THE COLLECTED WORKS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

LIII

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THE COLLECTED WORKS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

VOLUME FIFTY-THREE



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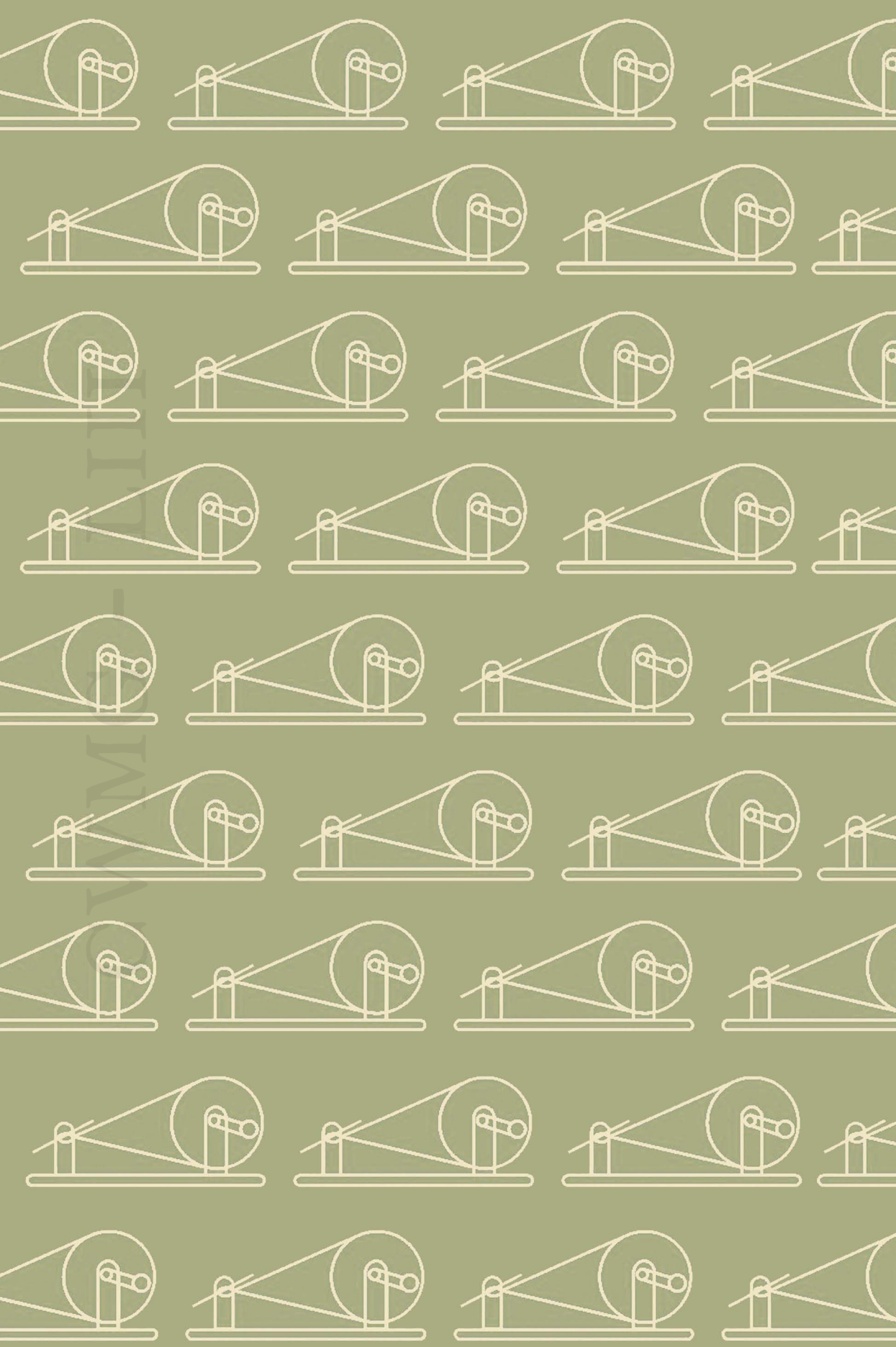
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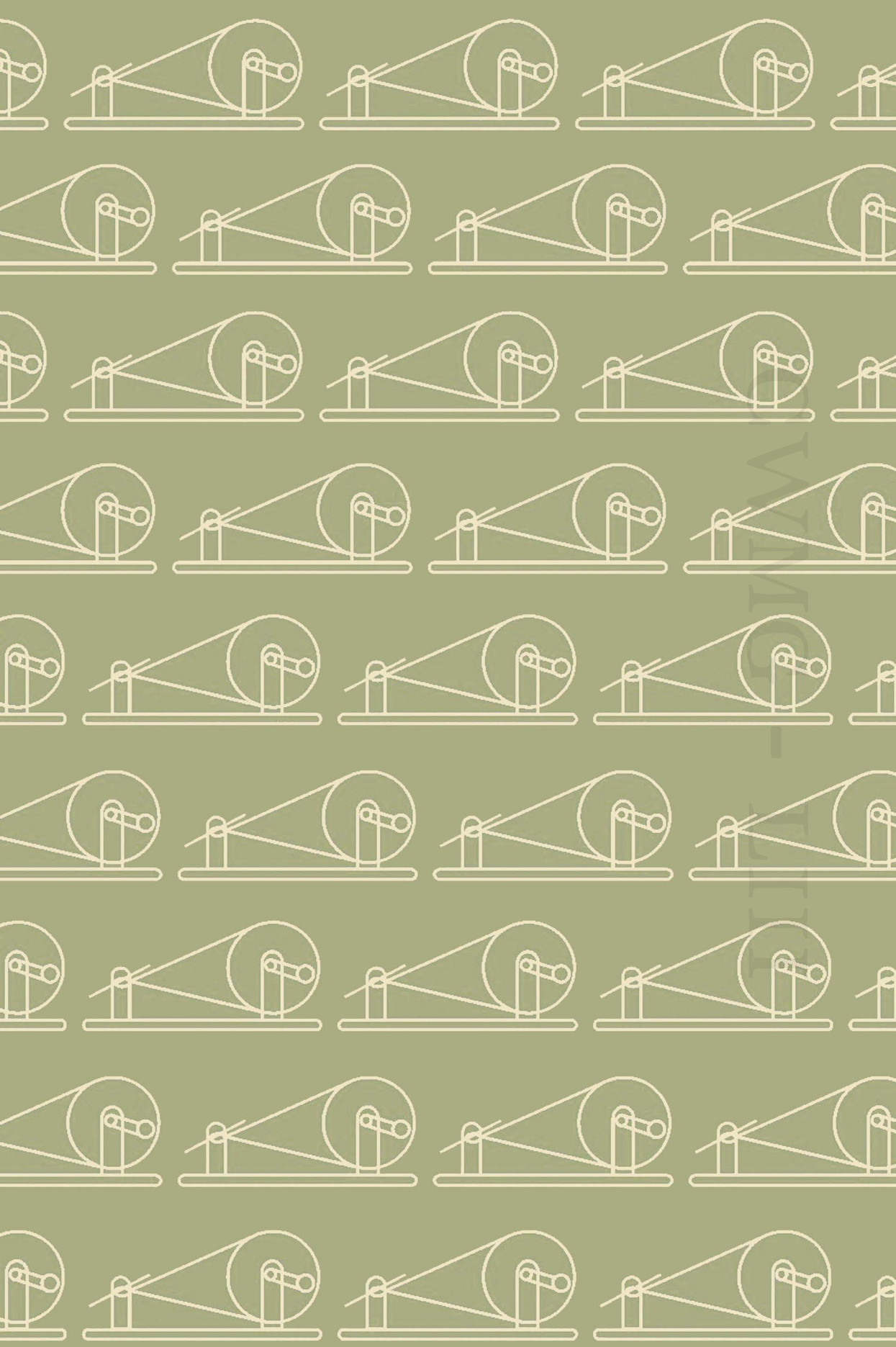
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PREFACE

The campaign against untouchability, which had gathered momentum during the preceding two months, suffered a slight set-back during the period covered in this volume (January 11 to March 5, 1933). Not only did the orthodox opponents of the temple-entry movement intensify their attacks on Gandhiji, but the Government also refused to help the reformers in the passage of legislative measures required to withdraw from the practice of untouchability the legal sanction which the British courts, following the English law of Trusts, had conferred on it. Gandhiji was not much disheartened by the Government's attitude, but was deeply pained by the bitterness of the orthodox. His dedication, however, to Truth and to Hinduism which had "never been a rigid faith" and had always "kept abreast of the times" (p. 432) enabled him to rise above personal feelings and perform with patience his chosen task of educating public opinion through a sustained dialogue with the orthodox. Though their deliberate falsehoods shook him and cut him to the marrow (p. 32), he found wonderful refreshment in their abuses which proved that they had at last been "awakened from long lethargy" (p. 309). Counselling a co-worker to deal gently with his critics, he recalled how "at one time many of us shared the same prejudices as orthodox people do today" (p. 237). For educating public opinion Gandhiji started the three weeklies, *Harijan* (English), *Harijan Sevak* (Hindi) and *Harijanbandhu* (Gujarati). The scope of the weeklies, started for Harijan uplift, was to expand till in due course they became the principal organs of Gandhiji's public dialogue with his followers and fellow-workers.

Gandhiji did not rely upon legislation for bringing about the desired reform. He knew that society held together "on the strength not of law but of mutual goodwill" and unless the majority of caste Hindus were converted he saw no use in any law protecting rights which the majority would not be prepared to recognize. If nevertheless he supported the Bills introduced in the Central Legislature by Ranga Iyer and urged the Government to expedite their consideration, it was because the Bills were not intended to affect the "religious customs and usages of the Hindu community", but to free the reformers from the shackles of the law (p. 350). Gandhiji's attitude differed as much from that of Madan Mohan Malaviya, who opposed even enabling

legislation in aid of the reform, as it did from that of Tej Bahadur Sapru, who had no great "horror of compulsion in a matter of this character" (p. 395). Gandhiji was prepared even for a compromise solution in respect of temple-entry so that, in a locality where the majority of caste Hindus voted in favour of admitting Harijans, the dissenting minority could be accommodated in what to them was "a deep religious conviction" (p. 3). He repeatedly made it clear that the reform was to be brought about with the fullest co-operation of the orthodox. For him non-co-operation was a form of friendship and the very act of non-co-operation was a search for co-operation. He wanted his sanatanist friends to read the signs of the times, deliberately destroy untouchability and thus purify Hinduism. "Its destruction merely through its own weakness will leave Hinduism weaker" (p. 197). Gandhiji was pained by the sanatanists' "laziness to understand and act up to the very fundamentals of Hinduism" (p. 183).

Gandhiji had from the beginning kept the movement against untouchability distinct from the general movement for caste reform, however desirable the latter might be in itself. The castes, he said, "retard the material progress of those who are labouring under them" but were "no bar to the spiritual progress" (p. 258). "The four divisions", he added, "all stand on a footing of equality, doing the services respectively assigned to them" (p. 258). He therefore assured the Central Hindu Committee that he had no "desire to destroy the foundations of Hindu caste system, if by that is meant varnashramadharma" (p. 294). He saw no "compulsion from without" in people voluntarily following hereditary occupations and asserted that "the so-called civilized nations" which had not followed the principle of division of duties or varna, "have by no means reached a state which they can at all regard with equanimity and satisfaction" (p. 455). Gandhiji's campaign against untouchability was thus not a mere extension of the social reform movement in the country which had been going on since the days of Raja Ram Mohan Roy; it was essentially a spiritual struggle, a part of the quest for truth in which "we wish to cultivate unity with all living creatures" (p. 288). The service of the Harijans was no "mechanical thing to be arranged, put on a basis, and then left to workers. It is a spiritual act, soul acting upon soul . . . " (p. 157). He invited the sanatanists to join hands with him in fighting the "untruth and impurity" that had crept into Hinduism (p. 171) and had resulted in the doctrine of equality being "systematically and cruelly disregarded

by modern Hindu society'' (p. 292). His sole wish was to purge the minds of the people of the error which was responsible for this hardening of their hearts against their own kith and kin.

The error lay in a wrong conception of the Shastras. According to Gandhiji, ''Shastra does not mean the pronouncements of men of spiritual experience in the past. It means the words of living men today who have had first-hand spiritual experience, that is, who have realized the Brahman. Shastra is something which is daily embodied in somebody's life. . . . Shastra must be immediately capable of realization in experience, it must spring from the living experience of the person who utters it. It is only in this sense that the Veda is eternal. All else is not Veda . . . '' (pp. 348-9). And Gandhiji argued further that there was abundant authority in the old Shastras themselves ''to warrant the summary rejection, as being un-Hindu, of anything or any practice that is manifestly against the fundamental principles of humanity or morality, of ahimsa or *satya*'' (p. 262). Gandhiji did not however wish to impose his interpretation of the Shastras upon others. ''I must let it work its way in the midst of competing interpretations and conceptions'' (p. 8). Disavowing any desire to found a new religion (pp. 31 and 87) he asserted, ''I am a Hindu not merely because I was born in the Hindu fold, but I am one by conviction and choice'' and he invited ''Dr. Ambedkar to shed his bitterness and anger and try to learn the beauties of the faith of his forefathers'' (pp. 306-7). The Hinduism of the *Gita*, the Upanishads and the *Bhagavata* taught us ''that all life is one, and that in the eye of God there is no superior and no inferior''. It was because he wished to find ''light, joy and peace through Hinduism'' that he wanted ''to see it purified'' (p. 171). He believed that this purification would be best brought about by the opening of the temples to Harijans, the one spiritual act which would be an indispensable test of the removal of untouchability and will open the hearts of both caste Hindus and Harijans to receive new light. ''The message of the temples will penetrate every Harijan hut; the message of economic and educational uplift will touch only those to whom it is personally brought. This proposition of mine can easily be understood by those who, like me, believe in temples as an integral part of Hinduism, as churches and mosques are of Christianity and Islam'' (p. 132).

While convinced that the eradication of untouchability was the supreme duty of every Hindu, Gandhiji was equally clear that this religious task could only be accomplished by right means. ''For this reason, it is necessary for those who serve Harijans never

to be angry with their opponents; never to utter lies; but to overcome anger with affection, rudeness with courtesy, falsehood with truth, and violence with non-violence'' (p. 427). But the observance of truth, like the practice of non-violence, demanded fearlessness (p. 149). When priests threatened a boycott, Gandhiji advised the reformer to dispense with their services at marriages and other ceremonies. He expected his followers to have ''the courage of their conviction, faith in themselves, faith in their cause and faith in a living God'' (p. 462).

While this dialogue was proceeding, the possibility of his resuming the fast, suspended in 1932, was never absent from Gandhiji's mind. He however did not wish the threat of a fast to be used to coerce people to open the temples against their convictions. He disapproved of Rajagopalachari's action in hinting at the possibility of a fast by him (Gandhiji) while canvassing support among members of the Central Legislature for Ranga Iyer's Bill; he wanted the public mind to work unfettered by the thought of the fast. ''When it does come it will produce its own effect'', Gandhiji said, ''if it is a spiritual act'' (p. 286). He claimed further that he was making an experiment in ahimsa on a scale perhaps unknown in history, and the fast would be a part of that experiment undertaken ''in obedience to the call of Truth which is God'' (p. 333). As ''an expression of intense prayer'' (p. 234) it would be an appeal, as was the fast of the preceding September, to those who loved him and had faith in him. Gandhiji was convinced that a vast mass of Hindu opinion was against untouchability and if, to be aroused to action, they needed ''the stimulus of a fast on the part of one who has made his life one with them. . . . they shall have it'' (p. 131).

In reply to a Christian friend's objection that it would be wrong ''to be compelled to act against one's reasoning and instinct through fear of hurting someone whom we love'', Gandhiji explained that there was nothing wrong in people doing the right thing under the pressure of love. ''In innumerable cases men and women are good, not for the sake of good, but for the sake of love which they owe to others or which they receive from them. . . . Jesus Christ was and still remains one of the greatest among moral coercers of the world'' and we praise Him for holding us ''tight in His chains'' (pp. 228-9). Answering another Christian critic's suggestion that his fast was pure coercion, he said: ''It is the implicit and sacred belief of millions of Christians that love of Jesus keeps them from falling and that it does so against themselves. . . . I know that, in my childhood, love of

my parents kept me from sinning, and, even after fifty years of age, love of my children and friends kept me positively from going to perdition, which I would have done most assuredly but for the definite and overwhelming influence of that love. ... there is no prayer without fasting and there is no real fast without prayer. My fast was the prayer of a soul in agony'' (p. 259).

Gandhiji's personal striving through prayer and fasting for self-surrender to a higher power went hand in hand with an intense concern for the welfare of his co-workers, especially those in the Ashram. He had built it up in order to train dedicated workers every one of whom was to preserve his or her own individuality while co-operating voluntarily with others in common tasks. It was a ''strange family'' because in it ''each one makes his or her own choice of the position he or she would occupy'' (p. 69). While dealing in his own way with Premabehn's misunderstanding of the problems of freedom, frankness and discipline, he cautioned Narandas that her individuality was not to be crushed in any manner whatsoever; if ''the individuality of any person in the Ashram is crushed, that would harm the Ashram itself'' (p. 52). In a long letter to Premabehn herself he laid down clear guidance for the conduct of senior inmates in the Ashram. ''In our quest for truth, we wish to cultivate unity with all living creatures. The Ashram, therefore, is an ever-growing family. . . . What would we do to children in our own family? ... If Lakshmi does not observe the rules, the fault is chiefly mine, and then yours. . . . The rule should be, a liberal attitude towards others and strictness towards oneself. . . . The Ashram is the measuring rod by which people can judge me'' (pp. 288-91).

As always, Gandhiji found time, amidst all his preoccupations, to answer the questions of sincere seekers. The higher selfishness of *swadharma* is well set out in a letter to Sriprakasa: '' . . . your first and the last care is to regain your health and not to worry about the future of the family, the country or the world. . . . In a true scheme of life the real advancement of one conduces to the advancement of all'' (p. 299). In the same spirit he assures Ramdas Gandhi: ''An elephant is entitled to consume food which the size of his body requires. Only, he must not waste that food by not giving proportionate service in return'' (p. 418).

A sceptical correspondent was met with the confession: '' . . . I am very stupid. . . sometimes I fancy that God is speaking or acting through me'' (p. 166). But an earnest seeker was given the assurance that the supreme truth could be attained ''by constantly practising it'', by ''perfect accord between thought, speech

and deed'' (p. 464). One's spiritual progress could be as imperceptible and natural as the growth of leaves on a tree (p. 66). For this, however, one has to overcome the ego, reduce the separate self to zero and behave ''like a machine in the hands of the Master Mechanic'' (p. 89).

Describing himself as a *jijnasu* and *mumukshu* (p. 38), Gandhiji claimed also to have the mind of a scientist who looked at all sides of a question and had the sanity and courage to own his mistakes (p. 441). Gandhiji recognized the efficacy of meditation or inner *satsang* (p. 150), and of aesthetic as well as practical experience. The illusion created by poetry that the world is in us has to supplement and correct the *vyavaharik* illusion that we are in the world, so that we can finally realize the truth that ''we ourselves are the world''. It is through study and reflection as well as action that we can ''develop a sense with which we can feel God, and, if we do so, we can know Him also'' (pp. 24-5). Nostalgically recalling his idea of writing about the *Ramayana*, a task for which he found no time, he consoled himself and his friend by saying, ''One who studies *Anasaktiyoga* well can easily get at the secret of the *Ramayana*. . . . while studying the *Ramayana*, you must regard Rama as the Supreme Being and Ravana as the forces opposed to Him'' (p. 236). Thus regarded, Ramanama and Omkar are one, Rama is both a person and a principle, embodying at once the means and the end, the way of dharma and the bliss of *moksha*. The servant of Rama acquires the power to understand and so to influence people and events in the world of Becoming and can honestly say: ''Whatever power I have is Rama's, not mine'' (p. 20). At the same time the lover of Rama is at home in the dimension of Eternity and can witness the shipwrecks and reunions, the tragedies and comedies of earthly life, with a degree of serene detachment, for in ''the *Brahmi* state'' one ''does not suffer at the sight of others' sufferings'' because one ''does not rejoice at the sight of their happiness'' (p. 66).

In a letter to Jawaharlal Nehru Gandhiji described Sardar Patel, his fellow-prisoner, as a ''factory for the inexhaustible supply of mirth'' (p. 310). When Srinivasa Sastri, as a privileged jester in the establishment, exposed his lapses from correct English, Gandhiji not only published these for his readers' delight but announced that Sardar Patel was another specially privileged jester in whose presence ''Gloom hides her fiendish face. . . . He will not spare even my 'saintliness'! It may deceive simple people but never the Sardar or the sanatanists'' (p. 401).

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 date 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, the symbol S.N. stands for documents available in the Sabarmati Sangrahalaya, Ahmedabad; G.N. refers to documents, M.M.U. to the reels of the Mobile Microfilm Unit and S.G. to the photostats of the Sevagram Collection 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 sources and a chronology for the period covered by the volume are also provided at the end.

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CWMG - VOLUME

1. STATEMENT TO ASSOCIATED PRESS

January 11, 1933

I observe that there is a lot of misunderstanding about the compromise proposal[1] I have made in connection with the temple-entry question, and I see that there is dissatisfaction over it even among Harijans. That dissatisfaction is quite natural. Where inequality is rampant, anything that savours of it is immediately suspected and condemned. I have however every faith in my proposal and in spite of the criticisms directed against it, I see no reason to withdraw it. If any single temple is opened according to that proposal, it would be found not only workable in practice, but that Harijans, who are now suspecting in it inequality and a surrender to orthodox opinion, will see that, while it takes that opinion into full account, it surrenders nothing of the principle, namely, that Harijans should be admitted to temples, if at all, on terms of absolute equality with the rest of the Hindus. But since there can be no compulsion in religion, prejudices, which amount to belief for those who hold them, must be respected, in so far as that respect is consistent with the main thing. There is then needed a formula whereby such objectors will not be deprived of the religious consolation to which they are entitled. That can only be done if there is some period fixed during which they can have their *darshan*[2] in isolation.

However unreasonable it may appear to reformers, as it does to me, the sentiment undoubtedly exists that the efficacy of the idol is diminished, if not altogether destroyed, by the presence of certain people in the temple in which it is installed. It is not possible to make the people who harbour that sentiment give it up by force of law or arms. That can only disappear either through an appeal to reason or through experience gained from those who act contrariwise, and yet do not suffer any misfortune which can be directly connected with their giving up that particular sentiment. I am sure that Harijans do not want to cause violence to the feelings of any single person in their legitimate demand to vindicate their status in Hinduism.

[1] *Vide* Vol. LII, pp. 343-5.

[2] Sight of a person, place or thing considered holy

This is a period of grace. Caste Hindus are on their trial. Either the Resolution[1] arrived at last September at the meeting in Bombay has the backing of the general mass of the caste Hindus or it has not. If it has, the temples must be voluntarily flung open to Harijans and if the majority of the temple-goers show their desire in no unmistakable terms for such admission, the Resolution must be regarded as fully vindicated. Cent per cent assent is almost an impossibility in human affairs, and in a matter of religion dissenters ought to be taken into consideration. My proposal does that, and nothing more. It is an acid test for all. The dissenters are in a minority, and sincere in their conviction but tolerant to their opponents. After having made every provision for themselves, they would make equal provision for their opponents. If the reformers be equally sincere and tolerant towards the dissenters, they will make adequate provision for the dissenters' being able to offer worship according to their wont. If Harijans have no desire whatever to coerce anybody so long as they can exercise equal rights with the reformers, they should have nothing to complain of at all.

My proposal is undoubtedly based on the assumption that upon a referendum, a large majority of the temple-goers would vote for the admission of Harijans to temples, and that, therefore, they would visit temples only during the joint hours, and would not visit them during the time set apart for the dissenters. If, in practice, it is discovered that the reformers are a negligible quantity, they would naturally abstain from making use of such temples and if the majority of the temples show such an unfortunate minority they will rightly conclude that the Bombay Resolution has not the backing of the caste Hindus.

But say Harijan friends: 'What about the purification against which you have so often written and spoken?' Of course, I am as much against purification now as ever. If purification remains a general law, then untouchability remains. But purification under my proposal assumes a different shape altogether. Do we not do many things in order to respect the sentiments of our friends and tolerate many more? The question before Harijans, before Hindu society and before the whole world is whether caste Hindus, as a whole, have undergone a change of heart, and whether they are ready to abolish untouchability as it is practised today. If the majority of the caste Hindus vote for its abolition, surely, it is the duty of both reformers and Harijans to accommodate the minority

[1] *Vide* Vol. LI, p. 139.

that may not see eye to eye with the reformers, when their difference is based on what is to them a deep religious conviction. Mutual toleration is the law of the human family, and what my proposal has done is to rigidly enforce that principle.

I would like, in one sentence, to emphasize the fact that the present campaign is one against untouchability as it is practised today in Hinduism, and not against untouchability which is, in some shape or form, common to mankind. Such untouchability does not attach to a person, but to his work or to his conduct. It is not sought to gain complete freedom from the laws of cleanliness and hygiene and the like, the observance of which is obligatory on every temple-goer, even at the present day. But what is insisted upon is that every Harijan who conforms to these laws is entitled to admission to all public temples on terms of equality with the rest.

The Hindu, 12-1-1933

2. *LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA*

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON,[1]
January 11, 1933

MY DEAR GHANSHYAMDAS,

I am permitted to see Jamnalalji as often as may be necessary and to discuss untouchability matters with him. He was reading the constitution of the Society[2] and these are the pertinent things to which he drew my attention:

The resolution is wrong. It is not in accordance with the resolution as it was passed by the Conference. There is nothing in the resolution as it is given in the pamphlet about temple-entry. You will see the correction made in my statement[3] of the 30th December. How the incomplete resolution came to be taken I do not know. The correct text appears in *The Times of India*

[1] Gandhiji was in this Prison from January 4, 1932 to May 8, 1933. This place-name is not reproduced in subsequent items.

[2] Harijan Sevak Sangh (Servants of Untouchables Society); originally called the All-India Anti-untouchability League, founded on October 26, 1932, in pursuance of the resolutions of an all-India Conference of caste Hindus and a public meeting convened by them in Bombay on September 25 and 30, 1932, respectively, under the chairmanship of Madan Mohan Malaviya; G. D. Birla became the President and A. V. Thakkar the Secretary.

[3] On the postponement of fast on the question of opening of the Shri Krishna temple at Guruvayur to Harijans; *vide* Vol. LII, pp. 304-8.

of the 26th September. This point was first noticed by me, but I forgot all about it till the resolution was required for my statement. Then too I forgot to write to you about it. But I noted down the points that Jamnalalji brought forward, and this was the very first.

The second is that whereas the resolution[1] about electorate is described as having been passed by the Conference, the resolution about the social and religious rights of Harijans is described as having been passed by a meeting of Hindus, five days later. Jamnalalji therefore says that as the text reads, it will appear as if it was a resolution passed by a meeting of Bombay Hindus only and not by representatives of all-India Hindus. If so, the Anti-untouchability League could not be established for all India by a Bombay Hindus' meeting.

The third point he made was that there is nothing in the creative resolution authorizing the All-India Anti-untouchability League, as it was originally called, to alter its name.

The fourth was that the resolution describing the powers of the League or the Society was not exhaustive enough.

The fifth was that there was no Treasurer appointed, and that it was not clear as to who would have the control of the funds raised by provincial organizations.

All these points deserve consideration. I could not throw much light upon them, except that I told him that you retained in your own person the Treasurership purposely in the initial stages.

I take it that you are collecting statistics somehow or other as to the opening of temples, wells, etc., throughout India.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 19226

3. *LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA*

January 11, 1933

MY DEAR GHANSHYAMDAS,

I have your letter of the 6th instant. I am surprised that Kanhaiyalal[2] should have written to you. I do know him well by correspondence. He has been in the Ashram sent by Soniramji. He frequently sends me questions for solution. He should not

[1] Ratifying the Yeravda Pact; *vide* Vol. LI, Appendix II.

[2] Whose letter was forwarded by the addressee, with a request to consider how his services could be utilized

have written to you without reference to me or at least to Narandas. You need not think of him any more.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

From a copy: C.W. 7918. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

4. *LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA*

January 11, 1933

MY DEAR GHANSHYAMDAS,

I have your doleful letter of the 7th January,[1] but you are not going to be disappointed or discouraged. What you describe is the common lot of most organizations. The best in a man, as also the worst, is drawn out when he is in charge of such organizations. The best is drawn out when he works with sufficient detachment.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

From a copy: C.W. 7919. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

5. *LETTER TO C. Y. CHINTAMANI*

January 11, 1933

DEAR MR. CHINTAMANI[2],

I have your letter. No excuse necessary for dictating your letter. I am not so vain as to think that I am the only hard-worked and hard-working man in all India.

The pamphlet[3] about 'Fasts' is being sent herewith. You can keep it as long as you like, and keep it altogether, if it is of use to you.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. C. Y. CHINTAMANI
17 HAMILTON ROAD, ALLAHABAD

From a photostat: S.N. 19227

[1] The addressee had written to say that both Arya Samajists and the depressed classes in Delhi were torn by rivalries.

[2] Editor of *The Leader*

[3] Citing ancient precedents for Gandhiji's fasts; *vide* "Letter to K. V. Sesha Iyengar", 21-1-1933.

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6. LETTER TO T. A. V. NATHAN

January 11, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter[1] enclosing three cuttings for which I thank you. I take them in order of their dates.

That of the 28th December calls for no reply.

That of the 29th, that is, the one on the postponement[2] of the fast has led you to grant me an indulgence, because you have been averse to the method of the fast. But I must not exist on indulgences from friends, especially in religious matters. Fortunately for me, your indulgence is due to an oversight of a material condition, whose happening was to automatically postpone the fast, and this was some legal difficulty which could not be got over within the time. This difficulty came in the shape of the want of Viceregal sanction. If I had taken the fast on the 2nd of January, I am afraid that you would not only have condemned the fast as such but you would have condemned it as coercion against the Government of India. So, you see that the fast is postponed, not because I have realized its uselessness, but because I have realized the sinfulness of taking it in spite of the supervening of a contingency that had been contemplated and provided for.

Your last article, that is, of the 4th instant, calls for a fairly large reply, but I shall not attempt it, if only because I have to economize time just at present. I see in my proposal no surrender whatsoever of principle. In this campaign I have endeavoured, as much as a Harijan by adoption can, to put myself in his position, and I say to the objectors: 'If you are polluted by my presence or by my touch, I am quite prepared to consent to a separate period being reserved for you to offer worship by yourselves. I give you the same credit for sincerity that I claim for myself. You are as much entitled to worship in the temple as I think I am. Therefore you offer worship in your time, and I shall

[1] In which the addressee had written: "I feel you have let down the reformers by your compromise formula, and I hope you will excuse me when I say that the impression in enlightened circles in South India is that you have played into the hands of orthodox Brahmins."

[2] *Vide* Vol. LII, pp. 303 and 305.

offer worship, along with the reformers, during the period reserved for us, and since by tradition you have been taught to think that the efficacy of the idol is diminished by my entering the portals of the temple gate, though I do not believe in it myself, let the priest perform the purification ceremony.'[1]

This is how I rehearsed the whole thing to myself before I made the proposal to Pandit Panchanan Tarkaratna. Of course the proposal would not be worthy of consideration if there was not a big assumption underlying it, namely, that the objectors would be in a negligible minority.

My proposal, therefore, is an effective and acid test of the sincerity of all concerned. If the objectors including the *Shastris* are sincere in their protest on behalf of what they consider to be sanatana dharma, they would jump at the proposal. If the reformers and the Harijans are sincere, they should hail the proposal with joy, and if it is accepted, regard it as a vast step towards the fruition of the reform. If it is found by experience that the caste Hindus who offer worship during the joint period are themselves a negligible quantity, it would be a defeat for the reformer, and it would be a sign that the Harijans should abstain from entering those temples where they are unwelcome visitors. They would not then have to go to the temples as beggars before caste-men. They will go, if they go at all, as fellow-Hindus, welcomed by an overwhelming majority of caste-men who would not consider themselves in any way polluted by the touch of the erstwhile untouchables.

Any other solution would be tantamount to compulsion. You will recall what I said in one of my previous statements that wherever the majority of the temple-goers are against the admission of Harijans those temples should not be visited by them, and where the majority was composed of reformers, the possession should go to them along with the Harijans and that the minority should build another temple for themselves, if they so choose; but in the course of argument with Pandit Panchanan Tarkaratna, I discovered a flaw in that proposal. It is an undoubted fact that—whether it is right or wrong is not the question—thousands of people attribute particular sanctity to their favourite temples. That sanctity is for them an untransferable thing. Sanctity handed down from ancient times cannot be imparted to a new image and a new temple by the mere will of man, and therefore the proposal I have now published dawned upon me, and the proposal to be of any value

[1] Gandhiji's compromise proposed to satisfy caste Hindus. *Vide* Vol. LII, pp. 343-5.

has to carry with it the consent to purification, again out of scrupulous regard for the religious sentiment of the minority.

You will sympathize with my reasoning, even if you may not agree with it, when you realize that ahimsa is a fundamental creed with me and enforceable under every conceivable circumstance. That I may fail miserably in reducing my creed to practice on all occasions does not detract from the creed, and is irrelevant to the discussion; and my non-violence would not permit me to do violence to the feelings of a single devotee who has been accustomed to visit a particular temple. I would also ask you to remember that, whatever may be said to the contrary, for me the whole of this campaign against untouchability is a purely religious campaign. It is a movement of a big reform in Hinduism which, as I have said so repeatedly, must die if untouchability as we know it today is not eradicated. I must also confess that I have a profound reverence for the Hindu Shastras as I have conceived them; but I cannot impose my conception upon others by force. I must let it work its way in the midst of competing interpretations and conceptions. Therefore wherever possible, my attitude would be to make provision for all other conceptions and interpretations.

If you would bear these things in mind, you would not only understand my position but you will support me whole-heartedly, and I want your support. I want the support of every Hindu. Your paper represents I know a very large body of advanced Hindu opinion and since you are taking the trouble of trying to understand me, I am not going easily to give up the attempt to enlist your full support.

You have asked me quite unjustly "whether he (i.e., I) would be willing to satisfy the conscience of conservative seekers in England who want that political reform in India should be postponed to some later period". I will not insult your intelligence by showing you that there is no analogy between the position underlying your question and the position with reference to temple-entry, especially in view of what I have said in the foregoing paragraphs.

