, much less give my name to the Committee. If I had any influence over the Committee I should advise its disbandment.

*Yours sincerely,*

Syt. Anand Kishore Mehta
General Secretary, The All-India
Bhagat Singh, Rajguru, Sukhdev
Memorial Committee
Anarkali, Lahore

From a microfilm: S.N. 17170

## 316. LETTER TO SHRIRAM SHARMA

As at Sabarmati,
*May 31, 1931*

DEAR SIR,

I have your letter. You do not tell me why the Congress workers were arrested. In any case there is nothing in the Settlement to prevent Government from undertaking prosecutions for offences, fancied or real. If the offence alleged was not committed, it is open to the arrested workers to be defended by pleaders.

*Yours sincerely,*

Syt. Shriram Sharma
General Secretary
District Congress Committee
Rohtak (Punjab)

From a microfilm: S.N. 17171

## 317. LETTER TO R. S. RAJWADE

As at Sabarmati,
*Not for Publication* *May 31, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. I learnt about your release when I was in Simla. It did cause a great trouble before the authorities could be moved but it was a pleasure because your case seemed to me to be so clear.

*Yours sincerely,*

SYT. R. S. RAJWADE
KARMAYOGI OFFICE
574 SOUTH KASABA
SHOLAPUR

From a photostat: S.N. 17172

## 318. LETTER TO KRISHNA GOPAL DUTT

As at Sabarmati,
*May 31, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

I have not answered your telegram because I did not know how to. Now that I have got your letter I am able to answer your questions.

(1) Since picketing is to be peaceful and free of all coercion, there is no question of insistence on sealing up the present stock.
(2) But if a cloth merchant declines to sign your pledge it is open to you to picket his shop even though it may contain swadeshi cloth.
(3) Naturally you would picket the shop of a merchant who breaks his pledge, but you may not impose any fine.

*Yours sincerely,*

SYT. KRISHNA GOPAL DUTT
CITY ROAD, SIALKOT CITY

From a microfilm: S.N. 17173



CWMG-XLVI

## 319. LETTER TO V. B. HAROLIKAR

As at Sabarmati,
*May 31, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

Here are the answers to your questions:

(1) Yes, if the purchase is made from certified producers. But in every case it would be advisable to make large purchases through the all-India agency.

(2) I should consider A.I.S.A. certificate as necessary in every case.

(3) Congress Committees would relentlessly enforce the khaddar condition whilst it is part of the constitution.

(4) The relevancy of the fourth question, I do not understand, because it is open to the Congress, if it is not obligatory, to picket foreign-cloth shops provided of course that picketing is absolutely peaceful and free of all coercion direct or indirect.

I hope I have answered your questions clearly.

*Yours sincerely,*

Syt. V. B. Harolikar
City Congress Committee
28 Sukravar Peth
Poona

From a microfilm: S.N. 17174

## 320. LETTER TO C. Y. CHINTAMANI

As at Sabarmati,
*May 31, 1931*

MY DEAR FRIEND,

You are fishing for a compliment but I am not going to give it to you if only because it would be a repetition of what I have told you before. But you are quite right in thinking that I do not read newspapers. Even the local ones I read for a few minutes and that too grudgingly. Leading articles, as a rule, escape me. You did well therefore in sending me the *Leader* cutting. An



CWMG - XLVI

inoffensive paragraph in *Navajivan* by Mahadev Desai has been made much of. I can only give you my assurance that I am not going lightly to declare war. I know what it would mean to Lord Irwin. The relations between us so developed during the negotiations that the very consideration that a declaration of war would hurt Lord Irwin to the quick would alone make me wait a thousand times before embarking on any such step. But I can tell you in confidence that many occasions have arisen when, if I was so minded,[1] I might have broken up negotiations with local authorities. But I have exercised and am still exercising immense patience. In any case I am not going to take any step without giving an ample opportunity to the Viceroy to review the situation and taking the public into confidence. It goes without saying that I would do nothing without first getting the sanction of the Working Committee.

So far for the peace or war part of your fears. The communal question is a horse of another colour. My position was made clear to Lord Irwin times without number and I made it clearer still at the farewell interview in Bombay. He greatly sympathized with my position. As you know, the Congress demand is far above what the Round Table Conference has hitherto discussed. If we do not reach a communal settlement, I could not make the demand with any confidence in myself. But my non-participation in the Conference need not mean war. Failure to arrive at a settlement cannot be debited to the British Government though the question at all arises because of the present system of administration. But I need not carry the matter any further. In this matter too I am feeling my way and if I at all can, I would certainly attend the Conference. I have come to no irrevocable decision. If the way at all opens up before me I will go to London without the slightest hesitation. Do please write to me whenever you feel inclined.

*Yours sincerely,*

SYT. C. Y. CHINTAMANI
C/O THE "LEADER"
ALLAHABAD

From a photostat: S.N. 17175

[1] The source has "easy minded".

## 321. LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON

AS AT SABARMATI,
*May 31, 1931*

DEAR MR. EMERSON,

I enclose herewith copies of the correspondence that has taken place between the Bombay Government and myself.

*Yours sincerely,*

Encls.
H. W. EMERSON, ESQ.
SIMLA

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-B, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

## 322. LETTER TO V. G. DESAI

BARDOLI,
*May 31, 1931*

BHAISHRI VALJI,

Do bring Dudhibehn with you. According to your plan, you will reach here on Wednesday, that is, on the 3rd. I am scheduled to leave here on the 7th.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 6415. Courtesy: V. G. Desai

## 323. LETTER TO DUDABHAI

BARDOLI,
*May 31, 1931*

BHAI DUDABHAI,

I got your letter. "A non-*Antyaja* Hindu" does not mean a Bhangi, it means a Hindu who is not an *Antyaja.* The man I have in view is a Brahmin brought up in Gujarat. As the Ashram does not recognize distinctions of caste and community and as it is necessary to abolish the class of *Antyajas* from Hindu society, I



CWMG - XLVI

really think that it would be good if Lakshmi could be married to a non-*Antyaja*. I am certainly very glad to know that Lakshmi is not eager to get married just now. I hope I told you about a house near Amreli.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

[PS.]
The visit to Amreli was prompted by this hope.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3244

## *324. LETTER TO RUKMINI BAZAJ*

BARDOLI,
*May 31, 1931*

CHI. RUKMINI,

I got your letter. How am I to give you courage? We do not always get in this world what would satisfy us. We have to live in the world, but without attachment to anything. In no case should you think that your troubles are the result of your having married in a non-Gujarati family. If you have patience, everything will surely adjust itself. You should spend some time with me. I will look for such an opportunity. Remain calm meanwhile. I shall meet Radha on the 8th in Bombay, when I shall be able to decide where she should stay and what she should do. One cause of worry was over with the news that Santok had recovered her health.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9058

CWMG - XLVI

## 325. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

*May 31, 1931*

CHI. PREMA,

Why do Lakshmi and Padma keep falling ill? Do you think that they are careless about taking medicines, etc.? If Padma continues to get fever, she will lose her health. Who is specially responsible for looking after her? No child in the Ashram should feel the absence of his or her parents. How is Krishnakumari? Write to me about the others too.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10255. Also C.W. 6703. Courtesy: Premabehn Kantak

## 326. LETTER TO VITHALDAS JERAJANI

BARDOLI,
*May 31, 1931*

BHAI VITHALDAS,

Of course you are always in my thoughts. I have been inquiring after your health too. How did you get this disease? Don't insist on returning to work immediately. First get all right. If necessary, go for a change to a place like Deolali.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9777

CWMG - XLVI

## 327. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

BARDOLI,
*May 31, 1931*

CHI. NARANDAS,

Some effective measures should be taken about Lakshmi and Padma. Request Dr. Kanuga to examine them both. If they do not recover even under his treatment, we shall have to think further what to do.

The vaid's treatment does not seem to have helped Ba much. She seems to benefit rather by the water and the soda bicarb which she takes. She believes that the medicine merely suppresses the cough.

Both the Gangabehns and Vasumati are here for a few days.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

[PS.]

I wrote to Mathew yesterday to tell him that if he wished to come and if he could be spared from the Ashram, he might come. Read my letter to Amtulbehn and explain to her the position regarding her money.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./I

## 328. TELEGRAM TO SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

SWARAJ ASHRAM,
BARDOLI,
*June 1, 1931*

SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE
WOODBURN PARK
CALCUTTA

ADVISE YOU SEE SEN GUPTA AND OFFER SUBMIT MATTERS ARBITRATION IF MUTUAL ADJUSTMENT IMPOSSIBLE. CANNOT ADVISE COUNTER PUBLIC MEETING OR PROPAGANDA. AM WIRING SEN GUPTA SUBMIT ARBITRATION.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 17178

## 329. TELEGRAM TO J. M. SEN GUPTA

SWARAJ ASHRAM,
BARDOLI,
*June 1, 1931*

SEN GUPTA
ELGIN ROAD
CALCUTTA

INTERNAL DIFFERENCES MUST BE COMPOSED. PLEASE AGREE SUBMIT MATTERS ARBITRATION IF MUTUAL ADJUSTMENT IMPOSSIBLE.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 17176

## 330. TELEGRAM TO MURARILAL

SWARAJ ASHRAM,
BARDOLI,
*June 1, 1931*

DOCTOR MURARILAL
CIVIL LINES
CAWNPORE

YOUR WIRE[1]. DEEPLY GRIEVED BUT CAN ONLY SUGGEST PARTIES SUBMITTING MATTER ARBITRATION. CAN GIVE NO OTHER OPINION OFFHAND.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 17180

[1] Which read: "Quarrel between Hindus Muslims over Gandhi Seva Samiti signboard. Muslims refuse taking procession under it although board too high for interference with procession. . . Hindus refuse removing it even for few hours. . . Panic all city . . ."



CWMG - XLVI

## 331. INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS

*June 1, 1931*

Interviewed by the Associated Press regarding the statement recently made by Sir Chimanlal Setalvad in connection with Mahatma Gandhi's attitude towards the Round Table Conference, Mahatma Gandhi said:

You embarrass me by asking questions on anything that Sir Chimanlal Setalvad says about me. His age and his greatness entitle him to make statements on insufficient data and yet absolve him from criticism from one like myself.

Moreover, whilst I am carrying on delicate negotiations, I may not be over-communicative, but I can make a general statement that I am not conscious of having done anything to endanger the Settlement or in contravention of it.

Though under given circumstances, I am anxious and willing to attend the Round Table Conference, there is nothing in the Settlement, so far as I can read it, to make it compulsory for the Congress to take part in the Round Table Conference, but that discussion is purely academic, for the question of non-attendance has not arisen at all.

Asked if it was true that his attitude was undergoing constant change, Mahatma Gandhi said:

I am not aware of having done such a thing.

Replying to a question whether he would take part in the Round Table Conference, he said:

If I succeed in attending the Round Table Conference, I should put forth the Congress demands with all zeal and power I may have and fully participate in the proceedings and not be a mere spectator at the Round Table Conference.

Questioned whether there was an impasse in Bardoli, Mahatma Gandhi said:

I have had a happy interview with the Collector along with Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel and I am hoping that everything would be fixed up satisfactorily.

Replying to a further question if there was any breach of the Truce terms in Bardoli or Borsad, he stated:

I would prefer not to answer that question, because negotiations are still going on for the settlement of outstanding questions both in Bardoli and Borsad.

*The Bombay Chronicle*, 3-6-1931

## *332. TELEGRAM TO TAMIL NADU CONFERENCE, MADURA*

SWARAJ ASHRAM,
BARDOLI,
*June 2, 1931*

TAMIL NADU CONFERENCE
MADURA

WISH CONFERENCE SUCCESS. CONVINCED BOYCOTT FOREIGN CLOTH DEPENDENT MORE ON KHADDAR THAN PICKETING.

GANDHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 17182

## *333. TELEGRAM TO KOMBRABAIL*

SWARAJ ASHRAM,
BARDOLI,
*June 2, 1931*

KOMBRABAIL
BALMATTI
MANGALORE

MY OPINION PERMISSION CANNOT BE GRANTED.

GANDHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 17183

CWMG - XLVI

## 334. LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON

As at Sabarmati,
*June 2, 1931*

DEAR MR. EMERSON,

You will recall our conversation about the *Navajivan* and *Young India* press[1]. I wonder if you have got legal opinion.[2] All the opinion that I can gather is that the clause certainly means delivery at the place from where the property was removed. But I shall be interested to know what your legal advisers have got to say. Meanwhile *Young India* and *Navajivan* are still labouring under a handicap in spite of the fact that the management own suitable machinery and other material.

*Yours sincerely,*

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-B, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

## 335. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

As at Sabarmati,
*June 2, 1931*

MY DEAR CHARLIE,

I have your two precious letters. I see you are in a hurry to have me in England through the air mail if I would fly. But I can hardly hop. I see no light before me as yet. My desire is certainly to go there but the inner voice says 'no' and the external atmosphere confirms the guidance of the inner voice. As you know, the Congress demands are strung in a high pitch. They could not be otherwise. If we cannot set our house in order here so far even as the communal question is concerned I could not speak in London as with one voice. It therefore does seem to me that if the communal trouble is not finished and a workable formula is not arrived at by agreement I should not have the requisite self-confidence to deliver the Congress message. That is so far as the Round Table Conference is concerned. But of course

[1] For Gandhiji's earlier letter on the subject, *vide* p. 111-2.
[2] *Vide* pp. 377-81.

if the British Ministers require my presence in order to discuss the Congress position and understand it and if they would want me to do a little lobbying also I could come whenever required. But then there is the Delhi Settlement. I am bound to see, as far as is possible for a single human being, that there is no breakdown. The Bombay Government has given me cause enough to re-declare hostilities but if you knew everything you would yourself be amazed at my patience. In every little thing it is like drawing a live tooth. But I must not weary you with these troubles of mine. I am taking them cheerfully and breaking down opposition. Thank God, I do receive help from the Central Government. I believe Mr. Emerson knows me and he will play the game. But local governments may produce situations which neither he nor I can control. I can tell you that so far as the Congress is concerned, Congressmen are implementing the Settlement in a manner not even expected by me. Of course there is overzeal now and again in picketing but it is immediately brought under control. You can give this assurance to all who may need it that I am anxious to attend the Conference and try my utmost to secure lasting peace and an honourable settlement of the constitutional question by negotiation. It is only external circumstances which really detain me. But in any case for reasons unconnected with my hesitation the Round Table Conference and its Committees stand postponed. There need be therefore no hurry just now over my coming unless of course I am required there independently of the Conference. I have now told you all that you should know.

I am just now in Bardoli fixing up things.

Gurudev seems to be ailing.

Love.

MOHAN

From a photostat: S.N. 968

## 336. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

As at Sabarmati,
*June 2, 1931*

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I have your letter. Subhasbabu was here and he had a formidable list of countercharges. I have now telegraphed to both asking them to submit to arbitration by mutual consent, and if they will appoint some local men as arbitrators and abide by their decision, this unseemly squabble might end. In any case I am going to try whatever is possible on the 9th.

You are having success with the *Gita* and the *Autobiography*. I did not expect you would have any sale for these books.

I am glad you have gained in weight but you have to gain much more. And I am certain that you should not stint yourself about food that your system may require. It is quite enough that you deny yourself flesh and fish. You ought to take milk and curds liberally and take such fresh fruit as is easily available. I have written similarly to Hemprabha also. She is wrong in denying herself food that her body requires because Nikhil[1] is no more. I feel more and more that this kind of self-denial not only carries no merit but is a violation of nature's laws. Denial of food has merit when it is undertaken for control of the palate or as a medical necessity.

Kishorelal Mashruwala raises a doubt as to the authenticity of the spinner's letter of 1828 whose translation you sent me the other day and which I published in *Young India*.[2] He thinks that the language is much too modern, as also the conception. If I understood your letter rightly, you had mentioned that the copy of the newspaper in which the letter appears is in your possession.

Love.

Bapu

Syt. Satis Chandra Das Gupta
Khadi Pratishthan
Sodepur (Calcutta)

From a photostat: G.N. 8034

[1] Addressee's son; he had died in 1928.

[2] *Vide* pp. 188-9.

## 337. LETTER TO A. G. BUTT

*June 2, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter.[1] You can realize the truth of the statement made by me by prayer, purification, meditation, fasting and diligent study.

*Yours sincerely,*

From a photostat: S.N. 17164

## 338. LETTER TO DR. W. J. WANLESS

AS AT SABARMATI,
*June 2, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. Whilst I have a very vivid recollection of your personal services[2] to me I have long ceased even to think of rewarding such services materially. I have rendered myself practically incapable of rendering such services. The only service therefore I have for years rendered for them has been heartfelt thanks, and heartfelt thanks of a poor man like me take the shape of blessings. I must confess that I have been the recipient of personal kindnesses from many quarters. Just imagine what would be my state and the state of rich men whom I only know in public life if I were to ask them for donations for the enterprises of my benefactors. You will therefore please excuse me for my inability to respond to your desire.

*Yours sincerely,*

DR. SIR W. J. WANLESS
1016 MATILIJA ROAD
GLENDALE, CALIFORNIA (U.S.A.)

From a photostat: S.N. 17188

[1] The addressee, writing from Simla on 29-5-1931, had referred to Gandhiji's article "A Twentieth Century Sati(?)", 3-5-1931 and said that his assertion about the soul's immortality was unconvincing.

[2] The reference apparently is to his sudden illness in 1927 during a tour, during which Dr. Wanless looked after him; *vide* vol. XXXIII.

## 339. LETTER TO N. G. JOSHI

AS AT SABARMATI,
*June 2, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter giving me facts of [the] criminal case of Nipani. Where there is any allegation of violence the matter rests with the local government. I am not likely to succeed in any representation I may make. I would therefore advise that a proper systematic defence is put up.

*Yours sincerely,*

SYT. N. G. JOSHI
PRESIDENT, DISTRICT CONGRESS COMMITTEE
BELGAUM

From a photostat: S.N. 17189

## 340. LETTER TO COWASJI JEHANGIR

AS AT SABARMATI,
*June 2, 1931*

DEAR SIR COWASJI,

I thank you for your prompt acknowledgement of my letter[1] and the trouble you are still taking with reference to the land in Sardar Garda's possession. It seems to me that he is legally bound to transfer the property having written the letter concluding the bargain. I have written to him to that effect[2] in reply to his letter. I have been making further enquiries and I am able to give you my assurance that there is nothing in the charges made by him. On the contrary he is becoming a terror to the people. Youngsters under 12 years of age were arrested for having helped themselves to mangoes from his land. You do not know the taluqa. Mango trees are not protected and urchins all over the land help themselves often to mangoes during the mango season and nobody worries about them. I am not sure that the urchins whom he had arrested had touched his mangoes. But even if

[1] *Vide* pp. 218-20.
[2] *Vide* p. 220-1.



CWMG-XLVI

they had, they would be under nobody's control. And yet he would press incidents like this into service to make up his indictment although these incidents have nothing to do with alleged harassment.

I shall await your letter regarding Miss V. Contractor's complaint.

*Yours sincerely,*

SIR COWASJI JEHANGIR
TEMPLE HILL
MAHABALESHWAR

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-C, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and library

## *341. LETTER TO SHARDA C. SHAH*

*June 2, 1931*

CHI. SHARDA,

I have your letter. You seem to be keeping good health these days. All of you have become lethargic in writing to me, even as I am.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 9902. Courtesy: Shardabehn G. Chokhawala

## *342. LETTER TO NANIBEHN JHAVERI*

BARDOLI,
*June 2, 1931*

CHI. NANIBEHN,

I got your letter. In staying in the Vidyapith you have done nothing for which you need apologize. It is not a crime to live there. You will certainly learn there, and should, therefore, live there contented. Improve your health and cultivate the mind. Write to me from time to time. Most probably, Gangabehn also will go and live there.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3115

## 343. LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI

BARDOLI,
*June 2, 1931*

CHI. MANILAL AND SUSHILA,

I had the letter you both wrote on board the ship. I also got news of your having reached there. I will now expect your regular letter by the next mail. Ba is with me at Bardoli. She was with me at Simla too. Nothing is certain as yet about my going to England. The solution of the Hindu-Muslim problem seems to be far away yet.

As for the rest, everything is all right.

I have no time to write more.

Sita—I have forgotten her other name—must have now put on weight again. The climate there is such that one simply cannot fall ill. I should be equally happy if Sushila too puts on weight.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4784

## 344. LETTER TO HARI-ICHCHHA DESAI

BARDOLI,
*June 2, 1931*

CHI. HARI-ICHCHHA,

I got a letter from you after a long time. You should take care and improve your eyes soon. The remedy is this: Wash the eyes daily with bearable, warm water after putting a little salt in the water. The salt should be quite clean and very little in quantity. Sprinkle the solution on the eyes. If this remedy is likely to benefit you, you will know it in a day. That is, you will find that the lustre of your eyes has increased. At night, bandage the eyes with cotton pads soaked in milk before going to bed. I am leaving for Bombay on the 9th and shall return on the 11th.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

[PS.]

Do bring the children with you.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7467. Also C.W. 4913. Courtesy: Hari-ichchha Kamdar

## *345. LETTER TO BABALBHAI MEHTA*

BARDOLI,
*June 2, 1931*

CHI. BABALBHAI,

I got your letter.

1. Disobey any order issued under the Foreigners' Act.
2. If they deport one to one's native place, one should not submit to improper restrictions.
3. While in jail, pay no attention to any news about a settlement which you may hear. The men outside may do whatever they choose
4. There is no objection to passing a receipt for any order served on you.

It is a good thing that you observed the rules while in jail and are doing so outside.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

[PS.]

The views which I have expressed may change as may be required by the conditions prevailing at any time. Likewise, you are free to act as you think fit in given circumstances despite these views.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9453

## *346. LETTER TO NARAYAN MORESHWAR KHARE*

*June 2, 1931*

CHI. PANDITJI,

Thakkar Bapa says in his letter that, though they had invited you to the gathering of Bhangis at Dakor, you could not attend it. Is this true?

How is Rambhau progressing?

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 216. Courtesy: Lakshmibehn Khare

## 347. LETTER TO RAMBHAU KHARE

*June 2, 1931*

CHI. RAMBHAU,

You wrote very few letters from Almora. Will you remain lazy there too? Don't you think you should now overcome your laziness?

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 289. Courtesy: Lakshmibehn Khare

## 348. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

*June 2, 1931*

CHI. NARANDAS,

Can you think of anyone in the Ashram who would come forward for *Antyaja* work?

How does Lalji work? Does he work well enough to repay what is spent on him?

Does anyone live in the red bungalow or sleep in it at night? Is it true that Giriraj's mind has become disturbed?

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./I

## 349. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

*June 2, 1931*

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

Surendra's letter seems to have confused you. He has mixed up several issues, with the result that you could not understand my real meaning. The idea that Surendra should return to the Ashram is independent of other considerations, and these are the reasons for my view:

1. It did not seem necessary to me to keep him at Karadi.



CWMG - XLVI

2. It is not proper for us, who have taken the vow of *aparigraha*, to make a special effort to find out another place and stay there.

3. In the present circumstances, it would not at all be wrong if persons like him return to the Ashram.

4. Sardar would certainly prefer that Surendra and other work ers like him who cannot easily adjust themselves to circumstances should stay in the Ashram.

The following is the substance of the other points discussed along with these:

1. Those Ashram workers who were slack in observing the Ashram rules of discipline and who were unwilling to return to the Ashram on the pretext that they should work outside should return to it.

2. It was the duty of those Ashram workers who were required outside the Ashram and who could observe the Ashram rules to stay outside it and do the required work.

3. It was preferable to have only one public worker in every village.

4. When there are more workers than one in a village, it is likely that they will not have enough work to do and that even small differences of opinion which may arise among them will confuse the minds of the residents.

5. It is probable that Darbari left the place because he felt, when he saw three or four Ashram workers there, that he no longer enjoyed the position which he did.

6. One should run away from a place where the necessity of one's services is not self-evident. Before accepting anybody's version of what I may have said, you should ask me.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

*Bapuna Patro – 7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine*, p. 214-5

## *350. LETTER TO KHUSHALCHAND GANDHI*

BARDOLI,
*June 2, 1931*

TO MY BROTHER, WITH DUE RESPECTS,

I was pained to read your postcard addressed to Narandas. It was evident from the writing that your hand was shaking while you wrote it. That is a sign of weakness. I hope you feel peace of mind now that Narandas is with you. We should be indiff-

erent whether the body lasts or perishes. Write to me, dictating the letter to someone.

To both of you,

*Humble greetings from*
MOHANDAS

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 9220. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

## *351. LETTER TO RASIK DESAI*

BARDOLI,
*June 2, 1931*

CHI. RASIK,

I got your letter. Blisters are caused by impure blood and can be cured by living on milk and fruit.

Whether you wish to join the Vidyapith or any other institution, you should be fit to do so. Anyone who leaves his own work to join the Vidyapith is not fit for it. Nor is one who wishes to join it for satisfying his desire for study under the excuse that the Ashram does not provide proper education. But one who is required in the Vidyapith for serving the cause of swaraj and who joins it with that end in view is fit to join it.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

[PS.]

Tell Jayant that I have not written to him as there is nothing in his letter which calls for a reply.

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 4350. Courtesy: Rasik Desai

## *352. LETTER TO HEMPRABHA DAS GUPTA*

BARDOLI,
*June 2, 1931*

CHI. HEMPRABHA,

I have your letter. You must have received my last letter.

To reduce food or to abstain from it because a son or a dear one has died is ignorance. I see no merit in it. Dharma and true *shraddha* consist in increasing work of service in the name of the departed one, recognizing the unity of all souls, and in realizing

the transitoriness of the body. We should reduce food or give up some item of food only for the purpose of controlling the palate or removing a physical disorder. The loss of a dear one should have no connection with the giving up of food. So wake up; forget Nikhil's death and try to improve your body for the cause of service. You need to take milk, curds and fruit. Tell me if you have any financial difficulty.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1687

## *353. LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON*

AS AT SABARMATI,
*June 3, 1931*

DEAR MR. EMERSON,

There is still the fire-arms question to be decided. I do not know whether you obtained legal advice in the matter. Whatever the legal advice, I am quite certain of the conversation about this very matter at the time I suggested the expression "illegal possession". If you will look up the original draft, you will perhaps recall the conversation because the original draft excluded fire-arms.

May I remind you about Mathura and Ludhiana incidents. These are both matters deserving close scrutiny.

*Yours sincerely,*

H. W. EMERSON, ESQ.
SIMLA

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-B, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

## *354. LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON*

AS AT SABARMATI,
*June 3, 1931*

DEAR MR. EMERSON,

You will remember we discussed the question of students who had suspended their studies. From everywhere complaints continue to pour in. I think that it is highly necessary to take back these

students unconditionally. It is terrible to think that they alone should be singled out for punishment.[1]

*Yours sincerely,*

H. W. EMERSON, ESQ.
SIMLA

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-B, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

## *355. LETTER TO G. V. KETKAR*

AS AT SABARMATI,
*June 3, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter.

Yes, Syt. Rajawade's case caused me great deal of trouble and worry.

I have just got the complete file of Syt. Rajah's[2] case. I am studying it.

Nothing can be done in the Chirner case just at present.

Deo did write to me recently.[3]

*Yours sincerely,*
M. K. GANDHI

SYT. G. V. KETKAR
THE KESARI AND THE MAHARATTA OFFICE
568 NARAYAN PETH, POONA CITY

From a photostat: G.N. 7965. Also C.W. 980. Courtesy: G. V. Ketkar

[1] Emerson replied on July 2 that ". . . the student cannot be regarded solely as an individual. He is a member of a corporate institution, and in the interests of the institution, and not with the object of imposing any indignity on the individual, it is often necessary to make conditions which will secure discipline. These are considerations to which local Governments undoubtedly attach great weight, and it may be assumed that had the question been raised when the Settlement was under discussion, they would have taken strong exception to the re-admission of students without any guarantee for the future and irrespective of the reasons for which they had left, or been expelled from, educational institutions. In these circumstances the Government of India do not consider it fair to local Governments to impose on them a course of action outside the Settlement. . . "

[2] H. D. Raja

[3] Gandhiji's Secretary wrote the following postscript to the letter: "I hope you will succeed in finding out working formula—Gandhiji's reply to Shankarrao Deo." Shankarrao Deo had written to Gandhiji on the elections of Congress Committees in Maharashtra.

CWMG - XIV

## 356. LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA[1]

As at Sabarmati,
*June 3, 1931*

MY DEAR KUMARAPPA,

I have Dr. T. Das's letter which you have sent. I do not know that we can do anything in the matter.

I expect to see you on the 9th in Bombay.

Bapu

Syt. J. C. Kumarappa[2]
Bombay

From a photostat: G.N. 10094

## 357. LETTER TO S. N. BATLIWALA[3]

*June 3, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter of the 20th ultimo. You will see my article in *Young India* entitled 'Is Boycott an Economic Necessity?'[4]

*Yours sincerely,*

From a microfilm: S.N. 17106

[1] In reply to the addressee's letter of May 27 (S.N. 17162)

[2] The source has "H. Kumarappa".

[3] The addressee had enclosed a copy of his article in the *Times of India* dated 19-5-1931, on the Indian Economic Crisis wherein he had argued that masses of India suffered and only the Indian mills benefited by the boycott of foreign cloth.

[4] *Vide* pp. 306-8.



CWMG-XLVI

## *358. LETTER TO WILHELM HEYDORN*

As at Sabarmati,
*June 3, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. If I succeed in going to London I would indeed like to go to various places. But whether such a thing will be possible, I do not know. If however I do visit places on the continent I would be delighted to make your acquaintance.

*Yours sincerely,*

Wilhelm Heydorn, Esq.
Hamburg 24 (Germany)

From a photostat: S.N. 17192

## *359. LETTER TO CHARLES S. FIELD*

As at Sabarmati,
*June 3, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

I appreciate your letter and I would have made your acquaintance had I gone to America. But as you must have observed, it was a baseless rumour which created the hope and in some minds possibly also the fear that I might visit America.

*Yours sincerely,*

Charles S. Field, Esq.
Dallas, Texas (U.S.A.)

From a photostat: S.N. 17193

CWMG-XLVI

## 360. LETTER TO MAHARAJA OF DARBHANGA

AS AT SABARMATI,
*June 3, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your telegram redirected from Borsad. I have not seen the landholders' manifesto referred to by you. If you will kindly send it to me I shall see what can be done.

*Yours sincerely,*

MAHARAJA OF DARBHANGA

From a photostat: S.N. 17194

## 361. LETTER TO GERTRUDE EMERSON

AS AT SABARMATI,
*June 3, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

You are quite right in thinking that if I did not get the quiet to read your book[1] in Yeravda it was not likely that I should have any, outside that abode of peace. The book was taken away on his discharge by the prisoner friend who had borrowed it from me and he returned it on my discharge when I was in the midst of interminable work. Since my discharge, I have not been able to rest. The work before me exhausts such energy as I have still left in me.

You will be welcome to the Ashram whenever you come.

*Yours sincerely,*

MISS GERTRUDE EMERSON
C/o "ASIA"
468 FOURTH AVENUE
NEW YORK (U.S.A.)

From a photostat: S.N. 17195

[1] Presumably *Voiceless India*, published in 1930

## 362. LETTER TO KONDA VENKATAPPAYYA

As at Sabarmati,
*June 3, 1931*

DEAR VENKATAPPIAH,

I am glad you have given me an exhaustive letter about Bapi Needu. I have offered to take him in the Ashram and pay the sum mentioned by him, i.e., Rs. 33 per month, for his dependents.[1] But if you can guide him there and he will accept your guidance do please give it to him.

How is your wife? I was sorry to hear about your daughter, but really she ought to go to the hills every summer.

*Yours sincerely,*

SYT. KONDA VENKATAPPIAH
GUNTUR

From a microfilm: S.N. 17196

## 363. LETTER TO K. PANDAR CHETTY

As at Sabarmati,
*June 3, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

With reference to your letter it does not appear that your gun licence was confiscated because of civil disobedience. Cases not arising out of civil disobedience are not covered by the Settlement.

*Yours sincerely,*

SYT. K. PANDAR CHETTY
CARDAMOM PLANTER
BODINAYAKANUR (S. INDIA)

From a photostat: S.N. 17197

[1] *Vide* p. 222.

## 364. LETTER TO MRS. C. A. HATE

As at sabarmati,
*June 3, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

Whatever energy I possess is due to regular habits and such self-restraint as I am capable of exercising. It is quite true that friends around me too notice my peace of mind. It is an object of envy. It comes from absolute faith in God and His goodness. That faith enables me humbly to do the task allotted to me without being anxious for the result.

I believe that indigestion is one thing which everybody can control and remove. Before I can advise you on your food, it is really necessary for me to know much more about you than you have told me in your letter. I should like to know what you feel when you say you are suffering from indigestion. Are your bowels acting regularly? How long have you suffered from indigestion? What food are you taking now and in what quantity and how many times? What exercises are you taking? How do you pass your day?

*Yours sincerely,*

Mrs. C. A. Hate
Indu Bhuvan
343 Thakurdwar, Bombay

From a photostat: S.N. 17198

## 365. LETTER TO S. SWAMINATHAN CHETTIAR

As at Sabarmati,
*June 3, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter of the 25th May last[1]. If a chairman deliberately defies any rule of the Congress constitution it is certainly

[1] Stating that the President, Kumbakonam Taluk Congress Committee, had allowed a lawyer member to participate in its deliberations over ruling the objection from other members that he was not a habitual wearer of khadi

open to any member present to challenge the decision and to move a vote of no-confidence or to take such other steps that are open to members.

*Yours sincerely,*

SYT. S. SWAMINATHAN
POTTAMARAI NORTH
KUMBAKONAM

From a photostat: S.N. 17200

## *366. LETTER TO THE SECRETARY, INDIAN MERCHANTS' CHAMBER*

AS AT SABARMATI,
*June 3, 1931*

THE SECRETARY
INDIAN MERCHANTS' CHAMBER
BOMBAY

DEAR SIR,

I thank you for your letter of the 19th ultimo advising me that I was unanimously elected an honorary member of your Chamber. Please convey my thanks to the Chamber for conferring on me this honour.

*Yours faithfully,*

From a photostat: S.N. 17201

## *367. LETTER TO A. G. SHEOREY*

AS AT SABARMATI,
*June 3, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. If you contend that the D.S.P.'s order is illegal, you should challenge it in a court of law. If there is any doubt about it, the procedure you have adopted is the proper procedure, namely, approaching the Home Member and ventilating the matter in public.

*Yours sincerely,*

SYT. A. G. SHEOREY
PUBLICITY OFFICER, PROVINCIAL POLITICAL CONFERENCE
SAUGOR (C.P.)

From a microfilm: S.N. 17202

## 368. LETTER TO DARCY LINDSAY

As at Sabarmati,
*June 3, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter of the 30th April last. I thought that the proposition that the Indian is a mere clerk[1] in the administration of the country was not seriously disputed by anybody. Wish that you could read the minds even of the Indian members of the I.C.S. I know from personal experience of them that the vast majority of them do not feel anything more than mere clerks, somewhat glorified if you like. But when I wrote the passage I had not the few of these highly-paid Indians in mind but I had the army of actual clerks who, no matter what their ability may be, can never rise beyond the status of clerks.

When I said that the Indian at best was a commission agent I again thought that I was stating what was literally the truth. Take the largest item of foreign trade. Is not the Indian merely the agent of his foreign principals? If he makes five rupees for himself, he makes Rs. 95 for his principal. So long as the conditions of trade remain what they are it cannot be otherwise. If India remains principally a country exporting raw produce and importing manufactured articles, Indian merchants must be largely commission agents whether of England, Japan, America or any other foreign country.

How shall I prove to you the daily humiliating experience of the Indian who, no matter how wealthy he is, gets no facility whereas his English rival gets many things done for the asking. Take the case of the British navigation companies, the concessions enjoyed by Europeans all over India whether in mining, banking or other commercial pursuits too numerous to mention.

When I say that the English trade is founded upon the ruin of Indian trade, I have simply written what historians have stated. If it was merely enterprise and grit that had brought about the state of things I should not grumble. But I would like you to study the rise of the East India Co. from the records of the India Office collected, be it said to their honour, by English historians.

[1] *Vide* Vol. XLV, p. 342.

In writing of the levelling process I certainly had not in mind the Soviet rule of Bolshevism. It is perhaps somewhat shameful that I have to confess to you that I do not yet know exactly what Bolshevism is for the simple reason that I have not had time to study the inner working of the Russian revolution. The levelling process to me simply means that the system of favouritism on which, as I believe, English commerce has been built should cease and for that purpose a double process has to begin. Favouritism should go and young Indian enterprises should receive State help and patronage.

I know that I must not expect to convert you by argument. What I would like Englishmen in India to do is to see them [selves] as the average Indian sees them and ask themselves why it is that the vast majority of Indians feel as I often write in the pages of *Young India*. Can it be that what some English economists have written and what most Indian economists, historians and administrators have written is all untrue? The case that I have presented is based upon their testimony and supported by personal experience.

Lastly, however much I may differ from your views, let me assure you that I appreciate your persistence in trying to convince me of my error. And if you will not give up the attempt I dare say that if I am not converted it is possible that in the process of friendly interchange of communications you might be able to see the other side of the shield.

*Yours sincerely,*

SIR DARCY LINDSAY
THE SPORTS CLUB
ST. JAMES SQUARE
LONDON, S.W.

From a photostat: S.N. 17203

## *369. LETTER TO VIDYANATH SAHAI*

AS AT SABARMATI,
*June 3, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter.

I certainly think that it is everyone's duty and especially an educationist's to speak the truth at all cost.

Discussion of politics in colleges should carry no stigma.

It was impossible to cover in the Delhi Agreement cases in Indian States.

I can understand the distinction between those who resigned on their own free will and those who were dismissed. A dismissal may take place on valid grounds apart from civil disobedience.

I should be astonished if it was true, that because you were dismissed from Kashmir State service for the reasons you state, other educational institutions will not take you up.

*Yours sincerely,*

SYT. VIDYANATH SAHAI
THE EMPIRE HINDU HOTEL
SIMLA

From a microfilm: S.N. 17204

## *370. LETTER TO CHARLES F. WELLER*

AS AT SABARMATI,
*June 3, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your warm letter of 17th April. 1933 is a far cry for me and I could not even make tentative arrangements for that year. You will therefore have to write to me, if all goes well, towards the middle of 1932 when I might be able to give a decisive answer. I am sure you will appreciate my difficulty.

*Yours sincerely,*

CHARLES F. WELLER, ESQ.
CHICAGO'S FELLOWSHIP OF FAITHS
CHICAGO (U.S.A.)

From a photostat: S.N. 17205

CWMG XLVI

## 371. LETTER TO K. ROY CHATTI

As at Sabarmati,
*June 3, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

Your enquiry need not be answered through the columns of *Young India*. The answer is so obvious. No Congress member can bid for opium shops.

*Yours sincerely,*

Syt. K. Roy Chatti
Seethanagaram,
*Via* Kovvoor, East Godavari Dt.

From a microfilm: S.N. 17206

## 372. LETTER TO SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

As at Sabarmati,
*June 3, 1931*

I have your letter. I do not think you should worry the Sadhu. That he is known to be mad rather appeals to me because of the fellow feeling between us. Even without his warning, I know that if I have to go to Europe I put my health in danger. But it does not matter; if I am destined to do some service there, somehow or other my health will keep.

Syt. Subhas Chandra Bose
1 Woodburn Park
Calcutta

From a photostat: S.N. 17207

CWMG-XLVI

## 373. LETTER TO MRS. V. BANERJEE

As at Ashram,
*June 3, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter and I feel that you have had to undergo many a trial. I do not know that I need guide you in the choice of service. There are so many ways open to you. I would therefore advise you to follow your own bent in making your choice. I would like to meet you if I happen to come in your direction.

*Yours sincerely,*

Mrs. V. Banerjee
Lady Health Visitor, Baby Clinic Committee
Rajshahi (Bengal)

From a microfilm : S.N. 17208

## 374. LETTER TO KRISHNADAS

As at Sabarmati,
*June 3, 1931*

MY DEAR KRISHNADAS,

Your firm hand in your letter of 25th May showed the rapid recovery you have made. I hope that there has been much more progress since then. You must not stir out till you are strong and are able to take fairly long walks without being fatigued. Whilst you are at it, it is much better not only to regain your original strength but to build up practically a new body. And all this should be possible after the terrible crisis which had reduced you to a shadow.

Subhasbabu travelled with me from Mathura and we were together as far as Baroda. We had long chats. He came again to Bardoli. I have advised him to submit the Bengal disputes to local arbitration.

I go to Bombay on the 9th returning here on the 12th.

Syt. Krishnadas
Shakti Ashram, P.O. Rajpur (Dt. Dehra Dun)

From a microfilm: S.N. 17209

## 375. LETTER TO MOHAN LAL VIDYARTHI

As at Sabarmati,
*June 3, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. There is no occasion for you to lose heart. You should take gentle exercise, increasing in quantity as you gain in strength. It should consist in a daily walk in the fresh air twice, in the morning and in the evening. You should eat as much milk as you can easily digest and fresh fruit. Omit every other food for the time being. And you should take a hip-bath at about noon every day sitting in the tub about 10 minutes going upto 30 minutes if you feel comfortable. If you do not know what hip-baths are you will find them described in my *Guide to Health*[1].

*Yours sincerely,*

Syt. Mohan Lal Vidyarthi
Cawnpore City

From a photostat: S.N. 17211

## 376. LETTER TO ANANTA C. PATNAIK

As at Sabarmati,
*June 3, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

My attending your conference is out of the question. But in wishing it every success I wish to draw the attention of every member that a great responsibility rests upon your shoulders in regard to the Congress session next year. One thing you have to prepare for from now. Khadi does not grow like the magician's mango. You have to make preparations from now for an inten-

[1] An English translation of a series of Gujarati articles on general knowledge about health published in *Indian Opinion* from January 4, 1913 to August 16, 1913; *Vide* Vol. XI and XII.

sive programme so that you can show what Orissa is capable of doing in this most constructive Congress work.

*Yours sincerely,*

SYT. ANANTA CH. PATNAIK
PROVISIONAL SECRETARY, PURI DISTRICT CONFERENCE
PURI, P.O. BALIPATNA, (Vil. ATHANTAR)

From a microfilm: S.N. 17212

## *377. LETTER TO MAHALAKSHMI M. THAKKAR*

*June 3, 1931*

CHI. MAHALAKSHMI,

Have you taken a vow not to write to me? Madhavji remains somewhat worried about the children, particularly about Chandra. There is a proposal to send Chandra to the Ashram. Let me know your view in the matter. Tell me about your daily programme of work there. I should like you and your sister to come if possible and see me here.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6816

## *378. LETTER TO VITHALDAS JERAJANI*

BARDOLI,
*June 3, 1931*

BHAI VITHALDAS,

I was glad to read your letter. The handwriting is as steady as ever. I would advise you to try mud packs on the head during noon. Do you lie down in the open during the day? Do you get plenty of fresh air in the room at night? In a disease like this, proper nursing is in fact the only medicine. Be in no hurry to get back to work. You need not worry about the disposal of the khadi stocks.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9776

CWMG - XLVI

## 379. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

BARDOLI,
*June 3, 1931*

CHI. NARANDAS,

You must have returned from Rajkot. Only yesterday I wrote to respected Shri Khushalbhai.[1] I have also written to Bhagwanji and told him that, if he feels nothing but an atmosphere of untruth in the Ashram, he may certainly leave it. Surendra will go to Karadi and Untadi and then return there. He should start by the 15th. Apte and Sarja must have arrived there.

Shri Chhotalal Gandhi of Ankleshwar writes to inform me that he had sent to you a sum of Rs. 543-4-0 during the Dandi March. Do you have the money there? If you have and if the sum is credited in the khadi account, return it to him. Tell him that it is to be used for khadi work only.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

[PS.]

Have a talk with Kakasaheb about *Vratvichar*. If you have a large number of copies on hand, there is no need to reprint it.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./I

## 380. LETTER TO KISANSINH CHAVDA

BARDOLI,
*June 3, 1931*

BHAI KISANSINH,

If you wish to come now, you should come not later than Sunday.

*Vandemataram from*
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 9294

[1] *Vide* p. 284-5.

## 381. LETTER TO PADAMLAL

*June 3, 1931*

BHAI PADAMLALJI,

I have your letter. The subjects of States have the right to take any steps including satyagraha in respect of the hardships they have to face. But the name of the Congress should not be associated with this because it will not be able to help them in their struggle; the States' people should rely on their own strength

*Yours,*
MOHANDAS GANDHI

[From a facsimile of the Hindi]
*Madhya Pradesh aur Gandhiji*, p. 136

## 382. CASTE AND COMMUNAL QUESTION

A student who sends his name writes:[1]

It is not quite correct to say that Hindus and Mussalmans do not greet one another on their respective sacred days. But one would certainly like much more frequent and extensive interchange of such greetings.

As for caste I have frequently said that I do not believe in caste in the modern sense. It is an excrescence and a handicap on progress. Nor do I believe in inequalities between human beings. We are all absolutely equal. But equality is of souls and not bodies. Hence it is a mental state. We need to think of and to assert equality because we see great inequalities in the physical world. We have to realize equality in the midst of this apparent external inequality. Assumption of superiority by any person over any other is a sin against God and man. Thus caste, in so far as it connotes distinctions in status, is an evil.

I do however believe in varna which is based on hereditary occupations. Varnas are four to mark four universal occupations, —imparting knowledge, defending the defenceless, carrying on agriculture and commerce and performing service through physical

[1] The letter is not reproduced here.

labour. These occupations are common to all mankind, but Hinduism, having recognized them as the law of our being, has made use of it in regulating social relations and conduct. Gravitation affects us all whether one knows its existence or not. But scientists who knew the law have made it yield results that have startled the world. Even so has Hinduism startled the world by its discovery and application of the law of varna. When Hindus were seized with inertia, abuse of varna resulted in innumerable castes with unnecessary and harmful restrictions as to intermarriage and interdining. The law of varna has nothing to do with these restrictions. People of different varnas may intermarry and interdine. These restrictions may be necessary in the interest of chastity and hygiene. But a Brahmin who marries a Sudra girl or *vice versa* commits no offence against the law of varna.

Marriage outside one's religion stands on a different footing. Even here, so long as each is free to observe his or her religion, I can see no moral objection to such unions. But I do not believe that these unions can bring peace. They may follow peace. I can see nothing but disaster following any attempt to advocate Hindu-Muslim unions so long as the relations between the two remain strained. That such unions may be happy in exceptional circumstances can be no reason for their general advocacy. Interdining between Hindus and Mussalmans does take place even now on a large scale. But that again has not resulted in promoting peace. It is my settled conviction that intermarriage and interdining have no bearing on communal unity. The causes of discord are economic and political, and it is these that have to be removed. There is intermarriage and interdining in Europe, but the Europeans have fought amongst themselves as we Hindus and Mussalmans have never fought in all history. Our masses have stood aside.

The untouchables are a class apart—a standing reproach to Hinduism. The castes are a handicap, they are no sin. Untouchability is a sin, a grievous crime, and will eat up Hinduism, if the latter does not kill the snake in time. 'Untouchables' should no longer be the outcastes of Hinduism. They should be regarded as honoured members of Hindu society, and should belong to the varna for which their occupation fits them.

According to my definition of varna there is no varna in operation at present in Hinduism. The so-called Brahmins have ceased to impart knowledge. They take to various other occupations. This is more or less true of the other varnas. In reality, being under foreign domination we are all slaves, and hence less than Sudras —untouchables of the West.

The correspondent being a vegetarian finds it difficult to reconcile himself to dining with meat-eating Mussalmans. But he should remember that there are many more meat-eating Hindus than Mussalmans. A vegetarian may with impunity dine with meat-eaters, Hindu and others, so long as he has eatable food cleanly prepared and placed before him. He will always have fruit and milk wherever he goes.

*Young India*, 4-6-1931

## *383. NOTES*

### Save Me from My Admirers

A correspondent writes from far off Cape Comorin:[1]

> . . . In the car festivals here the Image is placed in the car and taken in procession. One set of people want that your photo should be placed side by side with the Image and taken in procession. Another set of riper men say that you would not like to be treated as God . . .

Another from Mathura sends me a horrible portrait representing me as lying stretched on the coil of the thousand-mouthed serpent with the roll of non-co-operation in one hand and the spinning-wheel suspended on the other arm. My poor wife is massaging my legs. The other celebrities have also been pressed into service. I must not violate the reader's feelings by describing the other features. Suffice it to say that the picture is a caricature of the Vaishnavite legend representing Vishnu resting on the coil of Sheshanag. The correspondent who sends the picture asks me to plead with the publishers for its withdrawal. He rightly adds that though they may not publicly express their resentment, the picture must hurt the feelings of orthodox Vaishnavas. I wholeheartedly endorse the sentiments of both these correspondents. The motive in each case may be quite good. But this excessive hero-worship borders on questionable idolatry, and is calculated to wound susceptibilities of the orthodox people without there being any excuse for giving such offence. Such excesses will defeat the purpose of the blind worshippers. If they have any regard for my feelings, let the organizers of the car festival who would put my portrait in the car and the publishers of the offending picture desist from their activity. There are many other healthy ways of giving expression to and promoting patriotic sentiment.

[1] Only an extract is reproduced here.

## Repatriates from South Africa

Pandit Benarsidas Chaturvedi and Swami Bhavani Dayal Sannyasi have prepared a well-reasoned report of an independent enquiry they held into the condition of emigrants repatriated to India under the assisted emigration scheme from South Africa. This report and the Swami's telegram dated 16th ultimo, asking me to comment on it, telling me, "Condition worst, many starving, women half naked, children begging", have lain with me ever since. I am sorry that I have not been able to deal with the report earlier. The telegram from which I have quoted is an epitome of the report. The condition of our people, who find themselves strangers in their own land, is a disgrace alike to us and to the Government, but more to us than to the Government. No Government in the world can cope fully with such cases. Governments can only support to a limited extent voluntary public effort in such cases. It is really up to the merchant princes and other employers of labour in Calcutta to take a real interest in the welfare of such people, and find suitable employment for them.

But the condition of these people is a small consideration, compared with the cause that has reduced those repatriates to the condition in which they find themselves. There should have been no agreed repatriation at all, and if there was to be any, there should have been ample provision previously made to ensure proper occupation for them, and in any case there should never have been any consent to the repatriation of colonial-born Indians, of whom there are fully thirty-three per cent in the Calcutta depot. But it is no use crying over spilt milk. The labours of the framers of the report will not have been in vain if at the time of the revision of the Cape Agreement, the rights of the poor labouring Indian population are not bartered away for doubtful concessions to the other Indian settlers. The position taken up by the latter is unassailable, and should depend on its own merits. The settlers themselves should therefore refuse to be party to any bargain, which would compromise the rights of their less favourably situated brethren. South Africa can easily absorb and accommodate the existing Indian population.

## Gandhi Ashram, Meerut

This Ashram, a creation of Acharya Kripalani, has issued a neat little pamphlet describing its activities. From a tiny thing which it was when it began life at Benares in 1920, it has now grown into a big thing with branches and its own premises in Meerut, the headquarters. It is now a registered charitable association.

Its chief activity is production and distribution of khadi, but it runs free dispensaries and night schools wherever it is possible. Its production of khadi in 1921 was Rs. 48 and sale Rs. 3,100. The production in 1930 was Rs. 4,21,490 and sales Rs. 5,32,361. The price of its khadi 45″ in width was Re. 1 per yard in 1921, and Rs. 0-5-6 per yard in 1930. It has departments of washing, calendering, and dyeing besides the cotton processes up to weaving. It takes and teaches apprentices in these departments, and finds work for the poor women of Meerut by giving them knitting, bordering of bedsheets, etc. Who can say that khadi has no future, or that it is not the help of the poorest in the land?

*Young India*, 4-6-1931

## *384. IS IT AN ECONOMIC NECESSITY?*

A contribution in the *Times of India* (26-5-'31) has the following:

> Mahatma Gandhi, in his latest pronouncement[1] concerning the purpose and procedure of picketing, has reiterated his belief that the exclusion of foreign cloth is an 'economic necessity to India'. Perhaps he will explain, in the next issue of *Young India*, in what sense he uses that term. The information required can be supplied by answering certain questions prompted by the piecegoods situation as it is now developing.
>
> 1. To what extent has the decline of 1,000 million yards in the imports of cotton piecegoods in 1930-31 been balanced by the increased production of indigenous cloth based upon the processes of hand-spinning and weaving?
>
> 2. To what extent has it been balanced by increase in mill production?
>
> 3. Will the boycott be persisted in, regardless of the extent to which imported goods are displaced by hand-made and mill-made goods respectively?
>
> 4. If so, to what extent is the boycott in the interests of Bombay as distinct from other provinces?
>
> Clearly, if the endeavour to revive the village industry has definitely failed, as appears to be the case, however reluctant Mahatma Gandhi may be to acknowledge defeat in a campaign so close to his heart, then the time has arrived, in the interests of public honesty, to transfer the formal control of the boycott campaign to the Cotton Millowners' Associations, acting as principals, instead of continuing the camouflage of control by Congress, acting as agents.

[1] *Vide* pp. 184-5.

CWMG - XLVI

The answers to the specific questions are:

1. It is impossible to answer the question in terms of yards because khadi is not all commercially produced. Home manufacture of khadi for use by manufacturers themselves is proceeding on an ever increasing scale, which it is impossible for the poor All-India Spinners' Association to measure.

2. The indigenous mills are undoubtedly playing an important part in making good the deficit.

3. It will be, subject to what follows.

4. The interest of Bombay is the interest of India. The writer perhaps includes Ahmedabad in Bombay, and evidently ignores the other important mills scattered all over India.

I have answered the specific questions for the satisfaction of the writer of the article than of myself or the public. The public should know that I should lose all interest in boycott of foreign cloth, if I really discovered that khadi was a failure, as the writer is sure it has proved to be already. I do not know the source of his assurance. But as the party chiefly concerned in khadi production and propaganda, I make bold to say that it is not only not a failure but is making sure though slow headway all over India. I therefore do reiterate the claim that boycott is an economic necessity for the masses. It may sound strange, but it is true that it is not in the same sense and to the same extent an economic necessity for the mills as for khadi. Mills have undoubtedly flourished beyond their expectations by reason of the boycott, but they could have, as they were doing, eked out an existence without the boycott. They could always share with Britain and Japan the exploitation of starving millions by dumping their manufactures among the ignorant, famishing millions, who, forgetting that by using their leisure hours they could manufacture their own cloth, would buy the flimsy mill calico and thus doubly injure themselves. Boycott cannot therefore be wholly transferred to the mills even if they wanted it. And if they undertook it, it would fail. The fact cannot be concealed that the mills are interested in the boycott chiefly for their agents' and their share-holders' profits. The Congress is concerned with the boycott wholly in the interest of the masses.

The writer and, for that matter, many others do not know that the khadi method is a new method in economics as non-violence is a new method in politics. The khadi method is bound to confound the orthodox economic theories, as non-violence has almost already confounded the orthodox political methods. The new method lends itself to the orthodox statistical demonstration

only to a certain extent. It is the khadi spirit that is responsible for the phenomenal success of the boycott. Boycott itself is no new cry. It is as old as, if not older than, the Bengal partition period. But the hope of success was born with the rebirth of khadi in 1919, and the hope was partly realized last year when the khadi spirit was at its highest. The real manifestation of the khadi spirit has still to come. And when it does, as it is bound to come, and that too sooner than most people expect, there will be neither picketing nor statistical demonstration required.

*The Times of India* writer suggests that the boycott is designed or calculated merely to benefit the mills to the injury of the masses. The suggestion would have foundation if there was no khadi behind the boycott. Let the writer and critics like him remember that the Congress formula in so many words is 'Boycott through Khadi'. The Indian mills come in to supplement khadi. But the boycott would stand in spite of the Indian mills if they opposed khadi. Many did oppose it at one time. Their indifference to khadi was still more marked. But be it said to their credit that they have somewhat recognized the time spirit, and even though yet half-heartedly in the majority of cases, they have made terms with khadi. Some have become thorough converts to it, and will not even mind losing, if they must, for its sake. The Indian mills are therefore in no sense of the term principals in the boycott campaign. They benefit no doubt, and they will, at least for the time being, increasingly benefit, but the ratio of increase will be in direct proportion to the correctness of their conduct in their dealings with khadi.

The writer, as well as the reader, will now understand why India, that is to say, the masses must benefit in the long run even by the recent legislative protection given to the mills. The prices of mill cloth must of course go up. It is for the Congress to carry on ceaseless propaganda, so as to keep the mills from the profiteering temptation, and to teach the masses that their economic welfare lies in the manufacture of khadi in their own cottages through hand-spinning. When once foreign cloth is out of the way, indigenous mills will readily suit their prices and production to khadi, or will themselves face a boycott even like foreign mills.

*Young India*, 4-6-1931

## *385. R. T. C. AND CONGRESS*

Had it not been for the necessity of observing reticence for the sake of the lasting peace, which it is the common object of all parties to reach, I should have long ago taken the public into confidence about my proposed visit to London to take part in the R.T.C. I am now in a position to say the following:

I have made no secret of my opinion, not new but held and expressed even while negotiations were going on in Delhi, that I should feel most reluctant to go to London to take part in the Conference, if we failed to solve the communal problem among ourselves. I have seen nothing as yet to make me alter the view.

There is another obstacle in the way of my leaving India, whilst delicate situations continue to arise regarding the Delhi Pact. I should sacrifice life itself to prevent a breakdown. And I flatter myself with the belief that my presence is necessary to prevent it.

Let us however hope that both the difficulties will be over by the time it becomes necessary to leave India for the September meeting.

I can but give my assurance that having entered upon the Settlement, I am eager for the sake of the good name of the Congress to proceed to London and deliver its message to the R.T.C. and the British statesmen, not excluding even Mr. Churchill. I know that he and his party do not realize that the Congress is no enemy of Great Britain. The Congress merely wants for India what he and his ancestors have fought to secure for Great Britain. I therefore need no persuasion to take me to London. I have even said to friends that if the communal tangle was not undone, and I was therefore unable to take part in the R.T.C. but the working of the Settlement left me free, I should, if so required, proceed to London for the sake of presenting the Congress position to the responsible statesmen. My supreme desire is to attain lasting peace, if it can be had with honour and without inviting the nation to engage in another fight involving untold suffering.

*Young India*, 4-6-1931

## 386. PRABHATPHERIS

It was in the Yeravda prison that I read of the inauguration of *prabhatpheris*[1]. I thought that whoever originated the idea deserved thanks for it. I felt that apart from their propaganda value, they were spiritually beautiful. They summoned the sleeping to the call of duty. They reminded them that it was time to rise from their beds and give thanks to God the first thing in the morning. For I had read that the members of the *prabhatpheris* sang songs of worship as also of topical public events. If wisely guided, this institution can become a great means of purification as also political education of the right type. But I hear that songs generating bad passion are also some times sung. I should be sorry if my information proved true. I would strongly advise the organizers of these parties to restrict their choice of songs not only during this time of peace but for all time to those of worship and those dealing purely with constructive activities such as khadi, liquor prohibition, communal unity, untouchability and other social reform. The parties must be trained to sing well and in tune and should keep to one hour throughout India. I remember the parties in Bombay not always keeping the same time and in Allahabad keeping a different time from Bombay. The institution has sprung up anyhow, but it will be well now for the prime movers, if there are any, to evolve a proper plan and publish a selection of songs which all, no matter belonging to what faith or party, can sing. This should be a non-party national institution. If parties spring up anyhow and begin singing anyhow and any time, they would disturb the people by their jargon. But good singing in the morning will be appreciated.

*Young India*, 4-6-1931

## 387. 'AN HONEST DOUBT' (?)

The now famous Gandhi-Irwin truce terms received an almost unanimous approbation, though not from the entire section of Congressmen in India, at least from a majority of them. The people and the Press, both in this country as well as on the continent of Europe, expressed their

[1] Literally, morning processions

sincere appreciation of the success of the peace negotiations, and there was a consensus of opinion expressed, that honesty of purpose and sincerity in action on both sides lent sufficient weight to the success of the negotiations. In spite of this, there was and is still a very strong minority comprising especially the younger generation, which is totally against the truce terms, and emphatically declines to put its seal of approval upon them. They are of the opinion, and we think not without sufficient justification, that the flag of complete independence as the immediate goal of India, hoisted at the Lahore Congress, has been lowered by the truce terms, thereby committing the Congress and its followers to a less severe and entirely different programme of activities.

No one for a moment seems to doubt the sincerity of purpose with which Gandhiji, as the one voice on behalf of the Congress, and Lord Irwin, as the spokesman of the British Government, carried out the peace negotiations to such a successful conclusion. The left-wingers, under the leadership of Sjt. Subhas Chandra Bose, had almost planned to oppose the Resolution at Karachi Congress ratifying the Delhi Pact, but better counsels prevailed with them, and we are thankful to them for having averted a very serious defection in the Congress, at a time like the present, when complete unanimity and co-operation mean much. With great reluctance they let Gandhiji have his own way and try once more his faith in the British Government.

Let us for one moment examine how far the terms of the truce have been observed since the Settlement. Government on their part have released the Civil Disobedience prisoners, withdrawn the various ordinances, and declared the Congress organization a lawful body. The Congress on their part have called off Civil Disobedience, aggressive picketing, boycott of British goods, etc., and have also acceded to the cancellation of the enquiry into police excesses. So much the better for all. But what passes our comprehension is whether or not the Government have strictly adhered to the principles underlying the terms. Reports of non-release of prisoners in various parts of the country, promulgation of Section 144 on political meetings, arrests and convictions for political reasons, and various other happenings, which are considered a total violation of the Agreement, are pouring into our ears every morning. On the other hand, we are told that the local Governments contend that the people have not always observed the terms of the truce. Whether or not both parties are justified in their charges it is not for us to say.

In the light of the above, we honestly doubt if Gandhiji, on behalf of the Congress, was sufficiently justified in having lowered the flag of independence hoisted at Lahore by agreeing to the truce. We honestly doubt again if he was fully satisfied that there was a real change of heart on the part of the British Government, so as to commit the Congress to

a truce of this sort. We honestly doubt thirdly, if Gandhiji really thought that the British Government would take up seriously the question of Indian independence at the next Round Table Conference, even if the Congress under his leadership participated. Fourthly, we entertain an honest doubt if Gandhiji thought for one moment that the British Government would totally abdicate in favour of the Congress after 150 years of continued exploitation of a land which is almost their entire subsistence and mainstay. Fifthly, we doubt whether he believed that they would surrender "the brightest jewel in the Crown of the British Empire" to those from whom no exploitation is possible in future, and thus pave the way for their own decline. And last but one, we honestly doubt whether Gandhiji remembered how he has been betrayed on more than one occasion in the past in his trust in the Government, and considered whether *Young India* would allow him to practise his political jugglery on the toiling millions once more and for ever.

Last but not the least is the honest doubt we entertain whether there is any ray of hope of success through Congress participation in the coming Conference. Who knows that once Gandhiji with his team has left India for London they will be allowed to return to the scene of their activities, in case the London conversations break down? Who can guarantee to the Indian delegation a hospitable reception in London during its stay there?

We honestly wonder whether it is not high time for us to present a united front, and if necessary, to wade through a pool of blood, of course pursuing the creed of non-violence, to attain our one goal and that for now and for ever.

The foregoing has been sent me by "The Youth of India" with a duly signed covering letter. I have removed certain unnecessary passages and made some alterations without changing the substance of the charge. There is truth in the statement that there are charges and countercharges about breach of the Settlement by the parties concerned. But I am able to assure the public that so far the difficulties have been removed. The Central Government is anxious to implement the Settlement as I know the Congress is. And so long as that condition persists, there is no danger of a breakdown. Beyond this the public will not expect me to go, whilst the very delicate instrument is being worked and kept in tune.

As to the Settlement itself, I have no doubt whatsoever that the Congress would have put itself in the wrong if it had not entered upon it. And it was certainly patriotic on the part of Sjt. Subhas Chandra Bose and the young men who were behind

CWMG - XLVI

him to have withdrawn their opposition and given their support to the Settlement Resolution at Karachi. The Karachi Congress did not lower the independence flag. The Congress mandate is clear on the point.

Whether the Congress will be able to make good its position at the Round Table Conference I do not know. But I do know that it would be wrong for the Congress to avoid the Conference for fear of rejection of its demands. The Conference is one way of showing the absolute justice of the national demand. It would have been foolish for the Congress to refuse participation when it was open to it to press its full demand without reservation. The Congress would have betrayed lack of courage if it had declined to avail itself of the opportunity, when it came, of presenting its case at the Round Table Conference.

Therefore I should not hesitate to go to London and attend the Conference if I found that I could safely go. My difficulty is fundamental and well known. I should not have the self-confidence to present the Congress case, if we could not set our own house in order by attaining a solution of the communal problem. But I am waiting, watching and praying. As soon as the way is open, I should not hesitate to go wherever wanted. The other difficulty is less serious, but none the less important. As the principal party on behalf of the Congress to the Pact, I should feel most uneasy leaving India, when serious questions arising out of the Settlement demand attention. I have pledged my honour to Lord Irwin that I shall leave no stone unturned to see that the Settlement does not break down. As I have already hinted, I am having some difficulty with local Governments, but I am hoping that with patience all will be well. In any case I believe in all humility that my presence in India is necessary to avoid a crisis.

As for the other doubts of the writer or writers of the letter, I can only repeat what I have said so often. I will not lose hope till I know that nothing is to be gained from negotiation. Since I believe in human nature, in spite of previous disappointments, I must trust. I regard it as practical wisdom. I rely for success upon the inherent justice of the national cause and the equally just means adopted for its vindication. I do not believe that the Congress delegation will be insulted in London. And if it is, the Congress will not lose its prestige. The loss will accrue to those who will insult. I therefore ask the youthful writers of the letter not to lose hope, but work with all their might to make the Settlement a success, and by working the constructive programme enhance the power of the Congress to vindicate the national position. For

the measure of success at the Conference, if the Congress is represented thereat, will be in strict proportion to the measure of the power of the Congress.

*Young India*, 4-6-1931

## *388. MISSIONARY METHODS IN INDIA*

> Gandhiji has given great umbrage to missionaries by his declaration against the prevailing methods of evangelization, and by challenging the claim to superiority put forward by them on behalf of Christianity. They strongly resent his assertion that their *modus operandi* is open to suspicion . . . . It was stated in the Indian Census Report for 1911 that the aboriginal tribes accept Christianity, "in the hope of obtaining assistance from the missionaries in their difficulties and protection against the coercion of landlords." . . . In 1821, Raja Rammohan Roy urged in the *Brahmanical Magazine* that the superiority of Christianity should not be advocated "by means of abuse and insult or by affording the hope of worldly gain."
>
> . . . Mrs. Charles Howard, Secretary, Society for the Education of the Women of India, Chicago, in a letter to Sr. Virchand R. Gandhi of Bombay, wrote in 1896: "But I am more concerned for poor India. Why should Christianity, which is a failure here, be thrust upon India?"[1]

This comes from a retired Deputy Collector. The collection of quotations from named sources should, instead of offending missionaries, cause an inward search. I have several other similar articles, some from Christian Indians. The writers will excuse me for withholding them. The controversy ought not to be prolonged. The incautious zeal of reporters, who trusted too much to memory, led to a discussion[2], which I would fain have avoided.

*Young India*, 4-6-1931

[1] Only excerpts are reproduced here.
[2] *Vide* pp. 27-9 & 109-10.

CWMG - XLVI

## 389. TELEGRAM TO JAMES MILLS

SWARAJ ASHRAM,
BARDOLI,
*June 4, 1931*

JAMES MILLS
CECIL HOTEL
SIMLA

YOUR WIRE. PLEASE CABLE INDIA NEEDS ALL HELP AMERICA CAN RENDER IN HER NONVIOLENT EFFORT FOR FREEDOM.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 17213

## 390. TELEGRAM TO J. M. SEN GUPTA

SWARAJ ASHRAM,
BARDOLI,
*June 4, 1931*

SEN GUPTA
ELGIN ROAD
CALCUTTA

THANKS WIRE[1]. THINK YOU SHOULD REFER ALL MATTERS ARBITRATION UNCONDITIONALLY. ELECTIONS CAN BE SET ASIDE IF FOUND IRREGULAR.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 17214

[1] Which stated: ". . . Having regard to Subhasbabu's wire to you and the attitude disclosed therein I agree to arbitration. Beg point out that arbitration may not be reduced to compromise but should be a decision on matters of principle and fact arrived at after detailed enquiry. Arbitrator or arbitrators will be expected to give decision as regards following questions of principle. Whether District Congress Committees shall have the right of printing membership forms as they had formerly enabling wide enrolment without hindrance whether district Congress Presidents should not be ex-officio returning officers and when the President is not available rule number five of the rules



CWMG - XLVI

## *391. TELEGRAM TO VENKATESHNARAIN TIWARI*

SWARAJ ASHRAM,
BARDOLI,
*June 4, 1931*

VENKATESHNARAIN TIWARI
KYDGANJ
ALLAHABAD

YOUR WIRE. LINE FIFTYTHREE[1] OBVIOUS MISTAKE. CORRECTING NEXT ISSUE.

GANDHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 17215

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for election the A.I.C.C. from Bengal and Surma valley should not apply *mutatis mutandi*. Whether B.P.C.C. Executive should not render accounts of all funds received and spent. Whether Corporation employees and contractors should be officers and members of B.P.C.C. or District Congress Executives. Whether rules and by-laws of B.P.C.C. should not be purged of such provisions as tend to perpetuate coterie rule and abuses. Questions on matters of fact will be submitted to arbitrator when here including question of arbitrary or wrongful affiliation or disaffiliation of District Congress Committees. It will be a misunderstanding if dispute treated personal between Subhasbabu and myself. Fight is on principles. Strong and overwhelming Bengal Congress opinion against coterie rule and abuses have found expression. We fear a false impression still persists in some quarters outside Bengal through constant propaganda by Subhasbabu and his paper that he still has Bengal Congress behind him and his coterie. . . . Thus twentytwo of thirtytwo District committees with me. None of remaining ten District Committees have disapproved our stand. I assure you that we shall stop our election steps as soon as Working Committee stays present B.P.C.C. election . . . Congress in Bengal today influences every aspect of Bengal life and every public organization in it. Its purity should be maintained at all costs and should be above suspicion. Awaiting your reply that other side have accepted arbitration and that B.P.C.C. election has been stopped."

[1] *Vide* p. 360.

## 392. TELEGRAM TO MAQBOOL HUSAIN

SWARAJ ASHRAM,
BARDOLI,
*June 4, 1931*

HAKIM MAQBOOL HUSAIN
CARE CONGRESS
CAWNPORE

YOUR WIRE. REFER MATTER[1] ARBITRATION.

GANDHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 17216

## 393. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

BARDOLI,
*June 4, 1931*

CHI. PREMA,

I got your letter. I, too, shall start on Monday. So both of us will reach Bombay on Tuesday. But I shall be reaching there a little earlier than you. Drop in on the same day when you get time. I will then decide if I can spare time for a talk with you.

Your letter was quite full of information. Gangabehn has indeed many aspirations. You should have long talks with her and should also help her. Her capacity for love is boundless and her desire for service intense.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10256. Also C.W. 6704. Courtesy: Premabehn Kantak

[1] Presumably the Hindu-Muslim tension in Cawnpore. *Vide* p. 272.



CWMG - XLVI

## 394. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

*June 4, 1931*

CHI. VASUMATI,

I got your letter. I have carefully read Nanalal's letter. If you are required to stay at Visnagar in connection with that work, my advice is against it. The work is full of difficulties. If Nanalal wishes to speak to me, he is welcome. In this matter I will trust Krishnadas's judgment. Before coming to a decision, you should also know the views of Budhabhai, Mathuradas and Narandas. If you have to choose a place outside the Ashram for work, you should choose either Nadiad or Bochasan. I am inclined in favour of Bochasan, since the work there has been put on a firm foundation. However, if you are under a moral obligation to work for that school at Nadiad, you should certainly do your duty. If you have held out any hope, you ought to fulfil it.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9326. Also C.W. 571. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

## 395. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA

BARDOLI,
*June 4, 1931*

CHI. GANGABEHN,

I got your letter. The Ashram is the right place for you. You cannot leave the girls. You should even take in others who may wish to join. You can, therefore, serve best in the Ashram.

Vasumati may live in Nadiad if she wishes to do so.

Santa Cruz khadi is very good.

Let me know when you are leaving. Write to me always and tell me how you think or feel about any matter.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

*Bapuna Patro–6: G. S. Gangabehnne*, p. 54. Also C.W. 8776. Courtesy: Gangabehn Vaidya

## 396. LETTER TO MOOLCHAND AGRAWAL

BARDOLI,
*June 4, 1931*

BHAI MOOLCHANDJI,

I have your letter.

(1) Village sanitation is the duty of the State.
(2) If the State neglects it, the villagers may take it up.
(3) Municipality means the village service society. Villagers can themselves form such a society.
(4) Scavenging will cost nothing if performed by volunteers.
(5) In a small village even a few dedicated youths can do the scavenging.

MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 758

## 397. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

BARDOLI,
*June 4, 1931*

BHAI GHANSHYAMDAS,

Here is a copy of the letter from Sir Darcy Lindsay. Send a reply with facts and figures. I have already sent one[1], but a more informed reply is called for.

I got the wire about the dispute in Bengal. I have wired to Sen Gupta[2] unconditionally to accept arbitration.

BAPU

[PS.]

I shall be in Bombay from 9th to 11th.

From a copy of the Hindi: C.W. 7887. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

[1] *Vide* pp. 294-5.
[2] *Vide* p. 272.



CWMG-XLVI

## 398. TELEGRAM TO G. D. BIRLA

SWARAJ ASHRAM,
BARDOLI,
*June 5, 1931*

GHANSHYAMDAS BIRLA
CARE LUCKY
CALCUTTA

IF AT ALL POSSIBLE TRY SETTLE BENGAL DISPUTE THROUGH LOCAL ARBITRATION.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 17228

## 399. TELEGRAM TO PRESIDENT, HINDI SAMMELAN, MADURA

SWARAJ ASHRAM,
BARDOLI,
*June 5, 1931*

PRESIDENT
HINDI SAMMELAN
MADURA

HOPE YOUR LABOURS WILL RESULT ALL DELEGATES NEXT CONGRESS SPEAKING UNDERSTANDING HINDI.[1]

GANDHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 17232

[1] This was read out at the conference on June 7.



CWMG - XLVI

## *400. TELEGRAM TO KRISHNADAS*

SWARAJ ASHRAM,
BARDOLI,
*June 5, 1931*

KRISHNADAS
SHAKTI ASHRAM
RAJPUR (DEHRA DUN)

YOUR WIRE. YOU NEED NOT COME HERE OR WORRY. AM DOING EVERYTHING POSSIBLE SETTLE MATTER[1].

BAPU

From a microfilm: S.N. 17229

## *401. TELEGRAM TO SADAGOPACHARI*

SWARAJ ASHRAM,
BARDOLI,
*June 5, 1931*

SADAGOPACHARI
PRESIDENT, TALUQ CONGRESS
TIRUTANI

YOUR TELEGRAM. SEE CHAKRAVARTI RAJAGOPALACHARI. POST PARTICULARS.

GANDHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 17230

[1] Presumably the Bengal Congress dispute; *vide* p. 298.





CWMG - XLVI

## 402. TELEGRAM TO FULCHAND K. SHAH

SWARAJ ASHRAM,
BARDOLI,
*June 5, 1931*

FULCHAND SHAH
NATIONAL SCHOOL
WADHWAN CITY

YOUR LETTER. YOU CAN COME SUNDAY OR AFTER RETURN BOMBAY.

GANDHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 17231

## 403. LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON

AS AT SABARMATI,
*June 5, 1931*

DEAR MR. EMERSON,

This liquor business is causing a great deal of trouble. The following extracts from a letter[1] from Calicut will show you what is to be said on the Congress side. I have given you already facts about picketing in Ahmedabad. It is high time that this matter is settled finally.

*Yours sincerely,*

Encl. 1
H. W. EMERSON, ESQ.
SIMLA

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-B, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

[1]The letter stated that " . . . with the help of the police and excise officials . . . liquor which has no sale at the shops on account of picketing is diverted into the homes of the vendors or their friends, where it is being regularly sold".

## 404. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

*June 5, 1931*

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

I hope you did not lose in S. India what you gained in Ceylon. If you are fresh and do not mind the journey do come to Bardoli for Sunday so that we might have a quiet chat here before beginning operations on Tuesday. I hope Kamala and Indu have profited by the rest.

*Yours*,
BAPU

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU
C/O SJT. JALBHAI NAOROJI
NAPEAN SEA RD.
BOMBAY

From Gandhi-Nehru papers, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

## 405. LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA

AS AT SABARMATI,
*June 5, 1931*

MY DEAR KUMARAPPA,

Please go through the enclosed and if you have access to the necessary literature and leisure also let me have your reply to it.

BAPU

Encl. 1

SYT. J. C. KUMARAPPA
65 ESPLANADE ROAD
BOMBAY

From a photostat: G.N. 10095

CWMG - XLVI

## 406. LETTER TO P. A. WADIA

As at Sabarmati,
*June 5, 1931*

DEAR PROF. WADIA,

I enclose herewith a copy of a letter from an English friend. I have sent him a reply but I know that my reply cannot carry the same weight that a trained economist['s] can. Will you kindly therefore send me your considered reply supported by facts and figures?

*Yours sincerely*,

Encl. 1

Prof. P. A. Wadia
Wilson College
Bombay

From a microfilm: S.N. 17233

## 407. LETTER TO EMMA HARKER

As at Sabarmati,
*June 5, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. How can I remove the ban on foreign cloth and why? And what is the meaning of the ban? It is merely a method of persuasion. If people want to wear foreign cloth, there is nothing to prevent them from doing so. But if there was national government, the entry of foreign cloth would be surely prohibited as it was in the time of Elizabeth in England. It is true that the Lancashire workmen may have to suffer during the transition stage. But can it be any reason for India's millions starving themselves? Lancashire did wrong in killing India's cottage industry. If in trying to undo the wrong, Indians cease to use foreign cloth which it is their duty to do Lancashire has to turn to a less injurious industry. Where is the harm and where is the wrong? I would like you to work out this problem in its details and you will find that ban on foreign cloth is a necessary condition of the life of the millions of villagers of India.

You have evidently not studied the prohibition question in America. I talked to both who are for prohibition and against prohibition. Whilst it is true that prohibition has given rise to fashionable crime it has saved tens of thousands of the labouring population of America, who, having the temptation put away from them, are now bringing up sober families. But the conditions in India are infinitely superior to those in America. In America drink was the fashion and yet its great men rose against it. We are too near the time to measure the greatness of America in having undertaken prohibition. In India drink is considered to be a vice and is confined to only a particular class of people. Prohibition will be therefore an unmixed good in this land.

*Yours sincerely,*
M. K. GANDHI

MRS. EMMA HARKER
6 BELGRAVE TERRACE
KARACHI

From a photostat: S.N. 17235

## *408. LETTER TO MADHAVANAR*

AS AT SABARMATI,
*June 5, 1931*

MY DEAR MADHAVANAR,

I have your letter about picketing. At the present moment I cannot give you better advice than to ask you to discuss the whole thing with Syt. Rajagopalachari and act in consultation with him. I am sure that if orders under 144 are passed, for the time being at any rate you should obey them.