Lastly, you cavil at the use of the word 'Harijan' for untouchables. Evidently, you do not know how the word came to be used in the first instance. It was suggested by certain untouchable friends who do not like to be called 'untouchables', and it was suggested because a saintly poet[1] of Gujarat, according to their interpretation of one of his hymns, used it in connection with 'untouchables'. I

[1] Narasinha Mehta

immediately seized upon the word as also otherwise most fitting, for the most despised people are the most favoured of God.

I fail to see any slave mentality about the origin of the use of the word or its continuance, and let us hope that when untouchability has a decent burial, we shall all strive to become Harijans, that is, pure men of God.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. T. A. V. NATHAN
EDITOR, "THE JUSTICE"
14 MOUNT ROAD, MADRAS

From a microfilm: M.M.U./XXII

7. *LETTER TO DUNICHAND*

January 11, 1933

DEAR LALA DUNICHAND[1],

For a long time I have not heard from or about Surajbhan[2] or his wife Yasoda Devi. Can you tell me anything about them?

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 5582

8. *LETTER TO ZAMINDAR OF GOLLAPALLI*

January 11, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter[3] of the 4th instant. Your fear is baseless as you will see from the explanations I have issued to the Press.[4]

Yours sincerely,

THE ZAMINDAR OF GOLLAPALLI
GOLLAPALLI

From a microfilm: S.N. 19216

[1] An advocate of Ambala
[2] Congress worker of Ambala who had accompanied Gandhiji during Dandi March
[3] In which the addressee had expressed the fear that Gandhiji was compromising with orthodox Hindus on temple-entry
[4] *Vide* "Statement to Associated Press", pp. 1-3.

9. LETTER TO K. MADHAVAN NAIR

January 11, 1933

MY DEAR MADHAVAN[1],

Here is a letter[2] for you to see.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 19217

10. LETTER TO K. R. KRISHNA MURTHI

January 11, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter of 6th instant, and I should be sorry if what you said was found to be correct.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. K.[3] R. KRISHNA MURTHI
JOINT SECRETARY
THE DHARMA VEERA ASSOCIATION
GURUVAYUR

From a microfilm: S.N. 19219

[1] A lawyer and social worker of Calicut

[2] From K. R. Krishna Murthi; who had challenged the statement that the Guruvayur youths were in favour of temple-entry by the depressed classes. Regarding the referendum the addressee had said that "violence, coercion and deceit" were being exercised by Gandhiji's co-workers; *vide* the following item.

[3] The source has "M", which is a slip. The addressee had signed K.

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11. LETTER TO D. RAGHAVACHANDRAYYA SASTRI

January 11, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. You should have pity on me. I have no time whatsoever for reading books and manuscripts. I hardly get time to cope with the correspondence that I get daily.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. D. RAGHAVACHANDRAYYA SASTRI
SATH BRAHMAN ASHRAMA
BEZWADA

From a microfilm: S.N. 19218

12. LETTER TO L. L. YELIGAR

January 11, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter together with the cutting[1] for which I thank you. I shall read the article as soon as I get a moment's time.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. L. L. YELIGAR
C/O SRI SARPABHUSAN SWAMI MATH
BALEPETH, BANGALORE CITY

From a microfilm: S.N. 19220

[1] An article about untouchability work published in the *Mysore Star*, a weekly

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13. LETTER TO G. DORASWAMY

January 11, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter of 8th inst., enclosing a copy of the resolution[1] of your college. I hope that you are also doing constructive work. Without that the resolution cannot have much meaning.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. G. DORASWAMY
No. 45 PACHAIYYAPPA'S HOSTEL
KILPAUK, MADRAS

From a microfilm: S.N. 19221

14. LETTER TO SARASVANI

January 11, 1933

MY DEAR SARASVANI,

I like your letter. You should accept my assurance that there is no intention whatsoever of wounding the feelings of orthodox Hindus. No temple will be touched where the majority of orthodox Hindus are opposed to the entry of Harijans into the temple which they are entitled to visit and which is in their neighbourhood.

Yours sincerely,

MISS SARASVANI
C/O SJT. K. V. RAMASWAMY AIYAR
CHOKKIKULAM, MADURA

From a microfilm: S.N. 19222

[1] Condemning untouchability in Hindu society

15. LETTER TO G. V. KETKAR

January 11, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I have now carefully read both your articles on the *Gita*. I have found them to be interesting.

I observe that you have reached the same conclusion that I had by a different method. Yours is the learned way, not so mine.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. G. V. KETKAR, B.A., LL.B.
NASIK CITY

From a microfilm: S.N. 19223

16. LETTER TO RANCHHODDAS PATWARI

January 11, 1933

RESPECTED RANCHHODBHAI[1],

I was pained to read your letter. Is it not strange that you should write to me in English? Or that you should frame questions as if you wanted to catch in your trap a witness who was trying to escape it? But, as an elder brother, you have a right to do all that, for I could judge from our discussion[2] that you believed me to have completely forsaken dharma. However, if God grants you a long life you will admit one day that I had not knowingly done so. I will now reply to your questions.[3]

Pranams from
MOHANDAS

1. You desire that each and every sanatanist Hindu should form and express his opinion on this question according to the dictates of his conscience.

I would welcome it if it were possible.

[1] Ex-Dewan of Morvi State

[2] On January 7, 1933

[3] The questions are reproduced from the addressee's letter dated January 9, 1933 (S.N. 20036).

2. Is it not a fact that there are thousands of people who believe that India cannot get real swaraj without you?

If it is so, I would regard that as a heavy responsibility on me.

3. Is it not a fact that there are thousands of people who value your life more than what they consider to be their religion?

I would be much pained if this is true. I cannot endure anybody giving up what he regards as his dharma in order to save my life.

4. Where was the need of announcing your firm resolve to fast to death if the Guruvayur Temple was not opened to the untouchables?

This I have discussed at great length in my articles[1].

5. Why did you not issue a referendum[2] without taking such a vow?

To this too my articles contain a satisfactory reply.

6. Did not the persons who were engaged in taking votes exploit your vow?

What you believe is not altogether improbable.

7. Can you correctly ascertain the percentage of voters who voted in favour of the entry on account of your vow before them?

It is impossible to reply to this without knowing what is in the heart of the person concerned.

8. If your case is strong and the cause you advocate is just and reasonable, why have you announced your vow to fast to death if His Excellency the Viceroy does not sanction the Bill[3] before him?

It is absolutely necessary to read my articles for a reply to this question.

[1] Statements which Gandhiji started issuing from prison from November 4, 1932; *vide* Vols. LI and LII.

[2] In Ponnani taluk where the Guruvayur temple is situated. The Zamorin of Calicut, a trustee of the Temple, being against temple-entry, the referendum was taken amidst adverse influences. *Vide* Vol. LII, pp. 304-5.

[3] Two Bills were awaiting Viceroy's sanction, one for introduction in the Central Legislative Assembly by Ranga Iyer and the other for introduction in the Madras Council by Dr. Subbaroyan. On January 23, the Viceroy gave his sanction to the introduction of the Untouchability Abolition Bill by Ranga Iyer in the Assembly subject to the condition that the Government did not commit themselves to accepting its principles and that the fullest opportunity would be given to every section of the Hindu community to express an opinion on its provisions. Sanction to Dr. Subbaroyan's Temple-Entry Bill in the Madras Council was refused on the ground that it was too far-reaching in implication for enactment by a provincial legislature. Afterwards Ranga Iyer drafted a

9. Do you know that this vow is being exploited for nourishing the agitation in favour of the Bill being sanctioned?

No such thing has happened to my knowledge.

10. Are you prepared to give up your vow and issue a fresh referendum in connection with the Guruvayur Temple?

If a systematic referendum is held with the Zamorin's co-operation and if he implements the result, my pledge will have been fulfilled.

11. Before issuing the referendum, did you frame definite rules as to who can rank as *bona-fide* worshipper of the deity for guidance of your men who were engaged in taking votes?

Yes.

12. Who can rank as a *bona-fide* worshipper of the deity according to you?

Those who, according to the present practice, are entitled to visit temples and who accept the necessity of worshipping in temples.

13. Did the persons engaged in taking votes ascertain by inquiry which of the voters were *bona-fide* worshippers of the deity?

Due publicity was given as to who were entitled to vote and leaflets were distributed to every home, and the people were then trusted to show regard for truth.

14. Can you say that a Hindu who does not visit a temple even once a month for *darshan* and who does not pay a single farthing as *bhet* or *samagri*[1], can rank as a *bona-fide* worshipper of the deity?

Certainly, if such Hindus believe in temples.

15. If the entry of the untouchables into temples depends on votes in a particular district, the condition precedent is that definite rules should be framed as to who can be treated as a *bona-fide* worshipper?

This is correct.

16. Which of the temples would you treat as public?

Any temple which is not the property of an individual or of several individuals.

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second Bill, based on Dr. Subbaroyan's, which the Viceroy permitted to be introduced in the Central Assembly, subject to the same qualifications as in the case of his former Bill. The Temple-Entry Bill, as redrafted, was introduced in the Central Legislative Assembly on March 24, 1933. *Vide* also "Statement on Viceroy's Decision", 24-1-1933.

[1] Offerings

17. Your parents were staunch followers of the *Pushtimarga* (a Vaishnavite *Sampradaya*). Did they freely touch the untouchables? Would they allow them to enter into temples?

No.

18. You have never worn the sacred thread, viz., *upavita*. You wore a *tulsi-kanthi*[1] when you went to England in 1886. When did you give up that *kanthi*?

I used to wear the sacred thread for some time. I did not discard the *tulsi-kanthi*, but, after I had worn it for some years in South Africa, it left me, that is, it snapped.

19. Are you of the opinion that the wearing of a sacred thread or *kanthi* is not essential for a sanatanist Hindu?

I don't regard the practice as an essential requirement of sanatana dharma and so, when the *kanthi* snapped, I did not replace it.

20. During your stay in England you took meals in hotels or in the house of an Englishman?

At both places.

21. Are you of the opinion that a Hindu does not cease to be a sanatanist Hindu by this?

That is my considered view.

22. Even now you have no objection to take the food prepared in European hotels or by a Christian or a Mohammedan?

I would have no objection if I otherwise regarded the article as acceptable food.

23. Are you in favour of the *priti-bhojans*[2] in which even the Brahmins, Dheds, Bhangis, Chamars, Mohammedans and Christians dine together?

I oppose mixed dinners with Harijans as a part of the movement for the removal of untouchability. If, however, the items are cooked with proper regard for rules of hygiene, I see nothing wrong in Harijans and others sitting together and eating from separate plates.

24. Will you say that the Hindus who take part in such *priti-bhojans* can claim to be sanatanist Hindus?

Provided the foregoing condition is observed, Hindus participating in mixed dinners with Harijans should be, ought to be,

[1] String of *tulsi* beads
[2] Mixed dinner parties with Harijans

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regarded as sanatanist Hindus—if they have the other characteristics of such Hindus.

25. Are you in favour of intermarriages between the Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas on the one hand and the untouchables on the other?

If the bride and the bridegroom are a suitable pair, if their lives are pure and they believe in the ideal of self-control in married life, I would certainly approve of such unions. But I do not regard interdining and intermarrying between Harijans and other Hindus as a necessary part of the movement for the eradication of untouchability.

26. Do you keep any idol or any picture of Shri Rama or Shri Krishna when you offer prayers in the morning and at night?

No.

27. Are you a staunch believer in idol-worship?

Yes.

28. Do you believe that it is necessary to go to a temple for *darshan* of the image for attaining emancipation and for acquiring supreme love for God?

No.

29. How often have you visited the Hindu temples for the *darshan* of the idols during the last sixteen years?

I have visited them so often in the course of my tours that I cannot count the number of times.

30. What amount have you sent as *bhet* or *samagri* to temples from the funds collected by you?

I had no right to spend anything on temples from the money I had collected.

31. Do you believe that a Dhed, Bhangi or Chamar cannot attain emancipation or acquire supreme love for God unless he gets an opportunity to go into the Hindu temple for *darshan*?

I don't believe so at all.

32. If you think that idol-worship is essential for the untouchables, what if separate temples are built for them with the idols of Shri Rama or Shri Krishna?

Since I don't see any justification for the existence of a separate class of untouchable communities, I would not be satisfied by separate temples for them.

33. Do you think that the worship of an idol in a public temple is more efficacious than that of an idol installed in the temple built for untouchables?

No.

34. Has Mr. Kelappan[1] or any Dhed, Bhangi or Chamar told you that he has such supreme love for the deity, that he will lose his life if he does not get *darshan* in a temple of the sanatanists?

No.

35. When you attended the Round Table Conference, you were under the impression that the population of the Dheds, Bhangis and Chamars, who are treated as untouchables, was six or seven crores.

No.

36. Were you under the same impression when you made a compromise[2] with Mr. Ambedkar?

No.

37. Did you even take the trouble of studying the causes with a view to ascertain the actual population of these three communities?

I don't follow the question.

38. Is it not a fact that the percentage of the population of such untouchables varies from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 per cent in Kathiawar and Gujarat?

This is not impossible.

39. Have you even now ascertained the actual population of the three communities in India?

I do not know the exact number.

40. Is it not a fact that lakhs of high-caste Hindus who were touchables became Mohammedans during the Mohammedan rule and Christians after the advent of the British rule?

I would be surprised if this is true.

41. Can you give even approximately the number of the untouchables who became either Mohammedans or Christians?

I can say that the number is quite large.

42. Are you for allowing any Dhed, Bhangi or Chamar admission into the Hindu temples? If not, what conditions or restrictions would you suggest?

[1] K. Kelappan; he had undertaken a fast unto death on September 20, 1932, for the opening of the Guruvayur temple to Harijans and suspended it on October 2 following Gandhiji's advice. *Vide* Vol. LI.

[2] Yeravda Pact

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All Dheds, Bhangis and members of other such communities who observe the rules of cleanliness must be entitled to visit temples.

43. Who will frame these conditions and restrictions and who will enforce them? Will this not cause constant bickerings?

These rules are still accepted, and I think it easier to persuade Harijans to observe them than to persuade other Hindus to do so.

44. Has a large section of the Dheds, Bhangis and Chamars authorized you to create this sort of agitation for securing their entry into the Hindu temples?

No. The present movement is intended to persuade caste Hindus to do their duty.

45. Do you know that most of them are deadly against your agitation and say that it will widen the gulf between them and the caste Hindus, create trouble and make their position considerably worse?

The truth is the exact opposite of this.

46. Are you prepared to issue a referendum for ascertaining wishes of the untouchables in the different parts of India?

In the light of the reply to (44), your suggestion is unnecessary.

47. Assuming that you suggest a compromise and it is accepted by some orthodox Hindus, do you think that it will be held as binding on all the untouchables and other orthodox Hindus?

The present movement is not a commercial bargain. It is a purely religious movement. It will show the path of dharma to those who accept it as such.

48. Do you know that the sentiments of untouchability are rampant even amongst the Rabaris, Bharavads, Kolis, Thakardas, Kanbis, Patidars, Rajputs, and such other castes?

That is our misfortune.

49. Do you know that the Dheds do not dine with the Bhangis and Chamars, and there are separate wells for them in almost all the towns and villages?

That is another misfortune.

50. Can you say with some authority that the Dheds will allow the Bhangis and Chamars to enter into their temples?

If I can persuade the so-called high-caste Hindus, I think it will be easy enough to persuade the Harijans.

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51. Have you got a written assurance from the bulk of the Dheds that they will give up such sentiments if public temples are opened even to the Bhangis and Chamars?

Many persons have given me assurances, though I have nothing in writing.

52. You have been constantly preaching touchability after your return from Africa? Will you state the number of temples in the towns and villages which are opened to the untouchables with the consent of the local sanatanists?

I think the number must be about 500.

53. Do you not think that the Lion of India who once roared and launched non-co-operation movement against the British Government ought not to seek help from His Excellency the Viceroy on this question?

If I reply to this question, I would be violating my promise to the Government.[1]

54. You propose to fast to death if the Viceroy does not sanction the Bill. Is this by way of resentment against the Viceroy or the obstinate sanatanists?

The reply to this question is contained in the reply to question 8.

55. You do not think that your identification with the question will prejudicially affect reverence of the sanatanists for you and practically wreck the Congress and strengthen hands of the British statesmen who are against giving substantial rights to India?

I do not believe so.

56. Do you not think that the reverence for you is your real strength?

Whatever power I have is Rama's, not mine.

57. Are you prepared to face the human nature as it is?

That is what I have done all my life.

58. Do you really appreciate the practical difficulties in the way of accomplishment of your desire?

I think I am fully aware of the difficulties.

59. Can you suggest a practical way by which public temples may be opened to the untouchables without creating a split or tension among the Hindus?

[1] Gandhiji was to eschew all politics during his incarceration, while he was allowed to meet and communicate freely for anti-untouchability work.

I have certainly made my suggestions.

60. Can the Jains, who are not Hindus by religion, and the Hindus who are against idol-worship, and who have therefore nothing at stake, ask the Viceroy to sanction the Bill?

No.

61. Has any of the so-called benefactors of the untouchables built or offered to build any temple for the untouchables?

No.

62. What harm is there if separate temples, having due regard to local needs, are built, and the question of the entry into the temples built and maintained by the sanatanists is shelved?

That will harm sanatana dharma itself.

63. Have you ever stayed long in places of pilgrimage with a view to correctly ascertain the depth of the religious sentiments of sanatanist males and females?

Yes.

64. Is it not a fact that the heart, and not the body, is the seat of love?

It is so.

65. Is it a fact that the sacred books of the Hindus lay the greatest stress on the mutual touch by heart?

True.

66. Is it not a fact that it is the lack of mutual touch by heart which creates wars and disputes among families and nourishes civil and criminal courts?

Quite true.

67. You know that during the dire famine of Samvat 1956[1], numerous sanatanists fed the needy and supplied clothes? Can you point to a single instance of the untouchables having been denied that benefit?

There is no limit to that.

68. Do you not think that the non-touchability of the Hindu women in menses is based on the principle of purity? Does it breathe any hatred for them?

That is right. It implies no contempt.

69. Should a Hindu take his bath and wash his clothes if he touches a corpse or any dead creature?

They should purify themselves.

[1] 1900 A.D.

70. You know that among the Parsis the women in menses are treated as untouchables for eight days.

I have heard that it is so.

71. Do you know that no pious Mohammedan would go to a Masjid for prayers if there be a drop of urine or pus on any of his clothes?

That is true.

72. Supposing that a majority of people in a particular village or town believe that to drink is no vice, should the minority also drink?

Never.

73. Are you of the opinion that dharma should be defined according to the notions of the majority in a particular locality?

Whatever the theory, the practice will remain what the majority does.

74. Do you know that about 80 per cent of the boys attending schools and colleges, who wear a white khaddar cap, do not visit temples even once a year; and most of them state that the sacred books of the Hindus should be thrown into the sea?

I would be surprised and pained if this is true.

75. Have you ever advised these boys to visit temples for *darshan* at least once a fortnight or a month?

No.

76. Do you not think that if the administration of India be entrusted to the people of such views, they would follow in the footsteps of Russia, whose policy is to make the country Godless?

I have no such fear.

77. Have you ever cared to ascertain the percentage of boys referred to in Q.74, who offer prayers to God even once a day?

Generally all pray at least once every day.

78. Do you know that the ladies residing in the 'Vanita Vishram'[1] and numerous educated high-caste ladies do not observe menses?

I do not know.

79. Has not Shri Krishna said that dear unto him is one who causes no *udvega*[2] to others? What are your notions about the ahimsa dharma?

I have replied to this question in many of my articles.

[1] Women's home
[2] Pain

80. Can you point to two males or females having similar features of the body, etc., from the population of 180 crores of the earth?

No.

81. Is it possible to expect all human beings to be of the same temperament or the same habits?

No.

82. Do you not think that the contact of high-caste Hindus with the untouchables in their present state would do considerable harm to the former?

If the so-called high-caste Hindus really deserve to be called high-caste, mixing with Harijans will, instead of harming them, benefit both themselves and the Harijans. Even if they do not possess the kind of heart about which you have asked a question above, they will benefit by freely mixing with the Harijans because such mixing concerns the heart.

83. All tinctures contain liquor. Would you advise those who take them to take liquor or to give up the tinctures?

Personally I would appeal to them to give up drinking tinctures.

84. Can you point to any Rajput ruler following the Buddhistic religion, or to any Mohammedan ruler who had compelled the sanatanists to allow the untouchables to enter their temples?

I don't know of any.

85. Do you think that if the British Government were to violate the repeated sacred pledges of absolute non-intervention in religious matters, it would contribute to their stability and to peace and contentment among men?

No.

86. Does Malaviyaji take meals or do *Sandhya-Gayatri*[1] without taking a bath if he has touched any untouchable person?

This question should be addressed to Malaviyaji.

87. If the sentiments of the Hindus who support you on this question do not materially differ from those of our friend Mr. Shaukat Ali, is it not open to him to say that he too is a sanatanist? And can he be our teacher as to what the sanatana dharma is?

It is beyond my power to say what Maulana Shaukat Ali can do.

88. Is it a fact that most of the Dheds, Bhangis and Chamars take beef even now? Do you think that they can be all Harijans?

[1] Vedic prayer to the Sun-God

I know that all of them do not eat beef. Certainly all of them can become Harijans.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4112. Also C.W. 2799. Courtesy: Chhaganlal Gandhi

17. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

January 11, 1933

CHI. NARANDAS,

I got the mail from you. I cannot judge whether or not you could read Mahavir's[1] letter. Read my reply to him and do the needful. I suppose you did write to all persons who had lent him money. Tell Mahavir what Brijkishan[2] also told you about him.

What is Ratilal's[3] state of mind? Prema's[4] anger does not seem to have cooled down. But I assume that she does not harass you in any way. And I am sure that she would not neglect her work because of her anger. I hope she does not ill-treat her body because of it. If her anger is directed only against me, I don't mind it; I am passing it on to the Court above.

BAPU

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

18. LETTER TO MADALASA BAJAJ

January 11, 1933

CHI. MADALASA,

Your health seems to be all right these days. If you continue in the same manner, your petulance and your habit of crying will disappear in a short time. It is enough if you digest the food which you eat.

The questions which occur to you occur to all people who love knowledge. They are solved by reading and reflection. We ourselves are the world. We are in it and it is in us. God also is in us. We do not see the air in our body, but we have another physi-

[1] Mahavir Giri
[2] Brijkrishna Chandiwala
[3] Ratilal Mehta, son of Dr. Pranjivan Mehta
[4] Premabehn Kantak

cal sense with which we can feel it. We can develop a sense with which we can feel God, and, if we do so, we can know Him also. Vinoba is helping you to develop such a sense. Have patience.

Tell Janakimaiya[1] that I often see Jamnalal[2]. His health is good.

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 314

19. LETTER TO INDRA VIDYALANKAR

January 11, 1933

CHI. INDRA,

I have a letter from some Harijans of your area, I am enclosing it. Read it and after an inquiry do whatever is possible. I have written to them to see you.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

Enclosure: Letter from the Harijans

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 7204. Also C.W. 4862. Courtesy: Chandragupta Vidyalankar

20. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

Now 5 a.m., January 12[3]*, 1933*

CHI. MIRA,

Your letter arrived as usual. Also your notes on Dr. Gour's book.

I always omit to tell you about what our common friends write about you. They all think of you, would like to write to you if you could receive their letters and invariably send their love to you. Among these are the Kingsley Hall people, the Privats, the Italian sisters, the Larks of St. Francis and Mary Barr. This is not an exhaustive list, it is only an illustrative list. But I must

[1] Addressee's mother

[2] Addressee's father

[3] The source has "13", but in his letter of January 19, 1933, to the addressee, Gandhiji refers to this letter as of "Thursday", which was January 12. *Vide* also "Letter to Narandas Gandhi", pp. 35-6.

send you some of the letters themselves. Thus you will find Madeleine's[1] letter and a copy of my reply, Andrews's and John Morris's, the blind man. I must not omit Agatha, Esther, Horace and the Woodbrooke[2] people. They never fail to remember you whenever they write. You will find with this also John Morris's X'mas card and one of the very beautiful picture-cards that Princess Aristarchi sends every week. She seems to be a learned woman of deep devotion.

You are late with your remarks about the primus stove. It was banished from the Ashram now some two months ago. I ought to have written to you then. On learning of the death of Prof. Trivedi's brother's wife from the primus-lighting, I wrote[3] to Narandas that the best way to mourn the event was to banish the stove altogether from the Ashram. It was a hard job to convince some of the women. But they all realized the necessity. The banishment was not made compulsory. Everyone gave it up voluntarily. I should have given you this pleasing information before but how many such titbits I must be omitting every week! However, I know that you do not expect such things from me. And yet if I do not tell them to you, you remain ignorant of all the happenings in the Ashram which you should and may under the prison rules know. I must do what I can.

My weight is the same as last week and so is the food. No salt as yet. It is no deprivation for me. There is no craving for it. When I take it, I like it. But I would not like anything the moment I *knew* that it was harmful for me. The elbow pain remains what it was, not the slightest cause for anxiety.

You need not return the enclosed letters and the cards.

Love from us all.

BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 9679. Courtesy: Mirabehn

[1] Madeleine Rolland, sister of Romain Rolland

[2] Woodbrooke Settlement, the Quaker Centre near Birmingham

[3] *Vide* Vol. LI, pp. 245-7.

21. LETTER TO EDMOND AND YVONNE PRIVAT[1]

January 12, 1933

MY DEAR ANAND AND BHAKTI,

We were all delighted to receive your letter after many months. I know that you are both spreading the gospel of love and also trying to live it. I often think of those very happy times we were together on the *Pilsna*[2]. I am never tired of recalling your utter indifference to possession of riches, and your losing yourselves in one another.

May this New Year make your life richer, happier and more fruitful in the service of humanity.

I had to dictate if I was to write to you at all.

Love from us all.

Did you get Mahadev's Christmas letter?

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 8794

22. LETTER TO MARGARETE SPIEGEL

January 12, 1933

MY DEAR MARGARETE[3],

I had your love-letter from your ship. I was glad that you were at the Ashram and were able to take actual part in the service of the Harijans and, in my opinion, inasmuch as you rendered this selfless service to downtrodden humanity, you served the whole of it.

You were quite right in giving up spinning 'ropes' as you were doing. If you could have learnt the art properly, I would certainly have advised you to continue to spin not cotton but wool; but perhaps you have no talent for such work. God has blessed you with many other gifts, and it is well with you so long as you use them for the service of mankind including of course your dear mother.

[1] A Swiss couple; Gandhiji called them Anand and Bhakti.

[2] During the return-voyage from England after the Round Table Conference; *vide* Vol. XLVIII.

[3] Dr. Margarete Spiegel, a German lady, who lived in the Ashram for some time. She was also a teacher at Santiniketan.

Next time we meet, if we do, you are not going to be 'awed' by me, if you are to be a daughter to me. Do not hesitate to write to me whenever you feel like it.

Mahadev joins me in sending love to you.

BAPU

Spiegel Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

23. LETTER TO V. M. NAWLE

January 12, 1933

DEAR DR. NAWLE,

I have your letter after many days, but you have not acknowledged my letter regarding Sjt. C. V. Vaidya. I therefore do not know whether you have appreciated the force of my criticism.

Please tell me in as few words as possible what "the new and unique path" to the temple-entry is; then I shall decide whether an interview is necessary. I have just now no time to spare for anything but the most important matters.

Yours sincerely,

DR. V. M. NAWLE
EDITOR, "DINBANDHOO"
444 RASTA PETH, POONA

From a microfilm: S.N. 18907

24. LETTER TO SIDDHIAH

January 12, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your telegram[1]. I dare not interfere in election matters without knowing anything and from inside a prison.

Yours sincerely,

SIDDHIAH
HARIJAN SANGH
ERODE

From a microfilm: S.N. 18908

[1] In which the addressee had requested Gandhiji to bless a Harijan candidate standing for the presidentship of the Erode Taluk Board and to ask the opposing candidate to withdraw (S.N. 18894)

25. LETTER TO NAWAL KISHORE SHARMA

January 12, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. What is required is not articles for the Press. So far as that kind of propaganda is concerned, it is being done by experienced people. What you can do is to take up some actual constructive work in which you will spend your money and yourself.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. NAWAL KISHORE SHARMA
C/O MESSRS S.S. BRIJ BASI & SONS
BUNDER ROAD, KARACHI CITY

From a microfilm: S.N. 18909

26. LETTER TO PARASHURAM SHARMA

January 12, 1933

DEAR DR. PARASHURAM,

I have your letter and I had your telegram also.[1] I telegraphed to Mathuradas Jain as soon as I got your telegram. I wonder if he gave it up. I have not heard from him. His statement is of course altogether wrong. He did not even take the elementary precaution of finding out from me how and why the fast was postponed. Beyond sending a telegram, I have not taken any other steps, and even after receiving your letter I have not thought it proper to write to him. You will please tell me what has been the outcome of the fast.[2] I hope you are keeping well.

Yours sincerely,

DR. PARASHURAM
KRISHNA NAGAR
LAHORE

From a microfilm: S.N. 18910

[1] The addressee had requested Gandhiji to persuade Mathuradas Jain of Ferozepur to give up his fast.

[2] Mathuradas Jain had obeyed Gandhiji's instruction and abandoned his fast; *vide* "Letter to Mathuradas Jain", 8-2-1933.

27. LETTER TO K. KELAPPAN

January 12, 1933

MY DEAR KELAPPAN,

I have your letter. On receipt thereof I telegraphed to Gopalan to confer with Rajagopalachariar.

I hope that you have got over the effect of the accident[1] and do please see me on your way back.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 18911

28. LETTER TO R. SOMASUNDARAM AIYAR

January 12, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter for which I thank you. Your letter seems to me to be an illustration of the imaginary quarrel between the poor wife and her many husbands. You say you will not allow my will to thwart your allegiance to God and your conscience. I say I am not going to allow a few million out of my 300 millions to thwart my allegiance to God, my conscience and, what is perhaps more pertinent for you, my allegiance to my other many million husbands. So you see the odds against me are not even. Husbands can always play ducks and drakes with their wives, for they always play with loaded dice. But God has gifted wives with infinite patience. So, you will see how at the end of it I bear down the opposition of the very few husbands out of many who are up in arms against me, and when the quarrel is over, you will shed crocodile tears over the scars "the whole host" of you may leave on your poor wife and then make her forget all about her past miseries.

You appeal to me to exploit your sympathy for the economic betterment of the backward classes. I invite you to make a sporting offer.

[1] Car accident

Your argument, I hope, you don't want me to take seriously, or, if you do, then I must ask you dispassionately to study all the statements that I have been making, and you will find that every one of the questions raised by you is sufficiently answered therein.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. R. SOMASUNDARAM AIYAR
ADVOCATE
MYLAPORE, MADRAS

From a microfilm: S.N. 19230

29. LETTER TO KONDA VENKATAPPAYYA

January 12, 1933

MY DEAR VENKATAPPAYYA,

I have your letter.[1] I fear that your suggestion is fatal, especially at the present moment. To set up new temples would be to set up a new religion and accept defeat. If it is to be defeat, I should take it and resign myself to it, but I will not set up a new religion. If our contention is right and the public reject it, we should know that untouchability is not to be destroyed or even shaken during our time. Whether the contemplated legislation should be there or not is a matter that should be examined on its own merits. I have come to the conclusion that both from the point of view of interference in matters religious and seeking Viceregal sanction, it is free from reproach. Any time we would want legislation in order to correct errors and, in the hottest non-co-operation days, I should not hesitate to promote legislation backed by public will. No law or rule can be cited to defeat its own end. You may then be sure that there is flaw in your reasoning. The cry of religious interference is perfectly thoughtless where it is not obviously hypocritic[al]. Of course, there is a third objection to the proposed Bill, namely, that the question who should or should not enter a temple should not be decided by those who are temple-goers, but by some extraneous authority, in this instance, learned men. I totally deny the validity of that proposition. No religion could grow under such a chilling rule. Hindu religion, so far as I

[1] The addressee had written: "So far as Guruvayur temple is concerned, the object may be taken as having been practically fulfilled, the opinion of the people being found to be decidedly favourable. . . . There will be no need to seek the aid of law if public opinion is secured in favour of the movement and legislation will be of no value if public opinion is adverse."

know it, has never followed any such rule. Mind, I do not insist that all old temples should be opened to Harijans, but I do insist that all old temples should be opened where the majority of present worshippers are willing. It is the acid test of the sincerity or the reality of the Bombay Resolution.

I suppose we must resign ourselves to the prospect of your wife leaving this stage any moment. Perhaps it would be a welcome deliverance from a lingering death. I hope you are feeling better.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. KONDA VENKATAPPAYYA
GUNTUR

From a microfilm: S.N. 19231

30. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

January 12, 1933

MY DEAR C.R.,

I have your second letter. I hope that what you have heard is not true, but if it turns out to be true, it would be unfortunate. But I should not take any action upon a mere rumour[1]. Mahadev has just suggested a public statement. I shall see whether such a thing is possible. In any case, I suppose I should know the result in a day or two.

I am glad you like the appeal to the sanatanists.[2] Of course, all such effort is costly, but the cost is worth paying. The deliberate falsehoods that are flung about are the things that shake me and cut me to the marrow. But I have no shadow of a doubt that Truth will conquer.

I expect to meet the sanatanist *Shastris* about whom Hiralal Nanavati has been writing to me.

I have written a long letter[3] to the Editor of the *Justice* about his attack on my proposal. He wrote to me sending me three cuttings from his paper and invited my criticism.

I gave also on the same question a long interview[4] yesterday to the Associated Press which you will see.

[1] Based on the *Madras Mail* article suggesting that sanction for Dr. Subbaroyan's Temple-entry Bill should neither be given nor refused, and that a committee might be appointed to enquire and report on the strength of the demand (S.N. 19193)

[2] *Vide* Vol. LII, pp. 358-61.

[3] *Vide* "Letter to T. A. V. Nathan", pp. 6-9.

[4] *Vide* "Statement to Associated Press", pp. 1-3.

You seem to have forgotten all about Gopala Menon's letter referring to the proposed All-Hindu Conference at Guruvayur. You remember Gopala Menon said that you would attend to it. I therefore sent Gopala Menon a telegram yesterday to see you, because he reminded me that I had done nothing about it. If you want that Conference, you have to advise Acharya Dhruva and Dr. Bhagwandas in good time. In my opinion, Malaviyaji should still be left free.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 19232

31. LETTER TO L. B. NAYAK[1]

January 12, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. Attractive as your suggestion may appear to be, it savours of dishonesty, if I have understood it correctly, and it also seems to be impracticable in the existing circumstances.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. L. B. NAYAK
341 THAKURDWAR
BOMBAY NO. 2

From a microfilm: S.N. 19233

32. A LETTER

January 12, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter and a copy of your resolution, for which I thank you.