*Yours sincerely,*

SYT. MADHAVANAR
MATHRUBHUMI BUILDINGS
CALICUT (MALABAR)

From a microfilm: S.N. 17236

CWMG XLVI

## 409. LETTER TO DR. JOSIAH OLDFIELD

As at Sabarmati,
*June 5, 1931*

MY DEAR OLDFIELD,

You have revived sweet memories of old. I am not going to England this summer. Whether I shall have to go in September I do not know. If I do and if I get ill, I might have to seek shelter in your hospital. Anyway it was good of you to think of me.

*Yours sincerely,*
M. K. Gandhi

Dr. Josiah Oldfield
Lady Margaret Hospital
Doddington, Kent (England)

From a photostat: C.W. 4517. Courtesy: Dr. Josiah Oldfield

## 410. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

*June 5, 1931*

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

I got your letter. It is intolerable that, despite such illness, you should compulsorily have to stay there. You should show courage and find some way. I have written to you a long and detailed letter. I hope you got it. I need not, therefore, write much in this. I shall be in Bombay only during 9-11. The address there will be: Laburnum Road, Bombay. I shall have to stay there for three days only.

*Blessings from*
Bapu

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3401

CWMG - XLVI

## 411. LETTER TO LALJI PARMAR

*June 5, 1931*

CHI. LALJI,

Is Mamasaheb displeased with you? Do you write to him? Have you been looking for a wife? Are you in a hurry to get married? Write to me and tell me frankly what your wish is.

I hope you are working hard there.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3292

## 412. LETTER TO NAJUKLAL N. CHOKSI

*June 5, 1931*

CHI. NAJUKLAL,

I have your letter. If an operation offers the only cure for Moti have it done quickly. You have done well to take up the job at a library. What is your salary there?

I have looked into the article about Champaran. That sugar can certainly be regarded as indigenous. How pitiable is our condition that if anybody wishes to give up eating such sugar, he must stop eating sugar altogether.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12148

## 413. LETTER TO NARAYAN MORESHWAR KHARE

*June 5, 1931*

CHI. PANDITJI,

I did not require such a detailed explanation about the gathering of Bhangis. You may arrange Rambhau's programme if he lets you do so.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 217. Courtesy: Lakshmibehn Khare



CWMG - XLVI

## 414. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

BARDOLI,
*June 5, 1931*

CHI. NARANDAS,

I got your letter. You did right in having paid a visit to Rajkot.

If you go on pleading with the elders through letters, they will probably listen to your advice regarding khadi.

Some days ago, I had a letter from Mukundrai, which I am sending on to you. It will help you to a better understanding of the facts about Mahalakshmi. I did not know that she was related to Gaurishankar. I should be happy if you can take her into the Ashram.

If the other lady is what she seems to you, you can admit her. You should try to know her husband. If she had such intense aversion against worldly happiness, why did she marry? How old is she? What has been her education? To which community does she belong? What are her husband and father-in-law? What is her father? In principle, we should admit such women.

If Ratubhai has gone to Bombay, we shall meet. I had indeed realized, when I went to Rangoon, that the Doctor was unhappy about Lilavati. But I will have a talk with Ratubhai when he meets me in Bombay.

The suggestion that Madanmohan should stay with Jamnalalji seems all right to me. Haribhau was here and I had a talk with him too. If he stays with Jamnalalji, there will be no need to pay him anything.

We should let Amtulbehn stay in the Ashram if she is ready to live in it till the end of her life. She may be permitted to receive money from outside. If no one sends her any money, we should bear the expenditure on her account. I think she will recover if she does very little physical work. You must have got the bill of exchange in Ba's name which was received here.

If an inmate of the Ashram lives elsewhere, his expenses should be borne by the people there. If, however, Chhaganlal desires another arrangement in regard to any person, do as he suggests. I have written to Chhaganlal also to this effect.

I have advised Dwarkanath that he should live outside Gujarat till my suspicion against him regarding arms is removed. He will leave in a few days. We have yet to decide what to do about his bill. Chhaganlal thinks that he is innocent. I have written to him and told him that, if he feels inclined to pay the bill, he may do so. If, therefore, he writes to you requesting you to pay the bill, please do.

I shall leave this place on Monday and return on the 12th, leaving Bombay on the 11th.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./I

## *415. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA*

*June 5, 1931*

BHAI GHANSHYAMDAS,

Read the enclosed letter[1]. I have an idea that I have already written to you in this matter. Whatever the case, I think this institution deserves to be helped if something can be given from the Raghumal Trust.

I have today telegraphed that if a settlement by arbitration in the Bengal dispute is possible, they should try for it. The matter should not come up before the Working Committee.

I shall be in Bombay from 9th to 11th.

MOHANDAS

From Hindi: C.W. 7888. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

[1] From Ramanand Sannyasi, of the institution for the welfare of backward classes in Delhi, about the meeting of the Raghumal Trust fixed for June 16 or 17.

CWMG - XLVI

## 416. TELEGRAM TO J. M. SEN GUPTA

SWARAJ ASHRAM,
BARDOLI,
*June 6, 1931*

SEN GUPTA
ELGIN ROAD
CALCUTTA

YOUR WIRE. YOU PUT YOURSELF WRONG BY RESIGNING OR ABSTAINING. HAVE NEITHER APPROVED NOR DISAPPROVED YOUR CONDUCT IF ONLY BECAUSE I DO NOT KNOW FACTS. DO NOT EVEN NOW KNOW WHAT SEPARATE ELECTIONS MEAN. HAVE NO DESIRE HUSH FRAUD WHEREVER PROVED. ONLY SUGGESTED DECIDING ALL ISSUES THERE BY LOCAL ARBITRATION INSTEAD WORKING COMMITTEE HAVING TO DECIDE AND THIS FOR SAKE BENGAL'S NAME AND EXPEDITION. SARDAR AGREES.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 17243

## 417. LETTER TO R. M. MAXWELL

AS AT SABARMATI,
*June 6, 1931*

DEAR MR. MAXWELL,

Reverting to your letter of the 13th May,[1] at practically the same time that I received your letter in Simla I received the news that Syt. Rajawade was discharged although the letter under reply left me no such hope. I was thankful to receive the telegraphic news which was conveyed to me by Mr. Emerson. I have now received the papers about Syt. H. D. Rajah and on a perusal of the papers I can find no incitement to violence. The speeches themselves are not before me because I am told that they are not to be found in the record of the case, but the evidence

[1] *Vide* Appendix IX.

of the Crown witnesses and the Judge's summing up bring out the most relevant parts of the speeches, which though highly discourteous and equally seditious, contain no incitement to violence. On the contrary, the judge himself refers to the profession of non-violence by the accused but dismisses it as lip service. In the absence of any direct incitement to violence I cannot see how it is possible for a judge to infer mere lip service when there is a direct assertion of non-violence. But I have not relied upon my own opinion. I put the thing before three legal friends, one of whom has kindly reduced his opinion to writing, copy of which I enclose herewith. In the circumstances I request His Excellency to reconsider his decision and beg to point out that under Cl. 13 of the Settlement there is no option but to discharge the civil disobedience prisoners who might not be guilty of offences involving violence other than technical violence or incitement to such violence. I venture to suggest that where there is no incitement on the face of the evidence it is not open to the Government to deduce such incitement.

Then there is the case of Ratanji Dayaram of Bardoli Taluka. I have now studied the judgment and evidence in this case. There is certainly no violence as contemplated in Cl. 13 of the Settlement. It is also moreover incorrect to say that the accused burnt his tenant's crop. The accused burnt his own crop which he owned jointly with the complainant Devalia Jagla. If the complainant suffered any damage it was open to him, as it is even now, to bring a civil suit against the accused. But where, on the evidence itself and the finding of the judge admitted by the Government, the crop was burnt in order to prevent the Government officials from collecting revenue from selling the crop, there was no question of intending to damage the partner. And may I point out the inconsistency of the Government in releasing the co-accused, Ranchhod, who had no ownership in the crop and keeping Ratanji Dayaram who was admittedly joint owner of the crop. I must, therefore, for the same reason as in the case of Syt. H. D. Rajah, ask for Ratanji Dayaram's discharge in terms of the Settlement.

With reference to your second letter of 30th May last, I can only say that the position taken up by His Excellency causes me deep pain. The reasoning given for refusing to return the press seems to me to be extraordinary. It is giving back and not taking back. Cl. 16 throws the burden on the Government of returning and not on the party dispossessed of going to take back. The reasoning given in the third paragraph of your letter causes

still greater pain. I was unprepared for the interpretation that is sought to be put upon the Ordinance. I cannot question the interpretation but I do question the propriety of putting an irritating interpretation in connection with a document of peace. What the Government seek to do is to justify wanton destruction of property by Government officials. But in order to bring within the smallest compass possible points of dispute between the Government and myself as representing the Congress, I have advised the owners of the motor-car and bicycle to remove them, if they chose to do so. So far as the press is concerned I am sorry to say that I must ask for due fulfilment of the terms of the Settlement. If the Government seriously question my interpretation I am quite willing to submit the question for decision to the Chief Justice of the High Court of Bombay or any other impartial authority.

*Yours sincerely,*

Encl. 1

R. M. MAXWELL, ESQ.
PRIVATE SECRETARY TO H. E. THE GOVERNOR OF BOMBAY
MAHABALESHWAR

A.I.C.C. File No. 4, 1931, Part I Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

## *418. LETTER TO DUNICHAND*[1]

AS AT SABARMATI,
*June 6, 1931*

DEAR LALA DUNICHAND,

I thank you for your letter. I shall await your analysis of all the cases.

Why was the meeting dispersed by the Magistrate? What was the ostensible cause and how was it dispersed?

Please let me know as soon as the Government publish their opinion about the Ludhiana outrage.

*Yours sincerely,*

LALA DUNICHAND
ADVOCATE
AMBALA

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-B, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

[1] *Vide* also p. 181.

## 419. LETTER TO K. V. VEL

As at Sabarmati,
*June 6, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter of the 30th April last. My message is:

Let Japan study the non-violent movement of India and help her.

*Yours sincerely,*

K. V. Vel, Esq.
Post Box 9
Akasaka, Tokyo (Japan)

From a photostat: S.N. 17238

## 420. LETTER TO JUGAL KISHORE

As at Sabarmati,
*June 6, 1931*

MY DEAR JUGAL KISHORE,

I have your letter. Happily, Acharya Kripalani is in Bardoli at the present moment. I have consulted him and if you personally approve of the suggestion, he is willing to be nominated by me in terms of the resolution. The other name also he has suggested and I have accepted. It is Acharya Narendra Deva of Kashi Vidyapith. Both these are seasoned soldiers and have considerable experience in those matters. In view of these two names it is unnecessary for me just now to suggest names of experts at least at the present moment.

In the resolution, I suggest for better reading the following alterations: In the place of "on self-supporting basis" say "in order to make the institution self-supporting" and after the words "to collect", add "and disburse".

*Yours sincerely,*

Prof. Jugal Kishore
Prem Mahavidyalaya
Brindaban

From a photostat: S.N. 17239

## 421. LETTER TO URMILA DEVI

As at Sabarmati,
*June 6, 1931*

DEAR SISTER,

I had your telegram and I have now your letter. Things in Bengal are certainly most deplorable but I do not know what can be done from here. I thought that arbitration was the only thing that can relieve the tension. What else could be done either by the Working Committee or me personally? Subhasbabu came here and gave Sardar Vallabhbhai a long indictment against Syt. Sen Gupta. Vallabhbhai has filed it hoping to be able to investigate the complaints when both the parties were present. Can you suggest any other way out of the difficulty?

SM. URMILA DEVI
40/1 RUP CHAND MUKHERJEE'S LANE
BHOWANIPUR, CALCUTTA

From a photostat: S.N. 17240

## 422. LETTER TO NILKANTA DAS

As at Sabarmati,
*June 6, 1931*

DEAR NILKANTA BABU,

I have your letter. I can well understand the position but in cases like the one you mentioned very little can be done just now. I can only say that if in spite of these provocations, peaceful picketing cannot be continued it should be suspended for a while. But propaganda of an intensive type should be taken by going to the people in their own homes.

CH. NILKANTA DAS
BHUBANESHWAR

From a microfilm: S.N. 17241

## 423. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

AS AT SABARMATI,
*June 6, 1931*

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I have your letter and cutting from the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*. What can be done beyond suggesting arbitration in the place of the cumbersome procedure that will have to be adopted by the Working Committee if the matter has to be decided by it. Subhas-babu was here and gave Sardar Vallabhbhai a long list of complaints against Sen Gupta. Vallabhbhai could do nothing but said that when the matter came formally before the Working Committee, he will deal with the complaint. But when he and I began to receive wires from Bengal, I suggested local arbitration. Is there any other way besides such arbitration or decision by the Working Committee when the matter formally comes before it?

If you are well enough, you should come to Bombay and discuss the position at the All-India Spinners' Association Committee meeting. I cannot advise Dr. Roy to come to Ahmedabad especially when several mill-owners are outside Ahmedabad.

If you have not seen the file of the *Samachar* of 1828 I think you ought to see it and verify the spinner's letter[1] yourself.

From a photostat: S.N. 17242

## 424. LETTER TO NANABHAI I. MASHRUWALA

BARDOLI,
*June 6, 1931*

BHAI NANABHAI,

I have your letter. How can I ever come there? Ba is no longer fit to travel and visit any place. She gets inflammation of the mouth repeatedly. But it may be possible to send Swami and Devdas.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6681. Also C.W. 4326. Courtesy: Kanubhai Mashruwala

[1] *Vide* pp. 188-9; also p. 277.

## 425. WORKER–VILLAGE RATIO

How many workers would be needed to cover seven lakh villages? This question requires serious consideration. The British flag flies in each and every village, that is to say, all of them use the Government's currency, and pay revenue in that currency. But the Congress has not been able to cover all the villages. Even its name has not reached every village, let alone its message. The Congress can reach every village through khadi, but we do not have enough interest in khadi for that purpose.

The reader will be surprised to know that, though the Government's authority is recognized in every village, every one of them does not have a Patel, a *talati* or a constable. All that it has been able to do is to put a few villages under each *talati* and Patel. A *talati* should be an educated person, for he is supposed to keep accounts. He has, therefore, more villages under him than a Patel. If the Government does not have a *talati* and a Patel for every village, how can the Congress have a worker for every one of them. I know that the ratio of workers and villages should be exactly the opposite of that of *talatis* and Patels and villages. The Congress should have the capacity which the Government does not possess. But we must admit with shame that it is not so. The Government cannot afford to spend enough money to keep a *talati* and a Patel in each village. The Congress does not need to spend money. It can get volunteers but its name has not reached every corner so that it can have a volunteer in each village.

In these circumstances, it would be extravagance on the part of the Congress to have more than one worker per village. We should group the villages into blocks, each with a radius of ten miles. As our resources and the number of volunteers increase, we can increase the number of blocks but at present one volunteer should be able to cover ten miles from a central point. So the diameter of his working area would be twenty miles. But the volunteer will never have to walk twenty miles at a time. There is no rule that he must always sleep in the central village. Not only may he spend a night in any village within the limit of ten miles, but it would be actually his duty to spend a night in each of them by turn. There would be at least ten villages in such a block with a radius of ten miles. So, according to me, there would be one

worker for every ten villages. Hence we require seventy thousand men and women volunteers to cover all the villages in the country. I said women volunteers. But really speaking we should count their numbers on a different basis. If, in early stages, two of them stay together then we would require more than seventy thousand volunteers, or the volunteers would have to be posted in a different manner according to the number of women volunteers included in the total. It should be obvious that to post more than one worker per village would be a crime.

Let us now think what each worker can do. He can easily:

1. collect children and teach them how to spin on the *takli*, card cotton, make *taklis*, and also teach them the three R's; for this he can draw up a modest scheme and plan a curriculum;

2. look after the cleanliness of the villages and himself work to keep them clean;

3. give medicine to sick persons;

4. if there are quarrels among different groups and parties in a village, bring them together;

5. relieve the hardships of the untouchables, provide facilities for drinking water for them if they do not have any;

6. try to make the village self-reliant in regard to khadi;

7. prepare a census of each village in his block, count the number of cattle in each under the heads of cows, she-buffaloes, bullocks, he-buffaloes and male and female calves, calculate average yield of buffalo's milk and cow's milk, prepare a census of the *Antyajas* and write a general description of their conditions, find out the area of each village, its crops, the amount of land revenue paid by it, its crafts and industries, the number of wells in it and note whether any fruits and babul trees grow in the villages or in the fields within its limits. Though I have mentioned this activity last, the volunteers should take it up first. This work does not require much time. But the volunteer who has gathered all this information would find his work much easier. He should record all this information in a small exercise book.

No volunteer should say that he cannot do all this work unaided in ten villages. Just as a school works only for a few hours daily, similarly we should not mind if it works only for one day in the week. It will not matter if the school in each village works on every tenth day. I have stated an extreme possibility. In actual practice, a newly-posted volunteer will immediately collect the statistics about the villages in his block and then train men and women volunteers in every village and assign them work according to their



CWMG - XLVI

capacity. In this way he will become a supervisor-worker. On the days on which he is not present in a particular village, the local volunteers will carry on the work.

One quality is essential in such a worker and that is purity of character. If he is a slave of his eleven senses he will be able to do no work. These eleven senses are the five of perception, the five of action and the mind. If the mind is pure, then the ten senses automatically remain pure. If the mind is impure, then everything else will be impure. The senses of action are the arms, the legs, the mouth, and two private organs. The senses of knowledge are the skin, the sense of touch, the palate, the ear for hearing, the nose for smelling and the eyes for sight. Anyone who cannot control these should humbly refuse to become a volunteer. If he has become one and then later on finds that he is unable to control his senses, he should humbly resign. This is the right way if we want work to be done.

Some might say that this programme cannot be completed in a hundred years and we want swaraj just now. This objection has no force. We shall not have an abundance of workers when we get swaraj. Those who are workers now will run the country under swaraj. It is true that those who run the administration at present will be there when its control is handed over to the people. If, however, the Congress does not have the type of volunteers that I have suggested, then we shall lose control of the administration or it will become corrupt and there will be anarchy in the country. There is no reason to suppose that those who are hated now will become godlike overnight as soon as the control of the administration changes hands. Hence, as we sow now, so shall we reap. If we get sincere workers, the programme that I have chalked out can begin today. "Let us first have seventy thousand volunteers and map out the country into blocks of ten miles each and then we shall see what work to take up." This is not the right way to start work. If we approach the task thus, we shall succeed in doing nothing.

The right method is this: Gujarat should start immediately. If work cannot be started in the whole of Gujarat, it should be started in one or two districts, or even talukas, and if even that is not possible, then the few workers in the different parts in Gujarat should begin as I have suggested and leave whatever is not essential or cannot be done well. They should start whatever they can do. If there are more workers than one at one place, they should disperse themselves. If they decide to stay together where they are, they should do so after considering whether that

is necessary. They should not deceive themselves or the people through mental or physical lethargy.

[From Gujarati]
*Navajivan*, 7-6-1931

## *426. NOTES*

### HINDUS' SHAME

In Dakor on 22nd May, 1931, there was a meeting of Bhangis of which Thakkar Bapa has sent me a report. I give below its substance:

> About 1,500 Bhangis from 150 villages had gathered. They had erected a *mandap*[1] of canvas with the ground also covered with canvas in which they could hold their meetings and sleep at night. The meetings were held in this *mandap* during the day and at night they slept in it. But no one would give them utensils for cooking and they could not get drinking water. The water of the Gomati pond is so dirty that there are municipal signboards at numerous spots warning people not to use it for drinking. But Bhangis can drink it! How could they drink such dirty water at a gathering like this? One Muslim gentleman took pity on them. He gave them utensils, helped them in cooking and gave them water too.
>
> No Hindu of Dakor, which is a centre of pilgrimage, felt ashamed at this or took pity on the Bhangis. The guests had come from distant places, but could get no water, no utensils and no food though there was an abundance of everything in the town. The women volunteers of Dakor could have cooked for them. It was the duty of the Mahajan[2] in Dakor to supply water to these people. They failed in this duty and dimmed the lustre of Hinduism.

"But this sort of thing happens everywhere and no one cares for Bhangis. Was it the duty of Hindus of Dakor specially on this occasion to do all that?" Yes, it was. The fact that one's forefathers have been committing a particular sin gives one no right to go on committing it. As the days pass, the awakening among the *Antyajas* increases, this evil in Hinduism is being recognized and more and more caste Hindus feel ashamed of the practice. The

[1] Covered enclosure

[2] Traditional representative body looking after the affairs of a community or a professional or business group

person who drafted the report is a Hindu and the person who sent it is also a Hindu. All of us want to implement the resolution on rights passed by the Congress. Whatever may have happened before now, even caste Hindus will not tolerate now the kind of injustice that was shown in Dakor. There will be no distinction between *Antyajas* and others under swaraj. Let us, therefore, wake up.

### THINK CAREFULLY OVER THIS

There is a village named Bharthari in Thasara taluka. There a person named Dhanjibhai, an *Antyaja*, is trying hard to reform other *Antyajas*. From the report that I have received about his work I see that he silently bears the hardship which he has to suffer because of his activities. One of the reforms which he is trying to persuade the *Antyajas* to adopt is to give up eating carrion and to this end to give up the work of disposal of dead cattle. To persuade them to stop eating carrion is of course good, but to persuade them to give up the occupation of disposing of dead cattle seems to me a very harmful move. I think myself the occupation is sacred, and certainly most useful. It is sacred because it helps in preserving sanitation. If dead animals were left unattended, the air would be polluted, diseases would spread and the country's wealth would be wasted. Cattle serve the people after they die as much as they do while alive. We use their skin, bones, flesh and guts for many purposes. If we use living cattle properly and use the hide, etc., of dead cattle scientifically, their value would increase so much that it would not be profitable to slaughter them.

I would, therefore, suggest to reformers that they should not persuade Bhangis and Chamars to leave their occupation but they should, on the contrary, give them proper knowledge about their work. This requires training. It is only in our country that this occupation is considered low. In the West we find even millionaires engaged in it. If instead of becoming clerks, after graduation, young men learn the Chamar's work, learn how to skin dead cattle and how to make use of the other parts, then the present drain of crores of rupees to foreign countries because of our ignorance in this matter would stop and Chamars would no longer look upon their occupation as low. We shall be able to eradicate untouchability not when the Chamars give up their work but only when the Hindus realize their sin and when the *Antyajas* rid themselves of some evils which have entered their lives.

[From Gujarati]

*Navajivan*, 7-6-1931

## 427. POOR MAN'S HUNDI

Vithaldasbhai complains from his sick-bed that khadi stocks are accumulating. The workers of Gujarat write to inform me that because of this they are forced to give less work to spinners. This complaint regarding khadi is a matter of shame for us. Those who wear khadi know that by doing so they help women who are among the poorest in the country. If all of us understand this fact, the demand for khadi will never go down. As we always get the cash value of a currency note printed on it, so we should always be able to get money for khadi at the price fixed by us. Khadi is a sort of *hundi* drawn by the poor. There should be men and women in cities who would always accept such *hundis*. And so long as this *hundi* is available, no one should touch any other *hundi*.

If I can have my way and if people co-operate, khadi will always be sold at a fixed price. The price of cotton may vary, but if the women who spin and the weavers are paid at uniform rates in their respective provinces and the rates of payment for the other processes are also uniform, there should be no difficulty in having a fixed price for every variety of khadi. Since we do not possess the requisite honesty, efficiency of organization and sympathy for the poor, the prices of khadi have been changing. However, anyone who takes the slightest interest in khadi knows that in every province the prices have declined from what they were ten years ago. I have already pointed out in these columns[1] that, of the khadi produced in the Meerut Ashram, where it is manufactured in large quantities, those varieties which previously cost one rupee now generally cost less than six annas. This does not mean that the women spinners are paid less. It only means that the workers have acquired greater skill in all the processes of khadi manufacture. The quality of spinning has improved and, in consequence, the weavers' work has become easier. This has made it possible to reduce the rate of payment to weavers without reducing their total earnings. It has been possible to bring about this happy result of reduction in prices because a philanthropic body is organizing khadi work. Thanks to this fact, the quality of khadi has progressively improved and the prices have come down. There is considerable scope for still further improvement in quality

[1] *Vide* pp. 305-6.

and reduction in prices and this will happen as more and more people patronize khadi. It is evident that, as the demand for khadi increases, a larger number of people and more skilled people will take interest in it and the quality will improve and the prices decrease. The shareholders in the poor man's company are not limited to a small number, but are the thirty crores in the country. Then why should there be any difficulty in selling khadi? But the difficulty is a fact and it is, therefore, fruitless to ask that question. It would be wiser to discover ways of selling it. The following means suggest themselves:

1. To go round hawking khadi. At all places women should do this only on fixed days, so that they will not have to go round every day. It would be enough if they give some hours on some days in the week. As in the West the wives of millionaires visit hospitals, etc., on certain days in the week, so the women here should go round hawking khadi.
2. Leaflets giving a list of the varieties of khadi and their prices should be distributed to every household.
3. Talks about khadi should be arranged in all residential streets.

I have only given a few suggestions for guidance. But those who love khadi and have resourceful brains will be able to think out many other ways of selling the accumulated stocks of khadi.

[From Gujarati]

*Navajivan*, 7-6-1931

## *428. USE ANOTHER NAME*

An *Antyaja* friend writes:[1]

Such a feeling is natural in this age of awakening. A person does not like the name which is applied to him in contempt, though its origin may have been quite innocent. Formerly the name *Antyaja* was not felt as expressing contempt. The names Dhed and Bhangi were disliked. I think the term '*Dalit*' was first used by the late Swami Shraddhanand. Now it seems that name also is not liked. The real explanation is that as long as the poison of untouchability exists in our society, any name that may be given will probably come to be disliked after some time. Hence

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had expressed his sense of humiliation at the word '*Antyaja*' and requested Gandhiji to coin some new word to denote his community. For the choice of the word 'Harijan', *vide* Vol. XLVII, "Notes", 2-8-1931, sub-title, "Harijan".

the right thing to do is to get rid of that poison and for this we need the co-operation of the *Antyajas* men and women. It is of course the duty of the Hindus to get rid of this poison unconditionally. Atonement for one's sin need not depend on any condition being fulfilled. But however sincere the efforts of Hindus to atone for their sin, the evils which have crept into the lives of the untouchables because of the sin of Hindus can be eradicated only by their own efforts. They will require the help of caste Hindus in their efforts. They are getting it slowly and its tempo is likely to increase. But even after taking all this into account, ultimately the *Antyajas* will have to rely on their own efforts. Though it is thus necessary to attack the root cause, if a better word than *Antyaja* or *Dalit* occurs to anyone he may send it to me.

[From Gujarati]

*Navajivan*, 7-6-1931

## *429. A SUPERSTITION*

I give below the substance of what one cultured and very pious mother writes: "After my son's death I have left off milk and ghee. I live on rice, dal, *roti*, and buttermilk. I have lost interest in life but I pass my time by devoting myself to service in one way or another. I read the *Ramayana* and other books, but deep inside the memory of my dear son continues to pain me."

This mother's health was already weak and now it has become weaker. It is not certain even whether she will survive or not. As I have summarized the mother's letter, I also give the substance of my reply to her.[1]

To mourn the death of either son or husband is meaningless and shows our ignorance. This should not be dismissed as merely wise talk; it is a truth to be pondered over till it sinks into our heart and to be acted upon. Since death is certain for all, the only question is whether it comes today or tomorrow. Why, then, should we grieve over anyone's death? It is only the body which dies. That is its nature and therefore there is no cause for wonder when it dies. It is certain that the soul which dwells in the body never dies, it is immortal. When we know this as certain truth, why should we grieve over death?

Even if we assume that we are bound to be pained by death, is fasting or restriction of food a remedy for our grief? Whom

[1] *Vide* pp. 285-6.

CWMG - XXXVI

does it help? The one who is dead? And if so, does it help the body which has perished, or the immortal soul? The body that used to eat is now ashes or is being eaten up by worms. The soul neither eats nor drinks. Why then should the mother or the wife restrict her food?

In other words, the mother or wife restricting her food has no effect on the body or the soul of the dead person. If we desire the welfare of the departed soul or wish to keep his memory alive for ever, we shall not be able to fulfil our wish by fasting but shall fulfil both aims by retaining his virtues in ourselves. We can also contribute to perpetuating his memory by making donations to worthy causes.

Does fasting or control over food then serve no purpose? In this case at any rate they serve none. They can be undertaken within certain limits, either for the purpose of self-purification or for curing a disease. We shall not discuss the second possibility. Control of the palate, then, aims at self-purification. Restriction of food or fasting, therefore, has this limit. Fasting is not the right way of atoning for a lie. The right way of doing so is to take a vow always to speak the truth in future, to renounce whatever serves as a temptation to us to tell a lie. If, however, a person cannot control his palate, the remedy is fasting or restriction of diet. Anyone who has overcome all cravings of the palate eats only for keeping his body alive. His diet is restricted to a few items and the quantity also is measured. Such men and women take food as medicine. If they practise further self-denial, they commit a sin because, if they do not eat, their bodies would become weak. The body is an instrument of service. Anyone who weakens that instrument is a thief. Such persons number hardly a few among crores. I have used this illustration only to explain my meaning.

We ordinary human beings daily indulge our palate. It is, therefore, necessary that we should occasionally fast and restrict our diet. But this should be done only to kill the cravings of the palate. To do it because of someone's death or for some similar reason is a form of self-deception and may even be sinful.

[From Gujarati]

*Navajivan*, 7-6-1931

CWMG-XLVI

## 430. A LETTER

BARDOLI,
*June 7, 1931*

Sardar Garda met me at Swaraj Ashram, Bardoli, on April 25th in the company of Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Syt. K. F. Nariman, Sjt. Vimadalal, Rao Bahadur Bhim Bhai and another Parsi friend. He was brought by Sir Cowasji Jehangir and other friends in connection with the forfeited land belonging to Bardoli peasants which he had purchased during the Civil Disobedience Movement. He complained about the treatment he had received at the hands of the people. I told him that whatever complaints he might make I would undertake to investigate and give him satisfaction. All the friends persuaded him to return the said land. He insisted not only on the price he had paid for the land being returned to him, namely, Rs. 4569, but Rs. 6000 in addition which he said he had spent on the land. Sir Cowasji assured him that that sum also would be forthcoming. He then said that he would most probably decide to restore the land for the purchase price plus the said sum of Rs. 6000, but that he would have to consult his people and then give a final reply which he would do inside of two days. In the course of the conversation Sardar Garda said that the land he had bought was fully worth four lakhs of rupees and that he would not have bought it but for the pressure that was brought to bear upon him on the part of the authorities. This, of course, he said in confidence. I asked him then whether I could announce to the people that most probably he would agree to restore the land, and he said "certainly". Two days after, Sardar Vallabhbhai received a letter from Rao Bahadur Bhim Bhai saying that Sardar Garda had passed a note to him to the effect that he had decided to restore the land for the above sum. The enclosed is a copy of the letter passed by Sardar Garda to Rao Bahadur Bhim Bhai. The letter was also published in the papers and the agreement was duly announced to the people concerned. On May 7th I received a letter from Sardar Garda as per copy to which I sent a reply hereto attached. I also attach the further correspondence since passed between Sardar Garda and myself.

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-C, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

## 431. LETTER TO K. B. BHADRAPUR

As at Sabarmati,
*June 7, 1931*

DEAR MR. BHADRAPUR,

I write this letter in connection with the present Mukhi[1] of Ras. I discussed the question of his removal and the appointment of the old Mukhi with Mr. Perry more than once and I had hoped that by this time at least the Ras Mukhi would have been removed. The matter is now becoming urgent as a deputation on behalf of the non-Dharala inhabitants of Ras waited on me yesterday and complained that life was becoming unbearable for them there. I enclose herewith particulars of destruction that is alleged to have gone on in Ras during the past fortnight. They mentioned also that personal assaults were added to the injury to property. It is not suggested that the Mukhi himself has personally done these things but it is suggested that they have been done with his connivance, if not instigation. It will be readily admitted that if the statements made in the memorandum hereto attached are at all true, it won't be possible for the non-Dharala population to proceed with the cultivation of their fields as soon as rains commence. Suggestion has already been made that the Mukhiship should be divided into three parts, each part being held by a different person. I need hardly say this will not do. Either the present Mukhi is an undesirable person or he is not. If he is an undesirable person, in accordance with the terms of the Settlement and the admission made by the Commissioner, undesirable Mukhis should be removed. And in view of the fact that there is a conviction for theft against the present Mukhi of Ras, his removal is surely overdue. This I ask irrespective of and without prejudice to my contention that appointments of Mukhis for definite terms are not permanent according to the meaning of the Settlement. I shall therefore be obliged if you will kindly let me know as early as possible whether it is the intention of the

[1] Village headman

Government to remove this Mukhi and protect the life and property of the inhabitants of Ras.

*Yours sincerely,*

K. B. BHADRAPUR, ESQ.
COLLECTOR OF KAIRA DT.
KAIRA

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-C, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

## *432. LETTER TO THOMAS B. LEE*

AS AT SABARMATI,
*June 7, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. As a matter of fact I have got ample Christian Science literature with me. You will not mind my saying that somehow or other the message of Christian Science does not appeal to me. I met so many Christian scientists in South Africa. Their conversations also failed to convince me. And why do you say that the discovery that there is really no life or sensation in the body is the most important discovery of any kind that has ever been made? As a matter of fact the statement is not a complete proposition. By the body is evidently meant body without life. And surely medicine teaches us that body without life is without sensation and every Hindu child is taught that from childhood. But I must not enter into a discussion. I felt that your long letter was entitled to a reasoned reply from me.

*Yours sincerely,*
M. K. GANDHI

THOMAS B. LEE, ESQ.
STERLING RADIO CO.
KANSAS CITY, MO.

From a photostat: S.N. 17248

## 433. LETTER TO MADHAV R. JOSHI

As at Sabarmati,
*June 7, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. A man of God makes no distinction between individual and individual. He will bestow his affection impartially upon all, whether wife or sister or mother, brother or stranger, friend or foe and he will put himself last. After serving everybody he will serve himself. And this can only be done by having faith in God and following the light that He may give one in answer to prayer.

*Yours sincerely,*

Syt. Madhav Ramkrishna Joshi
C/o District Congress Committee's Office
Agra Road, Dhulia (W. Khandesh)

From a photostat: S.N. 17249

## 434. LETTER TO THAPPAN NAIR

As at Sabarmati,
*June 7, 1931*

MY DEAR THAPPAN,

I have your letter. You should diligently follow the columns of *Young India*. They might help you. So far as your immediate question is concerned, if you feel that there is no work for you there you are at liberty to return to the Ashram. Many have done so.

*Yours sincerely,*

Syt. Thappan Nair
Congress Camp
Palghat (Malabar)

From a microfilm: S.N. 17250

## 435. LETTER TO H. V. HODSON

As at Sabarmati,
*June 7, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. If I do come to London I hope we shall meet and if I do not succeed in coming, you will please believe me when I tell you that the failure will be due not to any want of will or effort on my part but to circumstances wholly beyond my control.

*Yours sincerely,*

H. V. Hodson, Esq.
10 Wood Lane
Highgate, London, N.6

From a photostat: S.N. 17251

## 436. LETTER TO M. I. DAVID

As at Sabarmati,
*June 7, 1931*

DEAR MR. DAVID,

I thank you for your letter of 9th May. I am most closely watching your activity not in terms of the newspapers but its reaction upon the communal spirit. Solution of the communal question may be beyond the powers of Conciliation Committees, but if they tend to promote peace it would be a very big step forward. You are also interesting me in another activity of yours, bee-keeping and honey-making. I would love to see the industry of bee-keeping becoming universal in India. The only question is whether it is possible to make bee-keeping profitable. I tried to make some experiments but I have failed hitherto. You will deserve the gratitude of people if you can devise methods whereby poor people can take to this industry.

*Yours sincerely,*

M. I. David, Esq.
4 Queens Road
Fort, Bombay

From a photostat: S.N. 17252

## *437. LETTER TO ESTHER MENON*

As at Sabarmati,
*June 7, 1931*

After having kept me waiting for many long months you have at last written to me. What a bad thing that Menon has not yet got his diploma. I had a letter from a mutual friend saying that you were disheartened over this failure. This is unworthy of you as I have known you. No failure, no adversity should dishearten you who have a living faith in God and his goodness. We do not know that every failure is a matter for sorrow nor do we know that every adversity is an infliction. Do we not often find that prosperity and success mean the undoing of people whereas failures and adversity chasten them?

I do not know that I am going to London. If I do, I will of course love to go to Denmark and if I went there I should not like to miss you. But it is no use speculating on a highly problematical thing.

I do hear from Maria, now and again.

After dictating this I came upon another letter which mentions you more intimately. This letter is from Dr. Henning Dalsgaard. In that letter he says you are cheerful but he asks me whether I can do anything for Menon. I do not however find any concrete proposition. Have you any such in view? If you have, you will not hesitate to tell me and of course if I can do anything, you know also you can rely upon my doing it.

Mrs. Esther Menon
M, Quest House
Selly Oak
N. Birmingham (England)

From a photostat: S.N. 17254

CWMG - XLVI

## 438. LETTER TO DR. HENNING DALSGAARD

AS AT SABARMATI,
*June 7, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

I have read with great deal of interest your note at the back of the formal letter from the International People's College. You will see from my reply to Prof. Manniche that my going to London itself is problematical and going to Denmark still more so.

I would like you to be more explicit about Menon. But now that you have mentioned him I am writing to Esther about his requirements.

*Yours sincerely,*

DR. HENNING DALSGAARD
LECTURER IN POLITICAL SCIENCE
ELSINORE, DENMARK

From a photostat: S.N. 17253

## 439. LETTER TO RAMSEVAK SHUKLA

*June 7, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. You may send the particulars of your discovery[1] with full explanation.

*Yours sincerely,*

From a microfilm: S.N. 17255

## 440. LETTER TO SHRI RAM SHARMA

AS AT SABARMATI,
*June 7, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. The matters discussed in your letter, you should really discuss with the Provincial Congress Committee officials in the first instance so that a uniform policy can be adopted. I can only discuss general principles in the pages of *Young India*,

[1] Of a new kind of spindle



CWMG - XLVI

and take concrete cases of injustice to the Government. Beyond that, you will admit, it is not possible for me to go.

*Yours sincerely,*

SYT. SHRI RAM SHARMA
GENERAL SECRETARY, DISTRICT CONGRESS COMMITTEE
ROHTAK (PUNJAB)

From a microfilm: S.N. 17256

## *441. LETTER TO AMTULSALAAM*

*June 8, 1931*

MY DEAR AMTUL,

Never mind your incorrect English. But you must soon write Hindi. If you write a clear Urdu hand I can read it. You must cultivate a brief style.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 240

## *442. LETTER TO PADMA*

*June 8, 1931*

CHI. PADMA,

I have your letter. It is good news indeed to hear that your health is improving steadily. Have you now given up the idea of going to U.P.? Take plenty of rest and get well.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6120. Also C.W. 3472. Courtesy: Prabhudas Gandhi

CWMG - XLVI

## 443. LETTER TO SHARDA C. SHAH

*Silence Day, June 8, 1931*

CHI. SHARDA,

Your handwriting may be said to be good this time. You can still improve it. How can you not think of what to write? Can you not write about what you did and what you said during the week?