I think you should discuss with Sjt. Ghanshyamdas Birla the interesting points you have raised in your letter. It is difficult for me to deal with the situation from this distance. I am forwarding your letter to Sjt. Ghanshyamdas Birla.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 18912

[1] General Secretary, Depressed Classes Mission Society of India, Bombay; in his letter dated January 7, the addressee had suggested that the Mahars and Chamars should designate themselves as "Kshatriyas" in all places and records.

33. LETTER TO ASHRAM BOYS AND GIRLS

January 12, 1933

BOYS AND GIRLS,

I got your letter. It is good to talk things over with the Harijans. With patience and love they will understand our work. You should listen to what they have to say to you. Answer to the extent you can. If you go to them regularly, there will be discussions. If you inquire about their sufferings and take interest in all aspects of their lives, slowly they will come to accept us as their relations.

Try to grow enough vegetables for the Ashram. That is not difficult.

BAPU

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

34. A LETTER[1]

January 12, 1933

It would be improper from every point of view for a person who cannot observe the basic rules of the Ashram to remain in the Ashram. Neither he nor the Ashram would benefit by his staying. If the inmates lived in that manner the Ashram would break up.

Anybody who wishes to live in the Ashram should have sincere love for it. He should always take care to see that he does nothing to harm its good name. I have not been able to see any such thing in you.

[From Gujarati]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. III, pp. 42-3

[1] This and other letters from the same source are mostly fragments from the original letters extracted by Mahadev Desai in his diary.

35. A LETTER

January 12, 1933

You should constantly bear this in your mind, that so long as you cannot remain pure in your feelings towards her you have no right to go near her nor to serve her. If you understand this, all impure feelings towards her will soon vanish. If you remain determined, your strength will daily go on increasing.

[From Gujarati]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. III, p. 43

36. LETTER TO LAKSHMIBEHN N. KHARE

January 12, 1933

CHI. LAKSHMIBEHN,

I note every week that you do not write to me. It is not right that you should boycott me completely like this. Occasionally you should write a few lines. I cherish high hopes of the few women like you who are old inmates of the Ashram.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 284. Courtesy: Lakshmibehn N. Khare

37. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

January 12, 1933

CHI. NARANDAS,

Read my letter[1] to Mirabehn and pass it on to her. I hope your asthma has left you.

Mirabehn is your neighbour now. Send her fruits and any other things which she may need. I hope Mahavir and the party have left. That was the best course. The arrangement which you have made is right.

Keep a regular register for recording people's weights and get everybody weighed at fixed intervals.

[1] *Vide* pp. 25-6.

CWMG-III

Did you see the account of expenditure which Mahavir prepared from memory? If you have not seen it and wish to see it, let me know and I will send it to you. I have preserved it. It did not satisfy me. I hope you remember that I asked you to send Kellogg's book and *Satyarthaprakash*[1].

It was necessary to write a long letter to Prema explaining everything, and, therefore, though I am rather hard pressed for time, I found the necessary time and have written it. Though the letter is addressed to her, it is meant for all, that is, for all workers of the Ashram. I hope you had noted the difference between workers of the Ashram and inmates of the Ashram which I had explained in a previous letter. My remarks about you in the letter were necessary. It is not merely formal courtesy on the part of a father but it is his moral duty to express the faith which he has in his son. May God grant you, whenever the occasion arises, the necessary strength to justify my faith. I am sure that these words of mine will not upset you.

BAPU

[PS.]

There are 19 letters in all. They are all tied with a string.

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

38. LETTER TO SITARAM K. NALAVDE

January 12, 1933

BHAI NALAVDE,

Your letter.

The Harijan brethren certainly have the right to give up carrion-eating as well as disposal of dead cattle. But it would be better if they took the vow to give up carrion-eating. The duty of removal of dead cattle has the sanction of society. After all someone has to perform this duty. The public will certainly be put to hardship if those who are well versed in the job give it up. It is the dharma of all to protect society from this difficulty. Therefore if necessary this job may be given up only after coming to some arrangements with . . .[2] the *mahajan*[3]. The giving up of carrion-eating is, however, obligatory. Those who give up beef and carrion-eating and have proper bath, etc., should be entitled

[1] By Swami Dayananda

[2] The letter is damaged here.

[3] Caste leaders

to enter temples. They too should thus qualify themselves for *darshan* of the image and be confident that they will have the right of temple-entry.

Those who do not give up carrion-eating should not be summarily boycotted. They should have the chance of reforming themselves. It is not an easy matter for everyone to give up a long-standing habit.

I hope that the Conference will be successful. I also hope that all the Harijan brothers and sisters will resolve on self-reform.

Yours,
MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 801

39. NOTE TO DEONAYAKACHARYA[1]

January 12, 1933

DEAR SHASTRIJI,

I have received all your letters. I have already stated that my mind and heart are open for a discussion with you. Though I have not been given enough time to write to the *Shastris* I have in mind, I have sent invitations to those who can come immediately. I still do not know whether they will be able to come. The subject for our discussion is not whether untouchability is sanctioned by the Shastras or not. The subject is to determine the sanction of the Shastras for untouchability as it is practised today. And if the untouchability in current usage has the sanction of the Shastras, then who can be defined as untouchable? I certainly desire in all humility to hear your views on these two questions and other points that may arise out of these and I hope you are now satisfied and will honour me by coming over.

Yours,
MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a microfilm of the Hindi: S.N. 19229

[1] The addressee, Secretary, All-India Varnashram Swarajya Sangh, had arrived at Yeravda Prison, along with four other pandits representing the Sangh, to have a discussion with Gandhiji and his advisers, on the validity of untouchability according to the Shastras. On arrival at the prison, he forwarded to Gandhiji a printed pamphlet giving information about the subject of discussion, the procedure for the debate and the names of the participants. Gandhiji added the words 'as at present classified' to qualify 'untouchables' in the printed pamphlet. This was not approved by the Sangh delegates and they went away without meeting Gandhiji. *Vide* "Letter to C. Rajagopalachari", pp. 42-4.

40. NOTE TO DEONAYAKACHARYA

January 12, 1933

DEAR SHASTRIJI,

I have your note. I have made the minimum alterations in the pamphlet sent by you and signed it. I do not mean any discourtesy and sincerely wish to have a discussion. I hope the alterations made by me are in accordance with what you have said in your letter.

From a microfilm of the Hindi: S.N. 19229

41. NOTE TO DEONAYAKACHARYA

January 12, 1933

DEAR SHASTRIJI,

I am helpless. And I am sadly grieved too that you want, in the manner of a lawyer, to tie up a *jijnasu*[1] and *mumukshu*[2] like me. My humble request to you is to come and enlighten me taking me as I am. I am unable to make any further modifications than what I have already done.

Yours,

From a microfilm of the Hindi: S.N. 19229

42. LETTER TO R. V. PATWARDHAN

[Before *January 13, 1933*][3]

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. In your letter you mistake strong words for reasoning. If you carefully think over your questions yourself and keep your mind calm you will find the answers yourself. For example: Question. 1. My answer is that we never disturb places of worship. My reply to the second question is that we do not want legislation, but only removal of the artificial barrier in the exist-

[1] Seeker after knowledge

[2] Seeker after *moksha*

[3] According to the source the letter was received on January 13, 1933.

ing law. Question 3: Like me you too should tell the people that those who ask for justice should themselves render justice.

From a microfilm of the Marathi: S.N. 20021

43. LETTER TO N. H. PURANDARE

January 13, 1933

MY DEAR PURANDARE,

I have your letter. I am sorry to have had it. I don't like the spirit underlying it. You have looked upon the whole thing as a commercial transaction, whereas I have looked upon the whole thing as a matter of selfless service. You left the question of remuneration entirely in my hands, although I asked you to tell me what you would charge for giving me a corrected collection of your speeches on untouchability and for supervising the printing. But you would not think of it, telling me that there was no mercenary motive behind it. That being so, I had no hesitation in undertaking the delicate task, but at the end of it, I shirked it, and I asked Haribhau to name the sum. He named Rs. 125 and I straightaway accepted. Believe me, so far as I am concerned, I did not think of the Arya Bhushan bill in connection with fixing up your fee, remuneration or honorarium, whatever it may be called. Nor did I then know nor do I now know that the Arya Bhushan bill is exorbitant. My understanding is that they should not make anything but nominal profits. You are thinking of anything between Rs. 500 to 3,000. I can only meet your proposal with a reasonable offer. You can take over the book yourself by simply paying the printing charges and sell the book on your own account and make whatever profit you can, only you should not increase the published price, for any increase in the price would be unjust to the public.

I have already asked Haribhau to pay you Rs. 125 if you would accept the amount in full payment and not feel any dissatisfaction. For I would be deeply hurt if, after having left the thing in my hands, you were dissatisfied with the amount declared by me.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. N. H. PURANDARE
604 SADASHIV PETH
POONA 2

From a microfilm: S.N. 18915

44. LETTER TO DHANNU LALL SHARMA

January 13, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I will not refer you to any of my statements this time, but I will ask you to re-read your own letter[1]. I suggest to you that that letter is libellous, insulting and unworthy of one who holds the position of General Secretary of a Sanatan Dharma Sabha.

If you will re-read your letter calmly and dispassionately, you will at once apologize to the pandits whom you have libelled, and, in any event, till you apologize, your letters will neither be read nor replied to. I am sorry for it.

Your sincere friend,

SJT. DHANNU LALL SHARMA
GENERAL SECRETARY
SHREE SANATAN DHARMA SABHA
220 HARRISON ROAD
CALCUTTA

From a microfilm: S.N. 18917

45. LETTER TO SATYANANDA BOSE

January 13, 1933

DEAR SATYANANDA BABOO,

You are always so good and always think of me whenever there is anything to say to me.

I think that this is hardly the time to consider improvements in Dr. Subbaroyan's Bill. The first thing is to get the Viceregal sanction. When that is had, many improvements may be possible. I am not therefore just now applying my mind to your suggestion[2]. After the principle of the Bill is once accepted, the Government

[1] In which the addressee had referred to Gandhiji's "Appeal to Sanatanists", 4-1-1933, and said that the pandits had deceived not only him but the whole world; *vide* Vol. LII, pp. 358-61.

[2] That the Bill be confined to giving authority to the trustee of a temple to allow the untouchables to enter it and worship as the caste Hindus do (S.N. 18893)

themselves may take it up or may advise amendments so far as that may be necessary to free the Bill from any possible political mischief. So far as I am concerned, my one thought in connection with the temple-entry is the purification of caste Hindus. But of course I shall bear your suggestions in mind whenever the occasion arises for their use.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. SATYANANDA BOSE
4 NUNDY ST.
BALLY GUNGE
CALCUTTA

From a microfilm: S.N. 18918

46. LETTER TO S. T. RAMANUJA IYENGAR

January 13, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter together with your article[1]. I am sorry indeed that there should have been any molestation of you by the audience. I have, as you must be aware, repeatedly written against intolerance, and I shall gladly re-emphasize my warning when the time comes.

As for your article, we must agree to differ.[2] Our conception of sanatana dharma is different. In your impatience you have not even cared to understand my fundamental position. I can only say, 'Read all my statements with a fresh mind, then if you have still doubts, discuss them with Sjt. Rajagopalachariar and if you are not still convinced and would care to do so, come down to Yeravda and I shall gladly give you one hour and try to convince you that the position I take up and the means I adopt to vindicate are both perfectly defensible.'

Yours sincerely,

SJT. S. T. RAMANUJA IYENGAR
4 VARADARAJA PERUMAL COIL ST.
TRICHINOPOLY

From a microfilm: S.N. 18919

[1] "The Drive against Untouchability"

[2] The addressee had written in his article: "He [Gandhiji] has given up his creed of non-co-operation with Government so far as untouchability is concerned by accepting special Government favours, and is actively blessing legislative efforts, once taboo, to facilitate removal of untouchability. . . ."

47. LETTER TO S. NAGASUNDARAM

January 13, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I have read the texts quoted by you. So far as I can make them out, they have no application to the present-day conditions. Those who are regarded as untouchables today cannot be classified as *Chandalas* at all.

Inter-dining is no part of the campaign against untouchability.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. S. NAGASUNDARAM
NEAR KING'S CIRCLE
MATUNGA
BOMBAY

From a microfilm: S.N. 18921

48. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

January 13, 1933

MY DEAR C.R.,

Vallabhbhai had a battle royal with me last night on your behalf. If a person, an utter stranger to him, had chance to be there, from the vehemence of Vallabhbhai's language, he would have concluded that we must be most quarrelsome persons.

He thought that I was doing violent injustice to you, inasmuch as, without consultation with you, I made proposals that might prove to be utterly embarrassing, as had happened on two occasions.

The cause of our quarrel was my compromise proposal[1]. He thought that I had no right to publish it without consultation with you, and he was quite sure that though you were too good to mention it to me, you had felt very much embarrassed by it, if not also irritated. I told him that you were too good to conceal your embarrassment from me, if you were really embarras-

[1] For a discussion, *vide* Appendix I.

sed, and that would be quite unlike you. I even added that in this particular instance you happened even to like my proposal and that even if it was discovered that you did not like it and that you were really embarrassed, it was impossible for me every time to consult you, or such other colleagues on such occasions. I went further and argued that work on such lines would become almost impossible. People act together when there is a general agreement between them on fundamentals and [provided] that their deductions from those fundamentals were, as a rule, identical, and that if, at times, they came to different deductions, a timely confession of error would keep their friendship in tact, as also the common cause. Nothing that I could say, however, would conciliate Vallabhbhai. The curfew bell, mutually agreed upon by us, came to the rescue, and put an end to what promised to be an endless discussion. But I retired to bed with a determination that I would refer the matter to you. Your reply, one way or the other, would bring some consolation to your counsel, and you know that it won't make me disconsolate if you agreed with your counsel on both his propositions, namely, that before giving to the world the compromise proposal which I had given to Pandit Panchanan Tarkaratna I should have consulted you, and that it, as a matter of fact, did embarrass you. You would also add to your opinion on these points, your opinion whether on merits you consider my proposal to be sound or otherwise.

A perfect tragedy was enacted here yesterday. Five pandits and their five advisers came to the jail gate yesterday an hour and a half after the appointed time and took two hours and a half in exchanging brief notes with me, the three notes[1] that they exchanged with me taking all the two hours and a half. And, will you believe it, when I tell you that they would not come in and carry on the discussion because I would not remove one word I had added to their draft, the word being an adjective added to the word 'untouchables'. The adjective applied was 'as at present classified'. Of course it altered the whole scope of their discussion. So they went away. Of course it is not our position that there is no untouchability at all in the Shastras. Our position is that there is no untouchability in the Shastras as we practise it to-day. They were expected to prove that untouchability as at present practised has sanction in the Shastras. It is an impossible task to perform honestly. No text that has yet been cited on their behalf has proved it. The *Shastris* on our behalf are real-

[1] *Vide* pp. 37-8.

ly very learned men, and also pious men. It is their honest conviction that there is no warrant for the untouchability of the present day in the Shastras. The real untouchability will be there for all time. It is a sound hygienic rule practised all over the world.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 18922

49. *LETTER TO GEORGE JOSEPH*

January 13, 1933

MY DEAR JOSEPH,

You can better imagine than I can describe my joy at receiving your letter, and especially your letter[1] to Pyarelal. I shall try to have your letter delivered to him. But let me say two things in connection with that letter.

My fast[2] was not a fast unto death in its literal sense. The Roman Catholic priest, who is a visitor to this prison, knows me, and when I was on the eve of taking that fast, he came over to me in his kindly manner just to say one word, and he said how he drew the distinction between a suicide and a sacrifice. A suicide carried with it a certainty of destruction. A sacrifice meant risking life, the greater the risk, the greater the sacrifice. But there should be nothing beyond risk. I had no hesitation in agreeing with the distinction, and my fast being conditional was not a fast amounting to suicide, but it was a fast involving the greatest risk, but still a risk and no more.

You will be interested to know that some of my Roman Catholic friends have detected no flaw in the fast. Of course, in Hinduism some few extreme cases there are in which ending of life is peremptory, but these I need not consider at present. There is general agreement between Hinduism and other faiths that suicide is a sin.

Now, about the Inner Voice.[3] Here again I can agree with you whole-heartedly when you say that the voice of God can never counsel or countenance sin. Encouragement to sin can only come from the devil. But the real difficulty comes in when

[1] In which the addressee had expressed his views on Pyarelal's book *The Epic Fast* and stated: "The Inner Voice is either a hallucination or the voice of God. If it is truly the voice of God, it cannot counsel self-destruction because the life that God gives is for *Him* alone to put an end to . . ."

[2] *Vide* Vol. LI.

[3] For a discussion, *vide* Appendix II.

the question of sin itself is debatable. Those who would consider a particular act to be sinful will naturally reject the claim that it was prompted by God. Hence it was that in answer to a question I said[1] that whilst in self-defence and for the sake of truth which I worship I was bound to say what I believed, my claim was not to be accepted as part of argument in determining relevant questions. The opponents were bound to rule [out] that claim as wholly beside the point. Whether the claim for the voice of God was well or ill-made in a particular case can only be decided after the claimant's death, and in some extraordinary cases it may even then be difficult. Apart from the danger of hypocrisy there is the still greater danger of self-deception to which mankind is prone, and it is possible for self-deceived people to attain great things and yet their claim that the voice of God was behind their acts might be wholly wrong. These are final difficulties which will remain to the end of time, but if the truth is to make any progress, then self-deluded people must also be allowed full play.

Finally comes the question of confession. You may not know that I have some very valued Roman Catholic friends also. I am in the habit of picking up knowledge more from personal contact than from printed texts. These friends have not yet been able to clearly define the function of Confession and the Confessor. For instance, what is one to confess who has no consciousness of guilt and when there is, I can understand a Confessor granting absolution, but can he also guide the future acts of the penitent? In the place of the Confessor Hinduism has the Guru. I have all my life striven to find one, one to whom I can shift all my burdens and roam about merely doing his will. But then such implicit limitless obedience is not a mechanical act; and having got the spirit of obedience instinctively within me I would be satisfied by nothing less than tendering complete obedience. But it seems to me that it is not given to all to find the true Guru in this short span of life. But it is given to all to make that diligent search, and it may be that that very search is its own reward, and that it keeps one in possession of peace and joy everlasting. Anyway, you will accept my testimony that ceaseless search has not only given me such joy and peace, but has protected me from conscious error.

I thank you for copying for me that extract from *Imitation of Christ*. I read that book in one single sitting, I think, in the year

[1] *Vide* Vol. LI, *passim*

1905 or 1906, and a friend, only a few months ago, sent me another copy.

With our love to all of you,

Yours sincerely,

GEORGE JOSEPH, ESQ., M.A., BARRISTER-AT-LAW
"HILL VIEW", MADURA

From a microfilm: S.N. 18923

50. LETTER TO G. V. MAVALANKAR

January 13, 1933

BHAISHRI MAVALANKAR,

I got your letter. Vinabehn also told me about your illness. Illness does not spare even a lawyer, nor the chairman of a municipality!! It is something to be thankful for that you will be able to move about soon.

I read Keshavji's questions. We should willingly endure a great many things like this to atone for the sins of our ancestors and our contemporaries. When to suspicion is added selfishness, you can expect nothing better. But I suppose the skin of your back has become sufficiently thick by now so that you feel such blows as light as flowers.

Thakkar Bapa[1] suggests that I should write to Dada[2] for the Harijan fund. Since when did you become Dada? It must have been before I was born. May you live long and serve the Harijans. Bapa suggests that you should use your influence with Vaishnavas like Chimanbhai, Sakarbhai, etc. They may not permit Harijans to enter temples for *darshan*, but they should liberally help with money for activities other than the movement for temple-entry. But need one commend the cause of the tongue to the teeth? If Bapa's word does not carry weight with Dada, how can Bapu of merely fifteen years' standing hope that his will? I have only passed on to you the load put on my head by Bapa. He has also ordered me to write to Kasturbhai[3] and make a similar request to him. May I give you my power of attorney?

Since you have just risen from the sick-bed, I tried to lighten business with a little humour and that has made the letter

[1] Amritlal V. Thakkar; "Bapa" means father.

[2] "Grand-father" in Gujarati, but "elder brother" in Marathi. Addressee's mother tongue was Marathi.

[3] Kasturbhai Lalbhai, a mill-owner of Ahmedabad

long. I, therefore, leave it to you to speak to Kasturbhai. As for Chimanbhai, I also will write to him.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1234

51. LETTER TO NANALAL K. JASANI

January 13, 1933

BHAI NANALAL[1],

I got your postcard. I had a wire from Lilavati[2] too. She has replied that she cannot say anything without consulting Padma. Let me have all the information you possess regarding this marriage. Who is the bridegroom and what kind of a man is he? What is his age? What is his economic condition and what sort of health does he have? What is his occupation? I suppose you know that Maganlal[3] is against the marriage.

You seem to be very busy with the marriage in your family. I hope you have not been incurring unnecessary expenditure. Utilize the occasion also to give as much money to worthy causes as you can.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 9628

52. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

January 13, 1933

CHI. NARANDAS,

Dr. Kanuga writes and tells me that Radha[4] does suffer from tuberculosis. She should be sent away to a place like Deolali. She will be restored to health only if she takes complete rest there. You should discuss this with Santok[5] and Radha. This is a difficult problem, but we must solve it.

Do you get any letter from Ramabehn[6]? Chhaganlal has received no letter from her at all.

BAPU

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

[1] Business partner of the late Dr. Pranjivan Mehta
[2] Lilavati Mehta, wife of Chhaganlal Mehta
[3] Maganlal Mehta
[4] Radha Gandhi, daughter of Maganlal Gandhi
[5] Widow of Maganlal Gandhi
[6] Ramabehn Joshi, wife of Chhaganlal Joshi

53. LETTER TO MARGARETE SPIEGEL

January 14, 1933

MY DEAR MARGARETE,

I must continue to dictate. You are entitled to call yourself an Indian since you have felt like one from your childhood, but that is not a substitute for your German birth. The adoption should be an addition both to your name and to your strength, and what can be finer than that we should all add on the virtues of our own nations to those of the others!

Why was there a struggle to choose between Gurudev and myself? We are no competitors. Gurudev occupies a throne which belongs to him by sheer merit. I have none of the gifts that he has, and what is more, we dearly love each other, and as years roll on, our love becomes stronger, and we understand also each other better and better. I would have you therefore to say that you like us both equally for whatever gifts God has bestowed upon us. No more therefore of choice-making, if you would be a real daughter like Mira.

I hope you got my previous letter[1] in which I acknowledged your letter written from Aden. The registered packet addressed to Mahadev was also duly received.

Love from us both.

BAPU

Spiegel Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

54. LETTER TO M. THIAGARAJAN

January 14, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. The question is not so much what the Harijans need, but how the caste Hindus should behave towards them. In my opinion, it is the clear duty of caste Hindus to give to the Harijans the same rights that they enjoy. The fact that evil has survived numberless generations does not make it any the

[1] *Vide* pp. 27-8.

less an evil. Similarly, the fact that untouchability has survived the great religious teachers whom you name does not warrant the present generation in continuing it, if it can be proved to be an evil. I am convinced it is.

A person who has heard the inner call should still be open to reason and therefore conviction. That attitude enables him and others to test the truth of his claim.

I do say with my conception of Hinduism that God denies Himself what Harijans are denied, because they are called Harijans.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. M. THIAGARAJAN
42 SINGARA TOPE
TRICHINOPOLY

From a microfilm: S.N. 18928

55. LETTER TO BHAGWANDAS

January 14, 1933

DEAR BABOO BHAGWANDAS,

I have your letter. I read an account of your meeting[1] in the papers. We are bound at the present moment to find obstruction at our meetings. I know that the Benares meeting was in the safest hands and I knew how you took the wind out of the sail of the adversary by always giving him the chance and even the first chance of speaking and restraining the sympathizers from retaliating. I do hope that you soon got out of the effect of the little fever. It does not do to take unnecessary risks at our age. I suppose you are a few years older.

I will send you the other essays as soon as I am ready, and I shall thank you to ask someone to send me all the cuttings dealing with untouchability from the *Aaj* and even other Hindi newspapers. I am getting cuttings from Marathi and Gujarati but not from Hindi. I have not forgotten the message for the *Aaj*, nor the book you kindly left for me, the very first copy. I acknowledged it in a previous letter which I hope you duly received. You will be pleased to know that I have already

[1] Held on January 8, 1933, which passed a resolution in favour of temple-entry

made the commencement, but I have to confess that I am going very slow and sometimes misreading it altogether.

Yours sincerely,

DR. BHAGWANDAS
SEVASHRAMA, SIGRA
BENARES (CANTT.)

From a microfilm: S.N. 18929

56. LETTER TO VERRIER ELWIN

January 14, 1933

I want to warn you against resisting nature beyond the saturation point. In Biblical language, I should say: "Thou shalt not tempt the Lord, thy God." I would say without the slightest hesitation, if you have another bad attack you should treat it as the clearest call from God to return to England and render what service you can render there. If God wants you here, the first thing He would give you is health of body. If you have humbly to acknowledge defeat, you should do so. Your defeat will be victory for God of truth. There is no waste in God's laboratory. The work begun there by you will not die. I do not mind if one man who has good health and is beyond reproach in character is there in sole charge. If there is no such worker just now, let the whole thing be temporarily wound up. This is no doleful picture. It is the real background for a Godly life. "Not my will, but thine, O Truth." I must not prolong this sermon. You know what I mean. Where there is complete surrender, there is no room for self-will.

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

57. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

January 14, 1933

CHI. NARANDAS,

I got your letter. I don't require any information about Liladhar from you. Do you know if Shankarbhai neglects his father? I have already written to Mahavir again. Vallabhbhai suggests Wadhwan for Radha.

I asked you to write to me about the Chharas[1]. Their harassment of us seems to have stopped. Does a *bhajan* party[2] visit their settlement? Has the Government posted police to keep watch on them?

Prema causes me some worry. Her conduct frightens me. If she is silent because she has realized her error, I need not mind. If, however, she is silent because she is angry, she has more serious defect of character than I had thought. Try and discover, if you can, what is in her heart.

If you have any news about Gangabehn, Kusum and Lilavati, let me have it.

BAPU

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

58. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

January 15, 1933

CHI. NARANDAS,

All your letters seem to have been delivered to me. For how many days did Chimanlal[3] try the fenugreek seeds? Jamna[4] may try them along with any other medicine which she is taking. But she should take care that she does not get constipation.

About Mahavir, I can think of no other way. The whole family must leave. I have given up the hope of their observing the rules. This is my view. If, however, you wish to let them stay, I can have no objection. But have no doubt that misplaced kindness is a form of violence.

I also feel worried about Prema. I am pained and surprised that she cannot see her weakness which everybody else can see. I had hoped that I would be able to open her eyes. It seems I have been wrong, for the present at any rate. But she is a thoughtful lady. Hence I do not give up hope altogether. Her language was certainly full of hatred, but she denies it. That means that she does not know when one's language may be described as full of hatred. She does not even have faith in me to trust that, when my loving heart feels the presence of hatred anywhere, it

[1] An ex-criminal tribe of central Gujarat. *Vide* also Vol. LII, p. 389.
[2] Troupe of devotional singers
[3] One of the oldest inmates of the Ashram who was suffering from asthma
[4] Jamnabehn Gandhi, addressee's wife

must be there. I am partial to her and stress her virtues as outweighing her faults. If, then, I see a weakness in her, instead of getting angry with me she should be humble and try to understand her weakness. If I am committing an error, she should point it out to me. This is how I feel. I may die any day. Ultimately the burden will have to be shouldered by you. Therefore do what you think best. If I am doing injustice to anybody in any matter, do not hesitate to tell me so. And if you are convinced that my view is correct, do not hesitate to tell her so emphatically. I certainly do not wish to crush her individuality in any manner whatsoever. If the individuality of any person in the Ashram is crushed, that would harm the Ashram itself. But I think Prema misunderstands the meaning of individuality. I understand her problem, but I feel helpless before her obstinacy.

I understand what you say regarding Liladhar. Has he abandoned his plan of going to Zanzibar? If you decide to take him back, have a frank talk with him before doing so.

If the harassment by the Chharas has stopped, is it because our people have started going in their midst or does it mean something else?

I have discussed everything with Prabhudas[1]. Your letter did not give the statistics of people's weights.

BAPU

[PS.]

NARANDAS,

Durlabhji Sampat and Sitaram, two brothers, are prisoners in this jail. Durlabhji is married. After he is released, he wishes to stay in the Ashram for two months or so and have experience of the life there. And so does Sitaram. I have told them that there will be no difficulty in admitting them. They will write to you. If you can accommodate them, admit them.

Did anything happen between Balwant, Prabhashankar's[2] son, and you? How is Ratilal? I hope Totaramji[3] is completely all right now.

Read all my letters to the Giri family.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./I. Also *Bapuna Patro–9: Shri Narandas Gandhine*, Pt. II, pp. 14-6

[1] Prabhudas Gandhi, son of Chhaganlal Gandhi
[2] Father-in-law of Ratilal Mehta
[3] Totaram Sanadhya, an Ashram inmate

59. LETTER TO RATILAL K. SHAH

January 15, 1933

BHAI RATILAL KUNVARJI,

I got your letter. You have given very important information. But we find the same thing in regard to many temples. Hoping that what happens occasionally will by and by happen every day, we should go on trying.

MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 92

60. LETTER TO KRISHNADAS GANDHI

January 15, 1933

CHI. KRISHNADAS[1],

I have read your letter to Prabhudas. It is ignorance, and therefore an error, to go on working without regard to one's health till the body breaks down. You should take rest even for being able to serve, as you wish to do. I hope that Prabhudas did not drag you as far as Bombay. He could have easily gone there by himself and also seen Vinoba. I will suggest this to him if it is not too late—let me know if it is.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3084

[1] Son of Chhaganlal Gandhi

CWMG - LIII

61. LETTER TO KESHAV GANDHI

January 15, 1933

CHI. KESHU[1],

If you take only as much milk and ghee as you can digest, I don't think you will experience any difficulty in observing *brahmacharya.*

Mutual service keeps love fresh.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3268

62. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

January 15, 1933

CHI. PREMA,

Your continued sulking shows that you have a good measure of childishness in you. If you do not tolerate my criticizing you, you are not at all likely to tolerate anybody else doing so. Instead of thanking me for [telling you] the impression you produce on me, you get angry with me. Your duty is to try to ask me again to explain my charge against you, if you have not understood it. You may also quarrel with me. But all your education and wisdom seem to have disappeared on this occasion. You cannot even see that behind your sulking lies your extreme pride. Let me tell you that this is not freedom but self-will. I wish that you should open your eyes and understand my love, and not falsify my estimate of you. It is not right for you to sulk; on the contrary, you should feel sorry and weep for having made me suffer. Why don't you realize that, if I say anything harsh to you, it is for your own good? If I am making any mistake in doing so, it is your duty to point it out humbly to me. If you are sure that you are innocent, you should be confident of being able to prove it to me. Instead, you resent my criticism and sulk, and thereby seem to aggravate your guilt. I had never ex-

[1] Son of Maganlal Gandhi

pected this from you. Wake up and express sorrow for nursing resentment against me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10322

63. LETTER TO JAMNABEHN GANDHI

January 15, 1933

CHI. JAMNA,

You seem to have lost confidence in me. It doesn't matter. Go and live somewhere for a year and then tell me. Will it give you confidence if I suggest that Narandas may pay a short visit during the last month or even earlier? It will not matter if you are not able to return to the Ashram at all. Create the atmosphere of the Ashram wherever you live. You need not then go to the Ashram. Will this satisfy you?

I feel much worried that Purushottam's[1] health does not improve. I have been thinking what to do.

BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 870. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

64. LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAM GANDHI

January 15, 1933

CHI. PURUSHOTTAM,

It is not right that your constipation does not disappear completely. It will certainly be cured if you go and live in Hajira. The air and water of that place have that miraculous effect. Or you should come to Poona and stay here for some time. I will have you treated by a doctor here. The water of this place is believed to be good and life is comparatively cheaper. This is the best season of the year. You will certainly get some work here.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 906. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

[1] Addressee's son

65. LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI

January 15, 1933

BHAISHRI MUNSHI,

I got your letter. I am writing this letter only to reassure you. You need not reply to this. Poor Pradhan, he has a reason to describe me as a young man. But should he do that before you? But apart from that, would it be surprising if an old man of twenty should regard you, a man of forty-five, as being 'dateless'?

I don't mind differences of opinion at all. Where the heart is one, why should we mind such differences? I shall not be so foolish as to lose you readily. We shall be like two beads in a necklace held on the string of truth, no matter even if they are of rather strange colours. Lilavati's[1] boldness is beyond praise. She was always like that. Get all right soon.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 7525. Courtesy: K. M. Munshi

66. LETTER TO JIVRAM K. KOTHARI[2]

January 15, 1933

The words "twenty-four hours" you have taken rather literally. You should have understood my intention in using them. For twenty-four hours mean for as long as possible. When it is raining or is very hot, when there is a strong wind or it is extremely cold, or when for any other reason it is absolutely impossible or will be harmful to remain or sleep or work in the open, one's moral duty is to take shelter under a shade or a roof or in a house with the doors and the windows shut. All that you should have read in my words is that it is desirable to spend as much time as possible in the open without anything between oneself and the sky. Those who understand this will spend the least possible time inside their houses and will also see that there is adequate ventilation inside.

[1] Addressee's wife

[2] The addressee was working in Orissa.

And now about knowing the time of the day. A village worker does not require a clock or a watch. All his activities follow nature. His clock also is nature's. His manner of indicating time is different from ours. He will not ask a person to come at four. He will say: 'Come at prayer time', or 'Come an hour or two before sunset', or 'Come at daybreak', or 'Come when the birds start singing', or 'Come at dinner time', or 'Come when I am weaving tape', or 'Come at twilight' or 'at supper time'. One can thus use different descriptions for different hours of the day. And the worker is so regular in his tasks that he does not need to look at the sky to know the time of the day. Every day he does the same job at the same hour and takes the same time for doing it. Because of this exact regularity, when the work is over he knows what time of day it is. Since he is not in the habit of consulting a watch, he cannot say how many hours he would require for a given job. But he says that he weaves a certain number of yards of tape daily, and from that he and others can judge for how many hours he must be working. It was because of this that in former days time was not counted in hours but was measured by the amount of work done. Even when the village worker travelled, he experienced no difficulty, for he knew how many miles he could walk between sunrise and sunset. Such a worker rests not according to the clock but only when he feels tired. In short, one feels very little need for a clock in a village; one may say that one feels no need at all. The village worker measures his work by reference to the movements of the sun or the other heavenly bodies. Clouds are no obstacles to this, because there are very few days in the year when the sky is covered with clouds. Even on such days, however, his work goes on as usual. Prayer time also is observed without any conscious effort. If one's hours of the day are filled with work and succeed one another in the same order, one will know without looking at the clock when it is time for prayer. It will, then, rarely happen that one gets up late and has to worry about how to make up for the lost time. It is not necessary to adjust the time of evening prayer with the prayer hour in the Ashram. People living in different parts of the world cannot do a particular thing at the same hour. It will, therefore, be most convenient for you to start your prayer when the sun sets in that part of the country. I think I have answered all your doubts, big and small.

[From Gujarati]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. III, pp. 55-7

67. LETTER TO SHARDA C. SHAH

January 15, 1933

CHI. SHARDA,

Your letter. You seem to be absorbed in work. That is very good indeed. Is not writing to me part of your work? If not, why not?

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 9961. Courtesy: Shardabehn G. Chokhawala

68. A LETTER[1]

January 15, 1933

There are four remedies: First, Ramanama; second, pure air, *pranayama* in open air, *asanas* and other exercises; third, wholesome food, wheat, green vegetables and milk, exclusion of spices and sweets; and fourth, keeping the body busy with work the whole day so that one may get sound sleep at night.

[From Gujarati]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. III, p. 54

[1] The correspondent had asked how he could cure wet dreams.

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69. LETTER TO GOPALDAS DESAI

January 15, 1933

All four of us were at one in complimenting you for not coming.[1] Few people have observed such self-control. Compliments to you once again.

[From Gujarati]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. III, p. 54

70. A LETTER

January 15, 1933

If it is true that my life is dedicated to the service of all creatures, it is still more true that it is dedicated to God. How can I help when He prompts me to undertake an indefinite fast?

I can show that the use of legislatures to secure freedom to the Harijans to enter temples is not opposed to the principle of non-co-operation. But I would be violating jail rules by doing so. If, therefore, I get an opportunity later to explain that and if you are present at that time, you may ask your question. My present activities for the removal of untouchability may seem to do temporary harm, but it is a fact of universal experience that work for a good cause ultimately does no harm, and I have no doubt in my mind that this is a good cause.

[From Gujarati]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. III, pp. 54-5

[1] The addressee, who had recently been released from jail, had not gone to see Gandhiji.

71. LETTER TO A YOUTH[1]

January 15, 1933

A great many such things are being written about me. The article is such a palpable lie that I hope nobody will put his trust in it. And if there are any people who put their trust in it, my reply to it will have no effect on them.

[From Gujarati]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. III, p. 55

72. A LETTER

January 15, 1933

The article[2] you have sent me is full of poison from beginning to end. I hope my life is living proof of its falsehood.

[From Hindi]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. III, p. 55

73. TELEGRAM TO HOME SECRETARY GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

January 16, 1933

SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT
HOME DEPARTMENT
NEW DELHI

REGARDING MY REQUEST FOR PERMITTING CONSERVANCY WORK TO BE DONE BY HIGH-CASTE PRISONERS WHO MAY VOLUNTEER TO DO SUCH WORK MAY I NOW KNOW GOVERNMENT DECISION?

GANDHI

From a photostat: G. N. 3876. Also Bombay Secret Abstracts, Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 800 (40)(6), p. 285

[1] The addressee is described in the source as "a young man of Dar-es-Salaam".

[2] By Vasantram Shastri

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74. LETTER TO E. E. DOYLE

January 16, 1933

DEAR COL. DOYLE,

Sjt. Mathuradas, the only grandson of a deceased sister of mine, was recently discharged from Belgaum Prison. He met me and told me that my letters were delivered to him with passages cut out. Now my letters never contain anything that might possibly be considered of an obnoxious nature from the prison or any other standpoint. They go from here duly censored. The Superintendents here have done me the favour of drawing my attention to passages in my letters which they may not like. But to cut out words or passages from a letter without reference to the writer may lead to dangerous interpretations or interpretations not intended by the writer. In my opinion any letter of which a passage is held objectionable should be referred to the writer and option given to him either of withdrawing the passage or the letter altogether. And I cannot understand the practice of double censoring. My letters are all thought out and conceived as one piece. They contain mostly ethical matters. The removal of a word may change the meaning. I should not like my letters to be interfered with without my knowledge. I may say that I often receive Maniben Patel's letters with large patches making the letters meaningless.

I wish you could grant relief in this matter by no means trivial to me.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Government of Bombay, Home Department, I.G.P. File No. 9

75. LETTER TO E. E. DOYLE

January 16, 1933

DEAR COL. DOYLE,

I hope that you have now overtaken the Christmas week arrears and are comparatively free to devote a little attention to an important matter which we have often talked about but never thoroughly thrashed out. I refer to the question of hand-carding and hand-spinning in the prisons. I have told you that as early as 1922 these two things were first introduced at my request in this prison. At first Sjt. Shankerlal Banker and I were permitted to do this work on our own bows and wheels with our own cotton. Then cotton was brought by Col. Dalziel from Dharwar. The result of our work was liked by Major Jones who followed Col. Dalziel and he allowed all Civil Disobedience prisoners who volunteered to do this work regularly. I was permitted to regulate and examine the daily work and issue the necessary instructions for improvement. A record was kept of the work. Spinning-wheels and bows were manufactured in the prison, spindles were made and the yarn was used as welt, and, if I am not mistaken, also for tapes. I was allowed to train convict warders as carders, and a considerable quantity of yarn was thus produced.

On the resumption of Civil Disobedience in 1930 the question was raised by me and several prisoners and permission was granted in some cases and not in others. There was no fixed policy evolved when peace was declared and the C. D. prisoners were discharged.

The matter this time is also in the same uncertain state. In Dhulia for instance Seth Jamnalal Bajaj tells me hand-spinning is universal among the C. D. prisoners, so much so that much khadi has been manufactured out of the yarn so spun. I know that in some other jails too it is freely allowed. It is only here that almost complete prohibition reigns except with me, my companions and certain other prisoners and the female Civil Disobedience prisoners.

I have told you that many Civil Disobedience prisoners have been under vows to spin regularly as a sacrifice. It is only after much effort that I have succeeded generally in persuading the Civil Disobedience prisoners not to regard the vow as binding

in prisons. They know that I am trying to persuade you to give the permission to spin to those who regard it as a sacred duty, either as part of their task or as extra work to be kept by them for their use.

To carding and spinning by itself I am sure the Government can have no objection. It has no connection with the Civil Disobedience campaign. Spinning organizations have not been declared unlawful nor spinning an unlawful activity. From the State point of view I can demonstrate, as I did in 1922 by actual results, that it is a more remunerative occupation than several others followed in the prisons. Indeed I endeavoured to show to one of your predecessors, viz., Col. Mel, that it was possible even to make prisons self-supporting by a universal introduction of all cotton processes in the prisons. But whilst I was carrying on these conversations, he retired. Inspectors-General and Superintendents change rapidly and I was discharged all too prematurely owing to the attack of appendicitis. If I can but get a little encouragement from you, I have the same confidence as in 1922 and could show you startling results.

But that may be a far cry. My present purpose is to ask you please to regularize the practice, which is now followed haphazard, of allowing volunteers to do hand-carding and hand-spinning with such restrictions as may be considered necessary in the interest of the administration.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Government of Bombay, Home Department, I.G.P. File No. 9

76. LETTER TO SANKARANARAYANA IYER

January 16, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. Had I the time, I would have attempted a reply to it. But as most of the points raised by you have been covered in my statements, you would not mind my referring you to them.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. SANKARANARAYANA IYER
TIMBER MERCHANT
COIMBATORE

From a microfilm: S.N. 18933

77. LETTER TO K. PARAMESWARAN NAMBOODIRI

January 16, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter and offer of the sacred oil. Believing as I do firmly in true Shastras not only tolerating but permitting Harijans of today to enter temples, I could not avail myself of the offer you kindly made. If you will investigate the Shastras, you will fail to discover a single text that would apply to those whose entry today is debarred.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. K. PARAMESWARAN NAMBOODIRI
OTHIKKEN
C/O TEMPLE SUPERINTENDENT
GURUVAYUR

From a microfilm: S.N. 18937

78. LETTER TO V. V. KETKAR

January 16, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. You are in a hurry. I am constitutionally opposed to coercing anybody, whether he is in the majority or in the minority, and essentially so in religious matters. Hence I would respect the scruples of the minority in so far as it is possible to do so.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. V. V. KETKAR
SADASHIVA LANE
BOMBAY 4

From a microfilm: S.N. 18938

79. LETTER TO BASANT KUMAR CHATTERJEE

January 16, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter by registered post. Of late I have missed the balanced judgment which characterized all your letters which it was my pleasure to receive. The latest one in front of me is full of hot spices, reckless statements and innuendoes. If your letter had not betrayed anger, I would have pleaded with you and shown you the mis-statements and misrepresentations with which your letter bristles. Some day, and I am sure that day is not very far, when passions have subsided, you will admit, if you have patience enough to keep this letter, that what I have said in it was all true.

Yours sincerely,

BASANT KUMAR CHATTERJEE
CALCUTTA

From a microfilm: S.N. 18939

80. LETTER TO R. KAIMAL

January 16, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

The letters that come to me from Travancore, that is, from Trivandrum, and all practically from M.A.s and B.A.s who are also High Court vakils, are very remarkable for hard-heartedness and want of susceptibility to the upward impulse of humaneness. The writers seem to exhaust the whole of their effort in resorting to subtleties of argument for defending the obviously indefensible. I was ill-prepared for such an exhibition of ungenerous interpretation of Shastras from a place of which I have such happy memories. It is to me a vast tragedy that you, who have such a magnificent natural scenery about you, expressive of bountiful Nature, should steel your hearts against your own kith and kin and find it in you to make an appeal to me for peace[1] when, un-

[1] The addressee had pleaded: "Please drop temple-entry; vouch peace; destroy not; but, fulfil."

mindful of consequences, perhaps all unconsciously to yourself, you are engaged in carrying on destruction. I would not have written thus to you if I had not traced a ring of sincerity about your letter.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. R. KAIMAL, M.A., LL.B.
HIGH COURT VAKIL
TRIVANDRUM

From a microfilm: S.N. 18940

81. LETTER TO BALKRISHNA BHAVE

January 16, 1933

According to me, the reasons why your body does not become strong and healthy are these: though you eat, you do not have faith in the food which you eat and feel aversion towards it, you waste your mental energy too much and neglect your health out of ignorant attachment to work. The remedy is indicated by the reasons themselves. You should cure your lack of faith, look upon the food which you eat as a sign of God's kindness and pray, while eating it, that it may give you strength. You should realize that it is necessary to preserve the body in good health for the sake of the *atman*, regard it as a trust and take the best care of it that you can. Anybody who neglects a trust is guilty of a wrong.

I do not know when I first became aware of the existence of God. Doing these things becomes so natural to me that I feel I have always been doing them. Who can say that the leaves of a tree became so big on such and such a day? All that I can say is that I have arrived at the present stage at the age of sixty-four. But this means nothing.

When a person has attained the *Brahmi* state[1], he does not suffer at the sight of others' sufferings because he does not rejoice at the sight of their happiness. A carpenter does not feel either happy or unhappy when repairing a ship; a Brahmin acts in the same manner. A Brahmin is one who has attained the *Brahmi* state.

[From Gujarati]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. III, p. 58

[1] State of oneness with Brahman, the Absolute

82. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

January 16, 1933

If you have preserved my letters which you received in jail, bring along with you those letters in which any words or sentences were crossed out by the jail authorities.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuni Prasadi, p. 117

83. LETTER TO BINDU DASTANE

January 16, 1933

Bangles and *kumkum*[1] are the marks of a married woman or a maiden eligible for marriage. Therefore one who desires marriage may certainly adorn herself with both. You may, by all means, wear the bangles and the *kumkum* if you are fond of them. Anyway, you may wear them if Mother wants you to; you must not hurt her feelings.

[From Hindi]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. III, p. 57

84. LETTER TO MRS. DASTANE

January 16, 1933

Read carefully my letter to Bindu. If you agree with what I have said, do encourage the girls in giving up bangles, etc. But if you do not approve of *brahmacharya*, you may ask them to wear bangles and other things. In my view a mother's duty is to encourage the spirit of renunciation in the children. The mind is bound to run after pleasures. Ultimately the girls are bound to use all those things if they are interested in marriage, but we must not compel them.

[From Hindi]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. III, p. 57

[1] Vermilion mark on the forehead of women

85. LETTER TO VATSALA V. DASTANE

January 16, 1933

By doing our best to remove suffering and by faithfully observing the rules of truth and so on we serve living beings. Those who indulge in untruth, violence, hoarding, thieving and *abrahmacharya*[1] hurt life itself. By observing truth and so on they alleviate suffering, which amounts to serving.

[From Hindi]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. III, pp. 57-8

86. A LETTER

January 16, 1933

If you are keen to stay, you should observe the rules, be sincere and do the work.

[From Gujarati]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. III, p. 58

87. INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS

January 16, 1933

I am quite sure that Seth Chamanlal[2] could not believe that there was any likelihood of a civil war in the country. As I have said in my appeal to sanatanists, such a thing I hold to be inconceivable. If anybody knows the reformers, I should surely know them. War could take place only if there are two parties to fight one another. Self-styled sanatanists would be simply beating the air if they staged a war. And why should there be a war? The Viceroy gives formal sanction not to a Bill passed

[1] Violation of *brahmacharya*

[2] Chamanlal Girdhardas Parekh, Chairman, Ahmedabad Mill-owners' Association, was reported to have urged the Viceroy not to sanction the introduction of the Temple-entry Bills, as it would lead to a religious civil war.

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but to a Bill that has been introduced, which even when passed ensures absolute freedom from fight.

The fight may come when the matter goes out of the reformers' hands and disappointed and enraged Harijans take the matter in their own hands and fight for their rights against the whole host of caste Hindus. But even that is a remote possibility, so long as reformers are alive to vindicate the honour of sanatana dharma.

The Bill can only pass if it has solid Hindu opinion behind it and not otherwise. I hope, therefore, that nobody will be scared by the telegram to which you have just drawn my attention.

The Bombay Chronicle, 17-1-1933

88. LETTER TO F. MARY BARR

January 17, 1933

MY DEAR MARY,

I have your letter. Whatever you are, you are no guest.[1] You are a member of the ever-growing family. Whether you are daughter, or sister or mother, matters little. In this strange family, each one makes his or her own choice of the position he or she would occupy. Therefore you understand you will be no guest to me wherever we meet.

My conception of idol-worship is wholly different from that of the learned men. I know from the experience of many people that idol-worship has given them spiritualism of the highest type and that a philosophic conception of God has made such philosophers grossly material.

As I have told you, whilst the form may be different, mankind are idol-worshippers by their very nature. It is true that not all are uplifted by such worship, but that can be said of every form of worship. Those who look down upon idol-worship with philosophic contempt are not idol-worshippers but probably the worst form of idolaters, for they are worshippers of self.

Ba is in the Ashram. She left here some time ago. Mira writes to me every week and I to her and I often mention you to her.

I have not yet got the *Little Plays of St. Francis*. Tell me when you sent the book. Did you register it?

[1] The addressee, after three visits to Gandhiji in jail in January, had remarked jokingly in a letter that although they were prisoners, she felt as if she had been entertained by them as their "guest".

Love from us all.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 5988. Also C.W. 3345. Courtesy: F. Mary Barr

89. LETTER TO DEYASA BOYS' UNION

January 17, 1933

DEAR YOUNG FRIENDS,

I have your letter. I am delighted that you are serving Harijan children in the only way open to you. God will bless you for this real service of His most needy children. This is my advice. Treat these children as your own blood brothers and blood sisters. Teach them good manners by having good manners yourselves. Teach them cleanliness. If they come in a dirty condition to the school, wash them. See that their eyes, ears, nose and hair are quite clean. Let there be no dirt in their nails. If their clothes are rags, you should beg some khaddar and get a volunteer tailor or your own mothers to make nice little vests and *chaddis*[1] for them. You should take them for walks to see interesting sights. Tell them stories from *Ramayana*, *Mahabharata*, etc., and by being truthful and kind under every circumstance, teach them to be likewise; and to all this you may add book-learning including simple arithmetic. You will now tell me how much of this advice you have digested.

Yours sincerely,

DEYASA BOYS' UNION
C/O RAKHAHARI CHAKRAVARTY
DEYASA VILLAGE
DIGNAGAR P.O.
(BURDWAN DT.)

From a microfilm: S.N. 18941

[1] Shorts

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90. LETTER TO A. SUBBIAH

January 17, 1933

MY DEAR SUBBIAH,

Never apologize for your letters, rather apologize when you keep me without any. You know how I want letters from those who are near me.

The fast about Appasaheb Patwardhan was a necessity. He had obtained my permission during the truce period for doing what he did. When, therefore, I came to know of it, I was bound to stand up for him, especially because it was pure untouchability work. Whether I fast often or rarely, know that it could be only in obedience to the peremptory dictates of the Inner Voice.

The news you have given me about the Madras referendum[1] is very good. Tell me if you know what was the total strength of the eligible voters. Did the voters include those Hindus who are not entitled to temple-entry?

I hope you are now better. Lalita[2] should write to me occasionally if she continues her Hindi study.

Though my elbows are not yet in good condition, I am keeping quite healthy.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. A. SUBBIAH
GANDHI ASHRAM, KHADI BHANDAR
BLACKBURN LIGHT
MADURA

From a microfilm: S.N. 18942

[1] In Madura, where members to the Sri Meenakshi Devasthanam Committee were elected. The addressee had written to Gandhiji: "The results are entirely in favour of temple-entry. . . . Out of 1887 votes (valid) polled, 1498 voted for candidates who stood for temple-entry. . . ." (S.N. 18898).

[2] Addressee's wife

91. LETTER TO ARUN CHANDRA DUTT

January 17, 1933

MY DEAR ARUN,

I was delighted to have your letter containing a good account of the celebration[1] and I am glad that you are able to get Satyanand Baboo to preside[2]. The resolution, too, is quite good. Now we have to continue to do the work quietly and resolutely, unmindful of all that may be said against us. Truth is bound to win in the end.

Yes, Pandit Panchanan Tarkaratna was here. He was able to make no headway in Guruvayur. I do not know that he tried much either. The impression that he has left on my mind is that he is convinced that our case is unassailable, but he has not the courage to come out boldly for the purification of Hinduism. Of course this is not for publication, but if Moti Baboo sees him, I do not mind his showing this letter to him. I do not want to say of him what I am not prepared to say in front of him. He promised to send his son or some other representative to me who was to engage in a quiet discussion with me on the meaning of the Shastras for a number of days. I thought the son or another *Shastri* was to come soon after he reached Bombay. I observed that the son was one of the *Shastris* who were to hold the discussion on the 12th, a discussion which unfortunately never came off. It is a painful episode[3], not worth describing. A great deal of misrepresentation is now going on in the local Press. If it goes further, I might have to publish the whole correspondence.

I shall await Moti Baboo's letter, but there is no hurry, if he has not written already. Let him take his own time.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. ARUN CHANDRA DUTT
PRABARTAK SANGHA
CHANDERNAGORE

From a microfilm: S.N. 18943

[1] Of the 50th birth anniversary of Motilal Roy of the Prabartak Sangh

[2] At a public meeting at Chandernagore, held on January 8, 1933, which passed a resolution for allowing all classes of Hindus the right of entry to Hindu temples (S.N. 18889)

[3] *Vide* pp. 37 and 43-4.

92. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

January 17, 1933

MY DEAR GHANSHYAMDAS,

I have your letter of the 10th instant from Gwalior. I am meeting Sjts. Deodhar[1] and Vaze[2] tomorrow (Wednesday) about the English edition of *Harijan Sevak*. I have already had a preliminary conversation with Vaze since the receipt of your letter. It seems there will be no difficulty about publishing the paper here. But I shall do nothing in a hurry. I will send you the fullest information before actually embarking on the enterprise.

What is this opposition in Bengal against the Yeravda Pact? I am writing also to Dr. Bidhan enquiring about it.[3]

I note what you say about the effect of prunes. Have you tried them at all?

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

From a copy: C.W. 7920. Courtesy: G. D. Birla. Also S.N. 18944

93. LETTER TO RASIK LAL BISWAS

January 17, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. I am forwarding it to Dr. Bidhan and I would suggest your meeting him if you have not done so already. All the advice that I would give you just now is that you should be patient and watch the progress of the campaign against untouchability, giving the reformers all the help they may need, and you can anticipate their need by carrying on social reformation of a concentrated character amongst the Harijans and preparing a statement giving accurately a list of all the social and other disabilities that they may be suffering from. I would like

[1] G. K. Devdhar
[2] S. G. Vaze, Editor of *Servant of India*
[3] *Vide* p. 74.

such a statement myself and also like you to prepare an accurate census of all the Harijans according to the sub-divisions. It will be of great help to me in guiding you in so far as you may need my guidance.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. RASIK LAL BISWAS, B.A., B.L.
SECRETARY
ALL-INDIA DEPRESSED CLASSES FEDERATION
CALCUTTA

From a microfilm: S.N. 18946

94. LETTER TO DR. B. C. ROY

January 17, 1933

DEAR DR. BIDHAN,

I enclose herewith a letter from Sjt. Rasik Lal Biswas. I have advised him to see you. Do please invite him to see you.

What is this agitation against the Yeravda Pact? I would like you to give me the inwardness of the opposition. How can there be any injustice in the Pact, simply because of reservation of more seats for Harijans than had been provided in the British Government decision? Are they not also Hindus? Was there not always the cry on our part that the Harijans could take as many seats as they liked, even cent per cent? This opposition, if it is popular, is likely to estrange Harijans and to justify the fears often expressed on their behalf as to the attitude of caste Hindus. But you know the local situation infinitely better than I do. You will correct me if I have erred in putting the argument. I have given no public reply, because I felt that any reply from me at the present stage might increase the resentment of the Harijans. In any case, I did not want to say anything without first understanding the situation through you. Please guide me.

I hope Kamala and Dr. Alam are making steady progress.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 18948

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95. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

January 17, 1933

CHI. NARANDAS,

Some of the developments there are such as cause me worry, and so these days I wait for a letter from you almost every day. This does not mean of course that you should write daily. When there is no letter from you, I must assume, and I shall, that you had nothing to write about. I have only explained the state of my mind.

You will have to take the necessary step about the Giri family even at the risk of appearing cruel. I feel all the time that it is against their interests and those of the Ashram to let them remain. We must realize that Mahavir is supported in his behaviour by all of them. Chimanlal has won the confidence of Krishnamaiyadevi[1] in some measure. After he has had a talk with her, call a meeting of the committee which you have appointed there and let it decide finally. Since the question is a serious one, it is desirable that you alone should not take the responsibility. If you have not already written to the people from whom Mahavir has borrowed, do so immediately and ascertain the facts.

Sitla Sahai[2] may have been arrested. Write to Sarojinidevi[3] occasionally. Inquire what happened about Padma[4]. Keep an eye on her monthly expenses.

BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./I. Also *Bapuna Patro–9: Shri Narandas Gandhine*, Pt. II, pp. 16-7

[1] Widow of Dalbahadur Giri
[2] A khadi worker from U.P.
[3] Wife of Sitla Sahai
[4] Daughter of Sitla Sahai

96. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

January 17, 1933

CHI. NARANDAS,

These days I write to you almost daily. I got today both your weekly mail and the letters despatched on the 15th. I don't remember what I wrote to Madhavlal. It did not seem necessary to me to consult you about the matter. If you wish, however, you may write to him and tell him that, instead of asking me for an explanation, he should write to you directly.

What do you mean when you say that the mill will start working soon? Do you mean the ordinary hand-mill of stone? If you have decided to revive it, I assume that you must have taken all the factors into consideration. I hope you did not think from any of my letters that I wished it to be done. Personally I believe that we shall not be able to revive it now. We do not even get good hand-mills now. It is easy and cheap to get grain ground in flour-mills. I think it will be difficult to give up the practice. But we can grind small quantities of grain in the Ashram with our own mills or with American hand-mills. If such a mill is of a good quality, it never gives trouble. When any of its parts get worn out, they can be replaced.

Generally I take two pounds of milk daily. I have to reduce it to one pound once every week.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./I. Also *Bapuna Patro–9: Shri Narandas Gandhine*, Pt. II, p. 17

97. LETTER TO RUKMINIDEVI BAZAJ

January 17, 1933

CHI. RUKMINI[1],

Your letters are becoming increasingly dull. I would not be surprised if in time you begin to write as Chhotelalji does. Sometimes his letters come to me in this form:

"BAPU,

Regards from
CHHOTELAL"

[1] Daughter of Maganlal Gandhi and wife of Benarsilal Bazaj

Probably I should fill in whatever I wish and I need not (so that I may not have to) take the trouble of reading it at all.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 9644. Courtesy: Benarsilal Bazaj

98. LETTER TO A COLLEGE STUDENT

January 17, 1933

It is not correct to say that I am a champion of mixed marriages. It can be said that I do not oppose such marriages. There is a difference between the two statements. The statement that I am a champion of mixed marriages or even that I am not opposed to them is likely to give rise to some misunderstanding in so far as your idea of a mixed marriage is different from mine. Today we hardly come across any true Brahmins or true Shudras. Therefore what you do not regard as a mixed marriage is likely to be one and what, if I accepted the popular parlance, would be a mixed marriage may not actually be such. For instance, if a so-called Shudra girl possessing the qualities of a Brahmin girl marries a real Brahmin I would not call it a mixed marriage, whereas you would regard it as such. On the other hand, if a so-called Brahmin boy with the qualities of a Shudra marries a so-called Shudra girl with Brahmin-like qualities it would be a mixed marriage in my view. You would also regard it as one. Both of us will, however, do it for different reasons.

You should understand from this that I never reject a scientific truth that has been established. But you should also note that in [the realm of] science what has come to be accepted as truth today is not unlikely to be proved as untruth tomorrow. Sciences founded on deduction are always bound to suffer this basic imperfection. We cannot therefore regard it as an absolute truth. I think I understand and also believe in varnashramadharma. But you and I seem to understand the purport of varnashramadharma in different ways.[1]

In spite of saying all this I ought to caution you that if you propose to consider the question of untouchability in a scientific way you should understand that interdining and mixed marriage have nothing to do with the question, and you should act

[1] For discussion, *vide* Appendix III.

accordingly. As for me today I am living, but tomorrow I may not be there, but this problem is certainly going to be there even after me. At the moment I am not at all canvassing for interdining and mixed marriage. We shall see about it when I start advocating them. It is neither scientific nor moral to condemn, because of faults you find in me, the noble work that I happen to be doing.

[From Gujarati]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. III, p. 61

99. LETTER TO INDRA VIDYALANKAR

January 17, 1933

CHI. INDRA,

I have your letter. I can never suggest from here that Ganeshilal or anyone else may be admitted into the Sangh. I have no acquaintance with him. I am aware of the distressing fact that there are five or six divisions among the Harijans. This is a reflection of our own deeds. Has anyone anywhere published a list of the temples and wells that have been thrown open to Harijans?

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 7205. Also C.W. 4863. Courtesy: Chandragupta Vidyalankar

100. LETTER TO CHAND TYAGI

January 17, 1933

BHAI CHAND TYAGI,

I have your letter. I spend almost the whole day under the sky and in the sun. The finger is all right. My diet consists of milk, dates, oranges and, when available, *papaya*. Mirabehn is in the Bombay jail. The observance of physical as well as mental *brahmacharya* is made possible by keeping both body and mind under control.

Chhaganlal Joshi too is with me. We are all doing well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 3261

101. A NOTE ON THE PROPOSED INTRODUCTION OF HAND-SPINNING IN YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON[1]

January 18, 1933

1 lb. of carded cotton yields 840 yards of yarn of 1 count, i.e.,
" " " " " " " 8400 yards of yarn of 10 counts.

An average good spinner spins at least 150 yards per hour of 10 counts. Therefore in 6 working hours he will spin 900 yards—4.14 *tolas*. Therefore 9 such men will spin 1 lb. of yarn per day.

At the rate of 3 as. per lb. of 10 [count] yarn as the ordinary wage of a spinner, 9 men will earn 3 as. a day, i.e., 1/3 of an anna each. At the present moment at least 1000 C. D. prisoners in this jail are not producing even half of this small amount of wealth. In other words there is a dead waste of at least Rs. 10 per day in the Yeravda Central Prison.

The outlay required for producing the yarn is 120 lb. of cotton per day. It is likely that it will not be necessary to supply spinning-wheels to all these spinners. I am unable to say off-hand how many will have their own spinning-wheels. But that will need to be ascertained.

NOTE. I have given the lowest possible estimates so as to err on the safest side. It may also be stated that it is possible to do the spinning through the *takli*, the easiest and the cheapest method, but the output would be 1/3 compared to the wheel. I suggest that the beginning should be made at once with those who volunteer to do the spinning and who can produce their own spinning-wheels.

There remains now the question as to what to do with the yarn. Yarn of 10 counts can be utilized to weave coarse cloth or the yarn as it is produced can be sold without the slightest difficulty. I have made no reference in this note to carding. The usual estimate is that one carding-bow can supply ten spinners with carded cotton. The processes to be gone through before spinning is begun are carding and sliver-making in which last is the simplest.

If further particulars are required I will gladly supply them.

[1] *Vide* also "Letter to E. E. Doyle", pp. 62-3.

I have here confined myself only to the commercial aspect and made no reference to those with whom spinning is a part of daily sacrifice. I think that for such the permission should be granted at once, in view of the fact that it is being done in several prisons.

M. K. GANDHI

Government of Bombay, Home Department, I. G. P. File No. 10

102. TELEGRAM TO "THE HINDU"

January 18, 1933

WHAT PURPORTS TO BE AN INTERVIEW[1] WITH YOUR POONA CORRESPONDENT AND PUBLISHED IN THE DAK EDITION OF THE SIXTEENTH IS GROSS DISTORTION OF A CONVERSATION WHICH I HAD SPECIALLY WARNED YOUR CORRESPONDENT AGAINST PUBLISHING. I TOLD HIM I WAS UNPREPARED TO GIVE HIM ANYTHING FOR PUBLICATION. I HAVE ALSO WARNED ALL PRESS CORRESPONDENTS NOT TO PUBLISH ANYTHING WITHOUT FIRST SHOWING ME THE TEXT THEREOF.[2]

The Hindu, 19-1-1933

103. TELEGRAM TO S. SALIVATI

January 18, 1933

YOUR REPORT OF INTERVIEW BADLY DISTORTED. GREATLY PAINED AT BREACH OF TRUST IN PUBLISHING IT. DAMAGE ALREADY DONE.

[From Gujarati]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. III, pp. 68-9

[1] It appeared in *The Hindu*, 16-1-1933; *vide* Appendix IV.

[2] In reply, the Editor of *The Hindu* apologized as follows: "We gladly publish Mahatmaji's contradiction and deeply regret that an unauthorized and incorrect report of a talk with him should have obtained publication".

CWMG III

104. LETTER TO R. P. AGNIHOTRI

January 18, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter enclosing a copy of your letter to the Municipal Committee of Jubbulpore. Without knowing the condition of the Harijans it is impossible for me from here to say whether the suggestions made therein are proper and feasible. Workers should generally take care that in advising Harijans they do not raise false or impossible hopes. Anti-untouchability workers are expected more to do some tangible service themselves rather than promote petitions, etc. In the first instance, local bodies are to be expected to do their duty and when they manifestly fail to do so, public agitation undoubtedly becomes a necessity.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. R. P. AGNIHOTRI
SECRETARY, ANTI-UNTOUCHABILITY LEAGUE
JUBBULPORE

From a microfilm: S.N. 18962

105. LETTER TO C. NARAYANA MENON

January 18, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

Do you mean to suggest that in Malabar the public temples do not belong to the Hindus who have the right of worship there? Will you contend that even when the temple was first built, it was not the property of Hindus although Hindus subscribed to the cost of building it? And if that was so, then the trustees would not be trustees, but they would be absolute owners. There are thousands of such temples owned by private persons. A public temple is so called only because it is public property; that is to say, the property of those members of the public at whose instance and with whose money and on whose behalf the temple was built. Do you think that the multitude of people who give donations daily have no right whatsoever to the temple to

which they give donations? Of course you may say that the right does not include authority to change the character or quality of those who are entitled to offer worship. If you do so, you will simply beg the question. For the contention of the reformers is that the so-called Harijans are only so called, and that they should never have been excluded from rights enjoyed by any other members of the Hindu family, provided that they conform to the regulations as to cleanliness and the like.

The purity of the temples themselves is irrelevant to the present discussion. You don't want to say that if a temple has dancing girls and swindling Brahmins, it should be opened to Harijans, and not if the Brahmins cease to swindle and the girls cease to dance in those temples?

Do indeed see Malaviyaji, if he can give you a few moments, and Dr. Bhagwandas. He certainly has more leisure than Malaviyaji.

About my fast you need have no fear.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. C. NARAYANA MENON, M.A., PH.D.
BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY
BENARES

From a microfilm: S.N. 18963

106. LETTER TO HRIDAY NATH KUNZRU

January 18, 1933

MY DEAR HARIJI,

Here is a letter for you to read and deal with. I have simply asked the writer to see you. Is there any truth in the charge that all the Harijan candidates were unsuccessful at the municipal election?

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 18964

107. LETTER TO G. B. NIRANTAR

January 18, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. You and your pupils, 15 in all, can come on 23rd instant, at 2 p.m.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. G. B. NIRANTAR
TEACHER
SEVA SADAN HIGH SCHOOL
POONA CITY

From a microfilm: S.N. 18965

108. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

January 18, 1933

MY DEAR AMTUSSALAAM,

I must hurry on to write to you. Therefore this English letter. I would like you to make up your mind quickly as to the treatment to be followed. My advice is, if you get a doctor there who would take real interest in you, you should give him the fullest chance by obeying all his instructions and doing as he bids. That is to say, you should do as Veenabehn advises you. There should be no time wasted in simply making a decision. You should be in the hospital and take what medicine or injection is given to you and undergo the operation that may be needed. Do not think of the removal of the womb unless the doctor says so. Never mind the letter written to Dr. Sharma. You yourself say that he cannot cure piles. After you are well you shall come and see me.

Love. God may keep you well.[1]

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 272

[1] This sentence is in Urdu.

CWMG III

109. LETTER TO N.[1]

January 18, 1933

MY DEAR N.,

I have your two interesting and instructive letters. It is very great work you are doing, and if the young men who have responded to your call remain steadfast and do not give in after the first flush of enthusiasm is exhausted, the street-cleaning you are doing must prove infectious and it would be a great advance towards the removal of untouchability. I am therefore surprised that anybody should cavil at the work itself or take exception to the fact that you, who have become an Indian by adoption and by right of love, should have taken the lead, and if anybody thinks that I would not have advised such work if I was out, he is wholly mistaken. I have personally undertaken such work before now, both publicly and privately, and the cleaning of Harijan quarters that was done all over India on the 18th ultimo was due to the suggestion made by me and heartily taken up by the Servants of Untouchables Society. You are at liberty to make public use of this letter.