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 9903. Courtesy: Shardabehn G. Chokhawala

## 444. LETTER TO KANTI PAREKH

*Silence Day, June 8, 1931*

CHI. KANTI,

Here is the reply to your letter. The word 'love' has two meanings: one, ignorant attachment, and, two, non-violence. Love between man and woman mostly takes the form of ignorant attachment and, therefore, it is undesirable. It cannot become all-embracing love. If a man marries many women or a woman many men, the world would be destroyed. Only that love which takes the form of non-violence can become all-embracing, and anybody who wishes to cultivate such love must renounce the other love, born of ignorant attachment, which a man and a woman feel for each other. The wheel of worldly life is kept moving, and will be kept moving, by a love which is a mixture of the two kinds. It helps human beings to satisfy their own needs and also to serve the race. What I have written pertains to love in its purest form. If we are clear in our minds about the ideal, it will be possible on its basis to formulate proper norms for practical life. If we base the ideal on the prevailing practice, we would lower both the ideal and the practice. If you do not follow anything in this, ask me again. I am returning your letter herewith.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6269

## 445. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

[BARDOLI,
*June 8, 1931*][1]

CHI. NARANDAS,

I got three of your letters together. I shall start this evening for Bombay. Pandit Jawaharlal has come here today to see me. He will return with me. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan is still here. Devdas has written a fine article about him for *Young India*[2]. Read it. What happened to Liladhar ? If we can help him in any way, we should. As for Vithal, I will write to him.

Bhagwanji's problem, we may take it, has been solved for the present. He is not at peace with himself and remains much excited. Yes, I have written to Chhaganlal and told him that those who do not do proper work outside should return to the Ashram. Surendra will explain to you my letter to him. You may even get a copy.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

[PS.]

I will leave Bombay on the 11th and reach Borsad on the evening of the 12th. If, therefore, you address the 11th post to Surat, I shall get it there.

Chi. Indu was there, and is now returning. He will arrive there on the 10th. Take care of him. He is Kanti Parekh's brother. He is of an affectionate nature, and also loves fun. He is a straightforward boy. Exact hard work from him. In any case, see that he studies.

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

*Bapuna Patro—9: Shri Narandas Gandhine*, Pt. I, p. 272

[1] The year and month are inferred from the reference in the letter to Devdas Gandhi's article on Abdul Ghaffar Khan. Gandhiji left Bardoli on June 8 for Bombay.

[2] Of June 11



CWMG - XLVI

## 446. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

ON WAY TO BOMBAY,
*June 8, 1931*

CHI. NARANDAS,

Credit to the khadi account the sum of Rs. 543-4-0 received from Ankleshwar on 1-4-1930 and send the amount to Shri Chhotubhai Gandhi at Ankleshwar to be spent on khadi work. Request him to send an account of how the money is spent.

Chhotubhai's address: Taluka Samiti.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./I

## 447. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

*June 8, 1931*

BHAI GHANSHYAMDAS,

I have your letter, as also the letter to Schuster[1]. I shall go through it. The situation is already delicate and it will grow more delicate still. Some good result can come out of it if we work for the larger good.

Sen Gupta has agreed to arbitration. He has given up the idea of postponing the election. Anyway, I am reaching Bombay tomorrow and trust that both of them[2] will come.

BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi: C.W. 7889. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

[1] Sir George Schuster, then Finance Member of the Viceroy's Council
[2] J. M. Sen Gupta and Subhas Chandra Bose



CWMG XLVI

## 448. SPEECH AT BOMBAY

*June 10, 1931*

*Prabhat Pheris* were resumed this morning. About fifty members assembled at Choupatty at 5.30 a.m. today and led by Mr. K. F. Nariman, President, Bombay Congress Committee, went first to Mani Bhavan, Gandhiji's residence, to receive his blessings.

Gandhiji addressed the processionists from a balcony. He said that they should finish their daily rounds before sunrise, singing selected songs of prayer and devotion to God and the Motherland. He said no objectionable songs, inconsistent with the Congress creed, should be sung.

*The Hindu*, 10-6-1931

## 449. NOTES

### Who Can Be Congress Office Holder?

A Sindhi correspondent asks:

1. Whether a man dealing in foreign cigarettes and tobacco can be a president of the Congress Committee?
2. Whether persons dealing in foreign cloth can be vice-president and treasurer of the Congress Committee?
3. Whether a person connected with foreign-cloth dealers can be secretary of the Congress Committee?

These are bad questions. If the correspondent had said whether such and such a person *should* be, I could have given my opinion for what it might be worth. But when he asks whether a particular type of person can be officer it betrays ignorance of the democratic character of the constitution of the Congress. Even a drunkard and a rake can become president of a Congress Committee or a secretary if his constituents elect him to that office. But one may assume that so long as the constituents are sober and pure, they will not elect a drunkard or a rake. Similarly if they are believers in out-and-out swadeshi only, they will not elect anyone who deals in foreign cloth or such foreign goods as are now manufactured in India. And so far as things injurious to the nation are concerned, as for instance intoxicating drinks and drugs, Congressmen will make no distinction between foreign and swadeshi goods.



CWMG - XLVI

All injurious things must be regarded as taboo whether they are foreign or home-made.

### Coarse Mill Cloth as Khadi

Complaints are being received from several quarters, Madras, Bengal and Bombay Presidencies and elsewhere that coarse mill-cloth is being sold as khadi and that though since the understanding with the Congress, khadi labels are not used by mill-owners, in their invoices and otherwise, coarse cloth is shown as khadi. If the information is correct, it is clearly a breach of the agreement with the Congress. Mills ought to be satisfied with the profits they are making by reason of the Congress campaign, but if they will greedily and unlawfully appropriate the name 'khadi' somehow or other and at some stage or other for their wares, they will be following the example of the miser who, in the attempt to get a cocoanut free of charge, lost his life.

### Swaraj Bhavan Hospital

Sjt. Mohanlal Nehru writes:[1]

This is apart from the collections in Nainital which will appear in this column in due course.

*Young India*, 11-6-1931

## *450. MY FAITH*

A Bengali correspondent who gives his name and address even for publication if necessary has written a long letter which I condense as follows:

> Much has been said about Bhagat Singh and his comrades, yet even now I find great difficulty in appreciating the wisdom of passing the resolution at the Karachi Congress.
>
> I am afraid it will not be possible for me to explain to you properly the different peculiar and surreptitious ways in which your remarks about Bhagat Singh and the Karachi Resolution extolling him are being exploited here by some interested politicians to serve their own purpose and undermine your influence.
>
> 1. They accuse you for the niggardly way in which the resolution had been worded by you. These people are trying to impress upon the minds of the young men that you really

[1] The letter, containing a list of donors, is not reproduced here. For the appeal, *vide* pp. 144-5.

had no sincere sympathy for those unfortunate men and that you gave your support to the resolution and expressed your admiration for Bhagat Singh and his comrades only being prevailed upon by the Navajuvanwallas, whose strong agitation you could not resist, and you wanted to placate Pandit Jawaharlal.

2. They question your integrity and sincerity and try to belittle you (and your cause) by surreptitiously propagating an idea in Bengal that while you gave your active support to the resolution about Bhagat Singh at Karachi you severely criticized the late Deshbandhu Das for his responsibility in carrying out an exactly similar resolution at Faridpur Conference praising Gopinath Saha[1] who lost his life on the gallows under exactly similar circumstances; and in this they say you are not immune from provincial bias. They are taking every opportunity to undermine your influence in Bengal by appealing to the sentiment of local patriotism. They say that many Bengal youths sacrificed their lives even within this very year for the same cause for which Bhagat Singh and his comrades died. Among those who thus died in Bengal there were Benoy Bose and his comrade, there were the Chittagong raiders—the twenty-one lads, who died fighting bravely against the British troops on the Jalallabad Hills whose deeds were much more courageous and romantic than you would imagine, but how strange—you did not find romance there: not a word of sympathy passed from your lips! The insidious appeal made to their sentiment of local patriotism easily estranges them from you and your path of non-violence.

I have already expressed my doubts as to the propriety of my having drafted and sponsored the Bhagat Singh resolution not because it was wrong in principle but for the misinterpretation it has lent itself to. But the reader must know that it was neither the fear of the Navajuvans nor my love for Pandit Jawaharlal that prompted me to initiate the resolution. Not that I should be ashamed of yielding to Navajuvans or placating Jawaharlal. I should be foolish if I did not yield to Navajuvans, if yielding advanced the interest of the country and involved no sacrifice of principle. And I should go a very long way to please Jawaharlal and retain his affection which I have the privilege of possessing in abundance. But there was no prompting required in this case. I had interested myself in the movement for the commutation of the

[1] *Vide* Vol. XXIV, pp. 231-2.

CWMG - XLVI

death sentence on Bhagat Singh and his comrades. I had put my whole being into the task. I had therefore to study the life of the principal actor in the tragedy. I had to come in contact with his devoted father and those who were attached to Bhagat Singh not for his deed but for his character. I was thus drawn to the resolution in the natural course. I am too sensitive not to be moved by circumstances demanding sympathy.

Therefore had I found myself impelled to interest myself in any of the Bengali youths and had fancied myself in possession of influence which I could exercise in their behalf, I should have with equal zest plunged myself into their case. I regard myself as incapable of having any provincial bias. Bengal is as dear to me as the Punjab. And I owe a special debt to Bengal for the inspiration it gave me in my youth. It is true that Deshbandhu and I differed as to the emphasis in the matter of Gopinath Saha resolution.

I do not know that my resolution[1] on Gopinath Saha differed in substance from the Karachi Resolution. But the reader should know that whatever our differences, Deshbandhu and I always remained friends. Indeed towards the end of his all too short life, we came much nearer each other even in our ideals and methods of working towards them.

I should therefore be sorry to discover that there was any secret propaganda against me in Bengal. I have many precious co-workers in Bengal. I want the number to grow. I know the value of the co-operation of the youth of Bengal. I need it for their sakes, for the sake of the country they love so well, but sometimes, alas, blindly. They must not by their unwarranted prejudice deny themselves the service of a true friend. If I have any influence over the youth of the country, it is a treasure I want to use for gaining the freedom of the motherland. I am therefore glad that my correspondent has given me the opportunity of stating my position. But whether I retain my hold on the youth of Bengal or any other province or I do not, I must proclaim my creed from the house-top. Freedom of India's starving millions is attainable only through Truth and Ahimsa.

*Young India*, 11-6-1931

[1] *Vide* Vol. XXIV, p. 268.

## 451. A CORRECTION

My attention has been drawn to an unfortunate error that crept into my advice to the *kisans* of U.P.[1] in *Young India* 28th May last, p. 127, line 53. The line reads "as a general rule less than 8 annas or 4 annas as the case may be". It should read "12 annas" instead of "4 annas". I am sorry for the slip. I hope however no one was misled by the slip. The preceding lines left no room for doubt.

*Young India*, 11-6-1931

## 452. VIRUS OF UNTOUCHABILITY

All lovers of Hinduism will read the following with painful interest:[2]

Sjt. Subanagounder deserves warm congratulations for his bravery and pertinacity. The only advice I can give him is that he should take all risks in protecting the untouchables of his village and yet bear no ill-will to the villagers. He will find in the end that the villagers will cease to worry him. They will at first mistake his goodness for weakness and then perceive the strength lying behind his goodness. For they will soon find their mistake when they see that whilst he is gentle and forbearing towards them he is firm like a rock in his action in protecting the untouchables. As time passes, the villagers will forfeit all sympathy and Sjt. Subanagounder will gain the active sympathy and help of the public. The only condition is that he must be prepared to sacrifice everything, suffer even his fields to lie fallow if the sinful boycott by the villagers succeeds in scaring labour away from him. It is some consolation that he has four friends who stand by him. But he should be prepared to carry out his resolution, even if he loses these friends. For I am sure that he will lose only to gain. God sometimes does try to the uttermost those whom He wishes to bless.

*Young India*, 11-6-1931

[1] *Vide* pp. 200-3.

[2] This letter is not reproduced here. It described how K. K. Subanagounder of Coimbatore District was excommunicated and harassed for having allowed two untouchables to take water from his well.

## 453. MEANING OF GRINDING POVERTY

The Deshseva Mandal of Sind has published a little pamphlet on the economic condition of the Bhils of Sind. It consists of two articles written by Sjt. Jairamdas Doulatram after a careful study on the spot of the condition of the Bhils living in Tharparker district of Sind. The tract is a desert. "The profession of agriculture in the desert", writes Sjt. Jairamdas, "is nothing but a stupendous struggle against nature." "The average net yield of cultivation in that tract is not more than Rs. 5 per acre. It is not every year that he (the cultivator) cultivates the whole area." "With a sandy soil, low rainfall, locust pest, and cheaply priced crops, the *khatedar*[1] can rarely keep his head above water." "I have come across all types of Bhils, those, very few ones, who are for the time being out of debt, those who are in permanent debt and live a semi-starved life and lastly those who are living in hopeless pauperism. I cannot do better than give to the reader a few hard facts about specific villages."[2]

These men should for years have revenue-free land. It is for people such as these that I pleaded for free salt and I know that at the end of our discussions, it became a matter of pleasure for Lord Irwin to make the concession regarding salt. And I hope that the workers throughout the land will bring the message of free salt to the semi-starved villagers and discover all the salt areas which though not good enough for mass production are good enough for village use. It is to these people that the charkha brings hope and happiness. Village economics is different from industrial economics. Human economics is not the same as that of exploitation of mere dead matter.

*Young India*, 11-6-1931

## 454. AGRARIAN SITUATION IN ASSAM

Assam is in the grip of dire economic distress. From everywhere, from North Lakhimpur and Sibsagar, from Darrang and Nowgong, from Goalpara and Kamrup, come the tales of misery and woe of the ryots for this scarcity. Hundreds of people, generally immigrants from Mymensingh,

[1] Land-holder

[2] The extract in question is not reproduced here.

. . . have been flocking to the towns of Goalpara and Dhubri for begging, with nothing to cover their loins excepting half-tattered pieces. . . .

In Goalpara and Sibsagar, Nowgong and North Lakhimpur there has been repeated failure of crops owing to the annual visitation of floods for some years past. An earthquake also came in as another visitation in July last. . . .

Affected by this economic depression, from everywhere comes the cry for remission of land revenue. . . .

It seems that the Government has not yet been able to shake off the Civil Disobedience complex from their minds. . . . They have taken their inability to pay land revenue to mean their unwillingness to do it and are seeking to test it till the last day of *kist* by all sorts of indirect pressure. . . .

The foregoing report[1] has been received from the Assam Provincial Congress Committee. If the report is accurate, and there is no reason to doubt its accuracy, it is a clear case for remission.

*Young India*, 11-6-1931

## *455. UNDER SWARAJ*

A Brahmin correspondent from Madras writes[2]:

During his tour Sjt. Sen Gupta said that Swaraj Government would pass legislation to crush Brahmins and also referred to resolutions of the Karachi Congress. On account of that the Brahmin minority has begun to be highly restless and it has also created a sense of fear in the minds of the orthodox Hindus. Therefore please let me know what exactly you and the Congress mean by

1. The words of the resolution dealing with untouchability.
2. What exactly you and the Congress mean by saying therein that under the Swaraj Government the Government will observe religious neutrality. . . .

I do not believe Sjt. Sen Gupta said that Swaraj Government would "crush the Brahmins". The Congress resolution is clear. The correspondent is unnecessarily nervous about the future which lies as much in his hands as in Sjt. Sen Gupta's or mine. Let it also be remembered that the Congress resolution is not yet a part of the constitution. When it is, its interpretation will not rest with me or any single individual. It will rest with the courts duly established by law.

[1] Of which only excerpts are reproduced above
[2] Only extracts are reproduced here.

CWMG - XLVI

But I gladly give my opinion as to what is likely to be the interpretation of the Congress resolution on religious neutrality and untouchability. It is bound to be a part of any future constitution as there is no difference of opinion on it. Indeed, even the correspondent seems to concede as much as the Congress wants. Religious neutrality means that the State will have no State religion nor a system of favouritism. There will be no untouchability. The 'untouchables' will have the same rights as any other. But a Brahmin will not be *made* to touch anybody. He will be free to make himself untouchable and have his own well, his own temple, his own school and whatever else he can afford, so long as he uses these things without being a nuisance to his neighbours. But he will not be able, as some do now, to punish untouchables for daring to walk on public streets or using public wells. There will be under swaraj no such scandal as that of the use of public temples being denied to untouchables when it is allowed to all other Hindus. The authority of the Vedas and the other Shastras will not be denied but their interpretation will not rest with individuals but will depend upon the courts of law in so far as these religious books will be used to regulate public conduct. Conscientious scruples will be respected, but not at the expense of public morals or the rights of others. Those who will have extraordinary scruples will have themselves to suffer inconvenience and pay for the luxury. The law will not tolerate any arrogation of superiority by any person or class whether in the name of custom or religion. But all this is my dream. I am not the Congress. Those who would have the Congress to do otherwise had better make haste to join it and make others of their opinion join it. The Congress represents, or it has a constitution wide enough to represent popular will.

*Young India*, 11-6-1931

## *456. SPEECH AT DESHA SEVIKAS' MEETING, BOMBAY*

*June 11, 1931*

Gandhiji, early this morning, addressed the Desh Sevikas for a few minutes, asking them to carry on picketing peacefully. Only habitual wearers of khaddar should have the privilege of picketing. If the audience had any stock of foreign cloth, they must consign them to the flames. If they had mill-cloth, they must give them to the poor and the needy. The object of khaddar was to help the starving peasants and workers who would obtain the full benefit of their labour if khadi was encouraged, while in the case of mill-cloth, they

would receive only one anna in the rupee. To help the humanitarian cause, they must wear khaddar.

*The Hindu*, 11-6-1931

## *457. SPEECH AT BOMBAY*[1]

*June 11, 1931*

I must first apologize to you for having called you at this early time. The Hindustani Seva Dal stands for the service of India. Till now whenever I heard the term 'Servant of India' it used to rouse great fear in my heart, because the rulers of India style themselves as 'Servants of India'. These so-called 'Servants of India' can never in reality be what they call themselves. They are the servants of the British Empire and it is an impossibility to serve the British Empire and at the same time serve India. I can assure you, you can do no service to India if you try to follow the workings of these so-called 'Servants of India'. You have to develop a desire for real service which these people totally lack. If on acquiring power you begin to cruelly enforce your authority on the people how is it possible to serve the people ?

It is because we lack this feeling of real service that a great deal of rivalry and dissatisfaction has spread among ourselves. It has pained me very much to hear that out of a desire to attain high positions in the various Congress bodies people have been spending money, thus creating an atmosphere of unhealthy competition. The real worker is he who carries on the work with a steady mind in spite of his being in the furthermost rank. The perfection of real service does not solely depend on the magnitude of the task done but rests a great deal on the humble spirit in which it is undertaken. Those misguided people to whom I have referred desire by force, it seems, to serve their country. But it assuredly shows a most undesirable state of mind. One can never prosper or be capable of doing any good to anybody if one adopts questionable means to attain that end.

It is decidedly wrong on my part to think that I shall be able to serve India better if I become King of India. This was exactly the state of affairs at one time in the political life of France and people used to employ the most cruel and drastic means to remove

[1] To the campers of the Officer's Training Camp of the Hindustani Seva Dal who met Gandhiji at Mani Bhavan where Gandhiji used to stay while in Bombay.

their opponents from the political field. But the workers of the Hindustani Seva Dal should work with Peace and Truth as their foundation.

They must also cultivate to the greatest extent a sense of humility nor must they ever relax their efforts or let the quality of the work be in the least affected by feeling that there is not proper appreciation. They should deal with their fellow beings in a spirit of fair tolerance and maintain a respectful reverence for their mothers and sisters. I know this perfect combination of humility—Truth, Love and Peace—is very rare in this world, but you must all strive to attain to it. Remember there will be no soldiers left to fight if everybody becomes a commander to give orders. I sincerely hope that you will try and live up to this ideal that I have portrayed for you at this most precious time of the day and I can confidently say that if you sincerely make an effort and keep the memory of this morning always in your mind you will be doing the best service both to yourself and to your motherland.

*The Bombay Chronicle*, 12-6-1931

## *458. LETTER TO JAMNADAS GANDHI*

BORSAD,
*June 12, 1931*

CHI. JAMNADAS,

You are a strange man. After having spent days with me here, you go back and write from there a letter about an important matter. It raises several questions. Should I answer them by post, or call you back here? When I wanted to know why you thought of coming as far as Bombay, you could give no answer and hurriedly went back, and now you write to me a letter from there asking for Rs. 5,000. This is now my advice to you. Write to Kakasaheb and convince him about the propriety of your request. If you do this, my task will be easier. Have Manu and Babi reached there?

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 9324. Courtesy: Jamnadas Gandhi

## 459. INTERVIEW TO EUROPEAN DEPUTATION

*June 12, 1931*

Gandhiji received a deputation of young Europeans, about 30 in number including four ladies. Gandhiji, at the request of the deputation, explained the attitude of the Congress towards Englishmen and other Europeans in India.

Gandhiji said that the Congress attitude was not one of hostility to them, but of active friendship. He recalled to them how the Congress was started by an Englishman, Mr. Hume, and was presided over by even members of Parliament. He wanted them to study the object and history of the Congress, which never meant any harm to any community or interests. If they sympathized with the Congress it was their duty to join it. In India it was but natural that Indians should have full rights to rule as Englishmen had in their own country. It was not reasonable for Englishmen to ask for safeguards and trading rights of a special character on which they were insisting. Perpetuation of these privileges, which they had carved in their 150 years of rule in India, would amount to friendship on unequal terms. The Congress was not merely not hostile to Englishmen, but welcome their association, assistance and co-operation and their organizing capacity. Co-operation of such a kind did not mean co-operation on unequal terms. The deputation waited on Gandhiji for about 15 minutes.

*The Hindu*, 12-6-1931

## 460. SPEECH AT MAROLI[1]

*June 12, 1931*

Mahatma Gandhi laid the foundation of the building of a Weaving School, started by Miss Mithubehn Petit. Addressing a big public meeting, he said that if he had been told ten years ago that Miss Mithubehn Petit, who belonged to a celebrated Parsi family of Bombay, would roam day and night in the villages barefooted and dressed in coarse khaddar, regardless of the heat and cold, to work among the poor people and teach their children spinning, weaving and other industries, he (Mr. Gandhi) would not have believed it. Although he had appreciated the work of Parsis, even when the campaign of prohibition was launched, he had thought that prohibition alone would not succeed without propagation of khaddar. The closing of liquor shops was not the principal

[1] A small village about 12 miles from Surat in Gujarat

thing. If drunkards did not give up the habit of drink, they would prepare illicit liquor and there would be illicit sale of liquor as at present. Drunkards would not give up drink till they were taught some industry. Workers working in big factories required something to be relieved of the fatigue. The speaker, who had never tasted liquor, had affectionately given liquor to the exhausted in South Africa. The Kolis, who were with him, demanded liquor, and the speaker brought liquor from a canteen-keeper and gave it to them. Men who were made to work like beasts would require liquor, but those working in a peaceful atmosphere in their homes could easily give up drink.

If rural industries like spinning, weaving, dairying, shoe-making, etc., were revived, rural areas would become richer. They did not want to be rich like the millionaires of the Bombay Stock Exchange but they should get rid of their debts. There would be a few silver coins in their cash boxes. Instead of borrowing money from *sowcars*, they should deposit their savings with *sowcars*. They would have then houses of their own, and the number of their cattle would increase. Such a process was going on in the area, and it should go on in the seven lakhs of villages in India. This was the work of swaraj. Last year, they had done the work of cleansing the field. Now they had to do the work of sowing. That was constructive work. The sowing work was of greater importance and had to be done for a longer time.

*The Hindu*, 12-6-1931

## *461. TELEGRAM TO MAHENDRA PRASAD*

BORSAD,
*June 13, 1931*

MAHENDRA PRASAD[1]
CHAPRA

RAJENDRA BABU WAS MUCH BETTER WHEN I LEFT HIM.[2] HE WILL BE JOINING ME IN FEW DAYS TIME. RECEIVING BEST ATTENTION. WILL NOT LET HIM MOVE TILL HE IS STRONG AND HAD REST. WEATHER HERE QUITE GOOD AT THIS TIME YEAR.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 17271

[1] Elder brother of Rajendra Prasad

[2] Rajendra Prasad was ill and could not participate in the meeting of the Working Committee held at Bombay on 9th and 10th June.

CWMG - XLVI

## 462. LETTER TO DUNICHAND

*June 13, 1931*

DEAR LALA DUNICHAND,

Suraj Bhanji writes to say that you are not paying even the money they have expended. I hope this is not correct. I think that the expenses incurred should be paid. If you have suggestions for the future please let me know.

*Yours sincerely,*

From a photostat: G.N. 5581

## 463. LETTER TO EMELIA MACBEAN

AS AT SABARMATI,
*June 13, 1931*

DEAR MADAM,

I have your letter for which I thank you. You are giving me credit of which I am wholly undeserving. You are thinking of another Mr. Gandhi[1] my name-sake but in no way related to me. He and I were however friends and lived together for some time. You will be sorry to hear that he died many years ago, leaving an only son. It was he who visited America and made many friends. I have never had the privilege of visiting your continent.

*Yours sincerely,*

Miss EMELIA MACBEAN
C/O MRS. MACBEAN
PRAIRIE AVENUE
CHICAGO (U.S.A.)

From a photostat: S.N. 17272

[1] Virchand Gandhi



CWMG - XLVI

## *464. LETTER TO SURENDRA SINGH*

AS AT SABARMATI,
*June 13, 1931*

DEAR SARDAR SURENDRA SINGH,

I have your letter for which I thank you. I am doing all I can and in the manner I know to spread the gospel of love all round but it makes very slow progress in the midst of growing hate and distrust between Hindus and Mussalmans. As to your solution of the communal question my observation is that the parties concerned want a solution for all the provinces or none at all. I agree with you that it would be a great advance if some provinces at least found out their own solution.

*Yours sincerely,*

SARDAR SURENDRA SINGH
DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
PUNJAB GOVERNMENT
SIMLA EAST

From a photostat: S.N. 17273

## *465. LETTER TO SECRETARY, CENTRAL SIKH LEAGUE, AMRITSAR*

AS AT SABARMATI,
*June 13, 1931*

THE SECRETARY
CENTRAL SIKH LEAGUE
AMRITSAR

DEAR SIR,

I have your letter forwarded to me in my capacity as editor of *Young India*. So far as the recommendations about the flag are concerned I would advise you to send them to the Secretary of the Flag Committee appointed by the Working Committee of the Congress. The convener and the Secretary of the Flag Committee is Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Masulipatam, S. India.

*Yours sincerely,*

From a microfilm: S.N. 17274

## 466. LETTER TO DR. M. A. ANSARI

BORSAD,
*June 13, 1931*

DEAR DR. ANSARI,

I forgot and I had not the time to talk to you about the local quarrels in Delhi. A letter from Mrs. Asaf Ali reminds me that the quarrels are not yet over and that they have extended to the ladies also.[1] Can you not put these quarrels down?

I hope you found your brother better. I wonder what Dr. Rehman was able to do.

DR. M. A. ANSARI
1 DARYAGANJ, DELHI

From a photostat: S.N. 17275

## 467. LETTER TO SHAMLAL

BORSAD,
*June 13, 1931*

DEAR LALA SHAMLAL,

I have your letter.[2] I am glad you have written to me, and I want you to keep me informed of the doings in Rohtak. But I shall not be able to help you at this stage. The persecution will have to be too glaring to enable me to bring it under the Truce terms but where it is subtle as it appears to be in Rohtak, you must be re-

[1] Mrs. Asaf Ali had written: "Members of the Delhi Mahila Seva Dal are being vilified by Congressmen. I resign and retire as the atmosphere is too dirty for any self-respecting woman to continue to work."

[2] It stated: ". . . In each police station there is one Congress worker. We have enrolled about 2,500 members and established 125 Congress Committees in the district. This has upset the authorities and repression has been started in the district. Our treasurer, who . . . comparatively harmless, . . . was not even imprisoned in Civil Disobedience days, is now being prosecuted. . . . Two other workers have been arrested. . . . Authorities want to stop the normal activities of the Congress. In the Rohtak District the section takes special care that violent speeches are not made, but Rohtak alone has been selected for repression because there is organized Congress work in the district."

sourceful enough to combat it. Of course you are entitled to take the fullest advantage of ability to put up a defence in law-courts.

*Yours sincerely,*

LALA SHAMLAL
ADVOCATE
9 DAYAL SINGH BUILDINGS
UPPER MALL, LAHORE

From a microfilm: S.N. 17276

## *468. LETTER TO DR. B. C. ROY*

BORSAD,
*June 13, 1931*

DEAR DR. BIDHAN,

I have your letter[1] for which I thank you. Your poetic description of Shillong makes me envy you.

You must have seen from the papers what has been done about the unfortunate quarrels in Bengal. You may depend upon my doing everything possible to assist in ridding the Bengal atmosphere of poison.

When you see them please remember me to Basanti Devi, Mona, Baby and Sujata. Tell them I often think of them though I never write to them.

*Yours sincerely,*

DR. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY
SHILLONG

From a microfilm: S.N. 17277

[1] Which endorsed Gandhiji's proposal to refer the Bengal quarrels to arbitration

CWMG XLVI

## *469. LETTER TO DR. B. S. MOONJE*

As at Sabarmati,
*June 13, 1931*

DEAR DR. MOONJE,

I thank you for your letter of 6th June. Even if I succeed in going to London, at present I have no intention of taking experts with me. The scope of my work will be so limited as not to require much expert advice.

*Yours sincerely,*

Dr. B. S. Moonje
Firgrove
Simla

From a photostat: S.N. 17278

## *470. LETTER TO BHUPENDRA NARAYAN SEN*

Borsad,
*June 13, 1931*

MY DEAR BHUPEN,

I have your letter. I am glad you have written to me so frankly and freely. It is difficult for me to find the assistance that you need. I thought you had attached yourself to the Abhoy Ashram. In any case I would advise you to see Jamnalalji when he comes there which he expects to do next month.

You must make up for the lost weight. 30 lb. is a big drop.

*Yours sincerely,*

Syt. Bhupendra Narayan Sen
P.O. Baradougole
Dt. Hooghly (Bengal)

From a microfilm: S.N. 17279

CWMG - XLVI

## 471. LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON

BORSAD,
*June 13, 1931*

DEAR MR. EMERSON,

You must have seen from the papers that Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan has been with me for some time. During the few moments that I could spare for him from day to day, I carried on my conversations with him and he has left on me the impression that he is a truthful and out and out believer in non-violence. He has no connection with the Amanullah movement. His work is solely concentrated upon the Khudai Khidmatgar movement. This movement consists in enlisting men for service. The following pledge is administered to them: "I shall be truthful, I shall be chaste, I shall be non-violent and not quarrel with my neighbours. I shall not covet my neighbours' property. I shall be prepared to suffer even unto death for the freedom of the country." Those who take the pledge and enlist themselves as Khudai Khidmatgars are expected to attend a weekly roll call in their respective villages. He is most emphatic in his declaration that there has been on the part of himself and his followers no breach of the Settlement and he says that he has everywhere preached to the people the necessity for carrying out its terms in so far as they are applicable to the people. But he says there are several breaches of the Settlement on the part of the officials and he relates the following:

(a) Many civil disobedience prisoners are not yet discharged in the Frontier Province including the Agency areas.

(b) He says that the people are being molested on the slightest pretext. The soldiers as they pass the villagers' houses cry "Islam Murdabad", "Gandhi Murdabad", "Ghaffar Khan Murdabad", and he adds that he has prohibited among his followers all objectionable cries.

Khan Saheb admits that he did not visit the Commissioner and he says he refrained because he saw no change in the attitude of local officials and if he went, he was afraid of his being misrepresented. He is quite prepared to see you or His Excellency the Viceroy provided I accompany him. I do feel that you should make his acquaintance, and if you think it worth while I shall gladly visit Simla solely for the purpose of introducing him to

you. I think that the Settlement presumes mutual trust and it will therefore perhaps be wise on the part of the Government to know Khan Saheb personally and then test his assurances. Pending reply to this letter I have detained Khan Saheb. As he has been long enough with me and as I do not want to detain him longer than is absolutely necessary, I would ask you please to send me a telegraphic reply. I should add that Khan Saheb is most insistent on my visiting the Frontier Province and seeing things for myself, making the acquaintance of the numerous Khudai Khidmatgars and studying his activity. I do feel that there should be no objection now to my visiting the Frontier Province.[1]

*Yours sincerely*,

H. W. EMERSON, ESQ.
SIMLA

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-B, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

## *472. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM*

BORSAD,
*June 14, 1931*

DEAR AMTUL,

Your letter. You must not brood over your weakness or the fact that you have to receive service from the Ashram. Everyone knows that you are eager to serve. If you will have patience God will give you the necessary strength for service. You must not worry.

*Yours*,
BAPU

[PS.]
Let Gangabehn treat you.

From a photostat: G.N. 241

[1] Emerson replied on July 6 that such a "visit would be likely to cause considerable excitement and to add to the difficulties of the local administration . . ." *Vide* also footnote to "Letter to H. W. Emerson", 17-6-1931.

## 473. LETTER TO M. I. DAVID

AS AT SABARMATI,
*June 14, 1931*

DEAR MR. DAVID,

I have now thought out a formula and here it is:

To provide a common platform for those Europeans and Indians who stand for the speedy creation of a system of Government which will enable India to take her rightful place among the free nations of the world.

The phrase "among the free nations of the world" takes the place of "as a fellow member of the British Commonwealth of free nations" in the original. You will see that this formula does not exclude British connection in the shape of equal partnership at will. Nor does it necessarily include it. I do not say much of the other two formulae.

*Yours sincerely,*

M. I. DAVID, ESQ.
4 QUEENS ROAD
FORT, BOMBAY

From a photostat: S.N. 17280

## 474. LETTER TO HAREKRUSHNA MAHTAB

AS AT SABARMATI,
*June 14, 1931*

MY DEAR MAHTAB BABU,

I have your letter[1] for which there was no occasion for apology. You have an ambitious programme. But with faith and application there is no reason why you should not go through it.

I am glad that Matibas and Pur Bai are with you. It is a good thing to start an institution with little or nothing. Faith is the greatest asset. I need not worry about reading your budget

[1] The addressee had said that the rules of the Gandhi Karma Mandir of Balasore were rather hard, and had submitted simplified rules.

as Jamnalalji fully represents my views and his judgment in such matters is correct and helpful.

*Yours sincerely,*

SHRI HAREKRUSHNA MAHTAB
GANDHI KARMA MANDIR
BALASORE (ORISSA)

From a microfilm: S.N. 17281

## *475. LETTER TO P. G. MATHEW*

BORSAD,
*June 14, 1931*

MY DEAR MATHEW,

How is it you funked it again. I had fully expected you at Bardoli. You could have passed a clear week with me. I do not mind your not coming if you are in love with your work. Give me an idea of your day's work.

SYT. MATHEW
THE ASHRAM
SABARMATI

From a microfilm: S.N. 17282

## *476. LETTER TO M. I. DAVID*

BORSAD,
*June 14, 1931*

DEAR MR. DAVID,

I dictated a letter last night. Mahadev had handed me another letter from you of 11th instant in which you ask me whether I approve of the suggestion contained in the letter in connection with the proposed non-official conciliation committee to be formed under the auspices of the Mayor of Bombay. I would like to make one suggestion. It would be better not to have a rigid rule fixing a proportion between the numbers of Indians and Europeans.[1] It would be better to adopt the natural method. It may be you will have more earnest Europeans than Indians to work on the

[1] The addressee had suggested that the conciliation committee "should consist of an equal number of Indians and Europeans".

CWMG-XLVI

Committee. In that event I should not hesitate to take more and *vice versa*.

*Yours sincerely*,

M. I. DAVID, ESQ.
4 QUEENS ROAD
FORT, BOMBAY

From a photostat: S.N. 17283

## 477. *LETTER TO JOHN KYTE COLLETT*

AS AT SABARMATI,
*June 14, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter enclosing some Children's League cards and medals. I am not in touch with the Salvation Army nor do I know anything of the Army's work amongst children. My work lies in a wholly different direction. You were therefore evidently misinformed if you thought that I was working in connection with the Salvation Army. I am therefore asking the Salvation Army people whether they would take these medals and cards from me. If they do not, you will please tell me what to do with the medals.

*Yours sincerely*,

JOHN KYTE COLLETT, ESQ.
PRESIDENT
THE CHILDREN'S LEAGUE OF PEACE AND GOODWILL
"SUNRISE", PENARTH

From a photostat: S.N. 17284

## 478. *LETTER TO SALVATION ARMY, BOMBAY*

BORSAD,
*June 14, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

I have a letter from Mr. John Collett which I enclose herewith. I send you also a copy of my letter to Mr. Collett.[1] Will you

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

CWMG - XLVI

please tell me whether you will care to receive the cards and the medals for the use mentioned in the letter?

*Yours sincerely,*

Encls. 2

THE OFFICER COMMANDING
THE BOMBAY BRANCH
SALVATION ARMY, BOMBAY

From a photostat: S.N. 17285

## *479. LETTER TO MRS. C. A. HATE*

AS AT SABARMATI,
*June 14, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. Some time when I am in Bombay you should try to see me. It is difficult to advise you in the matter of food just now. It is necessary to see you and cross-question you. Will you not see some naturopath in Bombay? Mr. Khambhatta of Hornby Road knows one and he has benefited by his treatment. His full address is Bairam Khambhatta, 275 Hornby Road, Fort Bombay.

It is difficult to say how many hours' sleep a particular individual requires, but I can safely say for you that you should take as much sleep as you comfortably can. And you should take daily walks in the morning and in the evening. Once only is not enough. If you have the strength, you should take really three or four hours' walk. You may divide it, if you like, in two or three periods.

You ask me what should be one's ideal in life. All the sages in the world have said—self-realization.

The rumour about the burning of my foot was quite wrong. It would have been more correct if the report had said I had very narrowly[1] escaped burning my foot.

*Yours sincerely,*

MRS. C. A. HATE
INDU BHUVAN
343 THAKURDWAR, BOMBAY

From a photostat: S.N. 17286

[1] The source has "nearly".

CWMG-XLVI

## *480. LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON*

BORSAD,
*June 14, 1931*

DEAR MR. EMERSON,

Your letter enclosing an unsigned opinion of the Legislative Department on the meaning of the word "return" in the Settlement came upon me as a bomb shell.[1] I was wholly unprepared for such an opinion. I had flattered myself with the belief that my knowledge of law had not become absolutely rusty. But the opinion of your legal department shook what little confidence I had yet in my legal knowledge. I therefore hastened to refer the matter to the best counsel available in Bombay at the present moment. I am sending you a copy of their opinion.[2] The first two signatories are ex-Advocates-General of Bombay and they are both today, as is also the third, distinguished practising lawyers. For the moment therefore my confidence is restored, but that can be of no avail to you. I can quite understand your not accepting the opinion of Bombay lawyers however eminent they may be, in the teeth of opinion from your legal department however contrary to common sense. I, therefore, suggest what I have suggested to the Government of Bombay. As the matter involved is one of principle for the Management of the Navajivan Press, I would repeat the suggestion I have made to the Government of Bombay that the Chief Justice of Bombay should be appointed sole arbitrator in the matter. The Managing Board is naturally anxious to end this controversy and also to avoid a continuing loss that the deprivation of the press causes to them. I hope therefore that the matter will be finished one way or the other without delay.

This impasse brings to me a matter of general importance. I am having, as I imagine, more trouble than I have told you from the Bombay Government in connection with the matters arising out of the Settlement. And there is trouble growing in the Madras Presidency over liquor picketing. Here is an extract

[1] The opinion was that the phrase "will be returned" would mean "possession will be restored" and that the Gandhi-Irwin Pact was silent on the question of the place of delivery.

[2] *Vide* Appendix X.

from Syt. Rajagopalachari whose instructions on this very point you had seen and which you so admired that you asked me to congratulate him:

> I had hitherto refrained from worrying you. The Government here are beginning to feel that peaceful picketing is not so harmless as they had imagined. They have discovered that it does stop drinking most effectively and as a result the revenue is threatened. They may hold renters to their contracts this year, but what about the next auction? They see that without any physical obstruction or coercion of any kind, picketing does keep people away from the shops.
>
> The renters too expected that like last year the Congress activities would soon be interfered with by the police and so they did not themselves do anything at first to interfere with the volunteers. But now they realize that the Truce has put an end to the old order of things. They are consequently in a fright. They have begun to make strong representations to Government demanding either police interference or writing off of dues. Both Government officials and renters are thus opening their eyes to the reality of the moral power of picketing and the implications of the Truce. Both Government officials and renters have, therefore, it seems, resolved on new tactics. There is almost by concerted action a number of cases cropping up everywhere of rowdyism to intimidate volunteers. Besides rowdyism, which might be expected, the renters whether instigated or encouraged by officials or not, I cannot yet say, are bringing up false charges through private complaints in order to get fines and imprisonments imposed on the workers and sympathizers and worry and tire out the Congress organizations. And magistrates, too, imagine that they should support the liquor-shop men. Further, even where they know the cases are false, they dare not expose themselves to the suspicion that they favour the Congress and do not support the revenue.
>
> Local police authorities have begun to harass and interfere with the picketing. Finding that there is no sort of coercion or disturbance of the peace, and that they cannot legitimately object to the picketing, they are trying other ways. They are making demonstrations of police force, pushing the volunteers away to impossible distances from the shops and from each other and demanding the observance of conditions that reduce picketing to an ineffectual farce. Local police authorities are permitted to terrorize town and village folk and proclaim that any assistance or harbouring of Congress volunteers would amount to abetment of offenders. In fact, the 1930 atmosphere is being sought to be brought about.
>
> I have conscientiously tried to put the best construction on all that Government officials are doing. But I am afraid I must confess failure. If you have time, please go through the enclosures.

CWMG - XLVI

You might be unable to interfere with the working or not working of the Settlement by local governments. Or your interference may not go far enough according to my view of the Settlement. Time has therefore perhaps arrived for the appointment of a permanent Board of Arbitration to decide question of interpretation of the Settlement and as to the full carrying out of the terms by the one party or the other. I would therefore like you to consider this suggestion.

*Yours sincerely,*

Encl. 1

H. W. EMERSON, ESQ.
SIMLA

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-B, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

## *481. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI*

*June 14, 1931*

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

I have your letter. I understand your difficulties. God will protect you. Don't worry, and stay on there. You may come when you can. I have had to come to Borsad for some days. But you should write to me at the Bardoli address, since I shall probably have returned there by the time I get your reply.

It is not at all certain whether I shall be going to England. Even if it is decided that I should go, I shall not have to leave before August 15.

What is your present diet?

How is Father's health now?

Rajendra Babu was ill for some time. He is better now. He will be here in a few days.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3414

CWMG-XLVI

## 482. *INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS*

BORSAD,
*June 14, 1931*

Interviewed by a representative of the Associated Press, Mahatma Gandhi said he had arrived at Borsad principally to console the people of Ras who were perturbed over the continuous destruction of their hedges and stray assaults committed by Dharalas. They suspected that Dharalas had been emboldened by the continuance as the village headman of a Dharala who is an ex-convict. Gandhiji had already asked for the cancellation of his appointment on two grounds in terms of the Delhi Settlement: one was that he was undesirable and the other was that his appointment was not permanent in the terms of the Delhi Settlement. He had also asked for protection of the non-Dharala population of Ras village. Both these matters were engaging the attention of the Collector of Kaira District. There were other matters, too, which required his personal attention. He thought he need not go into these matters at present. Asked how long he would stay at Borsad, Gandhiji said as soon as he had finished his work he had instructions from Sardar Vallabhbhai to go to Bardoli which he would do.

In reply to a question whether it was true, as stated by his son Mr. Devdas at last night's public meeting, that he intended shortly to visit the Frontier Province, Gandhiji said it was perfectly true that Abdul Ghaffar Khan was pressing him to visit that province. He was equally anxious to go there and see for himself how far the spirit of non-violence had prevailed among tribes inhabiting that province, but whilst the Truce lasted he did not want to do anything, as far as possible, that might embarrass Government. He was therefore in correspondence with Government on the matter. Asked how long Abdul Ghaffar Khan would stay with him, Gandhiji said he would stay pending the results of the correspondence between him and Government.

*The Bombay Chronicle*, 15-6-1931

CWMG - XLVI

## *483. CABLE TO H. S. L. POLAK*

BORSAD,
*June 15, 1931*

KALOPH
LONDON

WILL GLADLY SEE LANCASHIRE FRIENDS IMMEDIATELY ON ARRIVAL IF I COME AT ALL. MALAVIYAJI WILL COME IF INVITED.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 17291

## *484. TELEGRAM TO "THE STATESMAN", DELHI*

BORSAD,
*June 15, 1931*

STATESMAN
DELHI

YOUR WIRE. INDIAN AMBULANCE CORPS REACHED AFTER DUSK AND JUST AFTER BATTLE COLENSO IN WHICH LIEUTENANT ROBERTS WAS KILLED. BEFORE WE HAD PITCHED TENTS I RECEIVED ORDERS FROM COL. GALLWEY REMOVE CORPSE DECEASED SOLDIER AND I SENT SEVEN MEN. I RECEIVED PERSONAL THANKS FOR PROMPT ATTENTION ORDERS. THOUGH CORPS WAS TOLD THAT IT COULD ONLY SERVE OUTSIDE ZONE OF FIRE AFTER REVERSE AT SPION KOP GENERAL BULLER NEEDED OUR ASSISTANCE WITHIN ZONE OF FIRE. LED BY MAJOR BAPTY WE REMOVED SIXTY WOUNDED ON STRETCHERS FROM DANGER ZONE. THESE INCLUDED GENERAL WOODGATE AND MAJOR SCOTT MONCRIEF AND OTHER OFFICERS. NEXT TIME WE WERE WITHIN FIRE ZONE WAS AT VAAL KRANTZ. FOR THIS AND OTHER WORK I WAS MENTIONED IN GENERAL BULLER'S DISPATCH. CLEARLY COL. GALLWEY'S MEMORY BETRAYS HIM.[1]

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 17292

[1] *Vide* p. 386. Also Vol. III, pp. 260-6; and Vol. XXXIX pp. 280-3



CWMG - XLVI

## 485. LETTER TO MOHANLAL SAKSENA

BORSAD,
*June 15, 1931*

MY DEAR MOHANLAL,

I got your letter only today. I could not therefore discuss it with Jawaharlal.

In spite of what the D.C. says, I hold that my message[1] to the *kisans* is no breach of the Settlement.

It was never the intention that each *kisan*'s money should be separately deposited. If such was the suggestion, I have forgotten all about it. The object is that the *kisans* should not use up the money that might have been saved for payment of rent.

I did receive Balkrishna's wire. You will have noticed the correction[2]. It was a silly slip.

Just at present it is difficult for me to leave Gujarat. The things are looking none too bright here. On your side it is all well, so long as you hold the *kisans* in check. But Jawaharlal's presence must now ease the situation. He has no difficulty in dealing with the *kisans* and restraining them.

In any event please keep me informed of the happenings there.

*Yours sincerely,*
M. K. GANDHI

SYT. MOHANLAL SAKSENA
34 AMINUDDAULA PARK
LUCKNOW

From a photostat: S.N. 17289

[1] *Vide* pp. 200-3.
[2] *Vide* p. 360.

## 486. LETTER TO W. E. LUCAS

BORSAD,
*Via* ANAND,
*June 15, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

I was delighted to receive your letter and would gladly meet you all on 24th instant unless I am summoned to Simla.[1] I shall bring with me Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and one or two other friends. As I take no food at night I would like you to excuse me from joining you at the dinner table but the other friends may join you if you like. I would follow at the time to be named by you.

I appreciate your frankness. Of course I don't expect you to surrender your independence or coincide with my views. These contacts are desirable and valuable for understanding one another and removing misunderstandings.

*Yours sincerely,*
M. K. GANDHI

W. E. LUCAS, ESQ.
AGENT'S OFFICE, B.B. & C.I. RY. CO.
BOMBAY

From a photostat: S.N. 17290

## 487. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

BORSAD,
*Silence Day, June 15, 1931*

CHI. NARANDAS,

I have your letter. Shankarbhai has gone to Bombay. I have written to him and told him to bring Kamala[2] to me.

If the building in which I used to occupy a room is not being used, use it now, including Ba's room. The number of inmates has gone up very much, and will further increase a little.

[1] For Gandhiji's note on the meeting of the "Dinner Club", *vide* Vol. XLVII, "Young Europeans", 2-7-1931.

[2] Shankarlal's daughter

If you use the building, it will remain in good condition. I have discussed this with Ba. She has no objection. In fact she liked the suggestion. We are not likely in the immediate future to come and stay there. Why, then, should we let such a big building remain unoccupied?

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./I

## *488. INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS*

BORSAD,
*June 15, 1931*

Interviewed by a representative of the Associated Press regarding the controversy in respect of his services in the Boer War, Mahatma Gandhi said:

The Indian Ambulance Corps numbering over 1,100 reached Chieveley camp near Colenso after dusk just after the battle in which Lieutenant Roberts was killed. I received orders from Col. Gallwey that the deceased Lieutenant's body had to be immediately removed. We had then hardly pitched the tents.

I sent seven men, not "coolies", but educated men, who returned late at night and I received special thanks from Col. Gallwey for the prompt attention and was next day invited through Dr. Booth to meet him in his tent.

It is quite true that on this occasion there was no question of firing line, hostilities having been suspended for the collection of the wounded. It is also true that despite our desire to work under fire, we were told that we would not be allowed to do so but after the reverse at Spion Kop, the situation became grave.

General Buller came to my tent and said we would enter the firing zone in order to remove nearly 60 wounded from the foot of Spion Kop. My companions and I were delighted to have this privilege and led by Major Bapty, we crossed the pontoon, entered firing zone and removed the wounded including General Woodgate, Major Scott Moncrief and other officers and carried them on stretchers 25 miles.

We were again within the firing zone at Vaal Kantz soon after Kop. For these and general services I was mentioned in General Buller's dispatch and with over 20 leaders was recipient of a War Medal.

*The Bombay Chronicle*, 16-6-1931

## 489. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

BORSAD,
*June 16, 1931*

I have your long letter. You will see the use I have made of it from the copy herewith enclosed.[1]

I feel that all the questions now outstanding have got to be referred to some board of arbitration and, if the Central Government want to play the game, as I think they do, they would accept my suggestion for the appointment of such a board. There may be some modification as to the board, but the principle, I think, they will accept. Do you suggest anything more to be done in this direction? Till the final answer is received, you should not embark upon any heroic measure. But I agree with you that if we do not get anything whatsoever, we have a perfect right to take such measures as we like including local and specific civil disobedience in so far as it may be necessary to resist lawlessness on the part of unscrupulous officials.

I want you to study carefully the article[2] I have written for the forthcoming issue of *Young India* on the Working Committee resolution. I do not like it. At the same time from its own stand-point the Working Committee's position could be justified. The alternative I had suggested was much better. Some of those who voted with the majority, I think, even saw the point. But you will critically read the article and tell me what you think of my alternative, because that alternative has to be enforced in the event of failure of our demand at the Conference.

Why do you not see the Governor yourself and at any rate discuss the liquor picketing?

SYT. C. RAJAGOPALACHARI
GANDHI ASHRAM
TIRUCHENGODU (S. INDIA)

From a photostat: S.N. 17293

[1] *Vide* pp. 379-81.
[2] *Vide* Vol. XLVII, "Substance not Shadow", 18-6-1931.

## 490. TELEGRAM TO SITLA SAHAY

BORSAD,
*June 17, 1931*

SITLA SAHAY[1]
CARE CONGRESS
RAE BARELI

YOUR LETTER. WIRED YOU FROM BARDOLI.[2] CONSULT JAWAHAR

GANDHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 17306

## 491. LETTER TO DUNI CHAND

BORSAD,
*June 17, 1931*

DEAR LALA DUNI CHAND,

I now have your letter about Suraj Bhan. At Simla I understood that Lala Suraj Bhan had collected the money himself and that for doing village work. But if he is of unsound mind, naturally you will not give him any assistance. But I do feel that all the expenses incurred up to now should be paid and then he should be clearly told that he cannot get the money as this is not his property as it was neither collected by him alone nor for the purpose he claims. The whole of this is a sad business. Lala Suraj Bhan is your trusted man. I therefore feel the greatest hesitation in writing to you about him.

I am glad you have sent his wife to Jullundur. I do hope she will be happy there.

*Yours sincerely,*
M. K. GANDHI

LALA DUNI CHAND
ADVOCATE, AMBALA

From a photostat: G.N. 5589

[1] A khadi worker of U.P.

[2] The wire is not traceable. But in his letter of even date to the addressee Gandhiji's personal secretary said it was as follows: "where cultivators accept our conditions and are prepared to pay the rent but the zamindars are not prepared to accept it, the amount should be received by us and deposited into the bank." (S.N. 17307)

## 492. LETTER TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

BORSAD,
*June 17, 1931*

MY DEAR ANAND,

I hear all about you regularly through Mirabehn and occasionally through Jairamdas. I know that you are refraining from writing to me purely out of pity for me.

I should not consider father's letter disappointing. I think that he took up the correct position. But Jairamdas tells me that later he modified his view. I think that it is a sound rule for people who are well-to-do not to go to their friends living in public institutions except when they are ready to make a grant to those institutions at least equal to what their visit to such institutions might have cost them. It need not be done offensively and can be done gracefully. If father had simply come or sent your mother or your sister and asked them quietly to slip into your pocket a hundred-rupee note, it would have been still more correct.

You must not be or feel feeble either in body or in mind. Nothing has to be done beyond your resolute refusal to feel weak. There was no foot-burn to be healed. The whole thing was a creation of the reporters' imagination.

It is good for Vidya[1] to continue the diet of milk and fruit and even fruit alone if milk disagrees, till she has a real hunger and appetite for other food. But if she can go to Bombay for treatment under a nature-cure expert, it would, of course, be better.

You must not consider yourself ill-starred. Think of the many millions who have not the opportunities that God has provided for you. It is the height of ingratitude to the Maker for anyone to consider himself ill-starred. You must shake yourself free of this pessimism that overtakes you so often.

*Yours sincerely,*

SYT. ANAND T. HINGORANI
C/O THE "HINDOO"
HYDERABAD SIND

From a photostat: S.N. 17300

[1] Addressee's wife

## 493. LETTER TO A. Y. C. WULFSE

As at Sabarmati,
*June 17, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter.

I return the ring herewith.

I hope that you will succeed in your desire to create a work of art that will benefit mankind.

I hope also that you have regained your health.

I got the two portraits for which too I thank you.

*Yours sincerely,*

A. Y. C. Wulfse, Esq.
Amsterdam, Holland

From a photostat: S.N. 17301

## 494. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Borsad,
*June 17, 1931*

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

Sitla Sahay writes to me about impending repression in Rae Bareli through the taluqdars.

You must have seen the enclosed notice about the flag on the University building. I am receiving complaints from other places also. As soon as you have the time I would like you to go into all these things and then tell me what you think about it all. If the matters can wait till we meet at Surat for the Working Committee we must discuss them then or you should write to me earlier.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
Anand Bhawan, Allahabad

From a photostat: S.N. 17303

## 495. LETTER TO HARDEVI SHARMA

BORSAD,
*June 17, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter of the 15th instant. As to your first question I think you are entitled to and it is your duty to help the *kisans* in all legitimate ways open to men pledged to non-violence. What those particular ways should be can only be determined from time to time as circumstances arise. The general instructions you can glean from the pages of *Navajivan* and *Young India*. But I would advise you to confer with the Provincial Congress Committee members and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who is now in Allahabad.

With reference to your second question if Thakur Malkhan Singh was prosecuted he can be and should be defended.

*Yours sincerely,*

SYT. HARDEVI SHARMA
HATHRAS (U.P.)

From a microfilm: S.N. 17304

## 496. LETTER TO K. F. NARIMAN

BORSAD,
*June 17, 1931*

MY DEAR NARIMAN,

I have your letters about the Pathan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and his son. I shall begin working on them as soon as possible.

With reference to the National Flag Film I would like you to go into the regulations governing the censorship of films and enter first into correspondence with the Board of Censors and find their reason. Don't you think that this is the first step to take?

*Yours sincerely,*

SYT. K. F. NARIMAN
CONGRESS HOUSE, BOMBAY

From a photostat: S.N. 17305

## 497. LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON

BORSAD,
*June 17, 1931*

DEAR MR. EMERSON,

I thank you for your telegram[1] about Khan Saheb Abdul Ghaffar Khan. I have shown it to him.

I expect to hear from you in due course with reference to my desire to visit the Frontier Province.

*Yours sincerely,*

H. W. EMERSON, ESQ.
SIMLA

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-B, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

[1] This read: "Your letter of June thirteenth. Government of India appreciate the value of personal contact but consider suitable course is for Abdul Ghaffar Khan to get in touch with the Chief Commissioner of North West Frontier Province rather than to visit Simla."



CWMG - XLVI

## *ADDENDUM*

### *1. LETTER TO DHIRAJLAL R. MEHTA*

*April 24, 1931*

CHI. DHIRAJLAL,

I have your letter.

May you have a happy married life free from all impurities, and may you both be ever engrossed in service. Do come to meet me sometime.

I remember Jivanlalbhai quite well.

*Blessings from*
MOHANDAS

CHI. DHIRAJLAL RATILAL MEHTA
BHAGA'S TANK
BHAVNAGAR

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10849

CWMG - XLVI

# *APPENDICES*

## APPENDIX I

### *LETTER FROM J. H. GARRETT*[1]

AHMEDABAD,
*April 21, 1931*

I have received your letter of 20th instant regarding land revenue matters in the Kaira District.

2. I have already informed you in my letter of 13th April 1931 that I am inquiring into the matters referred to in our discussion and supplied to me with your letter of the same date.

3. The translation of the notice from the Mamlatdar of Borsad has already received my attention and necessary instructions have been issued to modify it where it conflicts with the terms of the Settlement.

The recovery or collection or charges for watchmen has already been waived although this goes beyond the terms of the Settlement.

As regards future action, you are aware that in case of default in payment Government has clearly reserved the right to use coercive measures where necessary. This of course includes the right to charge notice-fees and to impose one-fourth fine as well as to adopt the more severe measures of distraint and sale of movable property and forfeiture and sale of immovable property.

4. In the first paragraph of your letter you refer to the Congress as the intermediary between the Government and the people. This is not one of the matters agreed upon in the Settlement and I am unable to agree to the suggestion. The people are perfectly free and able to approach Government officers direct in any matter that affects them.

5. As regards the points mentioned in paragraphs 2, 3 and 4 of your letter my reply is as follows:

(i) Payment of land revenue by Ras and other villages.

The present position is that they are required to pay the current year's land revenue and all unauthorized arrears except those arrears which became unauthorized owing to the operation of A.O. XXIX. All fines, penalties and charges for watchmen are remitted.

The terms of the Settlement further lay down in paragraph 16(b) the conditions under which recovery will be suspended in cases where defaulters while willing to pay genuinely require time for the purpose. All officers will strictly conform to this clause.

[1] *Vide* p. 21.

(ii) Tagavi and balance of arrears (unauthorized arrears of land revenue).

These are matters which are receiving the attention of Collectors. It is not possible to make any general order on these points. All cases of hardship which are brought to the notice of the Collector by the persons affected will be duly considered.

(iii) Orders have already been issued not to recover charges for rakhas (watchmen) and notice fees.

As regards charges for attachment of movable property, the matter is under consideration.

*Young India*, 20-8-1931

## APPENDIX II

### *LETTER FROM R. M. MAXWELL*[1]

BOMBAY,
*April 24, 1931*

I am to acknowledge your letter of the 22nd April, enclosing copies of Mr. Garrett's letter of the 21st April to you and of your reply of the same date to him. As you have not enclosed a copy of your letter of the 20th to Mr. Garrett, to which his was a reply, it is difficult for His Excellency to appreciate the exact point of the misunderstanding which appears to have arisen. His Excellency does not imagine that you have ever claimed that the Congress is the intermediary between the Government and the people in the sense that the Government and the people can have no dealings with one another except through the Congress; and unless such a claim is asserted, he does not see that exception can be taken to the terms of Mr. Garrett's reply. In your letter of the 21st to him you appear to acknowledge the extent to which the Government have been prepared to recognize your own representative position, and His Excellency had hoped that the full discussion which he had with you on various problems affecting the observance of the Settlement would have enabled you to realize the sincerity of the Government in its dealings with yourself and those whom you represent. As you know His Excellency, on his part, recognizes the great influence for good which you are in a position to exercise in securing faithful observance of the spirit of the Settlement among your supporters and encouraging general acceptance of the terms to which you agreed and he feels sure that you, as he, will continue to exert yourself in the interests of that peaceful atmosphere which is so essential to the future work with which you will be associated.

If, however, you wish to claim for the Congress any status which is not implied in the treatment which you as its representative have already received

[1] *Vide* pp. 23-4 and pp. 43-4.

from this Government and the Government of India, His Excellency feels that the question raised is one which fundamentally affects the interpretation of the agreement which you entered into directly with the Government of India, and he regrets that he is unable to express any opinion on it. He can only say that neither Mr. Garrett nor the Bombay Government itself would have been justified in accepting any interpretation of the agreement which has not hitherto been understood, and he feels that your correct course would be to approach the Government of India yourself on the subject if you have not already done so.

With regard to the matters of detail mentioned in your letter, I am to say that his Excellency has recently discussed many of these points with you and that he will be very glad to go into them further. In the meanwhile it is only necessary to assure you once more that the Bombay Government have every intention of taking all action which can be shown to be in accordance with the terms of the Settlement, and that they will be ready to investigate any cases which you may specifically bring to their notice in which there is reason to suppose that any further action would be appropriate.

*Young India*, 20-8-1931

## APPENDIX III

### *LETTER FROM H. W. EMERSON*[1]

SIMLA,
*May 2, 1931*

I write to thank you for your letter of April 22nd and its enclosures and for the confidence you expressed that no effort will be spared to avoid a breakdown of the Settlement. I do not think there is imminent danger of this, but apart from any difficulties that may have occurred in Gujarat—about which we are consulting the Bombay Government—there are several matters in regard to which Government think a personal discussion with you will be of value. For instance, there are several features in the general situation, which call for improvement. Then there is the case of the North-West Frontier Province, about which you wired to me yesterday. So far as I know, you are mistaken in thinking that the agitation against Abdul Ghaffar Khan is inspired, for Government have been, and are, very anxious to avoid affairs in the North-West Frontier Province coming to a crisis, and the last thing they desire is to make out the situation to be worse than it is. The position, however, is far from satisfactory. You have also mentioned in your telegram the speech of His Excellency the Governor of the Punjab. The events and tendencies, of which he gave

[1] *Vide* p. 25.

illustrations, are not peculiar to his province. Incidentally I am trying to obtain details of the instances he mentioned. There is, therefore, plenty for us to talk about, and reluctant as I am to drag you up to Simla at this time of the year, I am sure that, if we have a heart to heart talk, we shall find the difficulties much less than they seem to be at a distance. I have not yet heard from Sir Malcolm Hailey, but I hope that it will be possible to make the two visits fit in. Subject to this, it would be convenient if you could come here about the 11th of May. I am not suggesting an earlier date, because you have probably made your plans for the next few days, we have to obtain certain material, and also by that date the question of procedure regarding the Round Table Conference will, I hope, reach a stage where it can be usefully discussed.

*Young India*, 20-8-1931

## APPENDIX IV

### *LETTER FROM SUKHDEV*[1]

MOST GRACIOUS MAHATMAJI,

Recent reports show that since the successful termination of your peace negotiations you have made several public appeals to the revolutionary workers to call off their movement at least for the present and to give you a last chance to try your non-violent cult. As a matter of fact, the calling off of any movement is neither an ideological nor a sentimental act. It is the consideration of the peculiar needs of different times that force the leaders to change their tactics.

Let us presume that at the time of peace parley, you did not overlook the fact even for a single moment, and did not make a secret of it, that this was not going to be the final settlement. I think all intelligent people would have understood quite easily that after the introduction of all the reforms you acquire it would not be thought that the final stage was reached. The Congress is bound by its Lahore Resolution to carry on the struggle relentlessly till the complete independence is achieved. In face of that Resolution, the peace and compromise is but a temporary truce which only means a little rest to organize better forces on a larger scale for the next struggle. The possibility of compromise and a truce can be imagined and justified in the light of the above consideration alone.

As regards the proper opportunity and the conditions on which any truce can be effected, it rests with the leaders of the movement to decide. In face of the Lahore Resolution you have thought it expedient to call off the active movement for the present, but nevertheless that Resolution stands. Similarly, as is evident from the very name—the Hindustan Socialist Republican Party—

[1] *Vide* pp. 29-31.

the revolutionaries stand for the establishment of the Socialist Republic which is not a half-way house. They are bound to carry on the struggle till their goal is achieved and their ideal is consummated. But they would be quite apt to change their tactics according to the changing circumstances and environments. Revolutionary struggle assumes different shapes at different times. It becomes sometimes open, sometimes hidden, sometimes purely agitational and sometimes a fierce life-and-death struggle. In the circumstances, there must be special factors, the consideration of which may prepare the revolutionaries to call off their movement. But no such definite idea has been advanced by you. Mere sentimental appeals do not and cannot count much in the revolutionary struggles.

Since your compromise you have called off your movement and consequently all of your prisoners have been released. But what about the revolutionary prisoners? Dozens of Ghadar party prisoners imprisoned since 1915 are still rotting in jails, in spite of having undergone the full terms of their imprisonments. Scores of martial law prisoners are still buried in these living tombs. And so are dozens of Babar Akali prisoners. Deogharh, Kakori, Machhua Bazaar and Lahore Conspiracy case prisoners are amongst those numerous still locked behind bars. More than half a dozen conspiracy trials are going on at Lahore, Delhi, Chittagong, Bombay, Calcutta and elsewhere. Dozens of revolutionaries are absconding and amongst them are many females. More than half a dozen prisoners are actually waiting for their executions. What about all of these people ? The three Lahore conspiracy case condemned prisoners, who have luckily come into prominence and who have acquired enormous public sympathy, do not form the bulk of the revolutionary party. Their fate is not the only consideration before the party. As a matter of fact their executions are expected to do greater good than the commutation of their sentences.

But in spite of all this, you are making public appeals asking them to call off their movement. Why should they do so? You have not mentioned any very definite thing. In these circumstances your appeals mean you are joining hands with the bureaucracy to crush that movement, and your appeals amount to preaching treachery, desertion and betrayal amongst them. If that were not the case, then the best thing for you would have been to approach some of the prominent revolutionaries and to talk over the whole thing with them. You ought to have tried to convince them to call off their movement. I do not think you also share the general conservative notion that the revolutionaries are devoid of reason, rejoicing in destruction and devastation. Let us inform you that in reality the case is quite the contrary. They always consider the pros and cons of every step they take and they fully realize the responsibility which they thus incur and they attach greater importance to the constructive phase of the revolutionary programme than to any other, though in the present circumstances they cannot but occupy themselves with the destructive part of their programme.

The present policy of the Government towards them is to deprive them of the sympathy and support of the masses which they have won in their movement, and then crush them. In isolation they can be easily hunted down. In face of that fact any sentimental appeal to cause demoralization amongst their ranks would be utterly unwise and counter-revolutionary. It would be rendering direct assistance to the Government to crush them.

Therefore we request you either to talk to some revolutionary leaders—they are so many in jails—and come to terms with them or to stop these appeals. Please for goodness sake pursue one of these two alternative courses and pursue it whole-heartedly. If you cannot help them, then please have mercy on them. Let them alone. They can better take care of themselves. They know that the hegemony of the revolutionary party in the future political struggle is assured. Masses are rallying round them and the day is not far off when they will be leading the masses under their banner towards their noble and lofty ideal—the Socialist Republic.

Or if you seriously mean to help them, then have a talk with them to understand their point of view, and discuss the problem in detail.

Hope you will kindly consider the above request and let your view be known publicly.

*Yours,*
ONE OF THE MANY

*Young India*, 23-4-1931

## APPENDIX V

### *LETTER FROM H. W. EMERSON*[1]

SIMLA,
*April 30, 1931*

MY DEAR MR. GANDHI,

You will remember that, when I last saw you in Bombay, I promised to write to His Excellency Sir Malcolm Hailey with the object of arranging for you to have an interview with him. I wrote to him the next day and have just received a letter from him. He has been unable to reply before, because he has been busy in studying the revenue and rent position. He feels that it is no use discussing the matter with you until he is fully informed of the facts and is clear in his own mind what relief is necessary. In other words, he wants to be quite sure that any assurance he may give you will cover the case. At present, reports from all districts have not come in; but Sir Malcolm Hailey hopes to be fully acquainted with the situation within a week and

[1] *Vide* pp. 110-1.

in a position to discuss it. I will let you know when I hear further from him.

2. I am sorry to see in the papers that you have not been fit, and I hope the reports were not true, or, if they were true, that you are now alright again.

*Yours sincerely,*
H. W. EMERSON

M. K. GANDHI, ESQ.
AHMEDABAD

Home Department, Political, File No. 33/XI & K.Ws 1931. Courtesy: National Archives of India

## APPENDIX VI

### *NOTE BY H. W. EMERSON ON INTERVIEW BETWEEN HIMSELF AND GANDHIJI*[1]

*Confidential*

I had prolonged discussions with Mr. Gandhi on the 13th, 14th, 15th and 16th of May on matters arising out of the Settlement, also incidentally on general questions.

2. The first subject of importance discussed was the situation in Gujarat. Particular matters raised were the followings:

(a) Mr. Gandhi said that in the Kaira District, and particularly in the Borsad Taluka, matters were on the whole proceeding very satisfactorily owing to the system of co-operation between himself and Mr. Perry, the Collector. He said that the people were paying land revenue as quickly as they could and that he was satisfying himself by personal enquiry into cases that they were paying as much as their circumstances would permit. He was worried about the question of unauthorized arrears. He said that it was common ground that those who could pay the current demand and arrears should pay; but there would be undoubtedly numerous cases in which revenue payers were able to pay the current ones, but would not be able to pay arrears; that what he would like was a declaration of announcement from the local Government of a general character that in such cases the arrears would be automatically suspended. He argued that when the arrears of those who had not joined the Civil Disobedience Movement had been suspended and so had become authorized arrears, there was a stronger reason for suspending the arrears of those who had suffered a great deal from the Civil Disobedience Movement and were, therefore, *prima facie* in a worse position to pay. I said that, so far as I understood the case, there had been no general suspension

[1] *Vide* p. 153.

of the demand in cases of those who had not joined the Civil Disobedience Movement, but that in accordance with the ordinary system of land revenue administration certain arrears had been suspended where there was sufficient reason. It could not be assumed that because people had joined in the civil disobedience movement, they were, therefore, less able to pay than people who had not joined in it. Of those who had joined many had not suffered serious loss, a good number had suffered no loss at all, and in any case the test was not the losses they had suffered, but their present capacity to pay. I did not, therefore, see how a general order could be issued. He then said that many revenue-payers were paying money representing the current demand and, in some cases, also part of the arrears, on the understanding that this represented all that they could pay at present, and that the balance of the arrears would be suspended, that Government officers were taking these sums, knowing what the intentions of the people were and that a very difficult situation would arise if later coercive processes were issued for the balance. I said that it would clearly not be possible for Government to accept the position that the tax-payers should determine what amount of Government dues should be paid. He admitted this as a general proposition, but said that where, as at present in Kaira, he himself and other Congress workers in pursuance of the Settlement were satisfying themselves that people were paying as much as they could pay, the position was different, and that they became more or less involved in the transaction. I suggested to him that all Congress workers in Gujarat were not inspired by the same honesty of purpose as he himself, and that for this reason also the Collector had to satisfy himself that there was a case for suspension, that my information was that in some parts of Gujarat revenue payers were being encouraged not to pay unauthorized arrears, although many of them were able to do so. I assumed generally that neither the local Government nor the local officers desire to squeeze money out of persons who could not pay and that it really resolved itself into a question of good faith. If the Congress and the people genuinely played up and paid all they could pay, then I imagined nobody would wish to resort to coercive processes. If, on the other hand, they did not play up, I did not see how coercive processes would be avoided. At any rate it was not necessary to take this particular fence at the present time, and it would be sufficient to consider any difficulty, if and when it arises.

My general impression about this part of the conversation was that Mr. Gandhi foresees trouble in regard to the collection of unauthorized arrears, and that while he is playing the game in Borsad, attempts are being made elsewhere to defer the payment of unauthorized arrears on a large scale under the cover of inability to pay. The nature of the difficulty that is likely to arise will depend on the extent to which this movement succeeds, but if complications are to be avoided, it will probably be necessary for the local officers not to press collection of unauthorized arrears in cases where there will be real difficulty in paying.

(b) We had a long talk about the reinstatement of village officials. Mr. Gandhi made the point that no new Patels had been appointed permanently in the sense that they had been appointed for life and that the appointments were for a term of years, e.g., 3, 5 or 10 years, and that even these were subject to further notice. He contended that such appointments could not be treated as permanent and that they were not, therefore, completely protected under para 19 of the Statement of the 5th of March. I told him that I understood that this particular system of appointment was usual and that it was not the practice in Gujarat even if normal times to appoint Patels permanently in the sense in which he used the word. The local Government take the view that "permanently" means substantively and that this was at least a reasonable interpretation. Personally I did not press this, because I knew that when this clause was under discussion in New Delhi, neither Lord Irwin nor Mr. Gandhi was aware of the fact that the appointments made had been of this character, and the impression was that they were either of a permanent or purely temporary character. The actual wording of the clause did not, however, affect the broad principle which underlay this and similar provisions. That principle was that where third party rights had been created, the local Government were under an obligation to protect the rights and this principle obviously applied to appointments for a term of years. It might be contended that when the third party rights so created had been satisfied, then effect should be given to the Settlement and return should be made to the *status quo ante*; for instance at the end of an appointment of three years the claims of the original holder, if in the meantime there was no cause of disqualification against him, might be given preferential treatment. This seemed to be a view of the case which the local Government might be inclined to take, but I could not commit them in any way. Mr. Gandhi was not very satisfied with this, but felt, I think, that he was not in a strong position.

He then pursued another line, namely, that it was generally recognized that the new men who had been put in were unable to carry on the work, that in many cases they were criminals or of bad character, that in fact they were unable to collect the land revenue and it was the resigned Patel who had been doing this work; that there could be no peace in a village where a new Patel had been appointed until he was removed from it; and that in the interest of good administration a remedy should be found either by compensating the new Patels or by finding them jobs elsewhere. I said that, so far as I knew, the local officers were quite prepared to enquire into *bona-fide* complaints against particular Patels, but they of course had to protect them against frivolous complaints; that the third party right in such cases was the right to a particular appointment; and that compensation would not be regarded by the Patels themselves as a satisfaction of those rights. Something might perhaps be done to ease what was admittedly a difficult problem by putting in Patels who had resigned in vacancies elsewhere as they occur; but I

did not know whether this was, in fact, practicable. This question evidently is also causing him a good deal of concern.

(c) In regard to the repurchase of lands that had been sold, he appeared to be fairly happy. He was very critical of the difficulties experienced in ascertaining what lands had been sold and at what price; but he admitted that the present arrangement under which the entries relating to all such transactions have been or will shortly be entered up in the village registers, to which the public have access, would meet the requirements of the case. He said that he was having more success in getting back lands from Dharalas than he had anticipated, and in fact he was getting on better with them than with others in regard to whom he had not expected so much difficulty. I asked him why Garda had repudiated his transaction. He would not admit that Garda had any reasonable cause for complaint against the Congress for any deviation from their side of the bargain and said he was in correspondence with Sir Cowasjee Jehangir.

He said that in some cases in the Kaira District land had been forfeited for arrears of land revenue, had then been declared to be Government property and had been sold, that none of the sale price had been credited to the account of the defaulter, and that, in fact, the amount in regard to which the land had been forfeited was still being demanded. I expressed doubts about this, although I did understand that where land had been forfeited the whole of the sale price had been credited to Government, even although this exceeded the amount of the demand. I gathered that the Collector of Kaira had referred this question to the local Government and they will doubtless consider, if cases, such as stated by Mr. Gandhi, have actually occurred, whether the collection of the demand in addition to forfeiture of the land is not unduly severe.

On the whole Mr. Gandhi was more happy about Gujarat than he was when I last saw him, and the situation there has undoubtedly improved. He himself appears to have worked very hard to get things cleared up, but there appear to be several troublesome matters ahead and these may create difficulties, especially where Gandhi has not tried his hand and Vallabhbhai's influence has been at work.

I may observe that during the course of the discussion about Gujarat and also on one or two other occasions Mr. Gandhi dropped the claim, if he ever seriously entertained it, that Congress should be recognized as an intermediary between Government and the people, although he did claim, and not without reason, that where, as in the case of Kaira, the local officers are co-operating with himself and other workers, action should be avoided which will embarrass him and his helpers, unless it is clear that they are not playing the game. I tackled him about the statements attributed to him in the Press that he had advised revenue payers not to pay land revenue if they had to borrow to do so on interest. I told him that this was a principle that Govern-

ment could not accept, that it was a well-known fact that revenue payers had often to borrow money in order to meet their revenue demands, and that if I had credit at the Bank, my creditors would not let me off, because I had no ready cash. He admitted that in ordinary circumstances his advice was not justifiable, but on the merits of this particular case he eliminated further argument by saying that in Kaira, where the advice was given, the Collector had accepted the principle as a working basis.

3. We then had some discussion about salt, which was resumed later in connection with a reference from the Central Board of Revenue. The main points, which were raised, were the following:

(a) Mr. Gandhi is anxious that Government should issue some communication amplifying the relevant clause of the Statement of March 5th, so that persons entitled to the concession will know more about its character. I showed him the lengthy and detailed circulars issued by the Central Board of Revenue for various areas, and explained to him, what I understand to be the view of the Central Board of Revenue, namely, that while these were necessary for departmental guidance, they were too complicated to be of real assistance to the public, that in fact specific difficulties were still continually cropping up, that these were being dealt with ad hoc in a liberal and practical spirit, and that until the various points had been settled the publication of a detailed statement would in any case be premature. Moreover, anything in the nature of a lengthy statement would probably give rise to questions of hypothetical character, which it was better not to raise. Mr. Gandhi accepted all this and said that he had not intended anything in the nature of a long statement, but that he felt it very desirable that the main principles should be published. I suggested that he should try his hand on a draft and Government would then see whether it could be accepted by them with such modifications as might be necessary. He promised to let me have one.

(b) He then got on to the question of the fish-curing industry. I told him that I understood that this matter was already under consideration by the Central Board of Revenue, who had addressed the Madras Government. Briefly the points which he made were the followings:—

(i) Fishermen along the East and West Coast already enjoy the concession of duty free salt.

(ii) On the West Coast, where fish curing is carried on by contractors in special yards, salt has to be purchased from Government. Mr. Gandhi agreed that this was quite right and that the salt concession should not be extended to the fish-curing industry when the curing is done on a big scale by contractors.

(iii) He said, however, that even on the West Coast there was a certain amount of curing done by fishermen in their own homes, that it was carried on as a domestic and not as a big scale industry, and that it was reasonable to allow the concession in such cases.

I declined to express any opinion in ignorance of the facts, but promised to let the C.B.R. know the gist of the conversation.