I did think from the language of your previous letter that you had fasted all the days that I was fasting. I am glad therefore of the correction you have made.

As you know, I am deeply interested in the question of scientific or (which is the same thing) hygienic and spiritual dietary. Tell me therefore more about your diet. Give me the actual things you take and the quantities, and how far you have been on this diet. As you seem to have read practically everything I have ever written, perhaps you are aware that I have lived on fruits and nuts for over six years, that I have gone without milk for over nine years, and it has been the most disappointing thing for me to have been obliged to take even goat's milk. I know of no one of my acquaintance who has been able to do hard physical work as also hard mental work, as you seem to be doing, merely on fruits and vegetables; that means, no protein, no starch and no fat of any kind. The two letters before me whet my appetite for see-

[1] An American woman who later stayed at the Sabarmati Ashram for some time; the name in this and the subsequent items, however, has been omitted.

ing you face to face and understanding you more than I do. I confess that I am very stupid and I don't and I can't understand people merely through their correspondence. To know them I need to look at them and talk to them, and you have written so much to me about yourself that I do want to know you if I can. But at the same time I don't want you to come here at the sacrifice of the great work you are doing there. You should come only when you can be spared for a few days from your work.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 18966

110. LETTER TO BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION

January 18, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter of the 12th instant. I shall thank you if you will enlighten me about the facts and conditions prevailing in the Province of Bengal which require a re-consideration of the Yeravda Pact.[1]

Yours sincerely,

THE JOINT HONY. SECRETARY
BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION
18 BRITISH INDIAN ST.
CALCUTTA

From a microfilm: S.N. 18967

111. LETTER TO FULCHAND SHAH

January 18, 1933

You are carrying on spinning[2] whereas we are arguing with the *Shastris*, some of whom are being sulky. They have been pouring abuses on me. They discover weaknesses in me of which till now I was unaware. My words are interpreted in strange ways and by such means the victory of sanatana dharma is declared with beat of drums. We laugh at all this, knowing that there is no real strength behind it. If there were real strength behind it, and also

[1] *Vide* also "Letter to Ramananda Chatterjee", p. 99.
[2] In Visapur Jail

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public opinion, then it would be not an occasion for laughter, but one for weeping; then one could not help but weep. This movement of the so-called sanatanists suggests that the foundation of untouchability is tottering and the structure will shortly tumble down.

[From Gujarati]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. III, p. 69

112. LETTER TO VAMANBUWA BRAHMACHARI

January 18, 1933

SHRI BRAHMACHARIJI,

Your letter. I can see you on the 25th instant at 2 o'clock and shall reserve one hour for you. I shall not give this time to anyone else. But according to my vow I regard it a duty to answer your doubts.

(1)[1] I agree with all that you say in the first question but there is the difference of interpretation which is almost impossible to explain through correspondence. All human beings are like blind men but all the devotees of truth are partially right in the same way that the seven blind men were right on their part in giving varying descriptions of the elephant on each touching different parts of its anatomy.

(2) Untouchability as practised today is found nowhere in the Shastras. This is the impression I have gathered on hearing what many *Shastris* say.

(3) Everything can be found in the *Gita*. According to the change of place, time and circumstances, conduct as prescribed by the principle can change but never the principle itself.

(4) This too is a fact that we have degenerated and continue to do so because of failure in observing dharma.

(5) What you say is not true.[2]

(6) In no way do I regard myself as more learned and wiser than anyone else.

[1] The addressee had asked whether Gandhiji had faith in the Vedas, whether he accepted their traditional interpretation or he had his own original interpretation.

[2] The addressee had stated that the Government was creating internal disunity in the country by allowing Gandhiji, even while in jail, to work for the removal of untouchability.

(7) I have never taken such a vow[1] as you think I have.

(8) I do not appreciate the extreme rules of purification and so on.

(9) The observation that things follow their natural bent should be regarded as quite correct.

(10) Intermarriage and interdining have no connection with untouchability. They are totally different; read what I have said on this subject. Certain people, because of their hostile attitude, grossly misinterpret it.

(11) The idea of founding a new religion has never occurred to me even in a dream.

(12) It is perfectly right that the politics which does not serve to protect dharma deserves to be wholly disregarded.

(13) I cannot either give up or take up fasting.

(14) What you say is almost correct.[2]

(15) I have firm faith in the worthiness of the object for which I am thinking of a 'referendum'.

(16) I hold courteous dialogue with whosoever wants to talk to me, whether he is small or big. What more can I do?

Yours,
MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a microfilm of the Hindi: S.N. 18956

113. INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS

January 18, 1933

When his attention was drawn to the report of an interview[3] between him and its correspondent appearing in a Madras paper Gandhiji said:

I had decided not to express any opinion on the proposal that a committee should be appointed to gauge opinion in respect of temple-entry, because I did not attach any importance to the proposal. But now that mention has been made, I can unhesitatingly say that the appointment of such a committee would be

[1] Of winning swaraj within a year or removing untouchability within six months

[2] The addressee had referred to the dehumanizing effects of the Western industrial civilization.

[3] *Vide* Appendix IV. For Gandhiji's contradiction, *vide* "Telegram to *The Hindu*", p. 80.

a most unfortunate thing. I do not believe that the Government can ever endorse such a proposal.

The report stated that Mr. Gandhi said that he had decided to express his views on the proposal and that if the Viceroy refused sanction to the introduction of Dr. Subbaroyan's Bill, he (Mr. Gandhi) would resist it with his life. While characterizing the report as a misrepresentation of a conversation never intended for publication, Mr. Gandhi said that he never told the correspondent that he had decided to express his views on the proposal for a committee. On the contrary, he had decided not to do so.

Explaining why the appointment of a committee would be most unfortunate, Mr. Gandhi said that Dr. Subbaroyan's Bill was thoroughly inoffensive. It not only did not seek interference with religion, but was intended to sound the religious feelings of the people concerned. There was no question of sanctioning any law; the only thing the Viceroy was requested to do was to give his formal consent to the introduction of the Bill, which was the result of the unanimous vote of the Madras Council.

Mr. Gandhi expressed surprise regarding the second part of the interview attributed to him, and said that he had no recollection whatsoever of having said that if the Viceroy refused to sanction, he would resist it with his life. He had no such settled plan before him, and if he had, he was not in the habit of making premature announcements to the public and that, even before bringing such an important decision to the notice of the authorities concerned. Indeed, he could say emphatically that he himself did not know what he would do if permission was withheld.

But I know it to be a terrific ordeal for me, if the progress of reform was interfered with by the refusal of sanction to the introduction of a measure indispensable for the growth of religious freedom.

The Hindu, 19-1-1933

114. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

January 19, 1933

CHI. MIRA,

This is just after the morning prayer Thursday. Vallabhbhai and I are waiting for the hot water for honey.

I have your letter before me. Of course I wrote last week as usual on Thursday after the morning prayer. If the letter was for any reason detained by the Superintendent there, he would have at least informed you of the fact so as to spare you

the anxiety of imagining all sorts of evil. I brought the matter to the notice of Major Bhandari and he promised to inquire. The letter was duly posted at this end. It may be, however, that the letter was withheld because, for the first time so far as I can recall, I sent you with my letter, letters of welfare from Madeleine Rolland, Andrews and copy of my letter to Madame Rolland. I sent also a very beautiful picture-card containing the Virgin and the divine babe. I should be surprised if the letter was withheld for that reason and even then why the letter itself. I therefore imagine that it has been waylaid during transit. Anyway I am inquiring at this end and you may at yours. For me that card was the greatest treasure with Aristarchie's inscription at the back.

And from this incident learn the lesson that even if such a mishap occurs again feel assured that I have written as usual even though I may not have got your weekly message and that the mishap must be due to causes beyond my control. If I got ill and could not write or if I was prevented for any other cause, you should be duly informed that no letter was sent during that week. In other words do not imagine causes but wait patiently for the knowledge if it is to come and in any case never imagine the worst. Since God is a God of mercy, if we must imagine, it is best to imagine the best. Of course, a votary of the *Gita* never imagines anything. Good and bad are after all relative terms. He takes note of things as they happen and reacts naturally to them, fulfilling his part as if propelled by the Great Mechanic, even as a piece of machine in good order responds automatically to the call of the machinist. It is the most difficult thing for an *intelligent* being to be like a machine. And yet, if one is to become a zero, that is precisely what one desiring perfection has to become. The vital difference between the machine and the man is that the machine is inert, the man is all life and consciously becomes like a machine in the hands of the Master Mechanic. Krishna says in so many words that God moves all beings as if they were parts of a machine.[1]

You see I have written this with the right hand. I notice that the left too requires rest from even the little writing it does. It is probable that the pain in the elbows has something to do with outward fatigue caused by writing or spinning or both. It has certainly not yielded to the saltless, and how should it if the cause is not organic? It produces immediate effect in you, because with you the cause is organic. I have no rheumatism. If there

[1] *Vide Bhagavad Gita*, XVIII. 61.

was any, I should not fail to know it. Anyway the saltless diet still continues. And I showed yesterday an increase of one lb. It is therefore now 104 lb.

You should, if you can, discover the cause of your giddiness. Have you discussed it with the medical officer there? You ought not [to] feel giddy at the end of your walk. You should feel refreshed. It is often a good thing to dash cold water on the face and even the head before starting the walk and sip cold water during the walk on the slightest warning of approaching giddiness. Even stopping for a moment to take deep breath avoids it. These are all bits out of my own experience.

I note what you say about your reading. The *Mahabharat* is a good programme. You ought to be a good Hindi scholar when you have finished reading the unabridged Hindi translation without missing the meaning of a single word. That means a great feat. But I know there is nothing that can defeat love.

If you are allowed to drop a postcard to acknowledge this and if it is delivered on receipt, drop me a postcard.

Love from us all.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6259. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9725

115. LETTER TO KALISHANKAR CHAKRAVARTI

January 19, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I have gone through your printed letter very carefully. You don't expect me to argue out my position. My argument is to be found in my writings. Therefore, to you I can only say I have been endeavouring to follow the light that God gives me, and whatever I have written at any time, I have believed and have meant fully. Where you find contradictions in my writings, I find nothing but a due fulfilment or elaboration of a previous position. But I am not so much concerned with showing consistency in my writings as with stating that I have given to the readers the truth as I have known it at the time of writing. I however heartily endorse your fear that whatever I have said believing it to be true may after all be found to have been a vast error. But I take comfort (very poor, you may say) in the thought that it is a possibility common, without exception, to the whole of mankind. But you will perhaps agree that so long as I do not see the

error of my ways myself I would be cowardly and disloyal to the truth I worship if I fail to act up to my conviction.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. KALISHANKAR CHAKRAVARTI
JYOTI
CHITTAGONG

From a microfilm: S.N. 18971

116. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

January 19, 1933

MY DEAR GHANSHYAMDAS,

I have your letter of 14th instant. I had a prolonged conversation with Syts. Deodhar and Vaze yesterday regarding the English edition[1], and as a result I have telegraphed to Amritlal Thakkar to send Shastri[2] at once if he could be spared. Vaze tells me that Shastri is the fittest man for doing the editorial work. He himself will help but cannot be completely identified with the paper. I can appreciate his reason. But both told me that though Shastri had applied to the Society for admission as a probationer, the Society would have no objection to Shastri taking up the editorial responsibility. Of course, so long as Mahadev and I have the time, the columns will be filled by us, and Shastri will carry out instructions, and in time to come write original articles himself.

I wonder when the Hindi edition will be out.[3]

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

From a copy: C.W. 7921. Courtesy: G. D. Birla. Also S.N. 18970

[1] *Harijan*
[2] R. V. Shastri
[3] The first issue of *Harijan Sevak* appeared on February 23, 1933.

117. LETTER TO AMULYA DHAN RAY

January 19, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I have read as you have about the movement in Bengal for the revision of the Yeravda Pact. I can assure you that I have found no reason whatsoever to revise my own attitude. You need not be anxious, for I am convinced that that Pact cannot be revised without the unanimous consent of all the parties concerned.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. AMULYA DHAN RAY, M.L.C.
JESSORE TOWN
BENGAL

From a microfilm: S.N. 18972

118. LETTER TO NARASIMHAN[1]

January 19, 1933

Oh yes, it is necessary for you to write to me, although P and L[2] write to me. They cannot tell me what you can if you choose to write. There is always an individuality about letters when they are written with a will. You know or ought to know that letter-writing is an art. It can come to everyone who writes naturally and to the point. You should try to acquire this art.

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

[1] Son of C. Rajagopalachari
[2] Papa and Lakshmi, daughters of C. Rajagopalachari

119. LETTER TO KIKABHAI WAGHELA

January 19, 1933

BHAI KIKABHAI,

I got your letter. Please do not be impatient. I will do the best I can. I did not wish to deceive people by using the word 'Harijan'. Since the word Dhed and others like that in common use are not proper, I accepted the word 'Harijan' at the request of one or two *Antyaja* friends. You may rest assured that I am ready to lay down my life in order to wipe out this blot. Though the Harijans are despised today, they will soon become respected.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 87

120. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

January 19, 1933

BHAI THAKKAR BAPA,

Read the accompanying cutting carefully and then write to me giving me your views. If we have made a mistake anywhere, we will admit it. If the fast resulted in coercion on anybody but secured justice, we need not think about the matter. But we should certainly think if it has resulted in injustice. The article has had no effect on me. Is this mere agitation or is there anything serious behind it? If it is only agitation, what is the motive?

BAPU

[PS.]

I have just received your wire regarding Shastri. I shall await your letter. I had sent the wire yesterday in the presence of Deodhar and Vaze. The latter had offered volunteers on the understanding that they would not participate directly.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1104

121. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

January 19, 1933

BHAI THAKKAR BAPA,

After I had written a letter to you [today], I got your letter of the 16th. Hence this second letter.

I have already written to you regarding Ahmedabad. Our letters crossed each other.

Karsandas had written to me about Gokhale's death anniversary. I do not at all wish to cheapen Gokhale's name. The country is not ready yet to celebrate the 19th[1] in a manner befitting his greatness. History will appreciate the purity of his character and the greatness of his services. I don't think they will be appreciated in our lifetime. I don't mind "Anti-untouchability Days" being celebrated independently. This is my firm view. Don't you think it is based on very good reasons?

The Sangh has not yet reached its destination. On the contrary, several swords are hanging over it. Rajaji, of course, is holding an umbrella over it, but it is the Sangh's lot to pass through an ordeal just now. So what can an umbrella avail? However, you may consult Hariji and other principal fighters. If they agree, you may proceed further, otherwise bury Rajaji's letter deep under the ground. I had passed on to Ghanshyamdas the letter which I had received from him. He is not particular about the name. If I wish, he would agree to change it. Personally I do wish [that it should be]. But time is all-powerful. He swallows our desires alive, like a snake and makes even a Mahatma like me look an *alpatma*[2]. Hence I have held my tongue. You have strong shoulders. If you wish, you may take up the responsibility. As for the name the saying is, "With great love, we name the child Hari, and it dies in infancy." The Sangh will not succeed or fail because of its name. It will be judged by its work. If it works in the manner of the Yamaraj[3], I have no doubt that it will swallow the demon of untouchability alive.

[1] Gokhale died on February 19, 1915.
[2] Literally, 'a little soul'
[3] Lord of Death

You are wrong. You yourself should have humorously advertised the Holloway ointment. There are persons who will bear witness to its efficacy. If you do not like doing it or have no time, forget about it.

I have got some free time and so could indulge in this bit of light talk.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1105

122. LETTER TO MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA

January 20, 1933

I have seen your statement convening a Conference of sanatanists[1]. I had purposely refrained from worrying you over the question of temple-entry. Much as I stood in need of your invaluable assistance, I knew that you were preoccupied with matters of the highest moment, and I felt that the least I could do, as also the most that was possible, was deliberately to forgo that assistance. Friends in Kerala pressed me to ask you to go to their rescue. I refused to do so, and I warned them against troubling you. But now I see that you have yourself taken the initiative and a tremendous responsibility. I hope and pray that great good will come out of the Conference.

I wish that it had been possible for us to meet before the Conference, or that we had exchanged ideas before you propounded your suggestions about temple-entry. I feel, however, that I should submit to you my own position.

If the Bombay Meeting, during and immediately after the fast week[2], that passed the resolution was representative of Hindu India, it is up to every Hindu to make good that resolution in its fulness. That resolution, as you know, has definite reference to temple-entry. It prescribes no conditions. The whole trend of the resolution is that temple-entry and the use of public institutions by Harijans on the same terms as the other Hindus is a debt long overdue by caste Hindus. I feel that it would be wrong, if not a manifest breach of faith, to import any conditions specially applicable to Harijans. Naturally, Harijans would be expected to

[1] At Ahmedabad on January 25. For Madan Mohan Malaviya's statement, *vide* Appendix V.

[2] From September 20 to 26, 1932

conform to the conditions that are implied in Hinduism and have to be observed by everyone who enters temples. But that is a different thing from laying down special conditions to be observed by Harijans by way of penance. Most of the things that are included in your suggestions can be enunciated in a different and perfectly harmless manner, that is to say, by saying that it is the right of Harijans to enter all public temples under the same conditions that are applicable to all Hindus, irrespective of their caste or status, that is to say, (here may be described these general conditions, such as, daily bath, recitation of *Dwadash*[1] or other *mantras*, abstention from carrion or beef, intoxicating drinks, if the latter abstention is enjoined in any of the current *Smritis* and Puranas).

From all the discussions that I had with the *Shastris* who favour the present movement and who are hostile to it, I have gathered that there is no warrant whatsoever for untouchability as we now know it. There is perfect confusion as to whom, of all the people classified as untouchables in the census books, the verses oft-quoted apply. Untouchability by birth seems to be utterly non-existent. There is no proof whatsoever to show that any single one of the untouchables so classed is the progeny of a Brahmin woman through a Shudra man or that he is a descendant of such a union. I would, therefore, beg of you not to surrender on the matter of principle. I would far rather that the reformers were left to plough the lonely furrow than that they should be called upon to lend themselves to an unworthy surrender. The surrender, in my opinion, of the highest type I have suggested in my compromise proposal, where the most delicate susceptibilities of a minority, however small it may be, have been taken into consideration. Even that has cost me much criticism, but I am unaffected by it, because, in my opinion, it is perfectly honourable and satisfies all sincere and religious-minded reformers and dissenters.

If I am obscure, you will, I know and hope, use the wire freely.

I am most anxious that God may make you the instrument of purifying Hinduism and keeping faith with the Harijans.

Harijan, 18-2-1933 Also C.W. 7922a. Courtesy: G. D. Birla.

[1] ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ।

123. LETTER TO S. SALIVATI

January 20, 1933

MY DEAR SALIVATI,

I had your telegram and your letter[1], for which I thank you.

I think that your letter seems completely exonerative. But I would have preferred to have seen the copy of your original despatch. In any case, I never questioned the goodness of your motive.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 18978

124. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

January 20, 1933

DEAR SATISBABOO,

Have you at all interested yourself in the opposition that is being raised in Bengal against the Yeravda Pact, and can you tell me what is at the back of it?

I hope you received my previous letter and that you are keeping well.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 18980

125. LETTER TO S. G. VAZE

January 20, 1933

MY DEAR VAZE,

I have a telegram from Sjt. Thakkar telling me that Shastri is not available yet for two weeks. He is following up his wire with a letter which will give me more information.

[1] Dated January 18, explaining how his original despatch was mutilated in transmission

I have the estimate for which many thanks.

Tell me, if you can, what preliminaries have to be gone through before the paper can be brought out, and what notice will the Arya Bhushan Press require to bring out the first issue. Could you let me have a copy of the latest Press Act? Do you get the permission at once and for the asking for the publication of a non-political paper? Is the filing of a security a *sine qua non*? If it is, what form does the security take? Besides the names of the printer and the publisher, is it necessary to announce the name of the editor, and if it is, is he to file a declaration?

In the estimate before me, the cost of wrappers has not been given. Is the Reay Paper Mill situated in Poona? Is this Padamjee's Mill? Padamjee has always supplied me with paper for *Young India* and *Navajivan*. Has the Arya Bhushan Press Gujarati type?

Will you also prepare for me an estimate giving me the cost of the staff and other incidental expenses?

Yours sincerely.

From a microfilm: S.N. 18981

126. LETTER TO MOTILAL ROY

January 20, 1933

DEAR MOTI BABOO,

I have your telegram about Malaviyaji's Conference. I am not so enthusiastic as you are. Let's however wait, watch and pray.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 18982

CWMG - DLI

127. LETTER TO RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

January 20, 1933

DEAR RAMANAND BABOO[1],

This letter is not for publication.

This sudden opposition in Bengal against the Yeravda Pact comes upon me as a painful surprise. The Secretary of the British Indian Association has sent me the text of the Resolution in which, among other things, an appeal is made to me to assist in revising the Pact in so far as Bengal is concerned.[2] I have refrained from taking any part in the public discussion of the question, because I do not want to make confusion worse confounded, or to give an opinion on a matter on which I am not sufficiently informed. I therefore seek your assistance and guidance in enabling me to form a judgment. Two Harijan friends from Bengal, dreading that I might weaken, have asked me what I think about the opposition, and I have told them that I have not altered my opinion and that the Pact could not be changed without the unanimous consent of all the parties concerned.

My own position is that Harijans cannot be given too much by caste Hindus. It is my confirmed opinion that if all the seats available to Hindus were taken by Harijans and other depressed classes, the so-called superior castes will not only lose nothing, but will gain by the sacrifice, if such it may be called.

Taking this into consideration, please tell me whether you share the views of the opposition, and if you do, on what grounds, and why those grounds were not at least urged at the Conference in Bombay by any one of the Bengal representatives.

You hardly need my assurance that I would be grateful to you for your frank opinion, even though it may be against the Pact. I have no other end in life to serve but that of truth. It is therefore never too late for me to mend an error, of which the conviction has gone home to me.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 18983

[1] Editor, *Modern Review*

[2] *Vide* "Letter to British Indian Association", p. 85.

128. LETTER TO V. M. NAWLE

January 20, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter of 17th instant. I never had your letter regarding Sjt. Vaidya's letter nor Mr. Seymer Stone's. If you have kept a copy, please let me have it, as also your explanation about Sjt. Vaidya.

It is a most difficult thing for me to spare you one hour just now. You should first reduce to writing exactly what your formula[1] is. It does not matter whether your English is good or bad. You may even write to me in Marathi. I shall have no difficulty in following it, if the writing is legible.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 18983a

129. LETTER TO L. R. PANGARKAR

January 20, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. You have started with an error and ended with an error. I have gathered round me no one but God. I would like you to name those whom you have in mind. Who do you think could be with me fifty years ago, when the truth first dawned on me that untouchability as practised today is a sin, and do you know that at that age I was forlorn unlike all the other school boys?

What authority have you to say that 90% caste Hindus are against temple-entry, and supposing that they are, and supposing further that they are actually in error, why should it be suicidal for me to fight that error even though I was alone?

The untouchability question was taken up by the Congress in 1920 as an integral part of its programme. I have no knowledge that from that day onward the Congress began to dwindle down in popular favour.

[1] A proposal, described by the addressee as "new and unique path" to temple-entry; *vide* also "Letter to V. M, Nawle", p. 28.

I claim to know something of the saints of Maharashtra whom you have named. They have taught me a lesson quite different from the one you have learnt. This is no new experience. People learn from the Gods not what the latter would teach them but what they want to learn. If you are really an admirer of my work, you will at least do me the favour of studying what I am doing before judging me, and if you will do so, you will soon discover that I am out not to destroy varnashramadharma, but to destroy the excess of it which is the present-day untouchability, so that varnashramadharma may be revived in all its purity.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. L. R. PANGARKAR
NASIK CITY

From a microfilm: S.N. 20061

130. LETTER TO M. R. JAYAKAR

January 20, 1933

DEAR MR. JAYAKAR,

From all the accounts that I have received, I understand that you have returned this time with very great benefit to your health. I hope that the news I have received is quite correct.

The purpose, however, of writing to you is to ask you to guide me in the matter of the all-India Bill about untouchability. I hope you have read my statement on it. I would appreciate your opinion about it. What I would like you specially to apply your mind to are the following points:

1. Is the Bill itself good for the purpose intended?
2. Is my argument about it correct?
3. What are the prospects of its passing?
4. Supposing that the opinion outside the Assembly is overwhelmingly in its favour, what should be done to ensure its safe passage through the Assembly?

If in this matter you think that you should discuss the whole question with me before you can usefully guide me, and if you can spare the time, do please come. You perhaps know that in this matter you do not need to ask for any permission.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 20106

CWMG III

131. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

January 20, 1933

CHI. KAKA,

I got your two letters. I had been waiting to hear from you. Complete the dental treatment. I am glad that you try to reassure me regarding Prabhudas. In fact I do wish my mind to be at rest in the matter. What is the doctor's explanation about the regular bleeding from the gums? Or is it that a dentist cannot know that? Ask Talwalkar or Kanuga if they can explain. I saw Rohit. He must have reached Bombay now and will be under Dr. Deshmukh's treatment. See him.

I know Rajbhoj very little and have not been able to form any opinion about him. We should ask some Maharashtrian friend who knows him.

Now about the problem of freedom for Harijans to enter temples. We had a full discussion on the subject of cooked food and I had expressed my firm opinion that this was not at all a suitable time to raise the issue. Nobody has so far considered it to be a stumbling-block nor is there any proposal that Harijans should make food offerings at all in the temples. Your suggestions can be implemented when the issue is raised.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 9491. Courtesy: D. B. Kalelkar

132. LETTER TO BHAGWANJI A. MEHTA

January 20, 1933

BHAI BHAGWANJI,

You are a pessimist and an atheist. I am a great optimist and a devotee of God. I, therefore, see no possibility of our agreeing about anything. Both of us, therefore, should go our different ways and learn in the school of experience. He who survives will know the truth a little.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5817

133. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

January 20, 1933

DEAR DAUGHTER AMTUSSALAAM,

You must have got the wire I sent about you. I sent a letter[1] too. Your mind must not waver. Call it my order or my wish, doing or not doing what I have said is totally in your hands. You will give up all worry if you follow what I say. May God grant you recovery and peace.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Urdu: G.N. 273

134. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

January 20, 1933

CHI. NARANDAS,

How do you find Kanhaiyalal? Has he acquired sufficient proficiency in khadi work? Is he hard-working? Is he careful in his work? If he has the necessary qualities, it should not be difficult to find suitable work for him.

I hope you remember about the leather for repairing soles of sandals. I don't need it immediately, of course. Send it with somebody who may be coming this way.

I suppose you have ascertained Radha's wish. Is Prema calm? Does she do her work? Does she take care of her health? Sitla Sahai wrote to me saying that he had requested you to send Rs. 30 or 35 to enable him to take Sarojinidevi and Padma to Dehradun. I have not replied to him. You may do what seems proper to you.

BAPU

[PS.]

You will find with this letters for Keshu, Amtussalaam, Kanhaiyalal and Santok. Read all the letters except the one to Amtussalaam.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./I. Also *Bapuna Patro–9: Shri Narandas Gandhine*, Pt. II, p. 18

[1] *Vide* p. 83.

135. LETTER TO F. MARY BARR

January 21, 1933

MY DEAR MARY,

I have got the *Little Plays* at last. Alas! What shall I do with all the literature that is pouring in on me? There are many books I would love to read. But where is the time?

Love.

BAPU

MISS MARY BARR
C/O MISS MINNS
MEDICAL SCHOOL HOSPITAL
VELLORE

From a photostat: G.N. 5990. Also C.W. 3315. Courtesy: F. Mary Barr

136. LETTER TO A. RANGASWAMI IYENGAR

January 21, 1933

MY DEAR RANGASWAMI,

I have your letter. You have made all the amends that it was possible for you to make.[1] From Salivati's letter of yesterday received by me I thought that he had done likewise, but now I see that the fault seems to have been entirely his. His motive was no doubt good, but his judgment wholly bad, but before I can give my final opinion, I would like you to send me his despatch as it was received by you. In his letter of yesterday, which I enclose herewith, as you can see he protests innocence and if his despatch was as he describes it to be, I fancy that he stands exonerated. So far as my own memory is concerned, it is not at all at fault, and Mahadev, who is ever vigilant, and aspires to be another Boswell, has notes of my conversation[2] with Salivati

[1] *Vide* p. 80.

[2] In his Diary Mahadev Desai recorded Gandhiji having said: "They know my views. They will not do anything without full deliberation. And as for the future I am simply jealous of my power, and will not fritter it away. There are so many things which are likely to happen in which I am interested. But why should I anticipate? God will give me the strength to deal with them as they arise." (*Mahadevbhaini Diary*, Vol. III, p. 51)

which confirm me and in no way support him if he reported me as he appears to have done according to *The Hindu* of the 16th. The unfortunate report came at such an awkward time when the slightest error on my part could have undone a structure that is being built up with patient toil and most delicate care. Happily, the A. P. interview[1] I really gave most reluctantly, both out of my regard for you and solicitude for Salivati, and your prompt publication of my telegram averted what might have proved a dangerous situation. The only reason now for my pursuing the subject is in order that no injustice may be done to Salivati.[2]

Yours sincerely,

SJT. A. RANGASWAMI IYENGAR
EDITOR, "THE HINDU"
MADRAS

From a microfilm: S.N. 18987

137. LETTER TO K. V. SESHA AIYANGAR

January 21, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I have been glancing through the numbers of the *Bharat Dharma* and the pamphlets you have kindly sent. The precedents of *prayopavesan*[3] you have collected have proved useful to me.[4]

Yours sincerely,

SJT. K. V. SESHA AIYANGAR
23 NADU STREET
MYLAPORE

From a microfilm: S.N. 18988

[1] *Vide* pp. 87-8.

[2] The addressee in his reply stated: "It was a painful shock to me to receive your message regarding Salivati's message which we edited and published in our issue on Monday. I may inform you at once that the message itself was carefully edited in the office and there is no question of any mutilation or error in transmission. I do not know what to conclude of the action of Salivati in putting through a message of this character in spite of your specific instructions and which, as you say, so grossly misrepresents whatever you may have said in private conversation . . ."

[3] Fasting

[4] *Vide* also "Letter to C. Y. Chintamani", p. 5.

CWMG LIII

138. LETTER TO BHAGWANDAS

January 21, 1933

DEAR BABOO BHAGWANDAS,

I enclose herewith a Hindi translation of Sjt. C. V. Vaidya's contribution, which is in Marathi, and a copy of Shridhar Shastri Pathak's which is in Hindi.

Both the translations are likely to contain grammatical errors, which you will please have corrected.

The translation of Sjt. C. V. Vaidya's contribution was done by Sjt. Mahadev.

When these are published, will you kindly send me ten copies of that supplement and ten of the first supplement?

Please tell Sri Prakasa to write to me.

Here are the promised lines for the *Aaj*.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 18990

139. LETTER TO KARNAD SADASHIVA RAO

January 21, 1933

MY DEAR SADASHIVA RAO,

I have your letter of 13th instant written on the train. Untruthful propaganda and abuse are the lot generally of all reformers. Why should we be any exception to the general rule? Those who can stand such abuse and will not retaliate by matching two untruths against one have not only nothing to fear but will actually gain in strength through such unscrupulous opposition. Therefore, so long as consciousness of the correctness of the campaign and the purity of the means employed in conducting it continue, we may not become agitated in any shape or form over such opposition. But we may be sure of thriving on it. And when we have positive consciousness of the truth in us and the strength derived from it, we need never be afraid of being charged with weakness. He who for fear of appearing weak hesitates to say or do the right thing becomes untruthful in the very

act, and therefore it may be said of him that he never had consciousness of the truth in him.

I read through the questions you left with me. I have not dealt with them because you will find that every one of the points is amply covered in the statements already made by me. I wonder if you have seen my letter[1] to the Editor of the *Justice* published on the day of its expiry.

There now remains your question about the conduct of Congressmen in connection with the provincial and district branches of the Servants of Untouchables Society. They should be identified with activities of these organizations only in so far as their services are wanted and no further, even though the work may appear to them to be languishing. In a service that may take in the activity of as many true servants who will offer their services, one need not belong to or work through an organization. Even a cup of water lovingly handed to a Harijan, giving or procuring medical aid for an ailing Harijan, giving shelter to a shelterless Harijan, and innumerable such individual acts are a solid contribution to the removal of untouchability. Therefore the embarrassing position that you picture need never arise.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 18989

140. LETTER TO K. RANGACHARYULU

January 21, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. When there is opposition of the kind you mention, workers should abstain.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. K. RANGACHARYULU
TUNI

From a microfilm: S.N. 18992

[1] *Vide* "Letter to T. A. V. Nathan", pp. 6-9.

141. LETTER TO A. D. APPADURAI

January 21, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. In my opinion, khaddar has virtues which nothing else has. Khaddar means help to the most needy, and amongst them are to be counted thousands of Harijans, for their women eke out a living by spinning and several thousands of Harijans are weavers of nothing but khaddar.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. A. D. APPADURAI
ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE
PALAMCOTTAH
(TINNEVELLY DIST.)

From a microfilm: S.N. 18993

142. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

January 21, 1933

MY DEAR THAKKAR BAPA,

Your letter of the 18th instant surprises me. I never asked the Bombay Board[1] to make an advance payment of Rs. 500 on account of the Central Board, but I asked them, if they would, to pay Rs. 500 to Poona on account of the expenses that Poona had to incur because of my activities being directed from Poona, If I had intended the Central Board to pay, I would have approached the Central Board myself without the slightest hesitation. I asked the Bombay Board because of its being well able to bear these expenses, Poona being next door to it. You need not therefore refund the amount asked of you, but refer them to me.

As for the 5000 copies of my statements[2], I am not aware that I asked them to print them. There certainly was some conversation about a reprint of my statements in pamphlet form, but I

[1] Of the All-India Harijan Sevak Sangh
[2] On the question of untouchability; *vide* Vols. LI and LII.

cannot now recall whether I talked about it to Seth Mathuradas, or Sjt. J. K. Mehta, or Pyarelal or Chandrashankar. As a matter of fact, I warned them against incurring the expense, as I had the impression that the Ajmer people were reprinting them and therefore asked them to enquire before embarking upon this expense. But there never was the slightest intention on my part that the Central Board should be called upon to bear these expenses, and my own opinion is, as it always has been, that propaganda work should be more or less self-supporting. Therefore, I should consider it bad management if the sale of 5000 copies of my statements did not cover even the printing expenses. You should refer the Bombay Board to me about this item also.

Sjt. G. K. Devdhar's letter to you is quite in order. When Haribhau asked me about the matter I agreed with him and he was the bearer of G. K. Devdhar's message that they should have Rs. 500 over and above the grant they would receive from the Central Board, and I told him to tell Devdhar that I would endeavour to secure that amount either from the Central Board or the Bombay Board. But I first chose to write to the Bombay Board for the reason I have already stated, and I was glad that promptly and without demur they sent a cheque for Rs. 500. Had they told me that it was on account of the Central Board, I would have asked Haribhau to return the cheque.

I am sending a copy of this letter to the Bombay Board for their information.

I am sending you a copy of my letter to the Bombay Board.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 18994

143. LETTER TO JAISUKHLAL K. MEHTA

January 21, 1933

MY DEAR JAISUKHLAL,

I enclose herewith a copy of my letter[1] to Thakkar Bapa which speaks for itself.

How did you gain the impression that I had authorized you to debit the Central Board with the two items referred to in my letter? If I had so intended, according to my wont, I would have made it quite clear to you. Indeed, I would have approached

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

the Central Board myself for sanction, as I have done about various matters.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 18995

144. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

January 21, 1933

MY DEAR GHANSHYAMDAS,

I have your letter. I do not want you to come out with any public statement on the Bengal question, as you have noticed I am not making any public statement myself, and I have anticipated you by copying you, that is, writing to Dr. Bidhan and Ramanand Baboo. I am not writing to Sjt. J. C. Gupta, nor is it necessary for me to do so. I might have met him, but I cannot say that I am even acquainted with him.

Please do not wait for the revision of the pamphlet till the present copies are exhausted. You can do one or the other thing, either issue a revised pamphlet suppressing the old copies, or paste the full resolution onto the imperfect resolution in the existing copies, and send a public circular to the effect that by an oversight an incomplete resolution was printed in the pamphlet, giving the corrected full text.

I quite understand that you have to look after your own business also, with more concentration today than before.

What is the hitch in getting *Harijan Sevak* out?

The news about your health is disturbing. Why not have the necessary operation, if a reliable doctor advises it? I have learnt by experience that even dietetics and fasts have their limitations. They do not always answer. And whatever rest is necessary, you ought to impose on yourself. Dilatoriness in these matters should be regarded as sinful.

Yours sincerely,

BAPU

From a copy: C.W. 7922. Courtesy: G. D. Birla. Also S.N. 18991

145. LETTER TO RUKMINIDEVI AND BENARSILAL BAZAJ

January 21, 1933

CHI. RUKMINI,

I got your letter. Your handwriting seems to be getting worse and worse. That will never do. Even from her sick-bed, whenever Radha writes a letter she writes it in beautiful handwriting which looks like printed type. Surely you are not incapable of writing like that? As for the contents of the letter, though none of us could observe it Chhaganlal discovered that you had tried this time to introduce some colour in it, but the colour was so faint that six out of eight eyes could not observe it. As he is taking down this letter, Mahadev tells me that he also had observed it. You may get out of this what comfort you wish to. You should know from this with what attention even a letter of ten lines from you is being read here.

CHI. BENARSILAL,

I will not forget now. You are certainly a 'lal'[1].

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9152

146. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

January 21, 1933

CHI. NARANDAS,

I send with this a letter addressed to Liladhar. It seems to have been sent to me through mistake. Or is it possible that Liladhar sent it for me to read? Ask him. If he accepts the letter, give it to him, or do what seems best to you.

The other letter is from Ramji. It is rather long. I have received many other letters like this, but I felt like sending this to you. Are his present earnings only as much as he mentions? Calm him down a little if you can. I can't believe that

[1] Literally, 'precious stone'

Mathuradas would tell a lie. We ought not to get angry with him for writing what he has done, but should learn from it whatever may be worth learning.

A letter for Ramji is enclosed. Give it to him after reading it. I hope you got the letters posted yesterday.

BAPU

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

147. LETTER TO VITHAL L. PHADKE

January 21, 1933

CHI. MAMA,

Narandas informs me that the yarn spun in Visapur has been woven into cloth. The khadi will soon be in my hands. I have received plenty of other khadi like that. The friends in Dum Dum Jail have been released today. They also have sent a dhoti which they had got woven in the jail itself [from yarn spun by themselves]. When all this stock of khadi is exhausted, I will ask you to send the khadi woven from your yarn. Write to me sometimes.

BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 9645

148. INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS

January 21, 1933

Referring to the Delhi message published this morning, in which probable difficulties in the way of the Government according sanction to the Temple-entry Bills were anticipated, Gandhiji observed:

If the report is an intelligent anticipation of the forthcoming Viceregal decision I can only say it will be a tragedy. I emphatically repudiate the suggestion that there is any political objective behind these measures. If court decisions had not hardened a doubtful custom into law, no legislation would probably be required. I would myself regard State interference in religious matters as an intolerable nuisance. But, here, legislation becomes an imperative necessity in order to remove the legal obstruction and, based as it will be on popular will so far as I

can see, there can be no question of a clash between parties representing rival opinions.

It has been suggested that one of the reasons for withholding sanction is likely to be that there has been no demand on the part of Harijans for legislation to remove their social disabilities. But, I do know that Dr. Ambedkar's memorandum bristles with suggestions for legislation regarding all sorts of social disabilities. Yet, I hope nobody wants a hurricane agitation on behalf of Harijans before the social and religious yoke is removed from off their necks. Furthermore, I make bold to claim, if there has not been a loud demand by Harijans for temple-entry, I am responsible for it, because I have been advising them not to enter the agitation on a large scale, whilst caste Hindus are themselves making Herculean efforts to implement the Bombay Resolution of September last, which pledges caste Hindus to opening public temples, among other things, to Harijans.

In conclusion, I would only repeat that the refusal to sanction the introduction of a measure demanded by caste Hindu opinion would obstruct the progress of reform, whose advisability no lover of religious freedom has questioned.

Mr. Gandhi has declined to comment on the suggestion that the Government might decide in favour of a single Central legislation, saying that he would like to have more details regarding this proposal.

The Hindu, 23-1-1933

149. LETTER TO R. V. PATWARDHAN

[Before *January 22, 1933*][1]

DEAR FRIEND,

I am thankful to you for your letter. As for its first part I will only say that I have had letters saying that I may, if I please, suffer the consequences of undertaking a fast unto death.

Regarding the other points in your letter I can confidently tell you that I never undertake an act without praying to God and without full consideration. But what I ask for is that I should be allowed the same freedom of thought that my sanatanist friends demand, because in the absence of such mutual tolerance no reform can be brought about.

[1] The letter was received by the addressee on January 22, 1933.

Let me also tell you that I have been exhausting all my efforts to achieve some sort of a practicable compromise in the matter but I regret to mention that till now I have met with no success.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From a microfilm of the Marathi: S.N. 20021

150. LETTER TO RATILAL SHETH

January 22, 1933

BHAI RATUBHAI[1],

I hope you got my letter. Please try to do your best to keep the Doctor's[2] nest intact. At present things seem to be out of control. When somebody goes back on his word, I feel helpless.

As if this worry were not enough, I got a wire from Chhaganlal regarding Padma[3]. And now I have received one from Lilavati[4]. They ask for my blessings. How can I give them when I have never seen or known Padma or the bridegroom? I understand that you also wish that this marriage should take place soon. Please help me. Leave me out of this, and do what you think is for their good. If you had not asked me about the matter and if Maganlal[5] had not written to me about it I would have had no occasion at all to give advice. What right had I to give any? When all of you seek my advice, looking upon me as your well-wisher, I think it my duty to give whatever advice may seem right to me. I know the limits of one's relations with persons with whom one has no blood relation.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7171

[1] Father-in-law of Chhaganlal Mehta, Dr. Pranjivan Mehta's eldest son

[2] Dr. Pranjivan Mehta, who died in Rangoon on August 3, 1932. As there was dispute between his sons on the question of property, Gandhiji was keen that the matter should be settled amicably. *Vide* Vol. L.

[3] Dr. Mehta's grand-daughter

[4] Wife of Chhaganlal Mehta

[5] Dr. Mehta's youngest son who was studying in England

151. LETTER TO RAOJIBHAI N. PATEL

January 22, 1933

CHI. RAOJIBHAI,

I got your letter of the 20th. You may fix the day with me in advance and come, with or without Lalita[1]. You can write to me anything you wish to in this matter. I did not get your previous letters. If I had received them, I would not have left them unanswered.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8998

152. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

January 22, 1933

CHI. NARANDAS,

I can't understand how you received on the same day the letters handed over by me on different days. I will inquire of the authorities. Henceforth, whenever you receive a letter from me mention in your next letter the date on which it was posted, the date on the letter itself and the date on which you received it. If you let me know every time these dates as you have done this time, I can ask the authorities here to be more alert.

I got [today] the letters posted by you on the 20th. The letters posted on the 19th were received yesterday.

I am convinced that we shall gain nothing from Krishnamaiyadevi's connection with the Ashram. If it seems proper to you, you may fix a monthly allowance to be paid to her for some time. During that period, Mahavir should secure a job. The mother and the daughters also should work. I would have no objection to their being paid Rs. 50 a month for four months plus railway fare from Ahmedabad to the place where they decide to go and live. These are my personal views. If, however, all of you there have discussed the matter and come to some other decision, you should abide by it and implement it. I still advise you to

[1] Addressee's sister

CWMG LIII

write to the persons who have lent them money. We shall thereby know, we ought to know, what the facts are.

You may derive what consolation you can from the fact that . . .[1] has harassed me more than he has done you. And he has crossed all bounds in his behaviour to me this time. All the same, we should go on doing our duty by him. I may even have made a mistake in permitting him to join the Ashram. I also doubt whether he really suffers from tuberculosis. However, I never regret such mistakes. Anybody who tries to follow ahimsa is bound to commit them. How can we judge a man's worth? Does he live in the Ashram now?

I hope Indira has recovered. How does Ramnik behave?

If Bhikhabhai lives in the Ashram, does he take his meals at home or in the Ashram kitchen?

As for the land cess to be paid by the Ashram, you may do what you think right. I am writing to Mama about khadi.[2] I have more of it here than I need.

There is no harm in Amtussalaam going to Delhi. She has faith in Dr. Sharma and the latter is confident. Just now the weather in Delhi will also be lovely. She seems to be very eager to come and see me. Do what you think right about that.

I got Prema's letter. I, therefore, don't write about the matter here. You may know my views from the letter which I will write to her.

BAPU

[PS.]

In all there are 24 letters, stitched together.

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

153. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

January 22, 1933

CHI. PREMA,

I was relieved to get your letter. Even worry is a child of imagination. Why should I worry if I do not get a letter from you, and why should I feel relieved on getting one? If you ask me this question, I would not be able to reply to it, or would only say: "This is what ignorant attachment means."

[1] The name has been omitted.

[2] *Vide* "Letter to Vithal L. Phadke", p. 112.

A foolish letter from you would not upset me. If, however, I see your error or shortcoming and do not point it out to you, I would not be doing my duty as your well-wisher, co-worker, friend or father. What I find strange is that you should get angry with me and sulk for telling you something with a sincere motive, instead of thanking me for it. Should we not thank a person for telling us frankly what he feels? I learnt this in my very childhood. I do want you to learn it from me. If my understanding of a situation is wrong, I deserve to be pitied, and, if it is correct, I would be doing you good. In either case, you gain something, in that you come to know better the person with whom you have thrown in your lot. I want that all of you should know my shortcomings and deficiencies and it is always my effort to show them myself. I don't wish to hide even my thoughts. I would even write them down if I had the necessary gift. But I know I cannot do that. I don't think there can be any power in the world which can penetrate all the secrets of thought. Probably we shall be able to know them if somebody invents a machine to reveal them. Even while I was writing these few sentences, my imagination traversed the universe many times over.

You will admit that everybody cannot understand whether or not he has the poison in his heart. Because one does not consciously wish to nurse hatred, it does not mean that there is no hatred in one's heart. It takes hold of us against our will. You will probably not admit that anybody whose heart is full of anger is also full of hatred. If you do not, then the word "poison" does not have the same meaning for you and me. I remember that Ba often charged me with having poison in my heart. How can I deny that charge? I may not have believed that there was any poison in my words. But that is beside the point. What should matter to me is that she felt the poison. Words which are perfectly truthful and spoken with perfect love will never hurt anybody. They may sometimes hurt one in the beginning, but such a person himself will afterwards admit their beneficial effect on him.

I should like you not to be your own judge in all matters. It is possible that others judge you better than you do yourself. I will now end this tale of "poison".

The question of your leaving the Ashram does not arise just now. It will arise only after I am released and return to the Ashram to stay there. That is how I read your letter. Morally speaking, it can arise only then, if at all, for, so long as I cannot return to the Ashram to stay in it, in the eyes of the inmates of

the Ashram I will remain a prisoner. All of you who decided to stay on when I bade good-bye to the Ashram bound yourselves thereby to remain there till I returned. If I am right in believing this, it is a waste of time and energy to think now what should be done when I return to stay there.

The news you have given about happenings in the Ashram is very useful to me. You should discuss the problem of Lakshmi with Narandas, and if both of you decide that she should be married, it should be done soon. Her restlessness also is likely to be the result of an unconscious desire to get married. She is now of marriageable age, and she does intend to marry. The desire to wait till I am released should be regarded as nothing but ignorant attachment to me. You should try and understand her heart properly, and not wait for her emphatic consent. It seems to me desirable to take the advice of Lakshmibehn and Durgabehn in this matter. They would understand the problem better than you can. I understand from what you yourself have said that you have no experience of how a girl feels when she desires to marry. In other words, you have never felt the desire to marry. I also know some other unmarried women who have never felt it. Some other women remain unmarried with an effort of will. They know what marriage means.

What advice should I give you about your health? Ghee seems to be absolutely necessary for it. Whenever you leave the Ashram, your weight increases, and as soon as you return to the Ashram you lose the weight you had gained. You must get over this weakness. How it can be done, you alone know. I hope you experience no difficulty now in speaking.

I don't wish to catch anybody in my snare. What would be my plight if all people became my slaves? And, moreover, I am sure that any such effort would be doomed to failure. Even if it is true that I try to catch people in my snare, why should you lose confidence in yourself for that reason? Your letters are sufficient evidence that you are vigilant and not likely to succumb. It does seem, however, that you are perpetually afraid that you will let yourself be caught. That is a bad sign. Having resolved that you will not let yourself be caught, why should you feel afraid? But may it also not be possible that you and I do not mean the same thing by "getting caught"?

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10323

154. LETTER TO BHAGWANJI P. PANDYA

January 22, 1933

CHI. BHAGWANJI,

Chit and *chitta* are two different words, but the latter is derived from the former. *Chit* means consciousness, or it can be interpreted to mean that which can have consciousness, namely, the *atman*. To say that the *chitta* of one who has overcome attachment is always serene and contented means that his *atman* is so. *Chitta* may also mean the mind. The word should be interpreted according to the context in the sentence or the verse in which it occurs. In trying to explain the meaning of dhyanayoga, one frequently has to use the word yoga. It should be remembered when doing so that yoga means skill in work or action done without attachment.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 350a. Courtesy: Bhagwanji P. Pandya

155. LETTER TO NARMADABEHN RANA

January 22, 1933

CHI. NARMADA,

I got your letter. Slowly you will progress. Why should we feel hurt if somebody speaks ill of us? Learn from someone the *bhajan* "My detractor is my benefactor." Its central idea is that anybody who speaks ill of us serves us by doing so. Continue to write to me.

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 2772. Courtesy: Ramnarayan N. Pathak

156. LETTER TO VIMALCHANDRA V. DESAI

January 22, 1933

CHI. NANU,

Since you have written your letter on khadi paper with red ink and in your most careful handwriting, shouldn't I also write the reply on beautiful paper? How do you like this paper? And this handwriting? Do you take plenty of exercise?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 5762. Courtesy: Valji G. Desai

157. LETTER TO VALJI G. DESAI

January 22, 1933

CHI. VALJI,

There is no harm in your having published *Ishucharita*[1]. The people will certainly like it very much. The verse from Kabir also is appropriate. Still, there is some incompleteness in your evaluation, but it is not a serious defect. Only, one would expect more from you. I have no doubt that you have given what you could. But I have no doubt, either, that you can do better. We need not, however, worry about that. I would be happy if I could give you more marks every time. If your health improves, all your capacity will blossom forth. For the present, let this remain my wish and hope. Send a few copies to me—twenty-five. Don't leave that place till you are quite well again.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7446. Courtesy: Valji G. Desai

[1] "Life of Jesus". For Gandhiji's criticism of the booklet, *vide* Vol. LI, pp. 258-60.

158. LETTER TO ASHRAM BOYS AND GIRLS

January 22, 1933

BOYS AND GIRLS,

Just now please do not expect to get long letters from me. Who cooked at Pujya Anasuyabehn's? Did you behave politely and courteously there? Did you keep on asking for food very often? Did you clean the utensils yourselves? There is nothing to worry about your eating *bhajias*[1]. But henceforward right at the beginning, whenever you have to go anywhere, tell them clearly: "Please give us this only and do not make that for us."

BAPU

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

159. LETTER TO SHARDA C. SHAH

January 22, 1933

CHI. SHARDA,

When a person wears khadi with an enlightened mind, he does it for the sake of its simplicity, for the help it brings to the starving people, for the purity it embodies. This knowledge calms down our passions. Hence, I would say that khadi, when worn with such awareness, helps *brahmacharya*. Do you get the point?

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 9962. Courtesy: Shardabehn G. Chokhawala

160. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

January 22, 1933

DEAR DAUGHTER AMTUSSALAAM,

I have your letter. It would be a crime not to send you to Delhi even after receiving Dr. Sharma's letter. So you may proceed direct for Delhi but see me on the way to the Ashram on your

[1] A fried and heavily spiced delicacy made of gram flour

return. You must learn to some extent the value of remaining quiet. And remember that we profess to be poor. The poor remain content by meeting their companions and relatives in the spirit only. Who would provide them railway fare? Anyway, go to Delhi immediately, get well and visit me on return. God will keep you safe. Keep writing to me. Do not be anxious about the Harijan children;[1] after all everybody is in the care of God alone.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Urdu: G.N. 274

161. DRAFT TELEGRAM TO R. V. SHASTRI

[On or after *January 22, 1933*]

YOUR LETTER[2]. CERTAINLY PROCEED MADRAS REACHING HERE END MONTH.

GANDHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 19241

162. LETTER TO PUNJAB PROVINCIAL STUDENTS' UNION

January 23, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter enclosing a copy of the resolution of your Union. I note what the resolution says about a distinct name. A name is inevitable till there is a complete fusion. The only question therefore is what name to distinguish the so-called untouchables by; and 'Harijans' was the name suggested by some of them, and as it was a name that exactly fitted the condition, I adopted it; for, those who are forsaken by mankind become the chosen of God, and 'Harijan' literally means that.

[1] The addressee was doing social work among Harijans at Vadaj, near Sabarmati Ashram.

[2] Received on January 22, 1933. The addressee had consented to work for the English edition of *Harijan Sevak* and sought Gandhiji's permission to shift his family to Madras before joining A. V. Thakkar at Delhi.

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I hope that this resolution by your Union is not the end of the service to the cause, but merely a beginning and an earnest of solid and constructive service yet to come.

Yours sincerely,

THE VICE-PRESIDENT
PUNJAB PROVINCIAL STUDENTS' UNION
LAHORE

From a microfilm: S.N. 18996

163. LETTER TO PRABHASHANKAR PATTANI

January 23, 1933

SUJNA BHAI,

You have returned at the right time. I hope you have come back with improved health. May I hope that your contribution to the Harijan cause will surpass that of anybody else? You may make it in your way, but that way should be such that the progress made by others will seem insignificant in comparison. If you decide, I am sure you will be able to do much. Do try. Pay immediate attention to the problem of *bham*[1]. It is necessary to introduce a great change in this practice if we wish to make the Dheds and Chamars give up eating carrion. All of us are well.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5923

164. LETTER TO MANU GANDHI

January 23, 1933

CHI. MANUDI,

I got your letter. You should not write in too small a hand, nor should you write too fast. Each letter in a word should be distinct.

It is Ba's love which makes her write that she would like you to stay with her. But you may continue to live there and be happy. If you keep good health and your mind is at peace,

[1] Payment exacted from Harijans for the hide, flesh, etc., of the dead cattle which they were obliged to remove

I shall be satisfied. Write to Ba from time to time.

Serve your aunts.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 1519. Courtesy: Manubehn Mashruwala

165. LETTER TO BALIBEHN M. ADALAJA

January 23, 1933

CHI. BALI,

Kamu[1] writes and tells me that you had no time and that is why you have not written to me. I don't believe this. How can I believe that you do not get time just to write one letter?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 1520. Courtesy: Manubehn Mashruwala

166. LETTER TO RANCHHODDAS PATWARI

January 23, 1933

RESPECTED RANCHHODBHAI,

I will not let you off easily now. You have said that you accept everything else except opening of temples to Harijans. You may leave me to strive for the cause of temple-entry, but the other things you must do as a sacred duty. If you help, we can soon make the Harijans give up eating carrion. All schools, hospitals, wells, and so on should be thrown open completely. You yourself have said that if the Harijans pray, bathe regularly and keep themselves clean, they will be as good as we are. You should help in making them do all that. You will then be welcome to abuse me as much as you wish to. Only help me in my work. I hope you got my answers[2] to your questions.

Pranams from
MOHANDAS

From Gujarati: C.W. 9222. Courtesy: Chhaganlal Gandhi

[1] Kumibehn T. Maniar, addressee's sister
[2] *Vide* "Letter to Ranchhoddas Patwari", pp. 13-24.

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167. LETTER TO GORADIA

January 23, 1933

BHAI GORADIA,

Do Thakoresaheb[1] and you contribute anything to Harijan service? Perhaps you are afraid that the local subjects may be offended if the temple is thrown open, but what about the *bham*?

What are the arrangements for the disposal of carcasses? Do you charge the Dheds for clearing them? If you wish to stop them from partaking of carrion, you ought to pay them for their services and supervise the processing of carcasses. This would involve some labour no doubt, but no loss. How are they treated in courts, and in hospitals? Will you please give me an account of this?

[From Gujarati]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. III, pp. 81-2

168. A LETTER

January 23, 1933

If one gets food from outside after securing permission, for the sake of one's health, one is doing nothing wrong. But it is praiseworthy if one is content with whatever food one gets inside and refrains from asking for more. But he who cannot maintain his health with the food he gets in prison, and has secured permission to obtain it from outside and can easily have it, yet does not do so and so spoils his health is obstinate. Perhaps he could be considered pedantic.

I certainly do not think there is any harm in wearing a *shikha*[2]. It is a time-honoured custom which the reformer may not try to change and so run into trouble. You may not find a strong reason in support of every custom, yet if it is popular and there is nothing morally wrong in it, it deserves to be followed.

[From Gujarati]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. III, p. 83

[1] Title of the head of a small principality

[2] The tuft of hair on one's head

169. A LETTER

January 23, 1933

In order to control our passions we should turn our thoughts inward. The basic formula for spiritual progress is self-surrender. Spiritual progress is nothing but knowledge of the *atman*.

[From Gujarati]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. III, p. 82

170. A LETTER

January 23, 1933

The fast has in no way harmed my health. Even in old age a fast can be undertaken and completed without any ill effects. Moreover a fast undertaken with a spiritual motive is not difficult to go through. The body will of course grow weak as it has less fat [in old age].

[From Gujarati]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. III, p. 83

171. LETTER TO S. J. SOMAVANSHI

January 23, 1933

BHAI SOMAVANSHI,

I read your loving letter from beginning to end. I have received the books[1] also. I also listened to the life story of the Maharaj. I have read almost all the marked portions of the book. Both failed to impress me. Chiefly because we find no basis for regarding the so-called untouchables as untouchables; nor for the treatment meted out to them.

How am I at fault? I have been saying for the last 45 years the very thing about the eradication of untouchability that I say now. My views have been well known in India for more than 25 years. Now and then some opposition was certainly heard but

[1] Biographies of a Marathi saint

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I incurred no one's wrath. Now that I am ready to do penance for it I am blamed. But the Shastras and the saints have preached the necessity of *tapascharya*[1] whenever dharma dwindles and this is what I am attempting to do. There is no headstrongness about it. How can that man be headstrong who is ever prepared to correct his errors?

By pointing out the omission on the part of saints to lay stress on this particular problem you are doing them and me an injustice. The saints do not try to remove all the evils, nor can they do so. They simply disseminate dharma and in the process try to remove some evil. Even the avatars are unable to destroy all evil; they perform their deeds concentrating on the chief evil of their times.

An important feature of the non-violent spirit is that it always keeps the popular will in view. The anti-untouchability movement may also be taken as basically meant to test public will. The highest religion is useless for those who are not prepared to live by it. Compulsion has absolutely no place in the spirit of non-violence.

You are correct in suggesting that I should offer daily prayers to God to show me the right path. I not only constantly do that but believe that I take no action without His command; you may rest assured on this.

MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a microfilm of the Hindi: S.N. 18997

172. A LETTER

January 23, 1933

Observing silence implies abstaining from talking, gestures, food and drink, and closing one's eyes and ears, i.e., remaining in seclusion and losing oneself in thought. On the day of silence, one should remember God. The purpose of silence is meditation.

[From Hindi]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. III, p. 82

[1] Self-suffering as moral discipline

173. LETTER TO BEGUM MOHAMMAD ALAM

January 23, 1933

DEAR SISTER,

I got your letter. How great is God's grace that Doctor Saheb should recover so soon and the operation become unnecessary! I hope that he will take complete rest for the present. Keep writing to me. Tell Doctor Saheb that we all remember him.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Urdu: G.N. 27

174. LETTER TO RAIHANA TYABJI

January 23, 1933

DEAR DAUGHTER RAIHANA,

I have your letter. The meaning of *tuk* as given by you seems correct. If I wait till I can write a good hand and commit not a single error, I shall never be able to write in Urdu. If you send me by post some extra time along with the Urdu lessons, you will find no mistakes. My respects to Father and Mother. May I send a kiss for you? But only on one condition; that you drive away the fever. Why don't you become perfectly well by taking a little more rest? There are enough duties for you if you remain well. There is no lack of jobs for those keen to serve.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Urdu: S.N. 9661

175. STATEMENT ON VICEROY'S DECISION

January 24, 1933

Having read the Government decision on the two Bills[1] about untouchability now before the country, I cannot help expressing my regret on general grounds that the Government could not see

[1] *Vide* footnote 3, pp. 14-5. For Gandhiji's reaction to the announcement, *vide* Appendix VI.

their way to allow both the Bills to be discussed by the respective Legislatures and the country.

Dr. Subbaroyan's Bill restricts itself to one particular issue of temple-entry and that too in the Madras Presidency, and the opening of each temple depends on the will of the majority of those entitled to temple-entry. It therefore reduces the possibility of a clash between one party and another party to a minimum and to a zero if the reformers play the game, i.e., allow for the religious scruples even of a microscopic minority as my compromise proposal does. But this was not to be. From a strict sanatanist point, the Madras Bill was perhaps the lesser of the two evils as they would put it. It was easier for a reformer to cope with, and for me personally too as a fasting hostage, for Viceregal sanction would have in all probability successfully prevented a fast over Guruvayur. But the Government of India had willed otherwise. I must try to trace the hand of God in it. He wants to try me through and through. If He does, He will have to give me adequate strength as He has always vouchsafed those who would surrender themselves wholly to Him.

The all-India Bill is short and sweet, being of negative character in one way. It gives no direct aid to the reformer. It merely refuses aid to any and every individual sanatanist who would come to seek assistance in the secular courts to impose his will on the whole Hindu society and to enforce a custom which the latter may consider to be repugnant to Hindu Shastras and the innate moral sense of man. It abolishes legal untouchability, leaving the social and religious to its fate. The sanction given to this Bill is an unintentional challenge to Hinduism and the reformer. Hinduism will take care of itself if the reformer will be true to himself. Thus considered, the Government of India's decision must be regarded as a godsend. It clears the issue. It makes it easy for India and the world to understand the tremendous importance of the moral struggle now going on in India. It takes it at one sweep to its natural platform to which it was timidly advancing.

As a life-long reformer and fighter, I must take up the challenge in all humility, and so must every Hindu who was directly or indirectly a party to the resolution[1] adopted under the chairmanship of the revered Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. The resolution bears repetition:

> This Conference resolves that henceforth, amongst Hindus, no one shall be regarded as 'untouchable' by reason of his birth, and that those who

[1] On September 25, 1932; *vide* also Vol. LI, p. 139.

have been so regarded hitherto will have the same rights as other Hindus in regard to the use of public wells, public schools, public roads and all other public institutions. These rights shall have statutory recognition at the first opportunity, and shall be one of the earliest Acts of the swaraj Parliament, *if it shall not have received such recognition before that time.*

It is further agreed that it shall be the duty of all Hindu leaders to secure, by every legitimate and peaceful means, the early removal of all social disabilities now imposed by custom upon the so-called untouchable classes including the bar in respect of admission into temples.

Let the reader carefully note the words printed in italics. The resolution contemplates, if at all possible, the removal of legal untouchability even before the establishment of a swaraj Parliament. The opportunity has now offered itself. No Hindu who is jealous of the honour of Hinduism or the word given to Harijans dare let the opportunity slip. Even the sanatanist, if he will read the all-India Bill, as I do, may not resist it. For, has he not said to me, has he not said it even in his writings, that he has no quarrel with political and civic rights being given to Harijans on the same terms as caste Hindus? In other words, he has no objection to Harijans being treated as equals with the rest in the eye of the law. If he is not, in the eye of religion, that is a matter for the sanatanist and his conscience. The law's assistance must not be summoned to aid him to enforce his conscience against a fellow-being.

The sanatanist *Shastris* whom I had the pleasure of meeting had been able only to cite me verses to the effect that if anyone is polluted by the touch of an untouchable he has either to take a sip of water or have a bath. There seems to be nowhere mention of punishment for an untouchable entering a public place including a temple. And, in no case, should the aid of secular law be summoned to punish an untouchable guilty of mere infringement of a sacerdotal rule. The present Bill rightly renders such an interference by law impossible.

The opening of temples to Harijans would, under the Bill, be regulated by mutual adjustment. Where the opinion of the temple-going population is not ripe for reform, naturally the Harijans cannot enter the temples. Where the opinion is ripe, the law cannot be invoked by individuals to thwart the will of the majority. But whatever the sanatanists may decide, the movement for temple-entry now broadens from Guruvayur in the extreme south to Hardwar in the north, and my fast, though it remains further postponed, depends not, now, upon Guruvayur only but extends automatically to temples in general. That is to say, the

fast becomes dependent upon the actions of reformers not regarding the Madras Bill which was to cover Guruvayur only, but regarding the all-India Bill which covers all temples including Guruvayur.

And so it has been throughout my life. One step has naturally led me on to another, even despite myself. I was confining my attention to the Madras Bill. It was enough for me. Even on Saturday last, that is, the 21st January, when the Associated Press correspondent asked my opinion of the Associated Press Delhi correspondent's forecast, I declined to commit myself to any opinion on the all-India Bill as compared to the Madras Bill.[1] I was not prepared to face a bigger and graver contingency. But now that it comes upon me as an accomplished fact, I dare not flinch.

The Government pronouncement would have one to think that the Bill will be one long-drawn-out agony, and may never become the law of the land. They are right, from their standpoint, in being over-cautious. But if Hindu conscience is really roused against untouchability, as the latter is practised today, the Bill can become law in no time. The Government cannot resist the unequivocal expression of Hindu opinion in favour of it. Despite sanatanist opposition, my belief is that a vast mass of Hindu opinion is against untouchability, though it may not take energetic steps to remove it. It is that faith which sustains me. No further ordinary propaganda will convince the Hindu mind of the sense of wrong of untouchability if it is not already convinced by years of work in that behalf. It requires then, as it has done before now, the extraordinary propaganda of penance. It may be that it needs the stimulus of a fast on the part of one who has made his life one with them. If so, they shall have it. They must either remove untouchability or remove me from their midst.

Let me proclaim it, for the thousandth time, that for me, as with my co-workers, the removal of untouchability is an indispensable religious need and the opening of temples to Harijans, being a pure spiritual act, is an indispensable test of that removal. It is the one thing that alone can give new life and new hope to Harijans, as no mere economic uplift can do. Economic and all other uplift will follow temple-entry as light follows dawn. The one single act of opening temples to Harijans will purify Hinduism, and will open the hearts of both caste Hindus and Harijans to receive new light.

[1] *Vide* pp. 112-3.

The message of the temples will penetrate every Harijan hut; the message of economic and educational uplift will touch only those to whom it is personally brought. This proposition of mine can easily be understood by those who, like me, believe in temples as an integral part of Hinduism, as churches and mosques are of Christianity and Islam. It is not necessary that every Harijan should at once enter the temples. It is enough and necessary if he knows that he has acquired that right. And in this religious conception of Hinduism fasts and the like take their natural and necessary place. They are then, no more coercion than any *bona-fide* cry of love of the Divine is.

The Hindu, 25-1-1933

176. LETTER TO G. M. THENGE

January 24, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter.[1] My statement[2] has not the meaning that you have assigned to it, as would be quite clear to you if you will read it as a whole. I have considered myself to be incapable of coming to a judgment one way or the other, if only because I have not all the data for coming to a judgment. I have therefore stated in unequivocal language that every Congressman has to decide for himself or herself, taking stock of the circumstances over which they alone have control and I have none, as also of their own individual obligations of which they alone can have knowledge and I can have none.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. G. M. THENGE
PAREKH STREET, GIRGAUM
BOMBAY

From a microfilm: S.N. 18986

[1] The addressee had written: "In answer to those Congressmen who wish to know whether they should prosecute the civil disobedience campaign or should take an active interest in the campaign against untouchability, you have reminded them of the celebrated English proverb: 'Much wants more and loses all.' I presume that you intend thereby to convey that we have had enough of the civil disobedience movement in the past and that we do not want it any longer, lest we stand to lose all that we aspire for. . . ."

[2] Dated January 7, 1933; *vide* Vol. LII, p. 379-81.

177. LETTER TO SUBRAHMANIA SHASTRI

January 24, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter enclosing your reply to Acharya Dhruva's opinion in Sanskrit about untouchability.

I do not remember having said whichever side stops correspondence is to be considered to have accepted the other's position. In my opinion such a thing should not be regarded as conclusive, because each party may exhaust all points of difference and may still maintain their respective positions. However, you will not find me suddenly stopping the correspondence, because I want to get all the wisdom and all the information that I can from everyone.