(c) I then mentioned to him the case reported by the Collector of Salt Revenue, Bombay, in which it was said that Congress workers were making salt in works situated on privately owned land at Shiroda, that there was a fairly large force of labour employed, and that a stock of salt of 500 to 600 maunds was being collected. We were agreed that the salt concession did not anticipate that Congress would come in as an organization engaged in the manufacture of salt, and he admitted that an impossible situation would arise if local Congress organizations as such took up the manufacture of salt even for the purpose included in the Settlement. He also admitted that if salt is being manufactured at Shiroda by paid labour, then this is not covered by the Settlement, but he claimed that if the villagers entitled to the concession had combined for the manufacture of salt and were making it themselves and not through paid labour, then the case was covered by the Settlement provided the relevant provisions of the Settlement were observed. He also claimed that the mere manufacture of a stock of 500 or 600 maunds did not necessarily constitute a breach, since it was natural that the people concerned should manufacture a sufficient quantity of salt to see them over the close period. He claimed to be acquainted with the facts of the manufacture at Shiroda, and the C.B.R. may find it necessary to collect further information in regard to them before they can reach a decision. If it is decided that the facts do not preclude this system of manufacture, then a practical solution may be to limit the quantity of salt to be manufactured in accordance with an estimate of local requirements.

(d) Mr. Gandhi agreed that the practical test of removal on foot should not include the removal of manufactured salt by gangs of coolies.

4. Mr. Gandhi then mentioned the matter of releases of prisoners, about which we had a general and somewhat infructuous talk. He still seems to think that there are cases which come within the amnesty in which releases have not been granted, and he promised to let me have lists of these. I told him that we had sent the previous lists to local Governments, and the replies we had so far received definitely indicated that local Governments had very scrupulously honoured the Settlement in this respect. I mentioned the case of the Punjab list in which, for lack of accurate information, the local Government had been unable to identify a number of prisoners mentioned, and of the 75 who had been identified 47 had been released before the list was sent. This went to show that the information supplied to Mr. Gandhi was inaccurate. I also reminded him that local Governments generally have interpreted the Settlement very liberally in cases of technical violence and that while they have been more strict in cases of incitement to violence, there are good reasons for this. I took the opportunity of reminding him that within the last three weeks there have been three incidents connected with the terrorist movement in the Punjab

alone, namely, the Shalimar affair, the Sialkot incident and the very recent bomb explosion in the Jullundur District. He had not heard of the last and was shocked to hear that the two persons concerned were connected with the Congress. He agreed that local Governments were justified in taking a serious view of incitement to violence, and he did not attempt to raise the question of cases under section 124 A., I.P.C., and section 108, Criminal Procedure Code, which at one time threatened to be a matter of controversy. Two cases appeared to be worrying him. One was the case of an editor[1] convicted in Sholapur, in regard to which he urges that there was neither violence nor incitement to violence, and the second case was one from the Surat District, where a youth had been convicted for arson. His crop had been attached, and he then set fire to it. Mr. Gandhi then attempted to argue that violence within the terms of the Settlement had reference only to violence to person and that, therefore, this particular incident was not violence. This of course could not be accepted. I understood that he was in correspondence in regard to both cases with the local Government.

He wanted to know what was to happen if there were a deadlock between Congress and the local Government in regard to particular cases. I said that the intention was that the local Government should be the final authority, that so far no such case has arisen, and we might wait and see. The Government of India had in the case of several representations made to them requested local Governments to inform them of the facts, and since neither the Government of India nor any local Government has any desire to evade the obligations of the Settlement, there is no reason to suppose that a solution will not be found if there is any particular case in which there has been a genuine mistake. I informed him that local Governments had attached very great importance to this part of the Settlement and that in some province the Governor had himself scrutinized all doubtful cases. I imagine that Mr. Gandhi is being given a good deal of trouble by provincial Congressmen in this matter.

5. We then had a humorous discussion about bicycles and a motor-car which led up to the case of the *Young India* Press.

Under clause 16 of the Statement Government have agreed to return movable property, not being an illegal possession, which was seized during the civil disobedience movement and which at the time of the Settlement was still in the possession of Government. A motor-car was seized in the Kaira District and was quite properly used for official purposes. It is now, I gathered, in a somewhat dilapidated condition and is out of action at some distance from its original home. Mr. Gandhi claims that it should be returned at the place where it was seized. The local officers will not admit this, and I gather that they cannot, in any case, return it there, either by putting it into running condition or transporting it as scrap iron. This led us on to what was the real purport

[1] Emerson has made a note here: "He has since been released."

of the matter, namely, the Press of *Young India*. This was seized in Ahmedabad under the Press Ordinance and is of considerable value. Part of it is still in Ahmedabad, while part of it was sent to Bombay for sale. Mr. Gandhi claims as a right that he is entitled to its delivery at Ahmedabad, and he has recently addressed the Bombay Government on the subject. He made it clear that he did not want the Bombay portion of the press returned to him at Ahmedabad as a matter of grace, if he was not entitled to this under the Settlement. I promised that we would look into the legal aspect of the case, and if necessary, address the local Government.[1] He on his part promised that if the decision is in his favour he will not use it for vexatious purposes, e.g., the return of a useless motor-car.

6. Under the same clause of the Settlement he raised the question of the return of arms, the licences of which had been cancelled in connection with the Civil Disobedience Movement. He had mentioned this before at previous talks, but I had not appreciated the fact that the claim was under the clause, and had imagined that what he desired was a more liberal policy within the spirit of the Settlement in re-granting licences when previous ones had been cancelled. I told him that, so far as the clause was concerned it seemed to me that as soon as an arms' licence was cancelled, the arm became an illegal possession and that, therefore, the case was not covered. In any case, even if the clause did technically apply, local Governments would obviously be unwilling to return arms where there was reason to suppose that these arms might be used for terrorist purposes, and this applied particularly to the Punjab and Bengal. Mr. Gandhi accepted this as reasonable and said that a way out of the difficulty might be found by formally returning the arms, cancelling the new licences and recovering them. I suggested that this would lead to a good deal of friction. I promised to have the legal aspect examined.

I explained that if the matter did not come within the scope of the Settlement, there were difficulties in addressing local Governments in regard to the re-grant of licences, that the Arms Rules gave wide discretionary powers to District Magistrates in regard to the grant and cancellation of licences, and that while it did not seem improvable that they would take a reasonable view in the case of licences cancelled during the civil disobedience movement when the licensees were responsible persons, they would be sticky before giving licences to persons about whom they were not satisfied.

7. He then mentioned the case of restoration of pensions forfeited during the Civil Disobdience Movement. I said that this had not been discussed with local Governments; previous to the Settlement and that they and the Army Department in the case of military pensions would certainly take strong exception to the restoration of military and police pensions, and that, this being so, it would be difficult for them to discriminate in favour of other civil pen-

[1] Gandhiji subsequently received a letter turning down the claim.

sions. Local Governments would, however, doubtless consider in the ordinary course of business any applications made to them, but I did not see how the Government of India could make any general suggestion to them on this matter. Mr. Gandhi recognized the difficulty of restoring military and police pensions and did not press the matter.

8. Mr. Gandhi mentioned the case of boys and students who had been expelled from educational institutions on account of participation in the Civil Disobedience Movement. He said that in several provinces they were being allowed to return only on condition that they gave a declaration that they would take no part in politics. He seemed to think this was wrong. I explained to him that in some Government's institutions in the Punjab (and probably elsewhere) such declarations were taken from students on first entry—let alone from students who were allowed re-admission after expulsion; that the latter were fortunate to be allowed to return and knowing the importance that local Governments rightly attached to discipline in schools and colleges. I saw no point in raising this matter with them, even if the Government of India were prepared to take a more lenient view which I did not think they would.

9. We next got on to the important question of the North-West Frontier Province. I had a preliminary talk with him on one matter, giving him the main facts as known to us, and Mr. Howell later joined us and explained the peculiar difficulties of the Frontier situation. The points on which I laid emphasis in the preliminary discussion were:

(1) Abdul Ghaffar's activities and speeches since the amnesty.

(2) His continued insistence on the Settlement being a truce and therefore a period of preparation.

(3) The continuous recruitment of Red Shirts, their organization, drilling, etc.

(4) Abdul Ghaffar's attempt to spread agitation across the border.

(5) His deliberate and discourteous refusal to see the Chief Commissioner or local officials.

(6) The encouragement he has given to the non-payment of land revenue and the consequent effects on the land revenue administration of the Peshawar District.

(7) The increase in crime that has occurred there.

I suggested to Mr. Gandhi that even in other provinces where we might tolerate and had, in fact, tolerated in the past the recruitment of Congress volunteers up to a certain point, we could not even in those provinces tolerate either the unlimited recruitment of volunteers or the establishment of bodies of trained volunteers. The fact that their immediate activities were comparatively harmless was not a decisive test. We had to look to the use to which they might be put, and if at any time we came to the conclusion that they constituted a serious menace to future peace, we might have to take action. At any rate, we obviously could not accept the argument that because

we do not think it necessary at present to take action against Congress volunteers in a particular province, therefore our hands are tied either in regard to volunteers generally or in regard to volunteers in places where they do constitute a menace; nor, having regard to the peculiar conditions in the North-West Frontier Province the obvious danger of the Red Shirt Movement being misunderstood in tribal territory and its possible effects in Afghanistan, could we regard its extension with equanimity. Mr. Gandhi appreciated these peculiar difficulties, but was inclined to attach weight to Abdul Ghaffar's own statement of the case, which appeared in the Press a few days ago and in which he naturally attempted to place the odium on the local administration.

The further discussion of the matter is given in Mr. Howell's note below:

"By arrangement with Mr. Emerson I went yesterday afternoon to interview Mr. Gandhi. Before I arrived Mr. Emerson had already dissuaded Mr. Gandhi from his intention of visiting the North-West Frontier Province and had secured from him a promise to get into touch either personally or by letter with Abdul Ghaffar Khan and induce the latter at least to examine and reconsider his methods if not to abandon, at any rate temporarily, his campaign. There was therefore very little for me to do except to go over the ground again, and this I did with the special idea of impressing upon Mr. Gandhi the dangers of Abdul Ghaffar Khan's programme in the Frontier Province. The gist of what Mr. Emerson and I said to him in the course of the interview was as follows:

We had no intention of questioning Abdul Ghaffar Khan's sincerity, but we did think the wisdom of his procedure open to question. Why for instance had he steadily refused to have an interview with the Chief Commissioner who had shown exemplary patience and had done his best to get into contact with him? If they were bound to fall out at a later stage, was that any reason for not walking together so far as their ways lay together? Again was it wise to stage an exciting drama in the presence of an exceedingly excitable audience, such as the frontier tribes, all of them well armed, and many of them only waiting for a favourable opportunity to go and loot the box office? If Mr. Gandhi thought this was prudent, let him listen to what Bhai Parmanand and other Frontier Hindus, who had reason to know what they were talking about, had recently been saying at Lahore. The basic fact of the situation was that, as these Frontier Hindus realize, security for life and property on the Frontier, especially Hindu life and property, and the whole stability of society depended on the maintenance of respect for the existing Government. And if the Frontier tribes, who were never tired of proclaiming themselves to be as good as or better than anybody else, saw Abdul Ghaffar Khan here, or X there, or Y in another place successfully defying Government, they too might be tempted to take a hand in the same game. Hence the paramount importance of preventing the Red Shirts Movement from being spread across the border. Once there it could not fail to take on a militant form and, as last summer in Waziristan, might assume the ap-

pearance of a pro-Amanullah campaign which would cause anxiety to King Nadir.

Throughout stress was laid not on the contention that tribal territory was beyond the scope of the Civil Disobedience Movement, since that is dead or at any rate dormant, or of the Irwin-Gandhi Pact, since that might give Mr. Gandhi a clue that in the event of a further struggle he would do well to make a point of extending activities into tribal territory, that being a weak spot on our side, but on the danger, especially the danger to Hindu life and property, to which opposition to Government in the Frontier region was likely to lead. He was asked whether in his opinion it was wise for anyone conducting a difficult and an unprecedented experiment, such as is now in progress throughout India, to begin by tampering with the breakwater which keeps the flood waters out. Mr. Gandhi seemed to grasp the point of this question.

We also put Sir Steuart Pears' remaining points to Mr. Gandhi, and asked him to consider whether there really could be any use for such a body of men as 13,000, the latest figure we had had—admittedly only an estimate—of the number of Red Shirts. Finally the revenue situation, with special reference to Peshawar District, was discussed at some length, and Mr. Gandhi was informed of the startling rise in the figures of crime. He wished to know how land and water rates compared in Peshawar with the adjoining districts in the Punjab and seemed surprised to learn that, while agricultural conditions in the irrigated area of the Peshawar District generally compared favourably with anything in northern India, rates of land revenue and water rates were distinctly lower than in the adjoining districts of the Punjab. This Mr. Gandhi's interlocutors thought might be taken as fair evidence of the constant Pathan tendency to have things both ways at which the Pathan is an adept and frequently successful. Mr. Gandhi took note of this and also of the fact that liberal remissions had been, were being and would be granted according to the necessities of the case. He seemed disposed to agree that whatever the land revenue policy of the future Government might be, it was perhaps bad tactics to interfere too much with revenue collection under the existing regime. On Mr. Gandhi's side a promise was given that he would send for Abdul Ghaffar Khan as soon as possible, and in the meantime would both telegraph and write to him."

10. We had some talk about the boycott and the attitude of Lancashire. Mr. Gandhi was more sorrowful than resentful about the latter. He claimed that the Settlement had produced a great change in the position regarding the boycott of foreign cloth, that there had been a very large reduction in picketing, that discrimination against British cloth had ceased and that while there were still causes of complaint these should be regarded in the light of the situation as a whole and not advanced as though they represented the general position. He claimed (and I believe rightly) that he was doing his utmost to secure the strict observance of the Settlement and he asked that any breaches of it should be at once brought to his notice.

I admitted the truth of a great deal of what he said; but gave him a number of illustrations of the sort of thing that was going on, and in particular, dwelt on the prevalence of social pressure. I said that the general impression was that freedom of action of the individual has not been secured and that it was this belief that was responsible for reactions in Lancashire, which were of first-class political importance in England. I emphasized the harm that was being done by every instance of violation of the Settlement that was communicated to the British Press and I dwelt at length on a particular case that had come to the notice of Government. This case is briefly as follows:

"The British Goods Boycott Committee of Ahmedabad sent a letter, dated the 7th of April 1931, to the Cawnpore Chemical Works, Cawnpore, asking them various questions, among which were the following:

(a) Do you use any British materials in the process of manufacture?

(b) Has any Englishman or foreigner any interest whatever, either direct or indirect, in your concern? If so, what is the extent of such interest?

Mr. Gavin Jones is very closely interested in this concern and sent the letter on to us. We had enquiries made about it and were informed that the active workers on the Committee were members of the Congress. After the Settlement the Committee changed its name, but apparently sent out notices on the note paper with the old heading and also included in their questions matters which directly offended against the Settlement."

I told Mr. Gandhi that in this particular case the attack was on the concern of an Englishman, who was a member of the Round Table Conference Delegation and who had strongly supported the Indian case in London. It would hardly be a matter of surprise if activities of this kind were to make Europpeans doubtful of their previous attitude and that if this particular instance were communicated to the British Press or raised in Parliament, it could not fail to have very unfortunate results. Mr. Gandhi admitted all this and expressed regret that the matter had not been brought to his notice even once. I said that we could not do this until we knew that Congress were concerned in it and we had just received this information. I promised to let him have a copy of the relevant correspondence, and he said he would have the matter put right at once and let me know the results in a letter which Government could, if they thought it desirable, communicate to Mr. Gavin Jones.

Mr. Gandhi is, I think, uneasy about the fulfilment of the boycott provisions of the Settlement, and while he is as keen as ever on the replacement of Indian for foreign cloth and is convinced that the movement has come to stay, he realizes that methods of coercion and pressure will not succeed in the long run and that any abuse of the Settlement has adverse effects in India and in England out of proportion to the benefit to the movement itself. He has, however, still to get his own principles across to Congress organizations and workers as a whole and although he has done a good deal in this direction,

there is still much more to do. It will help if local Governments either directly tackle provincial Congress organizations in regard to violation of the Settlement in this respect or communicate at once specific instances to the Home Department to pass them on to Mr. Gandhi.

11. During the course of our talk with Mr. Gandhi a number of general questions were incidentally discussed, and one sitting was almost entirely devoted to big issues. An attempt is made below to summarize the points which arose.

Mr. Gandhi appears to have little hope at present of an early communal settlement and realizes the bitterness of feeling. He expressed himself as reluctant to go to England unless a solution is reached, for he would then feel that he could not either with decency or consistency press for self-government when Indians themselves were at sixes and sevens. He is also sensitive as to taunts being made in this respect. I took the following line with him:

(a) If there were no communal settlement in India, then the logical conclusion of Mr. Gandhi to this would be that unless and until there were a settlement, there could be no further advance in the constitutional field. Even if Mr. Gandhi himself felt this, it was not possible for Government to accept it. Government had often been accused of Machiavellian methods, and if it adopted the line taken by Mr. Gandhi himself, there would be an immediate outcry accompanied by political agitation on an intense scale. This must, therefore, be ruled out, and Government must assume constitutional advance, even if no agreed communal settlement were reached. Why should Mr. Gandhi take in this matter a more reactionary attitude than Government were prepared to take? Moreover, even if a settlement were not reached in India, this did not necessarily mean that one would not be reached in England. Conditions were in some respects more favourable there than here: representations of various interests would be in constant touch with each other; atmosphere would be better; British leaders were prepared to give the greatest assistance possible and in fact an agreement had almost been reached in London on the last occasion. Moreover, Lord Irwin would be certainly ready to help. (Here at this point Mr. Gandhi made the suggestion that Lord Irwin might even act as an arbitrator—an admission entirely contrary to some of his previous declarations that Indians should settle among themselves.) A settlement in London was more likely to be secured if Congress were represented and Mr. Gandhi himself might be expected to play a considerable part in it. In any case, he would not help by staying in India and, so far as the communal question was concerned, his clear duty was to go to England.

I asked him what his friends thought about this matter, and I understood that while two or three Congressites doubted, the majority considered that he ought to go. Mr. Gandhi did not commit himself to any clear decision as to whether he would go or not, but my own very definite impression is that the failure of a communal settlement will not in itself prevent his attendance.

(b) I asked him what he was going to do about Congress representatives at the Conference and suggested that even if he went as the sole representative it would be convenient to have available Congress representatives who could be appointed to Sub-Committees, since even a Mahatma could not be in three places at once. He was very vague about this part of the business and confessed that he had been so occupied in local affairs in Gujarat that he had not had time to give consideration to the Round Table Conference arrangements. The impression he gave was that he was very reluctant to have anyone else as representing Congress in the picture and that he has an idea that he can carry on alone coming in with his views at the final stage. He obviously does not realize the amount of detailed discussion involved and the nature and extent of the difficulties. On the other hand, he has no objection to Congressmen being invited in their individual capacity to the Round Table Conference. I specifically asked him this on a point raised by His Excellency when I last saw him. In fact, he says that Lord Irwin had accepted this position and accordingly had invited Malaviya, and he had indicated his intentions of also asking Mrs. Naidu and Dr. Ansari. There would thus be, from Mr. Gandhi's point of view, no objection in inviting Congress Muslims as such, or indeed in inviting any Congress member in any capacity other than as representative of Congress. This may assist in removing difficulties which will almost certainly arise if Mr. Gandhi insists on being the sole representative of the Congress.

(c) Another constitutional matter that Congress are now taking up is as to whether—

(a) they should serve on Sub-Committee formed previous to the Round Table Conference, and

(b) whether they should give evidence before such Committee.

I fancy this question was brought to a head by the resignation of Ahmad Shah from the North-West Frontier Provinces Subjects Committee. Mr. Gandhi knew nothing about his appointment or his resignation, and the latter was not, I think, given under the orders of the Congress. It was probably given under the orders of Abdul Ghaffar, and I gathered that Mr. Gandhi thought that Ahmad Shah should have referred both his acceptance of the appointment and his resignation to the Congress. He agreed that the case had not been in any way prejudged and that Ahmed Shah was wrong in making this the ground for his resignation, but he did not think that anything could now be done to put this right, although I gave him the opportunity of suggesting a successor. In these circumstances he agreed that the best thing was to leave the place vacant.

On the general question the Working Committee are to hold a meeting shortly. I very strongly urged that the decision should be in favour of co-operation both as regards accepting places and giving evidence, and I said on my own authority that I thought there would be no difficulty, if the principle were accepted, in asking Congress to nominate members to Committees where the

principle of Congress representation was accepted by Government. Mr. Gandhi's doubt seemed to be as to whether it was right to take part in Committees previous to the Round Table Conference when he had not made up his mind about attendance at the Conference himself. I pointed out that whatever might be his final decision in regard to London, one important and main object of the Settlement would be defeated if Congress did not co-operate in constitutional matters, and that, even if for any reason the Settlement broke down, their present participation would not commit them. I am rather afraid that the Working Committee will come to a wrong decision in this matter.

(d) The question of land revenue cropped up in several connections, e.g., Gujarat, U.P. and North-West Frontier Province. Mr. Gandhi did not attempt to press the idea formerly favoured by him that Congress should act generally as an intermediary between Government and the revenue payer, but he still seems to think that it is possible for Congress to act as the friend of the landlord or tenant and advise him on revenue and rent matters without coming into conflict with Government or without causing serious embarrassment. He was impressed by the attitude I took on the matter. I told him that there was no Government in the world that would allow a political organization to come between them and the tax-payer, when their intervention took the form of advice to the latter as to what taxes they should pay; that if this was tried in Afghanistan, the agitator would be quickly put against the wall and blown from the cannon; that in the Indian States he would be deported or imprisoned; and that in the most advanced European countries the whole resources of the Government would be used against an organized movement of this kind carried out by a powerful political party. In India it was particularly necessary that agitation of this kind should be avoided and the more so in existing economic conditions and immediately after a direct campaign against rent and revenue. I made it quite clear that personally I regarded activities, such as those in the U.P. as a very grave breach of the whole spirit of the Settlement. I explained that local Governments were fully alive to the gravity of the economic situation and the necessity of being lenient in land revenue policy. Even so they had a very difficult task in deciding what the people could pay and could not pay, and this task could only be complicated by the interference of Congress, one result of which was to introduce the doubt as to whether a person was refusing to pay land revenue because he genuinely could not pay or because Congress advice had induced him to try and get off without payment. Mr. Gandhi was not able to accept the idea of Congress standing aside from helping persons in distress; but he did, I think, realize some of the difficulties in the way of intervention, and so far as he himself is concerned, he is worried less by the thought that inaction will remove the great opportunity of getting at the rural masses than by the failure to do something for the oppressed. We have here a definite potential source of trouble. On the other hand, he had no hesitation in condemning pressure being brought

on landlords, direct appeals not to pay, creating false expectations on the Congress creed of a 50 per cent reduction in revenue and generally of any refusal to pay less than a person's capacity to pay. The results of his forthcoming discussion with Sir Malcolm Hailey ought to clear up the position in this respect.

(e) I attempted to give Mr. Gandhi an appreciation of the present situation in the various provinces and made special reference to the North-West Frontier Provinces, Punjab, United Provinces, Bihar and Orissa and Bengal. I emphasized the fact that some of the local Governments who had been satisfied with the early results of the Settlement were getting apprehensive because of Congress activities. I pointed out that difficulties were almost unprecedented—Constitutional, political, Communal, financial, agrarian and terrorist—that we had a good chance of surmounting them if everyone pulled together, but that otherwise the prospects were gloomy. I said it was the deliberate and definite policy of the Government of India to implement the Settlement and to make every effort within reason to prevent a break-down. There were no reactionary forces at work in this respect. At the same time, they had necessarily to exercise constant vigilance and they could not allow a situation of danger to develop either generally or locally, even if action meant the disappearance of the Settlement. In this respect the outstanding danger was the mentality of the Congress and the constant advocacy, on the contrary, of preparation for a further struggle. This mentality was inevitably having effects elsewhere. It was partly because of the reaction in England and unless we could check the reaction there, the atmosphere would become entirely unfavourable. In regard to constitutional discussion at the Conference, I suggested that his own position would be very unpleasant if, when he was in London, a state of affairs existed in India which irritated and even outraged public opinion in England. I gave him many instances from different provinces of Congress subversive action. Mr. Gandhi was, I think, generally impressed by the above factor. He had already realized the significance of the reaction in England and he did not, as I rather expected he might do, criticize the reactionary forces at work. Similarly he made no protest whatever against the line taken by His Excellency the Governor of the Punjab in his recent speech, and he seemed to accept the view I took that the speech was the natural consequence of hard facts for which Congress were largely responsible, but his only complaint was that I had suggested a widespread suspicion of the objects and activities of the Congress, that these in fact were good and that they did want a peaceful solution. He admitted that particular activities were bad and had his complete disapproval. He also appreciated the necessity of getting the situation on to a more peaceful plane, and he will, I hope, definitely use his influence to this end. I showed him a circular issued by the Provincial Congress Committee of Madras, a copy of which is attached to this note, and said that while there were one or two things in it which might be better expressed, Government would have little cause for complaint if Congress as a

whole acted on the principles stated in it. I also told him that the line he had taken in his own speech at Simla would definitely help, and begged him to carry on in the same spirit and get his leaders to do likewise. I have personally no doubt that he will do his best.

12. I may close this note (which is already of inordinate length) with some personal impressions.

Mr. Gandhi is, I think, more sincere than ever in his desire to see the Settlement through, and he will do his utmost in this respect. It is probably less likely to break down from the Congress side on a big issue than on some irritating and comparatively unimportant matter of detail. This danger would be lessened if Congress activities, especially in rural areas, were materially to moderate, for it might then be possible and even desirable for local Government to stretch a point here and there in response to Congress action. If and when this becomes feasible, the atmosphere will improve.

Mr. Gandhi himself has definitely mellowed during the past few months. He has been up against concrete difficulties and has had to face constructive work. This has made him less confident in regard to preconceived ideas and more ready to see the other side of the case, although I have always found him very fair in this respect. Personal contact with various officers of Government has increased his desire to co-operate and while I realize only too well the difficulties and dangers in the way of closer co-operation with Congress leaders so long as Congress are out to increase their prestige and influence at the expense of Government and other parties, I feel that, where it is possible to avoid these difficulties and dangers, personal contact will definitely help to relieve the situation. This will be particularly the case if, as I hope, Mr. Gandhi tries with success to tone down the war mentality. If there is no response by Government, we shall get back into the same vicious circle.

Mr. Gandhi himself is at present too involved in detail to give the attention he should be giving to big questions. He receives many complaints of failure on the part of Government to carry out their part of the agreement, and although the great majority of these are untrue, they create doubts and suspicions. The sooner the matters immediately arising out of the Settlement are wound up the better.

Mr. Gandhi is under no illusion as to the consequences of the break-down of the Settlement. He realizes the renewal of the Civil Disobedience Movement will compel Government to hit hard and hit at once and I have made this perfectly clear to him on many occasions. He accepts this as quite fair and will, if necessary, face the consequences. But if it can be avoided, he does not want another fight and this fact and his sense of obligation to honour promises given to Lord Irwin are factors of very great importance in the situation.

*The 18th May, 1931* H. W. EMERSON

From a photostat: India Office Records

## APPENDIX VII (A)

### *SIR MALCOLM HAILEY'S NOTE ON DISCUSSIONS WITH GANDHIJI*[1]

*May 20, 1931*

My discussion with Mr. Gandhi today turned mainly on the agrarian situation, but there were also some subsidiary points mentioned.

1. As regards releases, he had little to say; he had not at all events come prepared with a list of cases in which there were any complaints that we had not observed the Agreement. I told him that if there were any cases which he wished to refer to us, I should be glad if he would send them to Chief Secretary; and he agreed.

2. He mentioned the cases of students who had been rusticated, etc., for taking part in Civil Disobedience. I have not the full facts, but the D.P.I. has informed me that before being re-admitted they were required to undertake that they were to observe the disciplinary rules of the institution. This does not seem to be a very onerous obligation, and failing any more definite complaint from Congress, I would let the matter rest there. Mr. Gandhi did not seem to attach any great importance to it at the time.

3. He attached some importance to the question of arms for which licenses had been confiscated owing to their owners taking part in Civil Disobedience. There were I believe some such cases, though I do not know if we have anything about them at headquarters. He told me that the Commissioner in Gujarat had recognized that this fell within the terms of the Agreement, that Mr. Emerson had said he thought it did so, but that he would consult legal opinion before issuing anything to local Governments. Chief Secretary might ascertain any facts that he can on the subject, and at the same time write demi-officially to Mr. Emerson asking if the Government of India think that arms licenses should be restored, where they have been confiscated strictly on the ground that owners have taken part in Civil Disobediences.

4. As I have said, the main point was the agrarian situation. We discussed this at great length, and I for my part avoided any point of principle, such as whether the Congress was really entitled under the Agreement to be recognized as the representative of the people, etc., and took him at once to the facts of the situation in the districts in which Congress had been most active. I pointed out that however the situation had been arrived at, the danger was that tenants would now refuse to pay rents at all and resort to acts of violence if they were pressed by landlords. I naturally quoted Chauri Chaura to him. He at once dis-

[1] *Vide* p. 183.

claimed any idea of a no-rent campaign, and was somewhat aghast when I gave him a copy of the resolution of the Etawah Congress Committee which he said he would look into at once. He admitted that where compromises had been made by landlords with Congress, the latter had not been able to persuade tenants to pay up. He said it was no part of Congress plans to establish an organization of tahsils and thanas; they were quite opposed to the idea of actually starting a parallel government or anything of the kind. Having got thus far, I then again put to him the actual difficulty arising from the situation in these districts. He said that it could only be solved by enlisting the effective co-operation of Congress in persuading tenants to pay their rents. But he could not promise this, nor could he engage to use his own active efforts of persuasion direct to tenants unless Congress had something better to put forward than the mere announcement of remissions by Government. His workers had narrowly examined the conditions of numerous districts and were confident that tenants could not pay even the reduced rentals in present circumstances. He indeed suggested that the enquiry showed that rents were so high as practically to be unpayable even in ordinary years, though he admitted that this conclusion might need some modifying in the light of the fact that many of these rentals were old and spread over a long series of years. He suggested the adoption of one of the three following courses:

First, (though he did not press this) he suggested that we might accept the figures arrived at by Congress workers, which he assured me were not a mere rough shot but the result of actual inquiries. I pointed out to him that it was quite impossible to assume that these general figures were equally correct for all classes of tenants and for all parts of the province.

Secondly, he suggested that our officers might hold a kind of summary inquiry with selected Congressmen in each district or division with a view of getting better figures.

Thirdly, if neither course was acceptable to Government, he asked that Government itself should hold a public inquiry at which Congressmen could give evidence as to the capacity of tenants to pay rentals. I pointed out to him that either of the latter courses would mean delay with every prospect that no money would be available at all for payment of rentals. If tenants get over the payment of any rental at all this harvest, it is pretty certain that they would pay nothing for kharif. It was quite impossible to make summary inquiries in three or four days as he thought, and a general inquiry on the lines of that which he had in mind, namely, the Commission on Champaran in 1916 would take many months. Anything that we did now would not only very gravely affect the landlords, but also might have an abiding effect on our own finances for many years to come; it was not, therefore, reasonable to ask Government to adopt a summary procedure which might have such far-reaching effects. I told him that I would consider his proposals, but it seemed to me that the result of delaying collections would be so dangerous that it would be difficult to accept

them. I pointed out that there were many districts in which our officers thought that collections might now proceed without great difficulty, and that in my opinion the best course was to set to work on collections wherever possible in the hope that if these proceeded smoothly it will have its effect on the attitude of the tenants generally. We left the matter at that, and it may be that it is not a very satisfactory conclusion, for I did not get his definite engagement to do nothing except to discountenance anything like a no-rent campaign or an attempt to set up Congress tribunals. As Mr. Emerson had warned me, Mr. Gandhi feels deeply that Congress cannot entirely retire from its position of championship of tenants and small landowners.

5. We discussed the question of picketing though at no great length. I pointed out to him the danger that it was becoming communal owing to the unwillingness of volunteers to tackle Mohammedan shopkeepers, and I also pointed out that the snatching away of liquor or the infliction of fines is quite beyond the spirit of the Agreement. Here he agreed and said that he would do his best to discountenance it and had indeed already issued orders against the taking of fines.

M. HAILEY

Home Department, Political, File No. 33/XI & K.Ws., 1931. Courtesy: National Archives of India

## APPENDIX VII (B)

*LETTER FROM SIR MALCOLM HAILEY TO H. W. EMERSON*[1]

UNITED PROVINCES,
*May 21, 1931*

MY DEAR EMERSON,

Many thanks for your letter of the 16th May; I have found it very useful indeed in my discussion with Mr. Gandhi. I send you a note as to the results which, I fear, were not very conspicuous. But the discussion was very friendly throughout, and I was particularly struck with the fact that he did not seem to have come prepared to open up a battery of objections against our method of dealing with releases, etc. As you will see, his general attitude on the subject of the agrarian trouble was very much the same as that which he took with you.

*Yours sincerely,*
M. HAILEY

H. W. EMERSON, ESQ.
SECY. TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
HOME DEPARTMENT

[1] *Vide* p. 183.

CWMG - XLVI

PS.

I have sent a copy of my note to the Viceroy.

Home Department, Political, File No. 33/XI & K.Ws., 1931. Courtesy: National Archives of India

## APPENDIX VIII (A)

### *LETTER FROM SIR MALCOLM HAILEY*[1]

*May 23, 1931*

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

I have just received your letter of today, and as you ask for a very early reply, I have given it urgent but very anxious consideration and write at once to give you my views on the subject.

Though I welcome much that is contained in your proposed manifesto, such as the advice to tenants to begin making payments at once, your condemnation of the use of violence by *kisans*, and your strongly expressed desire that they should not injure their own cause by undesirable action, yet I much regret that I could not associate myself in any way with the manifesto as a whole. It practically embodies a decision that it is necessary to make for a large number of districts in the province a rental remission for the whole year 1338 Fasli of eight annas in the rupee in the case of statutory and non-occupancy tenants and four annas in the case of occupancy tenants. Though I admit that it is stated that in some cases a larger payment is possible, yet tenants generally could not understand it as anything but a direction to confine their payments to this level as a whole. I am myself far from convinced by anything that I have seen or heard that a reduction on this scale is required by the circumstances, and I am certainly clear that no one formula, whether it embraces reductions of this amount or otherwise, could with equity be applied to the very different conditions prevailing throughout the province.

I am advised that collections of rentals are already proceeding in many of our districts on the basis of the reductions made by Government, and though it is not possible at the moment to say whether these collections can everywhere be made absolutely in full, yet to my mind the right policy is to allow collections to proceed on this basis and to watch the results carefully. I have in conversation with you pointed out the danger of doing anything which would encourage tenants to withhold rentals at this stage, for if collections are not made at once, there will be little chance of securing any payment at all at a subsequent stage. It is for this latter reason in particular that I have deprecated proposals for general inquiries into the present pitch of rentals throughout the province, for no summary inquiry of this nature can do justice to a

[1] *Vide* pp. 199-200.

very complicated and involved case, a decision on which will not only affect vitally the finances of Government, but will involve far-reaching effects on the relations of tenants and landlords.

With best wishes,

*I am,*
*Yours sincerely,*
M. HAILEY

M. K. GANDHI, ESQ.
TAKULA, NAINITAL

Home Department, Political, File No. 33/XI & K.Ws., 1931. Courtesy: National Archives of India

## APPENDIX VIII (B)

### *LETTER FROM SIR MALCOLM HAILEY TO H. W. EMERSON*[1]

UNITED PROVINCES,
*May 23, 1931*

MY DEAR EMERSON,

I think that you ought to see at once the enclosed correspondence I have just had with Mr. Gandhi. I had to reply at somewhat short notice, as I did not wish to do anything that might delay him leaving us at 3 o'clock this afternoon! But it was clearly impossible for me to agree to anything that would look like a joint manifesto from myself and him, particularly as his draft could only have been understood by the majority of people to embody a decision that the remissions granted by us were altogether wrong and that something far more extensive was required. I do not know if he will return to the charge or will want to come and see me again; but his lieutenant, Govind Vallabh Pant, was told on the telephone that I should be unlikely to vary the attitude I had taken up. After a good deal of consideration I think this is the only one possible for me.

*Yours sincerely,*
M. HAILEY

PS.

If Sir George Lambert is still in Simla would you kindly show this to him?

H. W. EMERSON, ESQ.

Home Department, Political, File No. 33/XI & K.Ws., 1931. Courtesy: National Archives of India

[1] *Vide* pp. 199-200.

CWMG XLVI

## APPENDIX IX

### *LETTER FROM R. M. MAXWELL*[1]

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
MAHABALESHWAR,
*May 13, 1931*

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

At your interview with His Excellency Sir Frederick Sykes on the 17th April His Excellency promised that certain cases which you mentioned, pertaining to the Home Department, would be reconsidered by the Government. I am now to inform you of the results of that review.

2. I am to deal firstly with your suggestions for the release of certain prisoners.

(i) You represented that the Sholapur Martial Law prisoners who had not been released should have been released according to the Settlement, and you were informed at the time that there were three such persons.

In the case of Mr. Rajwade you are right in your supposition, to which you have referred in your letter of the 1st instant to Mr. Collins, that no other writing was placed before the Court except the issue of the *Karmayogi* in question. Many of the allegations in that document were either false or so grossly exaggerated (or, when he referred to the incidents of the riots, minimized) as to be untrue to the facts. The chief consideration, however, is that their publication at that time and in the conditions then prevailing in Sholapur inevitably tended to inflame the population against the authorities and thus amounted to a direct and real incitement to further violence. Their actual effect was to make more difficult the restoration of peace, and it is impossible to doubt that this result was foreseen by Mr. Rajwade when he published the article. The Government, therefore, on reconsideration adhere to their view that this is not a case which can properly claim the benefit of the amnesty.

The other two persons were convicted of tampering with justice by bribing witnesses in the case which arose from the murder of two policemen, and on reconsideration Government are unable to see that the Settlement can apply to a case of this description or that the persons concerned deserve any clemency.

(ii) The Government have reconsidered the cases of persons convicted under Section 124-A of the I.P.C. You expressed the opinion that the writing of articles and the making of speeches were not contemplated when it was

[1] *Vide* pp. 330-2.



CWMG-XLVI

decided that the Settlement should not apply to cases of violence and incitement to violence. The Government are unable to accept this view, for it is clear that such writings and speeches can, and often did, contain incitement to violence which is real and not technical, and that such incitement is often more dangerous and far-reaching than other forms of incitement to violence. The Government find that the cases of the individuals detained in jail satisfied this test, and they are therefore in no doubt that those persons were rightly excluded from the benefits of the amnesty. I am to add that Government are always ready to show leniency, as in many cases in the past, to any person convicted under Section 124-A of the I.P.C., who makes adequate apologies and gives an undertaking not to repeat the offence but this is a point unconnected with the Settlement, which makes no provision for conditional release.

(iii) You referred to the case of Ratanji Dayaram of Bardoli taluka, who you said was convicted of burning his own crop and should therefore have been released.

On examining his case Government find that he was convicted of deliberately burning *his tenant's* crop in order that the revenue due to Government should not be paid on the land in question. He has not made any reparation to the sufferer which might have entitled his case to consideration on grounds of clemency as distinct from the terms of the Settlement, which, as I have pointed out, make no provision for conditional release. Apart from this circumstance, Government consider that violent mischief of this description does not come within the terms of the amnesty.

(iv) His Excellency understood you to say that there were certain prisoners convicted of offences in connection with the salt campaign who had not been released. The Home Department are however unable to trace any such cases.

(v) You stated that there were certain prosecutions which were still being carried on for offences which took place during the civil disobedience campaign contrary to the terms of the Settlement, and you referred in particular to a case in Belgaum.

It was pointed out to you at the time that the particular case to which you referred was a case of Nipani in that district. The facts of this case are that, following the conviction of two local leaders in April 1930, a mob collected with the intention of enforcing hartal, and after damaging public and private property and destroying the royal portraits in the school, came into conflict with the police whom they proceeded to stone, with the result that three policemen and some village servants were injured. There was thus real violence and Government feel that the decision to proceed with the case cannot be altered.