Coming to your reply or rejoinder as you call it, I shall leave Acharya Dhruva to answer for himself, but you do not carry conviction even to a layman like myself. You say that the word *api*[1] only denotes the unfitness of the *Chandala* and the height of the path of devotion. Do you not see the inconsistency of your statement? If the *Chandala* is unfit, there is no height (I suppose you mean 'greatness') about the path of devotion. The path of devotion is truly great, because it brings peace and joy and salvation even to the *Chandala*. Instances of the use of *api* by way of emphasis can surely be multiplied.

In your second paragraph, emphasis is not on the fact that here the *Chandala* was pious but that it was the *Chandala* who was speaking. Most of the sanatanists who oppose temple-entry by Harijans contend that no piety on the part of a *Chandala* would cure him of his disability.

In the third clause, your admission that all life as *atman* is one rules out the impassable barrier between touchables and untouchables. The verse in question itself notes the differentiation between persons and bodies and yet insists on equality of treatment.

I need not labour the rest of your replies except to say that they are unconvincing to me. However, without my comments on your reply, I am forwarding it to Acharya Dhruva, for his

[1] "Also"

own independent reply which I shall gladly send to you when it comes to me.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 18999

178. LETTER TO G. RAMACHANDRA RAO

January 24, 1933

MY DEAR RAMACHANDRA RAO,

I have your postcard. I shall await further information from you.

Yes, I am applying ghee religiously every day. I am sorry to report to you that as yet there is no relief whatsoever. There is no doubt about the ghee being cow's milk ghee.

The addition of 'if' was intended for the sake of preserving truth. However close I may be to a friend, in speaking to him I would have to say to him not "since you are so and so", but "if you are so and so, you have no cause to be anxious".

Yours sincerely,

SJT. G. RAMACHANDRA RAO
C/O SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY
ROYAPETTAH, MADRAS

From a microfilm: S.N. 19000

179. LETTER TO T. K. S. RAJAN

January 24, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter for which I thank you. I do hope that students will not be satisfied with merely having passed a resolution but that they will engage in some concrete service of Harijans.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. T. K. S. RAJAN
51 I AGRAHARAM
SALEM

From a microfilm: S.N. 19001

180. LETTER TO P. V. SUNDARAVARADULU

January 24, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. You have given me interesting information.[1] Can you supplement it by giving me the exact figures of those who kill cows and buffaloes for sacrifice? What is their caste name? Are there any touchable castes that eat beef? I understand that there are numberless caste men in Andhradesh who eat pork.

I cannot think of any special message to be given to the ryots of Andhra villages. The statements that I issue from time to time are as much addressed to them as to the rest of the Hindus all over the country.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. P. V. SUNDARAVARADULU
SECRETARY
ANDHRA PROVINCIAL RYOTS' ASSOCIATION
KILPAUK, MADRAS

From a microfilm: S.N. 19002

181. LETTER TO D. G. VELANKAR

January 24, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. You can come and bring your two or three friends at 2 p.m. on 27th instant. I hope 30 minutes will be enough for you.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. D. G. VELANKAR
866 SADASHIV PETH
POONA CITY

From a microfilm: S.N. 20083

[1] The addressee had written: "Their [ryots'] contention is that the Harijans eat cow, mutton, and are most indecent in their habits. . . . They [Harijans] sacrifice cows and buffaloes to their goddesses in public and offer toddy on such occasions. . . . I therefore request you to turn your attention to . . . purifying the Harijans" (S.N. 18984).

182. LETTER TO R. N. BHIDE

January 24, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your pathetic letter. Do not mix up two questions, the fast and temple-entry. Dismiss the fast from your mind, because it is a personal matter and it may or may not come. Temple-entry is the question. The economic and the educational questions are what the adjectives imply. Temple-entry is a spiritual act, transforming the whole society by one single act of admission. It will electrify into a new life the whole of the Harijan population, and it will purify Hinduism as no single act that I can think of can do. If you have the Hindu religious instinct in you, you will not find it difficult to follow my argument. If you do not possess a living faith in Hinduism or do not consider temples an integral part of it, I have no effective argument to meet your difficulty. On the contrary, I must then accept a defeat.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. R. N. BHIDE
D. B. HOSTEL
PORT PUTTUR (S. KANARA DT.)

From a microfilm: S.N. 20088

183. LETTER TO M. M. ANANTA RAU

January 24, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for all your letters and the great pains you have been taking to instruct me and to supply me with the information I have wanted. When I have studied all your letters I shall write to you if necessary at length.

Though you have not replied to my criticism about your letter-paper, you seem to have done better by acting upon a part of my suggestion, namely, removing the portrait and the surrounding letter-press; if the removal is an acknowledgment of the correctness of my criticism, you will note that my criticism

was directed also against the ornamental border. Letter-paper, especially for a religious agency, should, in my opinion, be free from all ornamentation and contain only in just readable plain type the name and address. The beautiful verse at the top and the "Om" can stand. I have made bold to offer what may appear to be gratuitous criticism, because you have been so prompt and diligent in your correspondence. Though we may not agree finally in our conclusions, I cannot fail to appreciate your courtesy and promptness.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SJT. M. M. ANANTA RAU
SANATANA DHARMA KARYALAYA
40 ISWARDAS LALA STREET
TRIPLICANE, MADRAS

From a copy: C.W. 9571. Courtesy: Government of Mysore

184. LETTER TO DR. HIRALAL SHARMA

January 24, 1933

MY DEAR SHARMA,

Amtussalaam has forwarded your letter[1] of the 15th instant to me and I was glad to receive it. You have indeed fulfilled your self-imposed vow, for the letter you have written to me is not for yourself. I have already advised Amtussalaam to proceed to Delhi and I hope that she will leave the Ashram at once, stay there till you can discharge her fully cured and then return to the Ashram. I quite appreciate your desire to fulfil your present obligations before you come down to the Ashram.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SJT. H. L. SHARMA
SUNRAY HOSPITAL
KAROLBAGH, DELHI

Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsh, p. 16

[1] The addressee had stated that, leaving his in-door patients at Delhi, he did not go out of station for any patient for more than a week.

185. LETTER TO RADHAKRISHNA BAJAJ

January 24, 1933

CHI. RADHAKRISHNA,

I have read your letter to Jamnalalji. The Ashram cannot run under its auspices the proposed Mahila Ashram or Mahila Vidyalaya or Vanita Ashram or Vanita Vidyalaya, because such an institution would not be prepared to accept Harijan girls at present. It would not be possible to burden the institution with both the tasks. It should be considered enough for it to admit Harijan girls as day scholars. The Ashram cannot even lend the support of its name to such an institution. I agree with Vinobaji's view and also feel that such a restriction on the scope of the Mahila Vidyalaya is inevitable.

Tell Janakibehn that I see no need at present to get Jamnalalji examined by Dr. Modi. He is physically well enough. The ear gives no trouble. He can digest food fairly well and his weight has gone up. There is no cause for worry at all. Nor do I feel that Dr. Modi can say or do anything just now. There would be no difficulty and no delay in making the necessary arrangements as soon as the slightest need is felt, or if Jamnalalji himself wishes to be examined by him. I don't think it advisable that he should be taken to Bombay just now. Since the climate here has agreed with him, why make a change for a few days?

I got the two lengths of cloth woven from yarn spun by Grandmother. I shall gladly wear them as a loving gift from her.

Kamalnayan was here, but went away without seeing me. He should have seen me, and he would have been permitted to do so. Tell him to see me when he comes next. What progress has he made in his studies? Why does he not write to me now?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9118

186. LETTER TO G. V. GURJALE[1]

January 25, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your very long letter. I am afraid that I cannot guide you definitely. There is much to be said in favour of your method and as much to be said in favour of the method of living in the midst of the Harijans. Therefore you alone can be the final judge. You should serve in the manner that appeals most to you, after consultation with those who know you well and know the local circumstances.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SJT. G. V. GURJALE
KRIPA ASRAM
TIRUVENNAINALLUR (S. INDIA)

From a photostat: G.N. 1398. Also S.N. 20092

[1] The addressee, known as Bhikshu Nirmalanand, had been serving the Harijans in the village Tiruvennainallur since 1929 and had asked Gandhiji whether he should go back to the city and serve the Harijans from there.

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187. LETTER TO HRIDAY NATH KUNZRU

January 25, 1933

MY DEAR HARIJI,

I thank you for your letter of 19th instant with enclosures. I do hope that you will succeed in your effort at raising funds.

Since you have mentioned the fact of your having sought financial assistance from the Government, I would like to say, altogether apart from my views on non-co-operation, that if I could have prevailed with you or with your Board, I would have prevented you from seeking such assistance. I think in purely religious matters Government aid should not be sought. Anti-untouchability work is essentially for Hindus to do. It is a huge religious reform, and I should be chary of seeking financial assistance even if we had a purely national government, or if financial assistance is given, it will have to be under a scheme of just distribution to all the different religious denominations.

I hope you see my point, though you may not agree with it.

I am glad that Sarup[1] has offered her services to you.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 20097

188. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

January 25, 1933

MY DEAR GHANSHYAMDAS,

Here is the estimate for the proposed English edition of *Harijan Sevak*. As you can see, it is a very moderate sum. There will still be some overhead charges on clerical assistance, and whatever remuneration that might have to be paid to Shastri who has agreed to edit the paper.

I propose to bring out, to start with, 10,000 copies. Then if there is not that demand, we might slow down. My policy, as you know, is that I shall not handle the paper except to make it self-supporting. If it does not become self-supporting, I should

[1] Vijayalakshmi Pandit

conclude that there is inefficient management or editing, or that there is no public demand for such a paper. In any one of these cases, if the defect cannot be mended, the paper must be ended. I should give the paper a trial for three months, within which time it must become self-supporting.

I would therefore like you, after consultation with Thakkar Bapa and such others as you need to consult, to telegraph your sanction of the expenditure, such as it may be, up to the final limit to be fixed by you. I suggest an addition of Rs. 200 per month at the outside to the figures as per estimate, excluding the postal and telegraphic charges. I should be able to give you more definite figures after I have seen Shastri. If you can pass the budget, should I proceed with the paper whether you have brought out the Hindi edition or not? I understand that there is not likely to be any difficulty at this end about bringing out the paper.

I have your telegram from Gwalior about the Government decision on the untouchability Bills. I hope you received my reply. I hope, too, that you have read my very exhaustive statement[1] to the Press. I do not need, therefore, to add anything to the Press statement, for I have nothing more to add.

I am sending you a copy of my letter[2] to Hariji about the Society receiving or seeking financial assistance from the Government. Here again I do not need to add to it. It speaks for itself. I hope you are better. I would like you to treat your health as much of a business concern as any other, and thus not a thing to be neglected or wasted.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

From a photostat: S.N. 20096. Also C.W. 7923. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

[1] *Vide* "Statement on Viceroy's Decision", pp. 128-32.
[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

189. LETTER TO VIRIYALA VENKATA RAO

January 25, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. Here are my answers:

The opening of temples to Harijans is to be an act of penance on the part of caste Hindus or rather an act of payment of an obligation due to them.[1] That one act will elevate them. Throwing open of temples to them is the foundation for their elevation and not a reward for good behaviour. They will only be liable to the same conditions as caste Hindus are as to daily bath, etc. But just as we do not ask every caste Hindu who enters a temple whether he has conformed to the conditions or not, unless he bears the mark of non-performance on his own person at the time of entry, even so we may not cross-question a Harijan in appearance showing no disregard of conditions whether he has fulfilled other conditions or not. Please remember that abstention from flesh and drink is not an indispensable condition of entry for caste Hindus in all sects of Hinduism. Personally, I would like such abstention to be a condition, but it cannot be imposed upon Harijans, if it is not imposed upon all Hindus.

If three or four orthodox Brahmins cause obstruction, miscalled satyagraha, by stretching themselves in front of the temple, they can be easily dodged. Temple-entry is not complete until Harijans are allowed to enter on the same terms and up to the same part as caste Hindus are allowed. There is no question of Harijans entering the sanctuary if caste Hindus do not enter the sanctuary and only those who perform the ceremonial are allowed to enter.

I think this answers all your questions.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. VIRIYALA VENKATA RAO
ANTI-UNTOUCHABILITY LEAGUE
ELLORE

From a microfilm: S.N. 19003

[1] For a discussion, *vide* Appendix VII.

190. LETTER TO VAKAYIL ACHUTHAN NAIR

January 25, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I must thank you for your having taken such trouble to furnish me with the papers in connection with the Guruvayur case. I have had them looked up. I now return them to you by registered post. You need not now trouble to discover the missing papers. I see that the information contained in the papers you were good enough to send me is all that I wanted to get.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. VAKAYIL ACHUTHAN NAIR
GURUVAYUR

From a microfilm: S.N. 19005

191. LETTER TO SURENDRA MOHAN BHATTACHARYA

January 25, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. If the sanatanists do not ill-treat —not hate as you have said—untouchables, then, why is it that they cannot get water, medical aid, decent accommodation, equal travelling facilities, equal educational facilities for their children, equal use of public places?

Educated Indians cannot be responsible for these causes; they are a microscopic minority. Will you give me instances of educated persons having ill-treated Harijans, as you say they have? I would also like you please to furnish me with instances within your knowledge of sanatanists having done anything to help these brethren of ours to lighten their burden.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. SURENDRA MOHAN BHATTACHARYA
VEDANTA SHASTRI
SECRETARY, EAST BENGAL BRAHMIN SABHA BRANCH
VILLAGE ALGI, P.O. MADHABDI
DT. DACCA

From a microfilm: S.N. 20095

192. LETTER TO N. H. PURANDARE

January 25, 1933

MY DEAR PURANDARE,

I have your postcard. I do not know how to console you and how to deal with you. I am sorry I find it so difficult to please you and I must not betray the trust imposed upon me even in order to please you. Therefore please regard what I have offered as final.[1]

Yours sincerely,

PROF. N. H. PURANDARE
604 SADASHIV PETH
POONA 2

From a microfilm: S.N. 20098

193. LETTER TO K. KELAPPAN

January 25, 1933

MY DEAR KELAPPAN,

I have a bitter complaint that *Mathrubhumi*[2] contains articles abusing Brahmins. If that is so, you will see that the abuse is stopped.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 20099

[1] *Vide* "Letter to N. H. Purandare", p. 39.
[2] A Malayalam daily

194. LETTER TO T. KRISHNA MENON

January 25, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I would like you to give me translations of relevant parts of *Mathrubhumi*.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. T. KRISHNA MENON
C/O CHAMPAKLAL DEVIDAS, ESQ.
36 DALAL STREET, FORT
BOMBAY

From a microfilm: S.N. 20100

195. LETTER TO DR. PARASHURAM SHARMA

January 25, 1933

DEAR DR. PARASHURAM,

Thank you for your letter and the news that Mathuradas Jain broke his fast on receipt of my telegram.[1]

We are all keeping quite well.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 20101

196. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

January 25, 1933

MY DEAR THAKKAR BAPA,

I have your three letters, one only requires an answer. If it could be decently done I would certainly like the name of the Society[2] to be more in keeping with the object we have in view. I should incur the risk of the ridicule of the unthinking if all those

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Mathuradas Jain", 8-2-1933.
[2] Servants of Untouchables Society

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who compose the Society agree that Rajaji's suggestion[1] be adopted and if it is not against the constitution to do so. But if the change is adopted, let it not be adopted in a hurry.

I have the articles for the English weekly[2].

I had a telegram from Shastri accepting the offer.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 20102

197. LETTER TO RATILAL SHETH

January 25, 1933

BHAI RATUBHAI,

I got your letter. I too had a wire from Lilavati. I sent a wire asking not to commit me in advance. They should allow me to see Padma. I would like to see the boy too. Jekibehn came to see me yesterday and she told me: "Padma is yet only 14 years old and the boy is immoral." What can I say if the parents are willing? But if I do not approve of the match, they should not ask me to say I do. What is your opinion about this marriage? Even you should keep me out of it. I can only interfere wherever you all wish me to. I cannot at all insist on anything.

I want to write to Chhaganlal and Lilavati too about the firm. I have written to them to come and see me. Come and see me when Maganlal arrives. Keep on writing to Chhaganlal and Lilavati.

There is no doubt that Khimchand's company is undesirable. I have written strongly to Khimchand also.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7172

[1] C. Rajagopalachari had suggested: "I do not quite like the change of name you have agreed to for the League. 'Servants of Untouchables Society' is good in itself, but it means a continued recognition of untouchables as such. . . . I would have liked 'Untouchability Abolition League' or Society."

[2] *Harijan*

198. LETTER TO CHHOTALAL

January 25, 1933

BHAI CHHOTALAL,

I got your letter. There is a great difference between varna and caste. There are innumerable castes, but only four varnas. Varna refers to a person's qualities of character and occupation. Caste is based at best on convenience. Caste deserves to be abolished, whereas varna should be reformed. There is a confusion of varnas at present, but it is possible and necessary to reform the system. There may perhaps be no harm in serving one's own community, but the best service which one can do to it is to cultivate relations with members of other communities. One should not be attached to one's own caste and be proud of it.

Though interdining and intermarriage will be restricted to groups of similar temperament and occupation, that is, within the limits of the same varna, this was not an essential feature of the system in former times.

With regards from,

MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8034

199. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

January 25, 1933

CHI. NARANDAS,

I get your letters. If occasionally you cannot write for want of time, I will know that that was the reason and also that there was nothing urgent to write about.

It seems you note the weights of only the boys and girls. Since we wish to know the effect of the new regimen, it would be better if you note the weights of all the inmates. You may do so every fortnight. The weights should be recorded on fixed dates in a separate register kept for the purpose. Have you shown in the record of weights sent to me the weekly increases? In every case in which there is loss in weight, the reason, if it can be

ascertained, should be noted. What effect did the change have on the incidence of constipation? Can we say by how much the consumption of rice has decreased? I should like a record maintained of the quantity of each kind of grain consumed and the number of persons among whom consumed and the record sent to me. What vegetables do you serve? Do you buy any from the market or what is produced in the Ashram suffices? Does any fruit grow in sufficient quantity in the Ashram to meet your requirements fully? I know that you require time to think about and plan all this. You may carry out only those of my suggestions which you can and leave the rest. If, however, we can have correct information on these matters, we can so plan things as to benefit considerably both in regard to health and expenditure. Our farm, orchard and kitchen should be run with this aim in view.

It is not, it ought not to be, beyond our capacity to banish illness from the Ashram. All that is necessary is that somebody should pay attention to the problem and maintain strict vigilance about it. If you can select someone from among the many workers at your disposal, train him for the job. You can train even some of the boys or girls if you find them suitable.

I was pleased by the certificate which you have given to Kanhaiyalal. What progress has his wife made?

Tell him about the climate of Orissa. If their health is not good, don't send them to Orissa just now. If, however, they are ready to endure all hardships, they may leave even now.

I am glad to learn that Manekbai has arrived there. I don't suppose you knew her before. I hope Ba sees her frequently. Amtussalaam must have left for Delhi.

I got the slivers sent with Prabhudas. There is no change in the condition of my elbow. However, I have started spinning since yesterday. As there has been no improvement though I had stopped spinning, I don't think it right to continue the restriction. I have informed the doctor, too. If the pain increases, I will stop spinning again. I am not being unnecessarily obstinate in this matter. I look at it entirely from the point of view of dharma.

I am certainly very glad that *jowar*[1] and *bajri*[2] are grown in the Ashram itself. It would certainly be good if the hand-mill is revived even for our own needs only. But I am afraid that this thing is beyond our capacity. Of course the practice of getting

[1] & [2] Kinds of millet

small quantities ground occasionally in the Ashram will continue.

Doesn't Bhau keep good health?

BAPU

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

200. LETTER TO JAISUKHLAL K. MEHTA

January 25, 1933

I understand what you say about Tambe's hotel.[1] If he does not himself announce his intention nor let us do it, how are Harijans going to know about it? Such secret help does not serve our purpose; it fails to educate the people or create public opinion. We workers would then have no chance of seeing where we stand *vis-a-vis* the people. Our initial proposition therefore should be to have an eating-house run to suit our own convenience.

[From Gujarati]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. III, p. 88

201. A LETTER

January 25, 1933

I know . . . 's[2] weakness. In my view it is misplaced pity or excess of pity and hence it is violence. I think I would not indulge in such pity. Therefore wherever I shall see the absence of truth I shall immediately tell you about it. You are open-minded. And so you will certainly progress. Truth and non-violence both demand fearlessness. If that is lacking, there is often a chance of untruth creeping in. And where an untruth has been committed, it is violence as well. Hence let the world laugh at you or call you a fool or bury you alive or starve you—but we shall always observe truth. This cannot be done without fearlessness.

[From Gujarati]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. III, p. 88

[1] The proprietor Tambe was willing to admit Harijans but reluctant to make an announcement to that effect.

[2] The name is omitted in the source.

202. A LETTER

January 25, 1933

There is no other cause but the atmosphere for the slackness which sets in at a later stage.[1] But a man who wishes to progress has always to fight against the discouraging circumstances and for the same reason Tulsidas stresses the need of *satsang*[2]. But it is not to be found everywhere. We should therefore look for the subtle form of *satsang* which is to be found within our own self, i.e., in noble thoughts and deeds. One who achieves this inner *satsang* can fight to the last against the unfavourable environment and succeed in carrying out his resolves.

[From Gujarati]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. III, p. 88

203. LETTER TO VIDYA HINGORANI

January 25, 1933

CHI. VIDYA,

I have your letter. You ought to have written to me earlier that you were in the family way. There is nothing to be ashamed of in it. That is the way of the world. Of course it is very good to practise restraint but that is possible only for a few. Since the child's birthday coincides with Mahadev's let us call him Mahadev. I am returning the photograph. Hope you are both well. Keep on writing to me. Send my blessings to Anand.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of Hindi. Courtesy: National Archives of India and Anand T. Hingorani

[1] Gandhiji is referring to the pious resolutions and the initial enthusiasm of workers whenever they were imprisoned.

[2] The company of saints or good people

204. INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS

January 25, 1933

Asked if his intention was to hold his fast in abeyance till the fate of Mr. Ranga Iyer's Bill was known, Mahatma Gandhi replied that it would depend on circumstances arising from day to day. If Mr. Ranga Iyer's Bill hung up indefinitely, the question of temple-entry could not await solution so long.

I am hoping that Mr. Ranga Iyer's Bill being of a negative character, all Hindus will see that it does not interfere with religion in any shape or form and if sanatanists admit that the Harijans should suffer under no social disabilities they must make good their admission by welcoming the measure. They do not seem to seek legal protection for enforcing religious observances. Religious observance ceases to be religious, the moment it becomes enforceable by law. It must depend on mutual goodwill and on the readiness of Hindus in general to perform religious observances.

There are numerous religious observances in the Hindu religion as in all other religions but they are not enforceable by law and what Mr. Ranga Iyer's Bill provides is that the religious prohibition against temple-entry should not be forced at the point of the bayonet. But should the sanatanists not appreciate this obvious proposition of mine and there is opposition to the Bill, it would become a question for me as to what would be my duty. But I am hoping that there would be an unequivocal declaration by the vast mass of Hindus to favour the Bill so as to compel the acceleration of its passage through all its stages.

The Hindustan Times, 26-1-1933

205. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

January 26, 1933

CHI. MIRA,

This is before prayer time Thursday. I get your weekly letter Wednesday noon and I write the reply Thursday morning after prayer or sometimes before as now. So whenever you get my letter later than usual or not at all, you will know that there has been

no delay on my part. But accidents will happen in the best of all possible worlds. There is no such thing as accident in God's dictionary. The world is a chapter of accidents. For accidents are events which we cannot control and often can't find causes for even after they have occurred.

As you see I have again taken to writing by the right hand. I do not do much writing. Some Gujarati every day not more than two hours and the weekly English letter to you. That cannot injure the hand. At least no one has suggested that as the cause. The wheel was blamed. But even that seems to be an exploded theory. I recommenced moderate spinning on Tuesday last. But I shall not be obstinate. I shall give it up, if the pain increases. The weight went down 2 lb. yesterday but the little fluctuation is a matter of no concern whatsoever.

Now about yourself. Whatever the cause of that giddiness, you ought to discuss with the doctor. If it is due to the stenches, you should be transferred to a better place. If you do not mind I would like to write to the Government myself. You have a very sensitive nose and therefore are more readily acted upon than others by foul smells. Shall I apply for transfer? Perhaps you will be allowed to answer this question apart from your usual weekly letter.

Blind Morris[1] will appreciate your letter. It will be an event with him for many days. This reminds me of Mrs. Aiman. Did you know her? Andrews says we all did. Mahadev remembers her. I cannot. If you do, you may know that she is no more. Aiman is connected with 112 Gower Street. Andrews made me write to Mr. Aiman.

The expression "There is no prayer without fasting" is thoroughly sound. Here fasting has to be of the widest character possible. Fasting of the body has to be accompanied by fasting of all the senses. And *alpahar*, the meagre food of the *Gita*, is also a fasting of the body. The *Gita* enjoins not temperance in food but 'meagreness'. Meagreness is a perpetual fast. Meagreness means just enough to sustain the body for the service for which it is made. The test is again supplied by saying that food should be taken as required, not for taste but for the welfare of the body. 'Meagreness' is perhaps better rendered by 'measured quantities'. I cannot recall Arnold's rendering. A 'full' meal is therefore a crime against God and man—the latter because the full-mealers deprive their neighbours of their portion. God's economy pro-

[1] *Vide* Vol. LII, "Letter to John Morris", pp. 375-6.

vides from day to day just enough food for all in just medicinal doses. We are all of the tribe of full-mealers. Instinctively to know the medicinal dose required is a Herculean task. For by parental training we are gluttons. Then when it is almost too late it dawns upon some of us that food is made not to enjoy but to sustain the body as our slave. It becomes from that moment a grim fight against inherited and acquired habit of eating for pleasure. Hence the necessity for a complete fast at intervals and partial fasts for ever. Partial fast is the meagre or measured food of the *Gita*. Thus 'There is no prayer without fasting' is a scientific proposition capable of verification by experiment and experience.

Yes, I remember Manorama. Poor girl. If I know where she is to go, I would gladly write to her. If she is there, here is a note for her. The Superintendent will kindly hand it to her or to you for giving it to her or if she is transferred, send the letter to her.

Love from us all.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6260. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9726

206. LETTER TO SHAM LAL

January 26, 1933

DEAR LALA SHAM LAL,

I have your letter. I am glad you have fixed up everything for the famine-stricken Harijans. It is just like you.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

LALA SHAM LAL
ADVOCATE
9 DAYAL SINGH MANSIONS
LAHORE

From a photostat: G.N. 1283

207. LETTER TO F. MARY BARR[1]

January 26, 1933

MY DEAR MARY,

I have your two letters, but not knowing whether any letter from me could reach you at Tirupattur I have refrained from writing and am now sending you this in the hope that you will receive it at the Bombay address given by you. I am trying to reach you at the Poona station also through Shastri, for if you want to stay in Bombay for two or three days, you will stay where I stay in Bombay. The place you know: "Mani Bhuvan, Laburnum Road, Gamdevi". You will present the accompanying note to Manibhai or Dhirubhai, the two brothers. It is as good as a home. You will find there also the late Dr. Mehta's daughter, Jekibehn. Of course if you stay there one or two days, you should meet as many members of the growing family that you have entered. You might have to pay heavily for the choice you have made. Perhaps you know something of what it has cost Mira to become a daughter. She is generally the Cinderella not however[2] having the expectation of getting the golden slipper some day or other.

I sent you a card[3] telling you that I have received the book *The Little Plays of St. Francis*. I got on to one of the plays marked by you, I suppose, and perhaps that is all the progress I shall have made with it. It is a hopeless thing for me to try to read or do anything outside the work in front of me.

About idol-worship I would like you not to worry. Let it unconsciously simmer in the brain, and when you have leisure and I have leisure and we can meet, you will discuss it to your heart's content. But if there is a difficulty that gnaws you, you must have it out and I shall try patiently to solve it if I can.

At the Ashram you are going to be truly at home and ask

[1] The addressee remarks in her book *Bapu: Conversations and Correspondence with Mahatma Gandhi*: "In Bombay the posted copy of this long letter reached me, enclosing the note of introduction to his friend. So he had sent four letters to make sure that one unimportant person should be safe and comfortable in Bombay. Could any meticulous business man do more for his partner, or loving father for his daughter?"

[2] The source has "who".

[3] *Vide* p. 104.

everything that you may need for physical comfort. I will not easily forgive you if you damage your health, because the foolish people at the Ashram could not anticipate your want and you foolishly would not express it. I would call it 'not playing the game'. I am supposed to have the instinct of a mother. I do often succeed in anticipating people's wants, but I admit that I have also failed miserably and not anticipated wants that I should have. I have therefore exacted a promise even from guests that if they would make me feel at ease about them, they would at once tell me what they need. If I had the time, I could give you some ludicrous instances, all at my expense, of how, if the friends had not told me, they would have made themselves miserable and judged me uncharitably in the bargain. People at the Ashram are a self-satisfied lot. They think that nobody can possibly want more than they do, wherein they are quite wrong. They would be quite right if they were to say nobody should want more than they do, for they themselves take more than what they should want and more than [what] millions of people get.

Again, don't think that the Ashram is an abode of angels where there can be no pilfering. As it so happens, we have just now very dangerous neighbours. Their occupation is stealing at night, and in broad daylight, and that without any compunction. Quite selfishly we are trying to do some work in their midst. I say selfishly, because through that service we would like them to leave the Ashram untouched, but they don't, and they say it quite frankly. You will make their acquaintance if you are so minded. These are the known thieves, but there are unknown thieves also to warn you that you are not entitled to possess anything beyond the poorest garment that you have on your person and the coarsest food with which you can manage. But if you will have more than that, you expose yourself to be deprived of the superfluities by those who are in greater need. We have the vow of non-possession in the Ashram, but we do not follow it strictly. At the present moment it is only there as an ideal. You should study the rules of the Ashram, if you have not done so already.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

The note of introduction in the letter posted to Bombay. But you may go even without that letter for I have written directly to Dhirubhai.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 5989

208. LETTER TO TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU

January 26, 1933

DEAR DR. SAPRU,

I hope that you have benefited by your English visit and that the strain this time was not anything like what it was in 1931.

This is however to seek your guidance about Ranga Iyer's Bill about untouchability. If you have not already read my statement[1] on the Government of India announcement sanctioning the introduction of the All-India Bill and withholding it for the Madras Bill, I would ask you please now to read it, and then criticize it freely, and tell me how to go about it.

To be interested in the passage of Bills is an experience I have not had since the passing of the Champaran Ryots' Relief Bill in 1917.[2] But then my task was easy, as both the Government of Bihar and of India were interested in its passage, and it was a Government measure. Here the circumstances are quite novel. I therefore approach you, as to an expert, and if you think that you would like a conversation with me before you could guide me, I know that you would not mind taking the trouble of running down to Yeravda.

I hope that your son who had that nasty accident just after the Yeravda Pact has no trace left of it.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Gandhi-Sapru Correspondence. Courtesy: National Library, Calcutta. Also G.N. 7589

209. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

January 26, 1933

MY DEAR SATISBABOO,

I understand every word of what you have said in your letter of the 21st, and you are going to do as the spirit leads you. I must think aloud all the reactions that your letters produce upon

[1] *Vide* "Statement on Viceroy's Decision", pp. 128-32.
[2] *Vide* Vol. XIV.

me so that whenever they find an echo in your heart, you may re-adjust yourself accordingly. But there is to be no re-adjustment if there is no such echo in your heart because in reading letters, even yours, hurriedly, I may miss a word here and a word there which may alter a conclusion equally hurriedly come to. Thus, take this startling statement of yours—I mean startling for me—"As soon as I feel that I have been able to set up some arrangement for serving the Harijans on proper basis, I shall revert to my old field of activity." This is what you would undoubtedly do as a chemist and mechanic, as you have done so successfully often. But service of Harijans is no such mechanical thing to be arranged, put on a basis, and then left to workers. It is a spiritual act, soul acting upon soul, and therefore there is no such mechanical replacement as we have in purely temporal activities. There do come replacements even in spiritual activities, but those replacements are of a different character. Even the Pratishthan work is a spiritual activity but can be arranged up to a point as a temporal activity; not so the Harijan work. Your great organizing ability may even be a hindrance than a help in doing Harijan work, for you might have to plough what may appear to be a lonely furrow without yielding any fruit which you can see with your physical eyes. You have simply to believe that fruit is there whether you see it or not. Thus having once taken up Harijan work in the style that you have, there is no reversion to the "old field of activity". Reversion can only be consistently with the unimpaired continuance of Harijan service. I wonder if I have made my meaning perfectly clear. Of course your conception of personal service in the *basti* may be quite different from mine. You are not to fit in mine with your own. You must hold on to your own, unless mine appeals to you as the correct one. The two won't run together. But all this is only by way of illustration as to what I am trying to drive at. Please also bear in mind that whenever you feel like running down to Poona, you should do so. It won't be money thrown away. Andrews has done it so often with me. He has not even heeded my chiding, for, he would say, "What you consider to be waste of money is for me a definite want which I must satisfy", and from his own standpoint he has been right. He would have been torn to pieces if he had not run to me. No writing of letters would have satisfied him. Even as I am dictating this letter a cablegram has come to me from him. Just now he is sending a cablegram per day. This is a costly affair, but I cannot restrain him. I do not need his cablegrams, but he needs to send them for his peace. Look at

this latest samples: "Thank God—Charlie, Esther". This cablegram perhaps you cannot even understand but it has a world of meaning for me. The latest statement of mine has reached him and as he drafted his cable under Esther's roof, he added her name, for Esther is like a daughter to me. But the cablegram has no place in the plan of Harijan service, and considered in terms of money it deprives Harijans of so much money.

If, after your walk of 26 miles in one day, you had no sense of over-fatigue, you are certainly in a fit state, and if that is due to the pills you took, it is worth knowing them.

I would like to be just as free from anxiety about Hemprabha's health as you are making me about yours.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 1624

210. LETTER TO DUNICHAND

January 26, 1933

DEAR LALA DUNICHAND,

I thank you for your letter giving me information about Surajbhan. Do please ask him to write to me.

I know your and Mrs. Dunichand's concern for me. It touches my heart. Please be assured that I am safe in God's hands.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 5583

211. LETTER TO S. SALIVATI

January 26, 1933

MY DEAR SALIVATI,

I have now got from Madras a true copy of your message. So far as I can see it, there is complete justification for my complaint. I am afraid that your over-zeal has led you astray. Thinking that you must have a copy yourself by now, I am not sending you the copy in front of me, but you can have it if you want to see it. Before I write to Rangaswami again, I would like to know what you have to say.