The other prosecutions which were still pending at the time of your conversation with His Excellency were those of (a) Mahadev Kuverji and Hira Vallabh (b) Vishnu Sali, (c) Shiva Mattur, all of Surat district, who

were accused respectively of setting fire to attached crops, severely assaulting a police constable, and setting fire to an attached crop after beating the village servant in charge. These are clear cases of violence which cannot be reviewed.

3. As regards the orders of deportation passed under the Foreigners' Act, the Government have already, on reconsideration, withdrawn these orders in all cases, six in number, and the persons who were in prison for failing to observe the orders have been released. In this connection you stated that there were 30 such cases in the Karnatak and you were informed that Government were not aware of them, on which you agreed to furnish particulars of them to the Secretary, Home Department. As you have not done so, His Excellency assumes that you were misinformed on the point.

4. You stated that certain movable and immovable property forfeited had not been returned. His Excellency finds that ail the buildings seized under Ordinance IX have been restored. The delay in some cases was due to the time which necessarily elapsed in finding, and making the necessary arrangements with, the persons entitled and authorized to take delivery.

As regards the return of movable property, the position has been discussed in my separate letter of today, in reply to yours of the 7th May.

5. As regards the Chirner case, which you represented should be withdrawn, you were informed at the time that as the persons concerned were accused of rioting, being armed with deadly weapons, dacoity, conspiracy to commit dacoity and causing grievous hurt to public servants in the performance of their duty, while six of them are directly charged with murder, the case was obviously one which must be allowed to take its course.

*Yours sincerely,*
R. M. MAXWELL

M. K. GANDHI, ESQUIRE

A.I.C.C File No. 4/1931 Part I. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

## APPENDIX X

### *OPINION*[1]

*June 13, 1931*

1. (1) The question which has arisen between the Government and the Navajivan Press is:

"What are the obligations of the Government as regards returning the press which was seized at Ahmedabad from the premises of the Navajivan

[1] *Vide* pp. 379-81.

CWMG-XXVI

Press?" The question depends primarily on the language of the Instrument which says "movable property . . . will be returned". The meaning of the word "return" as given by Webster is "to bring, carry, put, or send back; to restore". According to Murray's Oxford Dictionary the word "return" has, among others, the following meaning:

"to bring or convey to a place or person; to send back again; to give or render back". From this it is plain that where a party in possession (in this case the Government) has agreed to return a movable property, the obligation undertaken can only be said to have been performed when the party in possession brings or conveys back to the place from where the thing was taken and hands it over to the person from whom it was taken. We are, therefore, of opinion that the terms of the Agreement are not only not silent as to the place of delivery, but are clear as to the place of delivery, viz., the place from where it was taken or where it was seized.

2. In an Indian Statute, the word "return" has also been used in the sense of taking a thing back to the place from which it was brought. Section 43 of the Indian Sale of Goods Act runs as follows:

"Unless otherwise agreed, where goods are delivered to the buyer and he refuses to accept them, having the right so to do, he is not bound to return them to the seller, but it is sufficient if he intimates to the seller that he refuses to accept them".

It is obvious that the word "return" must mean taking back to the place from which it was taken, and it is used in contradistinction to "offer to return" or "holding it at the disposal of the party from whom it was taken". The action of the Government in this case merely amounts to "offer to return" or to "hold it at the disposal of the previous owner", but does not amount to the performance of the obligation to return. As is pointed out above, the obligation to return requires that the thing should be restored to the place and the person from which and from whom it was taken.

3. We are of opinion that the section dealing with the subject of delivery of goods as between the seller and the buyer, has got nothing to do with the present question as no question of return arises in such a case.

4. While clearly disagreeing with the view that the agreement in question is silent as to the place of "return", we are of opinion that even in that view, the place of performance of the obligation, in an agreement like the present, is the place from or at which the thing was taken or seized. The place in such a case has to be determined by a reference to the object of the agreement. It is clear that in this case, the object is to restore *status quo ante*.

5. Even on the assumption, which is denied, that the agreement in this present case is silent as to the place of "return", by reason of the provisions of Section 49 of the Indian Contract Act, if no place of performance was agreed upon, the promisee has the right to appoint the place of performance and the promisor is bound to perform the promise (in this case, the promise to return

the press) at such place, provided it is reasonable. In this case, the promisee is entitled to name a reasonable place for performance and the reasonable and proper place is *prima facie* the place from where it was taken or where it was seized; for it is conceivable that after the seizure, the thing may be removed, for a variety of reasons, to a distant place and it would be clearly reasonable for the promisee to claim that it should be returned to the place from where it was taken or where it was seized.

6. In every view of the matter, therefore, the position taken up by the Government in the matter of the Navajivan Press cannot be sustained. They can be said to have fulfilled the agreement only when they have taken it to Ahmedabad (from where it was seized) and offer to return it to the person from whom it was taken.

BHULABHAI DESAI
D. N. BAHADURJI
K. M. MUNSHI

A.I.C.C. File No, 2/1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

CWMG - XLVI

*Bapuna Patro–7* : *Shri Chhaganlal Joshine* (Gujarati): Ed. Chhaganlal Joshi, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1962.

*Bapuna Patro–9* : *Shri Narandas Gandhine*, Pt. I, (Gujarati) : Ed. Narandas Gandhi, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1964.

*Bapuna Patro–10*: *Shri Prabhavatibehnne* (Gujarati): Ed. Kakasaheb Kalelkar (1966).

(*The*) *Bombay Chronicle* : English daily published from Bombay.

Gandhi Smarak Sangrahalaya, New Delhi : Central Museum and Library of Gandhian literature and documents; *vide* Vol. I, p. 341.

(*The*) *Hindu* : English newspaper issued from Madras; started as a weekly in 1878, became a tri-weekly in 1883 and a daily since 1889.

(*The*) *Hindustan Times* : English daily published from New Delhi.

*Letters of Srinivasa Sastri* : Ed. T. N. Jagadishan, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1963.

National Archives of India, New Delhi.

*Navajivan* (1919-1931) : Gujarati weekly (with occasional bi-weekly issues) edited by Gandhiji and published from Ahmedabad; first issued on September 7, 1919. It was converted from *Navajivan ane Satya*, Gujarati monthly (1915-1919). Also issued in Hindi from August 19, 1921.

Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi.

*Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad* (Hindi) : Ed. Kaka Kalelkar, Jamnalal Seva Trust, Wardha, 1953.

Sabarmati Sangrahalaya : Library and records containing documents relating to Gandhiji's South African period and Indian period up to 1933; *vide* Vol. I, p. 341.

(*The*) *Statesman* : Prominent English daily of Calcutta, in publication since 1875 and issued from 1877 as incorporating and directly descended from the *Friends of India*, founded in 1818.

*Young India* (1918-31) : English weekly founded by Jamnadas Dwarkadas at Bombay; from May 7, 1919, published bi-weekly under Gandhiji's supervision; from October 8, 1919, issued as a weekly from Ahmedabad with Gandhiji as Editor.

## *CHRONOLOGY*

( April 16, 1931 — June 17, 1931 )

*April 16 :* Gandhiji arrived in Bombay from Ahmedabad; bade farewell to Lord Irwin; spoke to Congress workers on return of confiscated lands in Gujarat; and discussed scheme of re-export of foreign cloth with mill-owners Sir N. Wadia, H. P. Mody and Ambalal Sarabhai.

*April 17 :* Met Governor of Bombay regarding question of land revenue and return of the confiscated property of the Gujarat peasants. Also discussed with Sir Geoffrey Corbers, Commerce Member, Government of India, the question of re-export of foreign cloth from India.

*April 18 :* Spoke in reply to Bombay Corporation address. Lord Willingdon sworn in as Viceroy of India.

*April 19 :* Gandhiji arrived at Ahmedabad.

*April 20 :* At Vidyapith; visited Satyagraha Ashram.

*April 21 :* At Ahmedabad, officiated at wedding of Lakshmi, daughter of a khadi worker; left for Bardoli.

*April 22–26 :* In Bardoli taluka.

*April 23 :* Cabled to *The Daily Herald* that present methods of conversion adopted by missionaries should be abandoned.

*April 24 :* Held discussions with peasants whose confiscated lands had been sold by Government to third parties.

*April 25 :* In Bardoli, Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Nariman and Sardar Garda met Gandhiji regarding return of confiscated lands. Gandhiji visited Babla.

*April 26 :* Visited Akoti village.

*April 27 :* In Bardoli; left for Borsad.

*April 28–May 10 :* At Borsad.

*April 29 :* Advised Khatedars of Kaira District that they were not obliged to pay revenue by incurring debt if they had suffered substantially by reason of satyagraha movement.

*April 30 :* Gave interview to *Fox Movietone News*. Met the peasants of Bardoli.



CWMG-XLVI

*May 1:* Brother of King of Bhutan met Gandhiji. Gandhiji wired H.W. Emerson, Home Secretary, not to arrest Abdul Ghaffar Khan.

*May 2 :* In interview to Press, said that Congress workers were faithful to the Gandhi-Irwin Pact.

*May 6 :* At Bochasan laid the foundation of Vallabh Vidyalaya. Gave interview to the Associated Press of India.

*May 8 :* Issued statement to Press on Congress workers' picketing of liquor shops and foreign cloth.

*May 9 :* Met the congress workers of Kaira District.

*May 10 :* Gandhiji saw Collector of Kaira.

*May 11 :* Collector of Kaira met Gandhiji. Gandhiji left Borsad for Simla.

*May 13–17 :* At Simla.

*May 13 :* Held talks with Lord Willingdon and H. W. Emerson on the problems arising out of Gandhi-Irwin Pact.

*May 14 :* Spoke at public meeting and had talks with H. W. Emerson.

*May 15–16 :* Continued his talks with Viceroy and Home Secretary.

*May 16 :* Met Sir G. Schuster.

*May 17 :* Malaviya and Moonje had talks with Gandhiji. Gandhiji had talks with H. W. Emerson. Gave interview to a group of journalists and left for Nainital.

*May 18 :* Reached Nainital and met Sir Malcolm Hailey, Governor of U.P., to discuss the agrarian question.

*May 19 :* At Nainital, held talks with the Governor and spoke at public meeting.

*May 20 :* At Nainital, had interview with the Governor.

*May 21 :* At Kumaon, spoke at political sufferers' meeting.

*May 22 :* At Nainital, in an interview to Press, declined to make any statement regarding his plans for going to London.

*May 23 :* Wired H. S. L. Polak, Srinivasa Sastri and C. F. Andrews that absence of solution to communal question and attitude of some Provincial Governments made his leaving India difficult; reached a compromise with the zamindars regarding remission of land revenue; left Nainital for Bardoli at 4 p.m.

CWMG - XLVI

*May 25 :* Reached Swaraj Ashram, Bardoli.

*May 25–June 8 :* At Bardoli.

*May 27 :* Had prolonged conversation with Subhas Chandra Bose.

*May 30 :* Police fired in communal clashes in Kanpur.

*June 5 :* Gandhiji visited Surat.

*June 6 :* In Bardoli. Abdul Ghaffar Khan met Gandhiji.

*June 8 :* Jawaharlal Nehru met Gandhiji. In the evening Gandhiji left for Bombay accompanied by Jawaharlal Nehru and Abdul Ghaffar Khan.

*June 9 :* Arrived in Bombay to attend Congress Working Committee meeting which passed resolution that Gandhiji alone should represent the Congress at R.T.C.

*June 10 :* In Bombay, addressed *Prabhat Pheris*, the processionists who came singing to his Bombay residence, Mani Bhuwan.

*June 11 :* In Bombay, addressed meeting of Desh Sevikas and the Hindustani Seva Dal.

*June 12 :* In Bombay, explained to a deputation of Europeans the attitude of the Congress towards Englishmen; left for Borsad.

At Maroli, on way to Borsad, laid the foundation of a Kasturba weaving school started by Mithubehn Petit.

*June 13–17 :* At Borsad.

CWMG XLVI

Advice to Peasants, Bardoli, 36
Against Picketing, 31-2
Agrarian Situation in Assam, 361-2
(The) Allahabad Congress Hospital: an Appeal, 144-5
Anglo-Indians, 143-4
Cable to: *Daily Herald*, 34; *Evening Standard*, 153; Polak H. S. L., 383; Sastri, V. S. Srinivasa, 199
Caste and Communal Question, 302-4
Christian Mission 237-9
Congress Voters, 183-4
(A) Correction, 360
(The) Cult of Violence, 1-3
Danger Looming, 139-41
Dangers of Democracy, 106-8
(An) Englishman's Dilemma, 3-8
For 'Followers', 108
For the Dandi Pilgrims, 145-6
Foreign Cloth and Other British Goods, 26-7
Foreign Missionaries, 27-9
Foreign Missionaries Again, 109-10
(The) Gujarat Farmer, 57-9
He Lives by Dying, 56
Homage to K. T. Paul, 152
('An) Honest Doubt'(?), 310-4
How They Are Taught, 146-7
In 1828, 188-9
(An) Ingenious Suggestion, 33
Interview to: European Deputation, 366; *Fox Movietone News*, 63-6; (The) Associated Press, 386; (The) Press, 10-2, 101-2, 125-6, 137, 153, 164-6, 198, 245, 273-4, 382
Is It an Economic Necessity?, 306-8
'Judge Lynch Decides', 147-8
Khadi in Kaira, 133-4
(The) Law of Swadeshi, 254-7
(A) Letter, 345
Letter to: Agarwal, Moolchand, 319; Ahmed Qumer, 174; Alexander, Horace G., 210; Amtussalaam, 262, 352, 374; Andrews, C. F., 50-1,88-9, 275-6; Ansari, Dr. M. A., 224-5, 370; Azmatullah, Syed, 148, Bajaj, Jamnalal, 125; Banerjee, Mrs. V., 298; Banker, Shankerlal, 224; Banerji, Suresh Chandra, 150; 224; Bapi Needu, Maganti, 97-8, 222; Barnes, Captain, 211; Batliwala, S. N., 288; Bazaj, Rukmini, 269; Bazaz, Premnath, 213; Bhadrapur, K.B., 346-7; Bhargava, Dr. Gopichand, 176; Bhave, Balkrishna, 22; Birla, G. D., 54, 253, 319, 329, 355; Bittmann, John, 214; Bodhraj, 176, Bose, Subhas Chandra, 223, 297; Brockway, A. Fenner, 155-6, 195; Brown, H. Runham, 95; Brunskog, Carl J., 215; Burgess, L.J., 227; Butt, A. G., 278; Captain, Gosibehn, 209; Chandiwala, Brijkrishna, 79; Cham Probha Devi, 50; Chatterjee, Durga Prasanna, 175; Chaudhari, Sukhendubikas, 178; Chavda, Kisansinh, 83, 301; Chettiar, S. Swaminathan, 292-3; Chetty, K. Pandar, 291; Chintamani, C.Y., 266-7; Choksi Najuklal N., 327; Close, Upton, 71; Collector, Kheda District, 77; Collett John Kyte, 377; Collins, G. N., 67; Dalai Lama, 81, Dals-

gaard, Dr. Henning, 351; Darbhanga, Maharaja of, 290; Das, Nilkanta, 334; Das Gupta, Hemprabha, 285-6; Das Gupta, Satis Chandra, 44-5, 155, 210-1, 277, 335; Datar, M. G., 228; David, M. I., 177, 349, 375, 376-7; Desai, Hari-ichchha, 281-2; Desai, Kusum, 122; Desai, Rasik, 285; Desai, V. G., 244, 268; Dev, Khan Chand, 96, 114, 154; Dudabhai, 170, 268-9; Dunichand, 332, 368, 388; Dutt, Krishna Gopal, 265; Emerson, Gertrude, 290; Emerson, H. W., 25, 47-8, 84-5, 110-1, 181, 207, 208, 209, 268, 275, 286, 286-7, 322, 373-4, 379-81, 392; Field, Charles S., 289; Foley, Walter 213; Gadodia, Lakshminarayan, 67,135-6; Gandhi, Jamnadas, 53, 83, 124, 169, 244-5, 365; Gandhi, Khushalchand, 284-5; Gandhi, Manilal and Sushila, 20, 281; Gandhi, Manmohandas P., 229; Gandhi, Narandas, 35, 82, 123-4, 136, 136-7, 181-2, 217, 232, 243-4, 248, 271, 283, 301, 328-9, 354, 355, 385-6, Garda, Framroze B., 220-1, 250; Garrett, J. H., 19, 21, 42; Giri, Mahavir, 90, 170; Ghose, Sailendra Nath, 70-1, 174-5; Gokibehn, 18; Gregg, R. B., 52-3; Hailey, Malcolm, 199-200, 203; Harcourt, H., 94-5; Harker, Emma. 324-5; Harolikar, V. B., 266; Hate, Mrs. C. A., 292, 378; Heydorn, Wilhelm, 289; Hingorani, Anand T., 389; Hodson, H. V., 349; Hussain, Yousuf, 94; Jairamdas Doulataram, 116, 195; Jehangir Cowasji, 218-20, 279-80; Jerajani, Vithaldas, 270, 300; Jhaveri, Gangabehn, 247; Jhaveri, Nanibehn, 89, 280; Jhaveri, Pannalal, 122; Jones, E. Stanley, 45; Joshi. Chhaganlal, 283-4; Joshi, Madhav R., 348; Joshi, N.G., 279; Jugal Kishore, 221-2, 333; Kantak, Premabehn, 171, 270, 317; Karamchandani, 72; Ketkar, G. V., 113, 287; Khan, Mohammed Ismail, 192; Khare, Lakshmibehn, 230; Khare, Narayan Moreshwar, 251-2, 282, 327; Khare, Rambhau, 33, 283; Kothawala, F., 249-50; Krishnadas, 194, 298; Krishnamacharya, V. T., 85-6; Kumarappa, J. C., 70, 288, 323; Lacey, Percy, 212; Lee, Thomas B., 347; Lindsay, Darcy, 120, 294-5; Livingston & Doull, 121; Lucas, W. E., 385; M. Rebello & Sons, 262; Macbean, Emelia, 368; Madhavanar, 325; Maharaj, Sahebji, 17; Mahmud, Dr. Syed, 17, 80, 191; Mahtab, Harekrushna, 375-6; Malihabadi, Abdur Razzaq, 121; Malkani, N. R., 173; Manager, Oxford University Press, Bombay, 69, 218; Mashruwala, Nanabhai I., 335; Mathew, K. T., 180; Mathew, P. G., 376; Maxwell, R. M., 23-4, 43-4, 48, 111-2, 245-7, 330-2; Menon, U. Gopala, 221; Mehta, Anand Kishore, 264; Mehta, Babalbhai, 282; Mehta, Dhirajlal, 393; Menon, Esther, 350; Miller, Martin C., 71; Moonje, Dr. B. S., 372; Moreno, H. W. B., 115; Muzumdar, Haridas T., 78; Nag, Hardayal, 226; Nagarajan, K.S., 115-6; Naidu, L. R. Guruswamy, 223; Nair, K. Kelappan, 98; Nair, Thappan, 348; Nanda, Gulzari Lal, 96-7; Nariman, K. F., 249, 391;

CWMG - XLVI

Natarajan, K., 157; Nayyar, Ishwar Das, 216; Nehru Jawaharlal, 118-9, 323, 390; Neil, Henry, 148; Oldfield, Dr. Josiah, 326; Padamlal 302; Padma, 62, 247, 352; Page, Kirby, 179; Pandit, Vasumati, 35, 171, 230, 318; Parekh, Kanti, 353; Parmar, Lalji, 72, 327; Patel, Shanta, 134-5, 217; Patnaik, Ananta C. 299-300; Patnaik, Niranjan, 180, 212; Pattani, Prabhashankar, 167-8; Phatak, Hari Ganesh, —Fragment of, 20; Prabhavati, 10, 23, 123, 229, 242-3, 248, 326, 381; Rai, Gulshan, 175; Rajagopalachari, C., 95, 163-4, 214, 224, 387; Rajendra Prasad, 88; Rajwade, R. S., 265; Ram, S. Rangoo, 149; Ramachandran, G., 114; Ratilal, 250; Reynolds, Reginald, 16; Rosenblatt, Florence, 85; Roy, Dr. B. C., 371; Roy, Kiran Sankar, 263; Roy Chatti, K., 297; Rutnam, James T., 77; Sahai, Vidyanath, 295-6; Sahni, J. N., 215-6; Saksena, Mohanlal, 384; Salvation Army, Bombay, 377-8; Sapru, T. B., 25; Sastri, V. S. Srinivasa, 204-5; Sayler, Allen W., 263; Secretary, Central Sikh League, Amritsar, 369; Secretary, Congress Committee, Chittagong, 193; Secretary, Indian Association, Iraq, 226; (The) Secretary, Indian Merchants' Chamber, 293; Sen, Bhupendra Narayan, 162, 372; Shah, Chimanlal, 127; Shah, Fulchand K., 172, 251; Shah, Sharda C., 84, 168, 280, 353; Shamlal, 370-1; Sharma, Hardevi, 391; Sharma, Shriram, 264, 351-2; Sheorey, A. G., 293; Shukla, Ramsevak, 351; Singh, Gangasharan, 135; Singh, Raghubir, 227; Singh, Ramlal, 156; Singh, Surendra, 46-7, 228, 369; Sinha, Atul Pratap, 215; Subbiah, A., 163; Sundaram, V. A., 169; Taleyarkhan, Firozabehn, 231; Tan Yun-Shan, 81; Thakkar, Madhavji V., 182; Thakkar, Mahalakshmi M., 300; Troth, Dennis C., 174; Tucker, Boyd, 87-8, 179; Tyabji, Abbas, 93, 225; Upadhyaya, Haribhau, 92-3; Urmila Devi, 334; Vaidya, Gangabehn, 117-8, 252, 318; Vaze, S. G., 194; Vel, K. V., 333; Venkatappayya, Konda, 97, 291; Vidyarthi, Mohan Lal, 299; Vijayaraghavachariar, C., 51-2, 178; Vizianagram, Maharaj Kumar of, 193; Wadia, P. A., 324; Wanless, Dr. W. J., 278; Weller, Charles F., 296; Wulfse, A.Y.C., 390

Limits to Freedom, 257-8

(The) Loin-cloth, 54-6

Meaning of Grinding Poverty, 361

Message: (to) Hindustani Seva Dal, 126; (to) Karnatak Provincial Conference, 166-7; (on) Khadi, 90-1; (to) Labourers, Karachi, 126; (to) People of Bhutan, 90;

Missionary Methods in India, 314

My faith, 357-9

'No Change of Heart', 141-2

Notes, 8-10, 75-6, 102-4, 129-33, 138-9, 157-8, 184-8, 205-7, 235-7, 258-62, 304-6, 339-40, 356-7

'One of the Many' (?), 29-31

Opinion Unchanged, 159

Our Duty to the Villagers, 59-61

Panchayats, 239-40

Poor Man's *Hundi*, 341-2

Power of Ahimsa, 105-6
*Prabhatpheris*, 310
(The) Problem of Four Lakh Dharalas, 127-9
Public Expense, 160-2
R.T.C. and Congress, 309
Salt, 241
(The) Sarda Act, 38
Speech: (at) Bochasan, 99-101; (at) Bombay, 356, 364-5; (at) Desha Sevikas' Meeting, Bombay, 363-4; (at) Maroli, 366-7; (at) Nainital, 183; (at) Political Sufferers' Conference, 196; (at) Public Meeting, Simla, 151-2; (in) Reply to Corporation Address, Bombay, 12-3; (at) Sabarmati Ashram, Ahmedabad, 22-3; (to) Villagers, Akoti, 47; (at) Zamindars' Meeting, Nainital, 204
Statement to the Press, 68, 116-7
(A) Superstition, 343-4
Telegram to: Birla, G. D., 320; Bose, Subhas Chandra, 271; Champabehn, 190; Emerson, H. W., 66; Gandhi, Jamnadas, 197; Garda, Framroze B., 79, 91; Husain, Maqbool, 317; Jairamdas, Doulatram, 172; Jehangir, Cowasji (Junior), 117; Jehangir, Sir Cowasji, 91; Kombrabail, 274; Krishnadas, 321; Laxmidutt, 26; Mahendra Prasad, 367; Mehta, Dr., 190; Mills, James, 315; Murarilal, 272; Patel, Vallabhbhai, 154, 168; Pattani, Prabhashankar, 231; President, Hindi Sammelan, Madura, 320; Rambhoroselal, 198; Sadagopachari, 321; Sahay, Sitla, 388; Saksena, Mohanlal, 198; Secretary, Congress Committee, Chittagong, 191; Sen Gupta, J. M., 272, 315, 330; Shah, Fulchand K., 322; Shirer, William, 253-4; (*The*) *Statesman*, Delhi, 383; Tamil Nadu Conference, Madura, 274; Thakurdas Khushaldas, 49; Tiwari, Venkateshnarain, 316; Upadhyaya, Haribhau, 69; Viceroy, 197
To Deshsevaks, 242
To the Cultivators of Kheda, 49
To the Kisans of the U.P., 200-3
To the Satyagrahi Farmer, 13-5
To the U.P. Zamindars, 233-5
(A) Twentieth Century Sati (?), 73-5
Under Swaraj, 362-3
Use Another Name, 342-3
Vadapalli Shooting, 31
Violation of Pledge, 36-7
Virus of Untouchability, 360
What is the Truth?, 61-2
(A) Woman's Sacrifice, 189-90
Women Volunteers and Khadi, 38-40
Worker-village Ratio, 336-9
Worthwhile Questions, 40-2

CWMG XLVI

*Adi-Dravidas*, 95
ADULT SUFFRAGE, 46
AGRAWAL, Moolchand, 319
AHIMSA, *see* NON-VIOLENCE
AHMED, Qumer, 174
ALEXANDER, Horace G., 210, 211
ALI, Begum Mahomed, 55
ALI, Mahomed, 55
ALI, Mrs. Asaf, 370
ALI, Shaukat, 11, 80, 119
ALI BROTHERS, 55. *See* also ALI, Mahomed and ALI, Shaukat
ALL-INDIA MUSLIM CONFERENCE, 137 *fn*
— NATIONALIST MUSLIM PARTY, 137 *fn*
— SPINNERS' ASSOCIATION, 59-60, 86, 104, 173, 258, 307, 335
AMANULLAH, 373
AMBALAL SARABHAI, 37
AMERICA; goodwill of, for freedom struggle, 63; wrong reports of India in, 147; visit to, 53, 71, 87, 139, 179, 289, 368
*Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 335
AMTULBEHN/AMTUSSALAAM, 243, 262, 271, 328, 352, 374
ANANDI, 84, 135, 232
*Anasaktiyoga*, 20, 232
ANASUYABEHN SARABHAI, 216
ANDREWS, C. F., 69, 87, 88, 149, 199 *fn*, 218, 225, 275
ANGLO-INDIANS; under swaraj, 143-4
ANIMAL PASSION, *see* SEX
ANNA, 245
ANNAPURNA, 97, 98, 127
ANSARI, Dr. M. A., 9, 119, 224, 370
*Antyaja(s)*, 82, 268, 283, 337; ill-treatment of, 339-40; new name for, 342-3
*Aparigraha*, 284
APTE, 301
APTE, Sarja, *see* SARJA
ARJUNA, 2
ARMY; *see* MILITARY
ASHRAM (Sabarmati); a source of inspiration, 36-7
— Vow; on celibacy, 23; on swadeshi, 35 *fn*
ASSOCIATED PRESS OF INDIA, 101, 137, 139, 198, 273, 386,
— — AMERICA, 63
(*An*) *Autobiography*, 277
AZARIAH, Bishop, 157
AZMATULLAH, Syed, 148

BABAJI, 243
BABI, 365
BABY, 371
BAJAJ, Jamnalal, 9, 69, 92, 125, 136, 150, 169, 328, 372, 376
BALDWIN, 174
BALKRISHNA, 384
BANKER, Shankerlal, 224. *See* also SHANKERLAL
BANERJEE, Mrs. V., 298
BANERJI, Suresh Chandra, 150
BAPTY, Major, 383, 386
BARNES, Captain, 210, 211
BARNES, Mrs., 211
BARNUM'S SHOW, 53
BARODA, Maharaja of, 225
BASANTI DEVI, 371

BATLIWALA, S. N., 288
BAZAJ, Benarsilal, 124
BAZAJ, Rukmini, 124, 269
BAZAZ, Premnath, 213
BENGAL; inspiration from, 359
BENN, 11, 57
BHADRAPUR, K. B., 346
BHAGAT SINGH; 51 *fn*, 66 *fn*; bravery of, 120; Congress resolution on, 1, 357-9
*Bhagavad Gita*, 45, 62, 90, 127, 171, 255, 258, 277
BHAGINI SEVA SANGH, 158
BHAGWANJI, 124, 301, 354
*Bhajanavali*, 232
BHANGIS; ill-treatment of, 339-40
BHARGAVA, Dr. Gopichand, 176
BHARTRIHARI, 127
BHARUCHA, 219
BHATT, MOHANLAL, *see* MOHANLAL
BHAVANI DAYAL, Swami, 305
BHAVE, Balkrishna, 22
BHAVE, Vinoba, 123, 243
BHIKHABHAI, 219
BHIMBHAI, Rao Bahadur, 219, 345
BHISHMA, 131
BHOPAL, Nawab of, 54, 80, 119, 137 *fn*
BHUTAN; message to, 90
BIBLE, 146
BIRLA, Ghanshyamdas, 51, 54, 258, 319, 320, 329, 355
BITTMANN, John, 157, 214
BODHRAJ, 176
BOER WAR; Gandhiji's services in, 386
BOERS, 261
BOLSHEVISM, 295
(*The*) *Bombay Chronicle*, 63, 165
BOOTH, Dr., 386
BOSE, Benoy, 358
BOSE, Subhas Chandra, 155, 211, 223, 253, 263, 271, 277, 297, 298, 311, 312, 315 *fn*, 316 *fn*, 334, 335, 355 *fn*
BOSTON TRANSCRIPT, 139
BOTHA, Gen., 261
BOYCOTT, 165, 206, 306, 308; in Egypt, 121; of foreign cloth, 9, 39, 40, 42, 54, 59, 60-1, 116 *fn*, 125, 129, 135, 138, 251, —an economic necessity, 102, 307-8, — and Lancashire, 26, 212, 324, —through khadi, 9, 138, 308; of foreign yarn, 40 *fn*, 41 *fn*; of liquor, *see* DRINKS AND DRUGS; social, 205, 240. *See* also PICKETING
*Brahmanical Magazine*, 314
BRAHMINS, 303; under swaraj, 362-3
BRIJKISHORE, 88
BRITISH COMMONWEALTH, 375
— EMPIRE, 364
— GOODS, 26-7
*British Movietone News*, 65
BRITISH PREMIER, *see* MACDONALD, Ramsay
BROCKWAY, A. Fenner, 155, 195
BROWN, H. Runham, 95
BRUNSKOG, Carl J., 215
BUDDHA, 81
BUDHABHAI, 318
BULLER, Gen., 383, 386
BURGESS, L. J., 227
BUTT, A. G., 278

CAPE AGREEMENT, 305
CAPITAL; for swaraj Government, 153
CAPITALISM; Indian, and British imperialism, 5
CAPTAIN, Gosibehn, 209
CARRION-EATING; to be given up, 340
CASTE; and communal question, 302-3; an excrescence, 302
— SYSTEM, 65

CELIBACY; as Ashram vow, 23; in marriage, 159
CENTRAL SIKH LEAGUE, 369
CHAMPA, 82, 124, 136, 169, 190
CHANDIWALA, Brijkrishna, 79
CHANDRA, 300
CHANDRASHANKAR, 124
CHARACTER; essential for Congress workers, 338
CHARKHA, *see* SPINNING-WHEEL
CHARU PRABHA DEVI, 50
CHATTERJEE, Durga Prasanna, 175
CHATTI, K. Roy, 297
CHATURVEDI, Benarsidas, 305
CHAUDHURI, Sukhendubikas, 178
CHAVDA, Kisansinh, 83, 301
CHETTIAR, S. Swaminathan, 292
CHETTY, K. Pandar, 291
CHILD-MARRIAGE; abolition of, 65
CHINESE STUDENTS; message to, 81
CHINNAPAVU, 95
CHINTAMANI, C. Y., 266
CHITALIA, Karsandas, 158
CHOKSI, Motibehn, 327
CHOKSI, Najuklal N., 327
CHOUDHURI, Radhabehn, 53, 232, 269
CHRIST, Jesus, 110, 146, 238; no exclusive divinity in, 71
CHRISTIAN(S), 13, 27, 28, 61, 109, 146, 152, 167, 238
— MISSIONARIES; *see* MISSIONARIES
— SCIENCE, 347
CHRISTIANITY, 28, 110, 152, 238, 314; *vs.* other religions of India, 109-10
CHURCHILL, Winston, 5, 54, 174, 309
CITIES; to serve villages, 12
CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE, 3 to 6, 24, 64, 111 *fn*, 150, 158 *fn*, 200, 245, 246, 345
— SERVICE, 46, 294
CIVILIZATION; Indian *v.* European, 54-6. *See* also CULTURE
CLOSE, Upton, 71
COLLETT, John Kyte, 377
COLLINS, 24, 67
COLOUR PREJUDICE; in U.S.A., 147-8
COLUMBUS, 260
COMMUNAL PROBLEM; and separate electorates, 11, 175 *fn*, 226; and caste, 302-3
— SETTLEMENT, 137
— UNITY, 13, 27. *See* also HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY
COMMUNALISM; and Congress, 237
COMPLETE SWARAJ, *see Purna* SWARAJ
CONGRESS, *see* INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
— COMMITTEES; rivalries in, 237
CONGRESSMEN, 59, 101, 106, 107, 119, 140, 155, 156, 167, 202, 220, 235, 276, 310, 356, 370 *fn*; and communalism, 237; and khadi, 138, 142, 183-4; and Navajuvan Bharat Sabha, 236; and panchayats, 239-40; and violent writings/speeches, 96
CONSTITUTION; under swaraj, 143, 166-7, 226
CONTRACTOR, Miss V., 219, 280
CONVERSION, *see* PROSELYTIZATION
COPYRIGHT, 218
CORBETT, Geoffrey, 12
COTTON; no harm in import of, 40-1, 229
CULTURE; Indian *v.* European, 54-6; Islamic, 55; to be treasured, 55. *See* also CIVILIZATION
CURTIS, Mrs., 1

DADUBHAI, 128
DAHIBEHN SONABAI, 248
*Daily Herald*, 34

CWMG XLVI

DALAI LAMA, 81
DALSGAARD, Dr. Henning, 350, 351
DANDI MARCH, 301
— MARCHERS; obligations of, 145-6
DARBARI, 284
DARBHANGA, Maharaja of, 290
*Daridranarayana*, 12
DAS, Basanti Devi, *see* BASANTI DEVI
DAS, C. R., 358, 359
DAS, Dr. T., 288
DAS, NILKANTA, 334
DAS GUPTA, Hemprabha Devi, 155, 277, 285
DAS GUPTA, Nikhil, *see* NIKHIL
DAS GUPTA, Satis Chandra, 44, 155, 188, 210, 277, 335
DATAR, M. G., 228
DAVID, M. I., 177, 349, 375, 376
DAYALJI GULABBHAI, 131, 132
DEATH; mourning over, 285-6, 343-4
DECALOGUE, *see* TEN COMMANDMENTS
DEMOCRACY, 5; abuse of, 106
DEO, Shankarrao, 287
DESAI, Gopaldas Purushottam, 133
DESAI, Hari-ichchha, 281
DESAI, Kusum, 122
DESAI, Mahadev, 51, 103, 164, 166 *fn*, 253, 267, 376
DESAI, Rasik, 285
DESAI, Dudhibehn V., *see* DUDHIBEHN
DESAI, Pragji K., *see* PRAGJI
DESAI, Valji G., 217, 244, 268
DESH SEVIKA SANGH, 130
DESHBANDHU DAS, *see* DAS, C. R.
DEV, Khan Chand, 96, 114, 154
DHANJIBHAI, 340
DHARMA, 15, 103, 205, 206, 257 to 259, 285; observance of, 38
DHIRU, 169, 182
DISCIPLINE; among Congressmen, 140
DOCTOR, 124, 169, 328. *See* also MEHTA, Dr. Pranjivan
DOMINION STATUS, 4, 7, 8
DOULL, 121
DOWRY, 131, 132
DRESS; for common man, 130-1
DREW, Alexander, 135
DRINKS AND DRUGS, 145, 167, 245, 251, 367; boycott/picketing of, 31-2, 135, 152, 185, 246, 322 *fn*, 379, 387; not necessary for peaceful atmosphere, 367; plea to give up, 100; prohibition of, in America, 325; prohibition of, will be an unmixed good for India, 325
DRONA, 131
DUDHABHAI, 82 *fn*, 170, 268
DUDHIBEHN, 268
DUNI CHAND, Lala, 208, 332, 368, 388
DUTT, Krishna Gopal, 265
DUTY, 38. *See* also DHARMA
DWARKANATH, 123, 329

EAST INDIA CO., 294
EASTERN CIVILIZATION, *see* CIVILIZATION
ECONOMICS; human, 361; of khadi, 307-8; of swadeshi, 254-7
ECONOMY; golden rule of, 160-1
EDDY, Dr. Sherwood, 87, 139
EDUCATION; aim of, 101; of the masses, 46
EFFICIENCY; and high salaries, 46
EGYPT; minority problem in, 61-2
EGYPTIANS; freedom for, 121
EINSTEIN, Prof., 95
ELECTIONS; hypocrisy during, 129-30; unhealthy trends in, 364
(THE) ELEVEN POINTS; in letter of January 1930, 6
ELIZABETH, 324
ELWIN, Father; spinning by, 187-8
EMERSON, Gertrude, 290

EMERSON, H. W., 25, 47, 48, 66, 84, 110, 118, 137, 153, 163, 176, 181, 207 to 209, 268, 275, 276, 286, 287 *fn*, 322, 330, 373, 374 *fn*, 379, 392
ENDS; and means, 364
ENGLAND, King of, 65
ENGLISHMEN; and Congress, 366; in India, 294-5
EQUALITY; of man, 302, 348
EUROPEANS; in India, 177; materialistic outlook of, 55-6
(*The*) *Evening Standard*, 153
EXPLOITATION, 27
EYE-CARE, 281

FAMILY; limiting of, 159
FASHION; glamour for, 141, 206
FASTING; in picketing, 205; limitations of, 344
FEDERATION OF CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE, 54
FIELD, Charles S., 289
FOLEY, Walter B., 213
FOREIGN CLOTH, 21, 67, 145, 172 *fn*, 196, 205, 260, 261, 266, 356; boycott of, 9, 39, 40, 42, 54, 59, 60-1, 116 *fn*, 125, 129, 135, 138, 165, 185, 251, 259, 260 *fn*, 274, 288 *fn*, 307, 324, 363, —an economic necessity, 102, 307-8,— and import of foreign cotton, 340-2; — craze for, 206; picketing against, 32, 141-2; prohibition of, 26; scheme for re-export of, 11; under swaraj, 167; *v.* British cloth, 20, 26-7; *v.* Indian mill-cloth, 307-8; yearning for, 141
— GOODS; boycott of, 206, —and swadeshism, 256-7
— MISSIONARIES, *see* MISSIONARIES
FORGIVENESS; non-violence as, 1
*Fox Movietone News*, 63
FRANCE; political life of, 364-5
FREE KITCHENS; a dangerous institution, 141
FREEDOM, 315; of Press, 236; limits to; 257-8; political, and violent means, 1-3, 29-31; religious, under swaraj, 363. *See* also SWARAJ
FULCHAND, 167. *See* also SHAH, Fulchand K.
FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS; CONGRESS resolution on, 143, 166, 196, 257

GADODIA, Lakshminarayan, 67, 135
GAEKWAR, Maharaja of, 93
GAJADHAR, 126
GAJANAN, 252
GALLWEY, Col., 383, 386
GANDHI, Chhotalal, 301, 355
GANDHI, Devdas, 335, 354, 382
GANDHI, Indira, *see* INDU
GANDHI, Jamana, *see* JAMNA
GANDHI, Jamnadas, 53, 83, 124, 169, 197, 244, 365. *See* also JAMNADAS
GANDHI, Kasturba, 271, 281, 328, 335, 385, 386
GANDHI, Khushalchand, 284, 301
GANDHI, Lakshmidas, 18, 22
GANDHI, Manilal, 20, 281
GANDHI, Manmohandas P. 229
GANDHI, Manu, 83
GANDHI ASHRAM MEERUT, 305
GANDHI-IRWIN AGREEMENT/PACT/SETTLEMENT/TRUCE, 4 to 6, 8, 11, 14 to 16, 19, 20 *fn*, 24, 27, 29, 31, 32, 42, 47, 49, 58, 64, 67, 75, 84, 91, 96, 99, 102 to 104, 107, 113, 131, 142, 151 to 156, 164, 165, 176, 181, 184, 186, 193, 204, 208, 223, 245, 247, 250, 253, 260, 264, 273, 276, 287, 291, 296, 309 to

CWMG XLVI

311, 331, 332, 346, 370, 373, 374, 382, 384; acceptance of, 6-7; implementation of, 21, 23, 25, 43-4, 48, 51, 57-9, 68, 111-2, 116-7, 163, 185-6, 197, 199, 225, 246-7, 312-3, 379-81, —advice to U.P. *kisans* on, 200-3, —Arbitration Board for, 381; salt collection under, 241
GANDHI-NEHRU TERMS, 4-6
*Gandhi the Apostle*, 78 *fn*
*Gandhi Triumphant*, 78 *fn*
*Gandhi versus the Empire*, 78 *fn*
GANDHI, Narandas, 35, 82, 123, 136, 181, 217, 229, 232, 243, 248, 250, 262, 271, 283, 284, 301, 318, 328, 354, 355, 385
GANDHI, Nirmala, *see* NIMU
GANDHI, Prabhudas, *see* PRABHUDAS
GANDHI, Purushottam, *see* PURUSHOTTAM
GANDHI, Radha, *see* CHOUDHURI, Radhabehn
GANDHI, Ramdas, 230
GANDHI, Rukhi, *see* BAZAJ, Rukmini
GANDHI, Santok, 35, 232, 269
GANDHI, Sushila, 20, 281
GANDHI, Virchand R., 314, 368
GANGABEHN, 89, 122, 130, 230, 243, 271, 280, 317, 374
GANGASHARAN SINGH, 135
GARDA, Framroze B., 79, 91, 102, 103, 117, 125, 126, 218 to 220, 249, 250, 279, 345
GARIBALDI, 261
GARRETT, J. H., 19, 21, 23, 42, 43, 47 *fn*
GAURISHANKAR, 328
GAYA PRASAD, 203
GAYADHANI, Bapu, 56
GHOSE, Sailendra Nath, 70, 174
GIDNEY, 96
GIDWANI, Choithram, 173
GIDWANI, Vatan G., 116 *fn*
GIRI, Mahavir, 90, 170, 230
GIRI, Maitri, *see* MAITRI
GIRIRAJ, 283
*Gita*, see *Bhagawad Gita*
GOD, 32, 73, 101, 135, 150, 152, 162, 196, 238, 302, 304, 310, 350, 356, 360, 374, 381, 389; faith in, 292, 348
GOKIBEHN, 18
GOONDAISM; in freedom struggle, 106-7
GOPALDAS, Durbar Saheb, 128
GORKI, 189
(*The*) *Grammar of Sociology : Man in Society*, 78 *fn*
GREGG, R. B., 52
GREY, 116
*Guide to Health*, 299
GUJARAT PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE; funds of, 160-2
GURUDEV, *see* TAGORE, Rabindranath

HABU; mother of, 162, 189, 190
HAILEY, Sir Malcolm, 110, 164, 191, 197, 199, 201, 203, 233
HAND-SPINNING, *see* SPINNING
HANDWRITING; illegible, implies violence, 76
HANUMANSINGH, 136, 243
HARAS BABU, 10
HARCOURT, H., 94
HARIBHAI, Dr., 82
HARIYOMAL, 217
HARKER, Emma, 324
HAROLIKAR, V. B., 266
HAWKINS, R. E., 218
HATE, Mrs. C. A., 292, 378
HERO-WORSHIP, 304
HEYDORN, Wilhelm, 289
*Hijrat*, 161
*Hind Swaraj*, 157

Hindi, 50
HINDU(S), 12, 13, 27, 31, 49 *fn*, 61, 63 *fn*, 151, 167, 176 *fn*, 192, 238, 268, 272 *fn*, 302 to 304, 339, 340, 343, 347, 362, 363; rowdyism among, 54; their duty to minorities, 62
— SOCIETY; and marriage, 74
HINDUISM, 12, 28, 54, 109, 360; and caste system, 302-3; and untouchability, 303, 339, 340
HINDU-MUSLIM PROBLEM/TENSION, 51, 54, 64, 87, 89, 165, 253, 272*fn*, 281, 303-4, 317 *fn*, 369
— — UNITY, 76, 119, 137, 146, 148, 235; in free India, 65. *See* also COMMUNAL SETTLEMENT
HINDUSTANI SEVADAL, 126, 364, 365
HINGORANI, Anand T., 389
HODSON, H. V., 349
HOLMES, Rev., 87, 139
HONESTY; and high salaries, 46
HOOPER, 234
HOSTILITY; not against persons, 108
HOWARD, Mrs. Charles, 314
HUME, 366
HUSAIN, Maqbool, 317
HUSSAIN, Sir Fazl, 153
HUSSAIN, Yousuf, 94
HYPOCRISY; during elections, 129-30

I.C.S., Indian members of, 294
IDOLATRY, 304
IMAM, Hasan, 80
IMAM, Sayed Hassan, 17
IMPORTS; of foreign cotton, raw silk and woollen tops, 40-1
INDEPENDENCE, 146, 312; complete, 8. *See* also SWARAJ and *Purna* SWARAJ
INDEPENDENCE RESOLUTION, 4
INEQUALITIES; abolition of, 143-4
INDIA; administration of, 294; culture of, 54-5; image of, in U.S.A. and England, 147; in no need of conversion, 28-9; lives in villages, 12; service to, 364-5; suited for non-violence, 2-3; unarmed, *v.* British might, 105; will not brook exploitation, 27
— OFFICE, 294
INDIAN AMBULANCE CORPS, 386
— CIVIL SERVICE, *see* I.C.S.
— CIVILIZATION; and inroads from West, 54-6
— CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM, 175 *fn*
— MERCHANTS' CHAMBER; Gandhi elected honorary member of, 293
INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, 1, 4, 5, 7, 8, 21, 23, 24, 31, 32, 41 *fn* to 43, 46, 49 *fn*, 52, 67, 88, 102, 103, 106, 107, 113, 116, 120, 123, 125, 126, 138, 140, 151, 152, 164, 166, 180, 183, 185, 189, 197, 199 to 202, 224, 226, 253, 254, 266, 267, 272, 273, 275, 276, 292, 297, 299, 300, 302, 306, 307, 311, 312, 316 *fn*, 332, 336, 338, 340, 357, 370 *fn*, 380; and Anglo-Indians, 144; and communalism, 237; and khadi, 9; and khadi clause, 38-9; and Lancashire, 212; and Parsis, 219; and RTC, 309, 313-4; and swaraj constitution, 143-4, 166-7, 226; and zamindars, 204, 235; attitude of, to Europeans, 366; elections to, 183-4, 364; funds for, 161; hypocrisy sullies name of, 129-30; Karachi session of, 9, 151, —resolution at, on Bhagat Singh, 1, 357, 359, —on Fundamental Rights, 143, 166, 196, 257, — on Gandhi-Irwin Pact, 313, — on religious neutrality and untouchability, 362-3;

khadi policy of, 129-30, 138; Lahore session of, 78*fn*, 311; not political activity alone in, 38; Working Committee of, 8, 9, 31, 119, 143, 178, 191, 246, 263, 267, 329, 334 335, 367, 369, 387, 390
*Indian Opinion*, 299 *fn*
INDIANS; *v.* Englishmen, 294-5
INDU, 323
INNER VOICE, 53, 275
INTER-DINING, 303
INTER-MARRIAGE, 303
IRWIN, Lord, 5 to 7, 16 *fn*, 25, 42, 48, 58, 59, 64, 66, 102, 151, 177, 221, 241, 247, 267, 311, 313, 361
ISHERDAS, 140
ISLAM, 28, 109
IYER, Sir C. P. Ramaswami, 221

JAGLA, Devalia, 331
JAINS, Digambar, 257
JAINS, *Shravakas*, 257
JAMNA, 35, 232
JAMNADAS, 82. *See* also GANDHI, Jamnadas
JANAKA; belonged to the people, 235
JAPAN, 196
JAYANT, 285
JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN, 123, 243
JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM, 116, 172, 173, 195, 361, 389
JEHANGIR, Sir Cowasji, 91, 102, 117, 126, 218, 279, 345
JERAJANI, Vithaldas, 270, 300
JEW(S), 27, 238
JHAVERI, Gangabehn, 247
JHAVERI, Nanibehn, 89, 122, 280
JHAVERI, Pannalal, 89, 122
JINNAH, 148 *fn*
JIVANDAS, 18
JIVANLALBHAI, 393
JONES, E. Stanley, 45
JOSEPH, George, 27
JOSHI, Chhaganlal, 145, 283, 247, 328, 329, 354
JOSHI, Madhav R., 348
JOSHI, N. G., 279
JOURNALISM; poisonous, 236
JUDAISM, 28
JUGAL KISHORE, 221, 333

KADAM, Dr., 197
KAKASAHEB, *see* KALELKAR, D. B.
KAKU, 117, 118
KALELKAR, D. B., 123, 251, 301, 365
KAMALA, 385
KANUGA, Dr., 82
KANTAK, Premabehn, 135, 171, 217, 270, 271
KARAMCHANDANI, 72
KARNATAK PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE, 125 *fn*
KASHIBEHN, 130
KELLY, 83
KETKAR, G. V., 56, 113, 287
KHADI (KHADDAR), 13, 26, 42, 55, 90, 94, 100, 125, 132, 152, 165, 167, 183, 196, 206, 207, 237, 266, 274, 299 to 301, 306 to 308, 310, 328, 336, 337, 355, 366; and Congress policy on, 129-30, 138; and Congressmen, 142; boycott through, 308; in Kaira, 133-4; message on, 90-1; mill-cloth to supplement, 9; must for Congress volunteers, 38-40; object of, 363-4; plea for preference to, 59-61; poor man's *hundi*, 341-2; progress of, 307-8; propaganda for, 258-61; 342; spurious, 104, 357; swadeshi through, 256; taste for, 59, 141, 206; through self-

spinning, 141; *v.* mill-cloth, 39-40, 41, 138, 308
KHAMBHATTA, Bairam, 378
KHAN, Abdul Ghaffar, 66, 210, 354, 373, 374, 382, 391, 392
KHAN, Mohammed Ismail, 192
KHARE, Lakshmibehn, 230
KHARE, Narayan Moreshwar, 251, 282, 327
KHARE, Ramachandra, 33, 282, 283, 327. *See* also RAMBHAU
KHUDAI KHIDMATGAR MOVEMENT, 373, 374
KHUMANSING, Thakur, 103
KIDWAI, Mushir Hussain, 61
KIKIBEHN, 173
KISAN, 171
*Kisans*; manifesto to U.P., 200-3; *v.* zamindars, 233-5
KISHORELAL, 123
KOMBRABAIL, 274
KOTAK, 104
KOTHAWALA, F., 249
KRIPALANI, J. B., 305, 333
KRISHNADAS, 194, 298, 318, 321
KRISHNAKUMARI, 270
KRISHNAMACHARYA, V. T., 85
KUMARAPPA, J. C., 70, 88, 323
KUSUM, 35, 217, 232

LACEY, Percy, 212
LAKSHMI (Daughter of Lakshmidas Gandhi), 18, 22
LAKSHMI (Adopted by Gandhiji), 82, 123, 170, 171, 269, 270, 271
LAKSHMIDAS, 82, 131
LALITA, 163
LALJI, 283
LALLUBHAI, 244
LANCASHIRE; and boycott, 26, 324; and Congress, 212
LAXMIDUTT, 26
LAXMIDUTT SWADESHI PRACHARAK MANDAL, 26 *fn*
(*The*) *Leader*, 266
LEE, Thomas B., 347
LESTER, Muriel, 51, 87, 149
LETTER-WRITING; conditions for, 76
LIGHT; that leads, 53, 275, 348
LILABEHN, 35
LILADHAR, 354
LILAVATI, 328
LINDSAY, Sir Darcy, 120, 294, 319
LINGAYATS, 125
LIQUOR, *see* DRINKS AND DRUGS
*Literary Digest*, 147
LIVINGSTON & DOULL, 121
LOIN-CLOTH, 53, 65; what it means, 54-5
LOK NATH, 176
LONDON; visit to, 196, 198, 309
LOVE, 365; is purest ahimsa, 257; meaning of, 353
LUCAS, W. E., 385
LUXURIES; amidst poverty, 204

M. REBELLO & SONS, 262
MACBEAN, Emelia, 368
MACDONALD, 3, 64, 174, 187
MADANMOHAN, 328
MADHAVANAR, 325
MADHAVJI, 300
*Madras Catholic Leader*, 109
MAHALAKSHMI, 328
*Mahatma Gandhi: His Own Story*, 69 *fn*
*Mahatma Gandhi: Peaceful Revolutionary*, 78 *fn*
*Mahatma Gandhi: A Prophetic Voice*, 78 *fn*
*Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas*, 69 *fn*
MAHENDRA PRASAD, 367
MAHMUD, Dr. Syed, 17, 18, 119, 191
MAHMUDABAD, Maharaja of, 235

CWMG - XLVI

MAHTAB, Harekrushna, 375
MAITRI, 230
MALAVIYA, Madan Mohan, 69, 92, 216, 383; and Congress, 8-9
MALIHABADI, Abdur Razzaq, 121
MALIK, 136
MALKANI, N. R., 173
MALKHAN SINGH, Thakur, 391
*Mananvishi*, 252
*Manchester Guardian*, 212
MANCHESTER ROYAL EXCHANGE, 101
*Mangalprabhat*, 248
MANI, 18
MANIAR, Amritlal, 89
MANILAL, 92
MANNICHE, 351
MANU, 365
MARIA, *see* PETERSEN, Anne Marie
MARRIAGE; aim of, 73-5; as aid to self-restraint, 74, 159; celibacy in, 159; ideal, 131-3; outside religion, 303; sex in, 74, 115-6
MARUTI, 82
MASHRUWALA, Kishorelal, 277
MASHRUWALA, Nanabhai I., 335
MASSES; awakening of, 140; education of, 46
MATERIAL COMFORTS; search for, 55-6
MATHEW, 271
MATHEW, P. G., 376
MATHEW, K. T., 180
MATHURADAS, 318
MATHURADAS DEVRAM, 159
MATIBAS, 375
MAXWELL, R. M., 23, 43, 48, 111, 112 *fn*, 245, 330
MAYOR OF KARACHI, *see* MEHTA, Jamshed
MEANS; and ends, 364
MEHTA, Anand Kishore, 264
MEHTA, Babalbhai, 282
MEHTA, Dhirajlal R., 393
MEHTA, Dr., 190
MEHTA, Jamshed, 140
MEHTA, Sir Pherozeshah, 13
MEHTA, Dr. Pranjivan, 18, 22, 82, 190. *See* also DOCTOR
MEHTA, Ratilal, *see* RATILAL
MENON, Dr. E. K., 214, 350, 351
MENON, Esther, 214, 350
MENON, M. P. Narayana, 221
MENON, U. Gopala, 221
MILITARY; expenditure on, 196
MILL-CLOTH, 165; and khadi, 39-40; to supplement khadi, 9; *v.* foreign cloth, 26; *v.* khadi, 41, 138, 307-8
MILLER, Martin C., 71
MILL-OWNERS' ASSOCIATION, 10
MILLS, James, 315
MINORITIES; rights of, under swaraj, 143
MIRA, 73
MIRABEHN, 10, 52, 81, 87, 187, 326, 389
MISSIONARIES; and proselytization, 27-9, 34, 109-10, 237-9, 314
MODI, 102
MOHAMMED (Prophet), 210
MOHAMMEDANS, *see* MUSLIMS
MOHANLAL, 244
MONA, 371
MONCRIEF, Major Scott, 383, 386
MOONJE, Dr. B. S., 372
MORENO, Dr. H. W. B., 115, 143
MUKUNDRAI, 328
MULLA, 80
MURARILAL, 272
MURDERS; political, *see* POLITICAL ASSASSINATIONS
MUSLIMS, 11, 13, 15, 17, 27, 33, 54, 61, 80, 99, 100, 148 *fn*, 152, 155, 164, 165, 167, 176 *fn*, 192, 272 *fn*, 302 to 304; nationalist, 17
MUZUMDAR, Haridas T., 78
*My Experiments with Truth*, 157

NADKARNI, S. D., 61
NAG, Hardayal, 226
NAGARAJAN, K. S., 115
NAIR, K. Kelappan, 98
NAIDU, L. R. Guruswamy, 223, 224
NAIDU, Sarojini, 80, 119
NAIR, Thappan, 348
NAKEDNESS; and social decency, 257-8
NANALAL, 124, 169, 318
NANDA, Gulzarilal, 96
NARAHARI, Bhai, 99
NARENDRA DEVA, 333
NARIMAN, K. F., 31, 102, 249, 345, 356, 391
NATARAJAN, K., 157
NATIONAL FLAG; film on, 391
*Navajivan*, 49, 73 *fn*, 75, 83, 168, 248, 267, 391
NAVAJIVAN PRESS; forfeiture of, 275; return of, 379
NAVAJUVAN BHARAT SABHA, 236
NAVIN, 247
NAYYAR, Ishwar Das, 216
NAYYAR, Pyarelal, 51, 73 *fn*
NEEDU, Maganti Bapi, 97, 222, 291
NEGRO; problem of, in U.S.A., 147-8
NEHRU, Jawaharlal, 118, 154, 323, 354, 358, 384, 390, 391; will enforce Fundamental Rights, 196
NEHRU, Kamala, 145, 323
NEHRU, Mohanlal, 357
NEHRU, Motilal, 144, 145
NEHRU, Mrs. Motilal, 80 *fn*
NEIL, Henry, 148
NIKHIL, 277, 286
NIMU, 230
NIPANI, 279
NON-VIOLENCE, 6, 37, 50, 66, 90, 108, 126, 167, 183, 202, 215, 307, 312, 331, 358, 359, 373, 382; and political murders, 1, 30, 120; and raw silk, 40; as a creed, 166-7; as an expedient, 105-6; China's deliverance through, 81; in correspondence, 76; in land possession, 92; is purest love, 257, 353; of the helpless, 92-3; meaning of, 107; suits India, 2-3; progress lies through, 211; Tibetans should follow, 81; true spirit of, 105; *v.* violence, 1-3, 30; weapon of, 105-6

OFFICE; for service, 108
OLDFIELD, Dr. Josiah, 326
OMAR, Caliph, 235
OWNERSHIP; of people, 235

PADAMLAL, 302
PADMA, 62, 247, 270, 271, 352
PAGE, 87, 139, 179
PALATE; and self-purification, 344
Panchayats; norms for, 239-40
PANDIT, Vasumati, 35, 171, 230, 271, 318
PANDIT, Vijayalakshmi, 80
PANDYA, Bhagwanji P., 217
PANT, Govindballabh, 198, 203
*Paradharma*, 255
*Pardeshi Kapadni same Harifai kem Karavi*, 229 *fn*
PAREKH, Indu, 354
PAREKH, Kanti, 353, 354
PARMAR, Lalji, 72, 327
PARNERKAR, 136
PARSIS, 13, 15, 27, 152, 219, 220
PATEL, Jehangir, 249
PATEL, Pushpa S., *see* PUSHPA
PATEL, Shanta S., 134, 217
PATEL, Vallabhbhai, 14, 19, 57, 68, 99, 100, 102, 123, 126, 154, 168, 225, 245, 249, 257, 273, 284, 334, 335, 345, 382, 385
PATEL, Vithalbhai, 128, 156

CWMG - XLVI

PATIDARS; failings of, 128-9
PATNAIK, Ananta C., 299
PATNAIK, Niranjan, 180, 212
PATTANI, Prabhashankar, 167, 169, 172, 231
PAUL, K. T., 152
PEACE, 365; of mind from faith in God, 292; through truth and non-violence, 215
PEDDIE, 1
PEOPLE; everything belongs to, 235
PERRY, 77, 346
PETERSEN, Anne Marie, 350
PETIT, Mithubehn, 366
PHATAK, Hari Ganesh, 20
PICKETING, 31, 38, 44, 122, 135, 145 172, 223, 260, 261, 266, 274, 276 325, 334, 380; against dishonest practices of businessmen, 207; of foreign cloth, 102, 141-2, 259, 265, 266, 306, 363; of liquor shops, 102, 322 *fn*; norms for, 184-5; questions regarding, 205-6; reformer's right of, 32; *v.* propaganda, 173
PLEDGE; interpretation of, 37
POLAK, H. S. L., 87, 199*fn*, 225, 253, 383
POLITICAL ASSASSINATIONS; against Indian tradition, 1-2, 29-31; condemnation of, 120
POOR; the rich should protect the, 128, 130-1
POVERTY; due to exploitation, 47
POWER; for service, 108
*Prabhatpheris*, 245, 310
PRABHAVATI, 10, 23, 123, 229, 242, 248, 326, 381
PRABHUDAS, 169, 182,
*Prachin Kahani*, 210 *fn*
PRAGJI, 124
PRAYER; efficacy of, 210
PRESS; freedom of, 236
PROHIBITION, 310, 366; in free India, 64. *See* also DRINKS AND DRUGS
PROPHET, *see* MOHAMMED, Prophet
PROSELYTIZATION; and foreign missionaries, 27-9, 34, 109-10, 237-9, 314
PROVISIONAL SETTLEMENT, *see* GANDHI-IRWIN AGREEMENT/PACT/SETTLEMENT/TRUCE
PUBLIC EXPENDITURE; economy in, 160
— OPINION; against poisonous journals, 236; influence of, 103
— SERVANTS; maximum pay for, 196
PUNCH, 31
PUR BAI, 375
*Purdah*, 65
*Purna* SWARAJ, 3, 12, 125, 151, 200, 202; meaning of, 99-100. *See* also SWARAJ
PURUSHOTTAM, 53, 136, 181
PUSHPA, 217
PYARELAL, *see* NAYYAR, Pyarelal

RADHA, *see* CHOUDHURI, Radhabehn
RAGHUBIR SINGH, 227
RAGHUMAL TRUST, 329
RAHIMATOOLA, Sir Ibrahim, 61
RAI, Gulshan, 175
RAJAGOPALACHARI, C., 95, 163, 214, 223, 321, 325, 380, 387
RAJAH, H. D., 287, 330, 331
RAJENDRA PRASAD, 84, 88, 135, 367, 381
RAJGURU, 51 *fn*
RAJWADE, R. S., 67, 186, 265, 287, 330
RAMA, 166; belonged to the people, 235
RAMACHANDRAN, G., 114
RAMANAMA; best remedy for illness, 22

CWMG - XVI

RAMANAND, 67
RAMANAND, Sannyasi, 329 *fn*
*Ramarajya*; is poor man's swaraj, 166-7
*Ramayana*, 16 *fn*, 232, 343
RAMBHAU, 182, 230, 252. *See* also KHARE, Ramachandra
RAMBHOROSELAL, 198
RAMDAS, Swami, 168, 248
RAMNARAYAN, 93
RANCHHODBHAI, 35, 331
RANGOO RAM, S., 149
RAO, Shankar, 113
*Rashtravani*, 44, 155, 188
RATANJI DAYARAM, 331
RATILAL, 82, 124, 136, 169, 190, 197, 217, 232, 244, 250
RATUBHAI, 328
RAVANA, 16 *fn*
RAVISHANKAR, 128
RAW MATERIAL; no harm in importing of, 40
RAZU, Narayana, 222
REFORMS; and national interests, 38; at the end of sacrifice, 157
REHMAN, Dr., 370
REHMAN, Mujibar, 45
RELIGION(S), 238; adequacy of all, 109; and rights, 257-8; equality of, 34, 239; freedom of, 257-8; (a) personal matter, 28
REMARRIAGE; of widows, 65
REVOLUTIONARIES, 120; harm non-violent movement, 3, 30
REYNOLDS, Reginald, 3, 5, 6, 16, 88, 147
RICH; misuse of status by, 128
RIGHTS; and religion, 258
ROBERTS, Lieut., 383, 386
ROBINSON, 35,
ROSENBLATT, Florence, 85
ROY, Dr., 44, 335, 371
ROY, Kiran Sankar, 263
ROY, Raja Ram Mohan, 314
ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE, 4, 7, 9, 10, 25, 64, 65, 78 *fn*, 89, 94, 118, 150, 151, 164 to 166, 175 *fn*, 183, 197, 199, 204, 224 to 226, 253, 267, 273, 275, 276, 312, 387; and Congress, 309, 313-4
RUKHI/RUKMINI, *see* BAZAJ, Rukmini
RUSSIAN REVOLUTION, 295
RUTNAM, James T., 77

SADAGOPACHARI, 321
SADHUS; and society, 257-8
SAHA, Gopinath, 358, 359
SAHAI, Vidyanath, 295
SAHAY, Sitla, 388, 390
SAHNI, J. N., 215
SAHU, Narsinha, 212
SAJJAN SINGH, 1
SAKSENA, Mohanlal, 198, 384
SALT; for villages, 361; provision under Settlement for collection of, 241
— LAWS, 48, 185
SALVATION ARMY, 377
*Samachar*, 335
*Samachar Darpan*, 188
SANSKRIT, 171
SAPRU, Tej Bahadur. 25, 51-2
*Saptapadi*, 74
SARAIYA, Purushottam D., *see* KAKU
SARDA ACT, 38
SARDAR, *see* PATEL, Vallabhbhai
SARDAR GARDA, *see* GARDA, Framroze B.
SARJA, 301
SASTRI, V. S. Srinivasa, 199, 204, 225
SATI; ideal of, 73-5, 159
SATYAGRAHA, 49, 64, 213; for temple entry, 221; in Indian States, 302; principle of, 161-2

CWMG - XLVI

SATYAGRAHI(S), 8, 13, 30, 62, 107, 150, 151, 161; code of, 62; duty of, 103; ever ready for compromise or battle, 7; vows of Dandi, 145-6; weapon of, 59
SAYLER, Allen W., 263
SCHUSTER, Sir George, 355
SECULARISM, 363
SELF-IMMOLATION; by widow, 73, 75, 159
SELF-PURIFICATION, 344
SELF-RESTRAINT, 292; in marriage, 159
SEN, Bholanath, 210
SEN, Bhupendra Narayan, 162, 372
SEN GUPTA, J. M., 155 *fn*, 253, 271, 272, 315, 319, 330, 334, 335, 355, 362
SEPARATE ELECTORATE, 11
SERMON ON THE MOUNT, 71, 110
*Servant of India*, 61
SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY, 364
SERVICE, 6; and self, 348; and Swadeshi, 255-7; is its own reward, 35; no organization needed for, 237; of one's neighbours, 254-5; to motherland, 364-5; to poor, 12-3
SESHAN, 163
SETALVAD, Sir Chimanlal, 273
SEX; in marriage, 74, 115-6, 159
SHAH, Chimanlal, 127
SHAH, Fulchand K., 172, 251, 322
SHAH, Sharda C., 84, 168, 280, 353. *See* also SHARDA
SHAKRIBEHN, 127
SHAM DASS, 176 *fn*
SHAMAL, 100, 101
SHAMLAL, 370
SHANKARBHAI, 124, 385
SHANKARRAO, 243
SHANKERLAL, 173. *See* also BANKER, Shankerlal
SHANTABEHN, 131
SHARDA, 127. *See* also SHAH, Sharda C.
SHARMA, Hardevi, 391
SHARMA, Shriram, 264, 351
SHASTRAS; authority of, 363
SHAU, Gajadhar, 139, 140
SHEOREY, A. G., 293
SHESHANAG, 304
SHIRER, William, 253
SHIVABHAI, 170
*Shraddha*, 285
SHRADDHANAND, Swami, 342
SHUKLA, Ramsevak, 351
SIDWA, 140
SIKH LEAGUE, 1, 46
SIKHS, 13, 27, 33, 152, 164, 165, 192, 225
SINGH, Ramlal, 156
SINHA, Atul Pratap, 215
SISIR, 263
SITA, 16 *fn*, 281
SITARAMAYYA, Dr. Pattabhi, 224, 369
SITLA SAHAY, *see* SAHAY, Sitla
SLOCOMBE, 4, 6
SOCIAL BOYCOTT, 205, 240
SOUL(S), 159, 161, 285; equality of, 302; is immortal, 343-4; nature of 73, 159
SOUTH AFRICA; Indians in, 51, 177; repatriation of Indians from, 305
SOVIET RULE, 295
SPINNING, 13, 85, 91, 94, 126, 132, 141, 145, 187, 256, 306, 308, 341, 366, 367
SPINNING-WHEEL, 9, 39, 60, 62, 86, 132 to 134, 140, 150, 187, 188, 256, 304, 361; employment through, 140-1
SPIRITUAL UNION; through physical, in marriage, 73-4
ST. JAMES PALACE, 5
STRI SWARAJ SANGH, 248

SUBANAGOUNDER, K. K., 360
SUBBIAH, A., 163
SUJATA, 371
SUKHDEV, 29, 51 *fn*
SUNDERAM, V. A., 169
SUPERIORITY; feeling of, 128
SURAJBEHN MANILAL, 158
SURAJ BHANJI, 368, 388
SURENDRA, 182, 283, 284, 301, 354
SURENDRA SINGH, 46, 228, 369
SURRENDER; concept of, 62
SWADESHI, 104, 142, 356; the law of, 254-7
— SABHA, 20, 258
— VOW, 35 *fn*, 232, 248
SWADESHISM, 257. *See* also SWADESHI
*Swadharma*, 255
SWAMI, 335
SWARAJ, 5, 14, 15, 36 *fn*, 103, 139, 144, 152, 158, 166, 183, 238, 244, 285, 338, 362,; and *Ramarajya*, 166-7; barrier to, 128; elections under, 130; equality under, 340; eradication of untouchability under, 363, foreign missionaries under, 110; hindered by violence, 1; meaning of, 12, 99, 100; measures under, 196; minorities under, 143; religious freedom under, 34, 257; through truth and non-violence, 359; work of, 367
— BHAWAN; hospital in, 144-5
— CONSTITUTION, 143, 166-7, 226

TAGORE, Rabindranath, 276
TALEYARKHAN, Firozabehn, 231
TAN YUN-SHAN, 81
*Tapascharya*, 39
TEN COMMANDMENTS, 66
THAKKAR (BAPA), Amritlal V., 282, 339
THAKKAR, Madhavji V., 182
THAKKAR, Mahalakshmi M., 300
THAKURDAS, 116 *fn*
THAKURDAS KHUSHALDAS, 49
THIEVING; to be given up, 100
TIBETANS; message to, 81
TILAK VIDYALAYA, Nagpur, 228
(*The*) *Times of India*, 288 *fn*, 306, 308
TIWARI, Venkateshnarain, 316
TRANSVAAL; Indians in, 51
TRENCH, 92
(*The*) *Tribune*, 175 *fn*
TROTH, Dennis C., 174
TRUSTEESHIP; in land, 234-5
TRUTH, 39, 108, 126, 202, 215, 359, 365; as creed, 166-7
TUCKER, Rev. Boyd W., 87, 179 237, 239
TYABJI, Abbas, 93, 225
TYABJI, Rehana, 225
*Tyagbhumi*, 93

UNEMPLOYMENT; society cannot long endure, 140
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, *see* AMERICA
UNITY; among all communities, 152; of hearts, 76, 103; in diversity, 13
UNTOUCHABILITY, 145, 167, 196, 310, 342, 360, eradication of, 340; persistence of, 157-8; reproach to Hinduism, 303; under swaraj, 362-3
UNTOUCHABLES, 12, 65, 157, 240, 303, 337, 360, 363; coining new word for, 342-3
UPADHYAYA, Haribhau, 69, 92, 328
URMILA DEVI, 334

VAIDYA, Gangabehn, 117, 252, 318
VAISHNAVAS, 304
*Vanarasena*, 158

CWMG - XXVI

VARNA; law of, 301-3
VAZE, S. G., 194
VEDAS; authority of, 363
VEL, K. V., 333
VENKATAPPAYYA, Konda, 97, 291
VICEROY, *see* WILLINGDON, Lord
VIDYA, 389
VIDYARTHI, Mohan Lal, 299
VILIFICATION, 108
VILLAGES; India lives in, 12; norm for panchayats in, 239-40; Congress workers for, 336-9
VIJAYARAGHAVACHARIAR, C., 51, 54, 178
VIMADALAL, 102, 345
VIOLENCE; cult of, 1-3; of, revolutionaries, 29-31, 120; *v.* non-violence, 1-3, 30-1
VIRATA, 1
VIRCHAND, Sheth, 103
VISHNU, 304
VITHAL, 354
VITHALDAS, 133, 341
VIZIANAGRAM, Maharaj Kumar of, 193
*Voiceless India*, 290
VOLUNTEERS; duty of, 158; goondaism among, 106-7; in camp, 126; of Dandi March, their obligations, 145-6; women, and picketing, 259-61; work of, in villages, 336-9; work of women, 243
*Vratvichar*, 301

WADIA, Prof. P. A., 70, 324
WANLESS, Dr. W. J., 278
WARD, Dr. Harry, 87, 139, 186
WAR RESISTERS, 95
WAR SERVICE; refusal of, 95
WELLER, Charles F., 296
WEST; and Indian civilization, 54-6; misrepresentation of India in, 146-7
WIDOW; re-marriage of, 213; self-immolation by, 73-5, 159
WIFE; rights and duties of, 75, 159
WILLINGDON, Lord, 3, 10, 52, 137, 153, 164, 197, 267, 373
WOMAN; equal rights with man, 159; education of, 171; work of, volunteers, 242
WOODGATE, Gen., 383, 386
WORK; quiet, for progress, 211
WORLD PEACE, 215
WULFSE, A. Y. C., 390

YAKUB, Maulvi Mohammad, 225
YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON, 16 *fn*
YUDHISHTHIRA, 1, 2
*Young India*, 16, 31, 34, 45, 51, 75, 77, 83, 88, 109, 115, 177, 193, 196, 204, 227, 263, 277, 288, 295, 306, 312, 348, 351, 354, 360, 369, 387, 391; forfeited press of, 111, 275

ZAGLUL, Saad Pasha, 61
ZAMINDARS; and Congress, 204, 235; should become trustees of tenants, 234-5
ZOROASTRIANISM, 28, 109

## ADDENDA-II

1. Page 248, item 297, add [From Gujarati] above the source-line.
2. Page 283-4, item 349, add [From Gujarati] above the source-line.
3. Page 328, item 414, after paragraph 3, add the following:

Chhaganlal is also one of her relatives.

## ERRATA

| PAGE | | FOR | READ |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | *Line 1 | of the murderer | of the murderer of |
| 62 | *Para 4, line 11 | There is no loss | There is loss |
| 105 | *Para 3, line 4-5 | woman had not in | woman. Had not man in |
| 205 | *Item 238, line 8 | stock as | stock has |
| 206 | *Footnote 4, line 2 | passed on | passed off |
| 219 | *Footnote 1 | Mrs. Contractor | Miss Contractor |
| 275 | *Item 335, line 3 | hope | hop |
| 307 | *Line 5 from bottom | economic | economics |
| 349 | *Item 436, line 4 | Committee | Committees |
| 383 | *Item 484, line 4 | CORPS | CORPSE |
| 386 | *Line 11 from bottom | he would enter | we would enter |

*Due correction made.

CWMG - XLVI

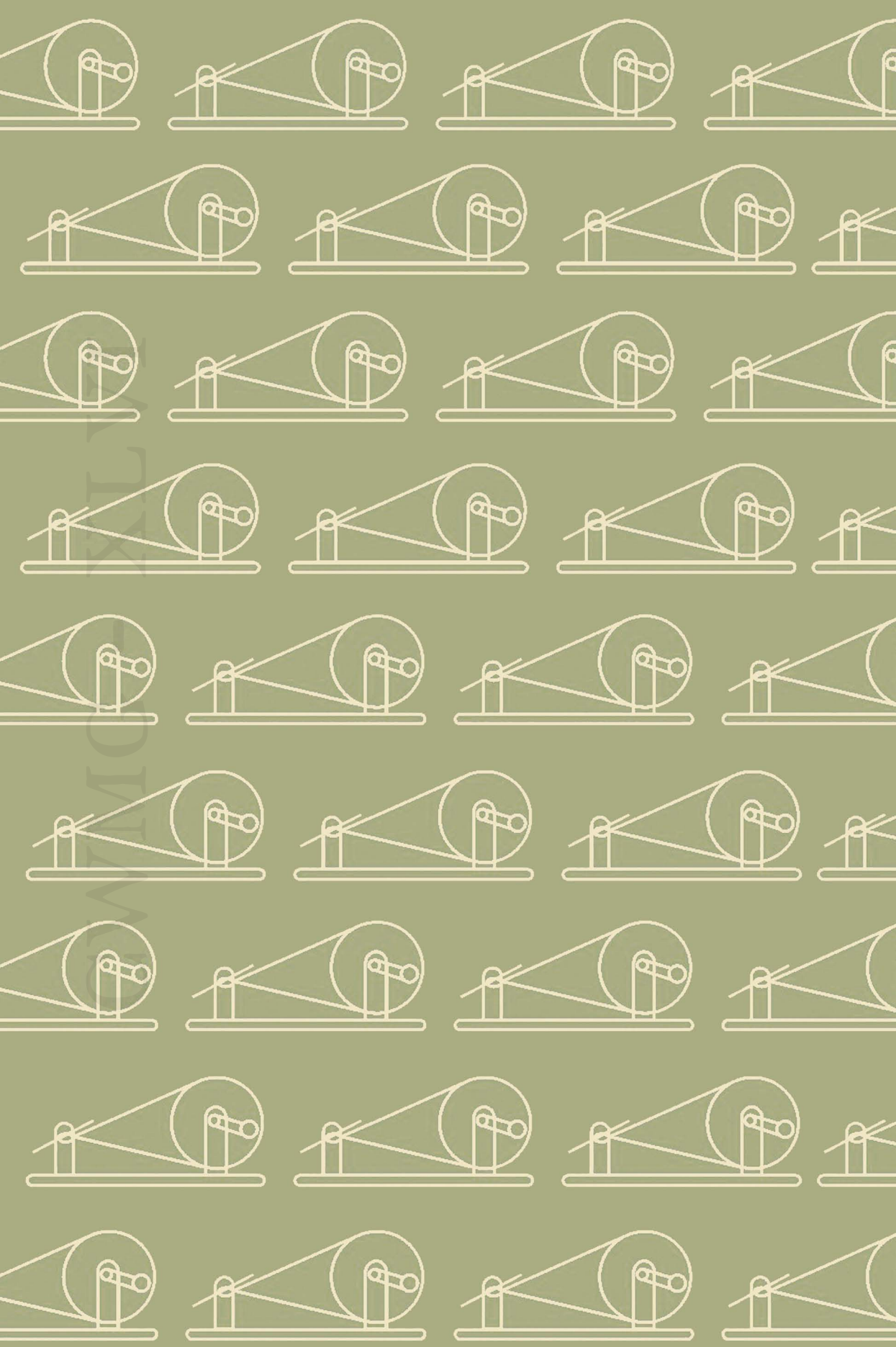
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CWMG - XLVI





CWMG - XLVI

CWMG - XLVI