CWMG - LIII

I have had your telegram about the Bill and now your letter. I could not possibly postpone my statement.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 20105

212. LETTER TO G. S. CHETTY

January 26, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter[1]. I do not quite understand what you are driving at. Is it the handful of Congressmen who are serving the anti-untouchability campaign who are misbehaving themselves, or, is it the very large body of non-Congress reformers who are the mischief-makers? Is your complaint against the Congressmen or the other reformers exploiting my fast which may never come? If you have any proof in your possession that Harijans do not want temple-entry, I should like to have that proof, and supposing that what you say is true, is that any reason for caste Hindus not to discharge the obligation that they owe to Harijans? Then, is it any argument against reformers that they do not carry out the principle of equality in all their transactions? May not imperfect human beings take part to the best of their ability in the progress of mankind?

Yours sincerely,

SJT. G. S. CHETTY
MADRAS

From a microfilm: S.N. 20113

[1] In which the addressee had expressed doubts about the sincerity of the "so-called" reformers who, he thought, would create trouble and "disrupt the tranquillity of the peace-loving population". He had asked Gandhiji "to educate public opinion to elevate the social standards of untouchables" by teaching them clean living and good habits.

213. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

January 26, 1933

CHI. NARANDAS,

Read my letter to Kanhaiyalal.

It would be very good if Amina could be sent to Sharda Mandir. Read my letter to Qureshi too.

It would help Bhau very much if he could go to Rajkot. He and Jamnadas will like each other's company. If for any reason Bhau does not feel comfortable in Rajkot, send him here. I will arrange for him to stay at Lady Thackersey's place and keep a watch on his health. I will also give him some work to do. His constipation must be cured.

You must have received the letters posted yesterday. Let me pass on to you one discovery which I have made. If it is very cold at night or at any other time, one can keep oneself warm by wrapping paper round oneself. If the cotton sheet used for covering the body during sleep is further covered with paper, one will immediately feel warm. It is very cold here these days. But I sleep in the open. Even three blankets are not enough to keep off cold. I don't have the courage, or I don't want to use a fourth blanket. So once I put a newspaper between the cotton sheet and the blanket, as also under the bed-sheet. This gave more than enough warmth. For a long time now I have been covering the legs, when they feel very cold, with a newspaper and keep them warm. If one puts paper on the plastered floor when sitting, it does not feel cold. These are a poor man's ways of keeping himself warm. That even these are not available to the village folk is a different problem.

BAPU

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

214. LETTER TO BHAU PANSE

January 26, 1933

CHI. BHAU,

Even if I am very busy, you must write to me. You should go to Rajkot full of faith. It will not matter if you do not improve. We shall think about fasting after you have tried Rajkot. Describe your other experiences at Vijapur.

BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 4491. Courtesy: Bhau Panse

215. LETTER TO M. G. BHANDARI

January 27, 1933

DEAR MAJOR BHANDARI,

With reference to the late Dr. Mehta's estate I need to see the following parties in addition to the thirteen for whom permission has already been given:

(1) Padmabehn, Dr. Mehta's grand-daughter.
(2) Sjt. Kantilal A. Doshi, the son of the well-known Morbi shroff and engaged to be married to (1).
(3) Shrimati Vrajkunwar Ratilal Sheth, wife of Sjt. Ratilal Sheth for whom permission has already been granted.

I hope that early permission will be received as I have to advise about the marriage of (1) with (2), and it is proposed to be celebrated in February.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 3877

CWMG III

216. LETTER TO BILL LASH

January 27, 1933

DEAR BROTHER LASH,

I have your letter and the questions which are very good. Enclosed you will find my brief answers[1]. If you find them to be too brief to be clear, you will not hesitate to tackle me further, and if it will serve the purpose better by coming, please do not hesitate to come.

I am glad the ointment has cured you of the poisonous sting. You should now give me a receipt for that ointment.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

BRO. BILL LASH
CHRISTA SEVA SANGHA ASHRAM
POONA

From a photostat: G.N. 39

217. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

January 27, 1933

I have your letters and plenty of cablegrams.[2] I know their meaning and the anxiety complex underlying them. I have no doubt that the Government of India should have given their assent to the introduction of both the Bills. But the sanatanist agitation has frightened them. I do not mind however the refusal to give the assent to Dr. Subbaroyan's Bill. No doubt it protracts the agony, but that cannot be helped. After all, it is the Hindu mass mind that has to be awakened. If the touchable Hindus are not ready for the removal of untouchability, I do not want even the all-India Bill, though, as you will see, from my statement[3] on

[1] These are not available.

[2] The addressee had written in his letter dated January 13 that it would be better if the proposed legislation regarding untouchability was made "an all-India question" and dealt with by the Central Legislature rather than by the Madras Council.

[3] *Vide* pp. 128-32.

the Bill, it is perfectly harmless. It simply refuses to give the sanction of secular law to untouchability, thus leaving free scope to the reformers and the objectors to carry on the education of the masses. It is strictly a Bill of non-interference either way. Nevertheless, I shall be prepared to reconcile myself to the Bill being blocked by the Government, if it is conclusively proved that caste Hindus will not have it. My difficulty is to prove the readiness of the vast mass of caste men for the change, unless the Government are prepared to accept the ordinary methods of proof. Just at present a vicious agitation that, so far as I am aware, has no authority from the public at large is being conducted in the name of sanatana dharma. It is difficult to show to outsiders that it has no genuine public support. If this agitation is taken to be the genuine expression of the Hindu mass mind, a very difficult and critical situation will undoubtedly arise. I am however moving heaven and earth to ensure purity and trust that all will be well in the end. Meanwhile, the fast remains postponed. I have absolutely no will of my own in the matter. I am continually praying for light, and if the fast comes, you will know the source, and therefore not get at all anxious.

I observe what you say about Kunwar Maharaj Singh's boys, and I am glad that your effort was successful. It was a kind of temple-entry, as you have put it.

I take it that you are getting all my statements. Nevertheless, I enclose herewith my statement on the all-India Bill. I would like you to study it carefully and appreciate, if you can, the fundamental distinction I have drawn between the temple-entry and the economic and educational programme.

I hope your ailing mother is better and more amenable to control.

C. F. ANDREWS

From a photostat: S.N. 19004

218. LETTER TO S. D. NADKARNI

January 27, 1933

DEAR MR. NADKARNI,

It was a pleasure to hear from you. My faith has not weakened; if anything, it has become stronger. Civic rights will certainly be protected by law if they are to be worth anything. There is no question of Harijans existing on the sufferance of anybody. But law is one thing, cultivation of public opinion wholly another. Society holds together on the strength not of law but of mutual goodwill, and unless the majority of caste Hindus are converted, there is not much use in the law protecting rights which the majority is not prepared to recognize. The whole of the present campaign is directed towards cultivating and ascertaining the opinion of caste Hindus. The legal guarantees and all that they mean are bound to be there, but they will be an expression of the will of the majority and not a superimposition.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. S. D. NADKARNI
KARWAR

From a microfilm: S.N. 20116

219. LETTER TO V. M. NAWLE

January 27, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. You cannot say that I do not give you time. I gave you plenty of time the other day, and I am giving you time by answering your letters promptly, and I would have given you more time by inviting you if I had found your proposal[1] to be sound or even workable. Let me tell you that it is not in any sense a new suggestion. It was put before me when I returned from South Africa in 1915 and I rejected it. It is a bad training for the Harijans and it is bad also for caste Hindus.

[1] That untouchables should give up caste names like Mahar, Mang, Chambhar, Dhor, etc.

What however you and I want is that caste Hindus should do penance and make reparation to those whom they have ignorantly or may be even insolently regarded as untouchables. What is therefore wanted in terms of religion is not a fraud, however pardonable, but a conscious act on the part of caste Hindus of welcoming Harijans with open arms. That Hinduism has absorbed people who were once under boycott but who had stolen in by assuming other names is only too true. But it is not in my opinion a practice to be copied. I wish I could convince you that the removal of untouchability[1] is purely a religious problem which does not admit of questionable methods or tricks. Do you not now agree with me?

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 20117

220. LETTER TO S. KRISHNA AIYAR

January 27, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. You evidently contemplate that those who are seeking the assistance of law whether in British India or in the States want to force people to do anything against their will, especially in matters of religion. What is wanted is that there should be no State recognition of untouchability. At the present moment there is this anomaly that the State not only recognizes untouchability, but helps believers in it to enforce their views against others, thus making what they believe to be a religious precept a matter of legal obligation. Seeking assistance of law therefore becomes obligatory for reformers in order to have the anomaly removed, and when the anomaly is removed there will be no question of forcing the entry of Harijans into temples but it would be possible for the majority of those who are under the present usage entitled to enter temples to throw them open to Harijans. In that event there can be no question of boycott of temples by the majority. There may be a minority who may cease to take advantage of the temples. It would be their loss, but I have in my compromise proposal made allowances even for their views or prejudices as I would call them. Therefore those in Travancore who believe that untouchability should be removed for

[1] The source has "this method of untouchability".

the good name of Hinduism will work might and main on the one hand to convert by gentle means and purity of conduct orthodox objectors to their own view and on the other work among the Harijans so as to induce them to shed those habits or customs which are repugnant to the moral sense.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. S. KRISHNA AIYAR, B.A., B.L.
HIGH COURT VAKIL, TRIVANDRUM

From a microfilm: S.N. 20119

221. LETTER TO V. S. BARVE

January 27, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter, but I am very much afraid that I have no capacity for giving you satisfaction. I have not arrived at what I believe to be truth in the analytical way and therefore it is most difficult for me to understand some of your questions. It is not even possible for me to say how I have arrived at my present outlook upon life as a whole. A multitude of contacts with books, men and events are together responsible for what I am today, as they must be for everyone. Some may have the ability for locating the cause or causes for everything they think, say or do. I confess that I am very stupid and often cannot account for things I do and beliefs I hold and sometimes I fancy that God is speaking or acting through me. I am painfully conscious of the fact that such belief may be merely a figment of my imagination, but while it lasts, believe me, it is as true to me as it is that I am dictating this letter to you.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. V. S. BARVE
CONTRACTOR
917 SADASHIV PETH
POONA CITY

From a photostat: S.N. 20123

222. *LETTER TO STUDENTS' HARIJAN SERVICE LEAGUE*

January 27, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I am glad that you have formed the League. At the present moment I do not think that I can add anything useful to the suggestions you have already made. There need be no overlapping if your League will work in conjunction with and even under instructions from the Servants of Un- touchables Society.

Yours sincerely,

THE SECRETARY
THE STUDENTS' HARIJAN SERVICE LEAGUE
NAI SARAK, DELHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 20124

223. *LETTER TO P. GOMATHINAYAGOM PILLAI*

January 27, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter and three copies of your pamphlet on untouchability. I am wholly unable to judge whether Tamil and Malayalam translations are necessary. That is a matter for the provincial branch of the Servants[1] of Untouchables Society to determine and I would like you to consult them in the matter.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. P. GOMATHINAYAGOM PILLAI
ILANJI, TENKASI, (S. INDIA)

From a microfilm: S.N. 20125

[1] The source has "Service".

224. LETTER TO V. JAGATHRAKSHAKAN

January 27, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I think we have made a fetish of preservation of the purity of stock through unnatural restrictions. The ancients never knew these restrictions. This does not mean that I am an advocate of promiscuous unions. I think that it is a wise rule to have marriage among people having common thought and common habits of life, but it is a vicious thing when it becomes so rigid as to make a departure from it a sinful act, especially in these days when the varnas have lost their purity, if not their original significance altogether. The division between the superior and inferior people that you seem to believe in is, in my opinion, a monstrous perversion of truth.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. V. JAGATHRAKSHAKAN
7 SOUTH MADA STREET
TRIPLICANE, MADRAS

From a microfilm: S.N. 20126

225. LETTER TO G. V. MAVALANKAR

January 27, 1933

BHAI MAVALANKAR,

I got your letter. Blessings from us all to both the new entrants to the ranks of the twice-born. May they live long and do honour to the sacred thread.

The weakness will decrease day by day.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1236

226. LETTER TO PARIKSHITLAL L. MAZMUDAR

January 27, 1933

BHAI PARIKSHITBHAI,

I have your letter. Read the proposed Bills. Is not giving scholarships to the children a form of bribe or a reward for attending school? If it is, do you think this practice should be encouraged?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3961

227. LETTER TO INDU N. PAREKH

January 27, 1933

CHI. INDU,

I got your letter. How did you become ill? I hope you are careful about eating. You may use a bicycle, but you should also walk daily. Send me your time-table for the day's work.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6254

228. INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS

January 27, 1933

Mr. Gandhi said that he was surprised and pained to find that Mr. Iyengar, an ex-judge, had spoken "so irresponsibly" as he had done.[1] If he had taken the trouble of studying the movement, he would at once have seen that, with Mr. Gandhi, the removal of untouchability was an article of faith before he knew anything of politics. If he (Mr. Gandhi) had been guided by

[1] Srinivasa Iyengar was reported to have said at a sanatanist meeting in Madras that the present temple-entry movement was but a political stunt of Gandhiji and his followers to placate the Harijans and win them over to the Congress so as to present a united front.

political, instead of religious instinct, he would have excluded temple-entry from the programme and confined his attention to economic and educational uplift. But he had staked his popularity, such as it was, because he believed that without temple-entry untouchability could not be said to have been abolished from Hinduism. Mr. Gandhi added:

I make an offer to Mr. Iyengar and other sanatanists who say that they do not wish to ill-treat Harijans, and would like to promote their economic and other temporal welfare. Let them join the Servants of Untouchables Society and finance and work its programme for temporal uplift and leave temple-entry to me and those who think with me. Mr. Iyengar should know that the Society contains few Congressmen. The organization contains many prominent Liberals. Indeed, sanatanists can, if they mean what they say, by bringing money and workers to the Society, take charge of it and shape its policy. If this does not suit them, let them run a rival organization and spread its branches all over the country, and win the hearts and gratitude of Harijans. I would take my chance of gaining religious merit by prosecuting the temple-entry movement and showing that it will, at a stroke, uplift the Harijans and caste Hindus, and purify both and automatically promote the temporal welfare of the former. Mr. Iyengar should realize that, in a matter concerning the masses, no stunt can be of much use. They are open to be appealed to by everybody, and only honesty and hard work can win in the end.

As for the charge of religious interference, Gandhiji said:

I have already dealt with the question in my previous statements. I can only reiterate my view that I myself will be the first person to oppose religious interference by the State even when real power passes to the people. But sanatanists cannot have it both ways. They would want, as they have done before, the aid of law to sustain what, to one like me, appears to be prejudice or worse; and when I seek to remove that interference, the cry of interference is at once raised by the upholders of prejudice in the name of religion. Indeed, I want to respect even prejudice, for I realize what may appear to me prejudice may be enlightenment to others. But these are matters where the aid of the law cannot be sought. The law can only take a temporal view of the questions that come before it. It cannot recognize the *Agamas*[1] upholding thieving. I have, at the Ashram, neighbours who honestly believe that thieving is an occupation enjoined by God to them as a caste.

[1] Scriptures

I respect their prejudice, but the law does not. I am here not giving a hypothetical case. I am quoting from actual experience.

Mr. Iyengar says that I do not believe in the Shastras. He will fail to produce a single statement of mine to support his accusation. Surely, he is too good a lawyer to claim infallibility for his interpretation of the Shastras or his judgment of their authenticity. I would ask him and those who are flinging all sorts of charges against me, distorting my writings in order to prove them, whether they will uphold sanatana dharma by such methods. Let them believe me when I say that I am quite capable of saying so if I had the slightest desire to found a new religion or a new sect.

I have no other wish in this world, but to find light, joy and peace through Hinduism. It is for that reason that I want to see it purified. It satisfies me because, as I have understood and lived it, it has enabled me to treat other religions on a footing of absolute equality and their followers even as my blood brothers and sisters. Hinduism and my conception of the *Gita*, of the Vedas, the Upanishads, the *Bhagavata*, and the *Mahabharata*, teach me that all life is one, and that in the eye of God there is no superior and no inferior. I am sick of controversy. But I am more sick of untruth and impurity. I invite sanatanists to join hands with me in fighting them.

The Hindu, 28-1-1933, and *The Bombay Chronicle*, 28-1-1933

229. LETTER TO V. M. NAWLE

January 28, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your two letters. The proposed newspaper[1] will not be issued under my editorship. It will be an English weekly issued under the aegis of the Servants of Untouchables Society. I think that you should continue your own paper without any outside interference, giving such help as you can to the movement.

With reference to your other letter, I have already sent you an answer yesterday.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 20128

[1] *Harijan*

230. LETTER TO K. KELAPPAN

January 28, 1933

MY DEAR KELAPPAN,

I have your letter. You must have seen my statement. That explains my position. I think we have to concentrate on Ranga Iyer's Bill. I know that it has many difficulties to face, but that does not matter. The legal obstruction must be removed. We must therefore educate the public on the necessity of the removal of the legal bar, and meanwhile, where there is no obstruction from trustees and the public desire it, temples should be thrown open. Our programme, therefore, practically remains as it was, the all-India Bill replacing the Madras Bill. Rajaji is coming here on Monday and I shall discuss the future programme with him.[1]

My elbow need not cause you any worry. I am on the alert and if I find that it requires immediate treatment from outside, I shall not hesitate to apply for it. Without permission however no outside help can be received.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 20130

231. LETTER TO K. RAMACHANDRA

January 28, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter[2]. It is very difficult for me to give you any further advice.[3] I am quite convinced, however, that the interference on the part of non-Hindus cannot be tolerated in a matter

[1] For the discussions with C. Rajagopalachari, G. D. Birla and others *vide* Appendix VIII.

[2] Dated January 23, 1933 (S. N. 20078). Referring to Gandhiji's statement in an interview to the Associated Press of India, *vide* Vol. LII, pp. 343-5, the addressee had stated that in spite of his warning non-Hindus were determined to champion the cause of temple-entry as their own, to collect funds in its name and to start direct action.

[3] For Gandhiji's previous letter to the addressee, *vide* Vol. LII, pp. 312-3.

which is a purely religious issue and which is one essentially for Hindus to settle among themselves. I am surprised that non-Hindus should persist in their interference.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. K. RAMACHANDRA
SRI WICKRAMA ROAD
WELLAWATTE

From a microfilm: S.N. 20131

232. LETTER TO R. KAIMAL

January 28, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I can only vaguely gather what you are driving at. I wish you will adopt a simple style to express simple ideas and give up all metaphor and ornamentation.

Remember the following:

1. No cause that is backed by truth is ever lost.
2. Legislation is required now and will always be required to remove legal obstruction.
3. Both hotels and *vilasams*[1] are bad; both pander to the palate.
4. One can be a glutton on vegetarian food and strictly temperate on flesh food which he does not consider forbidden food.
5. Virtue lies in abstaining from visiting public eating-houses altogether, and even in one's home, partaking of food as medicine, just enough to sustain the body, and never to please the palate.
6. Don't mix up the loose life of modern times with a very big movement for religious reform.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 20132

[1] Eating-houses

233. LETTER TO N. H. PURANDARE

January 28, 1933

MY DEAR PURANDARE,

I had written to you before receiving your postcard of the 25th. I have nothing more to add to what I have said. If you are prepared to take over the book, I shall gladly go through the estimates you have received and you will pay no more than the market rate.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 20134

234. LETTER TO KOKKIRAKULAM BRETHREN'S UNION

January 28, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter and resolution[1]. If my compromise is ever accepted by the sanatanist Hindus, you will find that, not only does it not wound the self-respect of Harijans, but it actually enhances it; but the matter is just now irrelevant.

Yours sincerely,

THE HON. SECRETARY
THE KOKKIRAKULAM BRETHREN'S UNION
SELVAVINAYAGAR ST., KOKKIRAKULAM
TINNEVELLY

From a microfilm: S.N. 20136

[1] Which, among other things, stated that "the suggestion of allotting separate hours of worship in Hindu temples by Harijans made in Mahatma Gandhi's compromise formula is not only detrimental to the unity of Hindu society . . . but also wounding to the self-respect of the so-called Depressed Classes."

235. LETTER TO SAROJ MOHAN SEN

January 28, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I cannot imagine Sjt. Sasmal being guilty of any such thing as you attribute to him. But if he or anybody has been guilty of action such as you describe you should institute proceedings against them. I am sending your letter to Sjt. Sasmal asking him to enquire into the matter.[1]

Yours sincerely,

KAVIRAJ SAROJ MOHAN SEN
VAIDYASASTRI
CONTAI, P.O. MIDNAPORE

From a microfilm: S.N. 20137

236. LETTER TO B. N. SASMAL

January 28, 1933

MY DEAR SASMAL,

Here is a postcard for you to digest. Please enquire and let me know what truth, if any, there is in the charge made by the Kaviraj. I have written to him saying that you are incapable of inciting people to shoot others.

Yours sincerely,

Encl. 1: p. c.

SJT. B. N. SASMAL
BAR-AT-LAW
MIDNAPORE

From a microfilm: S.N. 20135

[1] *Vide* the following item.

237. LETTER TO G. V. KETKAR

January 28, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your card. I have no objection to my opinion[1] on your article being published, only it must be as addressed to you, for, as a prisoner, I have no right to address letters to editors apart from matters of untouchability.

As to your article on temple-entry, I did go through it when I received it, and I have a recollection that it seemed to me to be reasonable, but I am just now working under a very severe strain and I glance through the literature that I get to an extent just enough for my purpose. My opinion therefore has no value when I do not express it as a result of deliberate study.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 20138

238. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

January 28, 1933

CHI. NARANDAS,

I got your mail[2]. I have not received slivers from Chhakkaddas. I have written to Maganlal and asked if he can send any. If you can send slivers from there without any difficulty, please do so. Parachure Shastri and Dastane also are supplied slivers from here, and Mahadev and Chhaganlal give all their time [to spinning]. Hence making slivers to meet the requirements of five spinners is likely to take a great deal of our time. If, however, Chhakkaddas from there cannot supply any, don't trouble him. If Keshu can offer any without inconvenience to himself, you may send them.

Do you get any letters from Tulsi Maher? He doesn't seem to be making much progress about spinning. If you know anything about this or have information, let me know.

[1] *Vide* "Letter to G. V. Ketkar", p. 13.

[2] According to the source this was posted on January 26.

Barring two days, I have written to you daily for the past few days.

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–9: Shri Narandas Gandhine, Pt. II, p. 24

239. LETTER TO RADHAKRISHNA BAJAJ

January 28, 1933

CHI. RADHAKISAN,

I wrote one letter to you about the Mahilashram. I hope you got it. I frequently see Jamnalal. He keeps good health. I heard yesterday that the number of visitors to the Lakshminarayan temple had gone down. Is this true? Is any record maintained of the number of daily visitors? Find out also the position regarding the other temples which have been thrown open to Harijans.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3038

240. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

January 28, 1933

CHI. KAKA,

I got your letter. As I told you in a previous letter you ought not to have got into the condition in which you find yourself.

I had understood what you said about the offering of food to the deity. All the same, the issue is not worth raising now. If and when it is raised, we shall see.

Rohit is in King Edward Hospital. He is under the treatment of Dr. Deshmukh.

Would it not be wiser to cling to your decision not to take up any work till the treatment of your teeth was completed, unless you had a valid reason for doing otherwise?

You may do what you think proper regarding Chandrashankar. Do not neglect your health.

Don't include *chiku* and bananas among the fruits which you may eat. For the teeth, citrus fruits alone are useful. Only fruits like pomegranate, pineapple and fruits of the citrus group (oran-

ge, *mosambi*, *papanas*, grapes, etc.) from which juice can be extracted will be useful. I think apple also is included in this class.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]
What is the matter with Haribhau? I suppose Parel means K. E. M. Hospital. Isn't that so?

From Gujarati: C.W. 9492. Courtesy: D. B. Kalelkar

241. LETTER TO HRISHIKESH

January 28, 1933

BHAI HRISHIKESHJI,

I have your letter. You have opened your temple to Harijans; this will do immense good. Please accept my congratulations.

MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 6278

242. LETTER TO TULSI MAHER

January 28, 1933

CHI. TULSI MAHER[1],

Your letter. It cannot be said that your work is at all progressing. Let there be no self-delusion. If it is impossible to popularize the charkha in Nepal it must be given up. There are many other branches of service. But I would say nothing if you have confidence in yourself.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 6544

[1] The original in Gandhiji's hand has "Mehta", evidently a slip.

CWMG - IIIII

243. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

January 28, 1933

CHI. NARANDAS,

I hope you got the letter which I wrote yesterday. If you can arrange for Amina to be admitted in Sharda Mandir, do so immediately. I have already written to you regarding the boys and the girls. If the parents approve of the arrangement suggested, make it immediately.

If Tilakam's things have been stolen, I suppose you have replaced such of the articles as are indispensable to him.

Mary Barr must have arrived there. I would advise you to assign her some teaching work and some work connected with the uplift of Harijans. If she intends to live there for a short time only, let her, if she likes, learn ginning, carding and spinning thoroughly. Probably she is accustomed to eating fruits. If so, supply her what she needs. I am sure you must have provided her with a commode. If she wishes to join in cleaning lavatories, let her do so.

Read my letters to Liladhar, Ramji, etc.

This time my weight was less by two pounds. That is, it has gone down from 104 to 102. But my health is quite good otherwise. You must have read in the papers about my getting headaches. But they were soon cured by mud-packs and it is an old story now. There is no cause at all for worry. We have in the Ashram a book by Kellogg named *Dietetics*. Send it with somebody who may be coming to this side.

BAPU

[PS.]

There are 37 letters in all.

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

244. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

January 29, 1933

MY DEAR THAKKAR BAPA,

I understand what you say about the Bengal agitation on the Pact. Whilst we should know for our purposes accurately who the untouchables are, personally, the more people are included in the list the better it is in view of the circumstances.

I do not despair of the Ahmedabad Vaishnav friends, as you seem to have done. I wrote to both Chamanlal Sheth and Sheth Sakarlal. The latter has sent an amiable reply. I shall still try.

About Shastri's suggestion, I shall write to you after he comes here and after I have discussed the whole thing with him. Of this I am quite sure, that we shall not want two men of the same level for the English weekly. You may tell me what work you were taking or you *had* intended to take from Shastri.

You have asked Mahadev to send you about 25 copies of the Hindi translation of the opinion on untouchability of the learned men. Mahadev destroyed the copies. He has only one or two copies for his file. You will therefore have to multiply the copies you have in your possession. I wonder if you have carried out all the corrections in the Hindi copy. If you are still going to have the opinion in all the principal vernaculars in one cover, I expect you to ensure absolutely correct translation and to see to it that the pamphlet is free from any errors.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: G.N. 1107

CWMG-III

245. LETTER TO JANARDHAN SHARMA

January 29, 1933

MY DEAR JANARDHAN,

I was pleased to receive your letter. God will forgive you for having thought low of Harijans, if you will abide by your pledge and continue to treat them as if they were blood brothers and sisters.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. JANARDHAN SHARMA
C/O B. PANNALALJI
CLERK, CHANDNI CHOWK POST OFFICE
DELHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 19259

246. LETTER TO P. N. RAJBHOJ

January 29, 1933

MY DEAR RAJBHOJ[1],

I have your letter with the constitution of the proposed hostel. We should discuss together your scheme if you will kindly come on the 4th February at 2 p.m.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 19260

247. LETTER TO A. RANGASWAMI IYENGAR

January 29, 1933

MY DEAR RANGASWAMI,

I had a visit from Salivati yesterday. Poor man, he is very much dejected. He has really no defence. The sub-editor at your end made no mistakes at all in carrying out his message. But in his own over-zeal for the cause, Salivati drew upon his imagination. He admits that many things he attributed to me I never said, but

[1] Honorary Organizer and General Secretary of a society for the service of depressed classes

CWMG-LIII

he simply inferred from a word here and a word there that had dropped out of my lips that I had meant what he said. That of course was very dangerous, but he thought that he would serve the cause by allowing his imagination full play. He admits also that I had warned him that he was not to make any use whatsoever of the conversation, but again he thought there was no harm, since the cause was good. There was no *mala fides* behind his action. I think and hope that this mistake will last him for the rest of his life. Therefore, beyond warning him that he must act purely as a reporter and not at all as a protagonist of a cause, nothing further need be done. When one sees so much of indifferent, incompetent and even unscrupulous reporting it would be a pity to punish a mistake, though serious, quite unintentional.

Yours sincerely,

[PS.]

After dictating this letter I got from Salivati a carbon copy of his letter to you. I think it fairly represents what he conveyed to me yesterday.

From a microfilm: S.N. 19264

248. LETTER TO S. SALIVATI

January 29, 1933

MY DEAR SALIVATI,

I have your letter, for which many thanks. Your letter fairly represents what you said to me yesterday. I do hope that no harm will befall you.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 19261

249. LETTER TO BHAGWANDAS

January 29, 1933

DEAR BABOO BHAGWANDAS,

I hope you received my previous letter with the accompanying essays from *Shastris*.

I enclose today another and that is from Raghunath Shastri Kokaje. His essay is not convincing. The argument is somewhat loose, and it does not examine the position of the opposite school. The Hindi admits of much correcting, which I hope you will see to.

I have been having regularly cuttings from newspapers from the *Aaj* office, for which many thanks, and which give me useful indication of what is going on in the Hindi Press.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 19262

250. LETTER TO M. M. ANANTA RAU

January 29, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your last letter which is undated but which was received yesterday.

The first part of that letter is a complaint against unseemly behaviour of certain people at the meeting organized by the "followers of sanatana dharma". I was grieved to hear of the incident referred to by you. I shall discuss it with Shri Rajagopalachariar who is expected here tomorrow. It hurts me whenever there is any rowdyism or untruthfulness on either side. Honest differences of opinion there will always be. The cause of Truth cannot be served by hard swearing, stone-throwing or untruthfulness.

The second part of your letter relieved the pain caused by the first part owing to the manner in which you approached my argument about untouchability. As it so happened, I read your letter aloud amongst us, four prisoners, and I must confess to you that, as I proceeded, I could not help bursting into laughter, in which my companions heartily joined. But behind the laughter was also a sadness that you, an agent of sanatana dharma, could not see that religion could not be treated in terms of algebra. You have, instead of going straight to the core of my argument, launched out into an irrelevant discourse, ending in a ludicrous algebraical formula.

You will pardon me for writing straight from the heart. Of all the letters that I have been receiving only yours and one or two others that I can mention have been courteous and have attempted to argue cogently. I should only return your courtesy and your honest attempt to convince me by giving you an honest reply. Let me tell you that all the letters and literature that have come to me have only confirmed me in the opinion that untouchability, as we are practising today, is a big blot upon Hinduism and an atrocious error in which we are still persisting, simply because of our laziness to understand and act up to the very fundamentals of Hinduism. This inglorious persistence in error cuts me to the quick, but

I am an optimist. I have implicit faith in the ultimate victory of Truth. I know therefore that untouchability will go and Hinduism will live a purified religion.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. M. M. ANANTA ROW

From a microfilm: S.N. 19263. Also C.W. 9573. Courtesy: Government of Mysore

251. LETTER TO C. P. SRINIVASA IYER

January 29, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I cannot recall a single occasion when I called the *Mahabharata* a heap of rubbish. I have not had many occasions to speak or write about the *Mahabharata*, and when I did write about it I compared it to a diamond mine, whereas I compared the *Gita* to a diamond chest. Perhaps, the Shankaracharya had that simile in mind, but at the present moment, for sanatanists, whether they are big men or small men, any stone is good enough to fling at me.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. C. P. SRINIVASA IYER
NORTH VILLAGE
CHITTUR (COCHIN STATE)

From a microfilm: S.N. 19265

252. LETTER TO K. P. RAMAN PILLAI

January 29, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for the letter giving me the information that Koteshwaram Mahadev temple near Kuzithurai in South Travancore was opened to the Harijans. I hope to see that other temples follow suit.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. K. P. RAMAN PILLAI
OLACODE
COLACHEL, P.O.
S. TRAVANCORE

From a microfilm: S.N. 20142

253. LETTER TO DHIRENDRANATH MUKHERJI

January 29, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. So much untruth, almost bordering on the libellous, is being broadcast at the present moment about me that I should warn you not to believe anything against me unless you have it verified by me or you yourself have verified it from my authentic writings. Thus, I have never declared to the world that "the hereditary caste system of the Hindu society is an artificial creation of some designing men". By hereditary system I suppose you mean varnashramadharma. If so what I have said and written is that I believe in hereditary varnashramadharma which is one of the gifts that Hinduism has made to the world.

Again, what I have resisted and what I would resist with my life is untouchability as it is being practised today. But I have never said that there is no such thing as untouchability. On the contrary, I have said that untouchability of a kind is common to all mankind and all religions and that it is a necessary institution, and in that real sense all mankind become untouchable while they are performing certain functions of nature. This is only one instance of natural necessary untouchability, but that carries no sin with it.

Again, interdining, intermarriage and the like are no part whatsoever of the campaign against untouchability as it is being practised today. I have written in favour of interdining and even intermarriage under certain circumstances, but that is wholly irrelevant to the present discussion. You can, if you desire to know my views on things not pertaining to untouchability, do so by studying my writings.

I hope this fully answers your letter.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. DHIRENDRANATH MUKHERJI
SENHATI P.O.
KHULNA DIST. (BENGAL)

From a microfilm: S.N. 20143

254. LETTER TO BHUJANGILAL

January 29, 1933

CHI. BHUJANGILAL,

I got your letter. If I had not understood your point of view at all, I would not have written to you. All the same, I do wish to understand it better.

I very much like your resolution to apply yourself exclusively to your studies and please your parents. I believe that you will be able to please them with your gentleness and your self-control.

Write to me occasionally.

Improve your handwriting. You will be able to do so if you write slowly and with care.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2596

255. LETTER TO KESHAV GANDHI

January 29, 1933

CHI. KESHU (JUNIOR),

I got your letter. God does not let things happen as we wish. We should go on working and rest satisfied with that. The result is in God's hand.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3287

256. LETTER TO RUKMINIDEVI BAZAJ

January 29, 1933

CHI. RUKMINI,

I got your letter. Having regard to your difficulty, I should exempt you from writing to me. I know very well what the burden of guests can mean. You need not, therefore, write whenever you have guests on hand. I don't want you to put yourself

CWMG - III

to trouble for writing to me. When I don't hear from you for some time, I will conclude that you are very busy and have not been able to write.

I am very glad that your weight has gone up.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9138

257. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

January 29, 1933

CHI. PREMA,

I must have your letters, no matter how foolish they are. So don't keep me without one any week. How are you now?

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10324

258. LETTER TO BABALBHAI MEHTA

January 29, 1933

CHI. BABALBHAI,

I got your letter. There is no point in writing anything to Nanasaheb now. Nothing further can be done in the matter. You may go on doing what other service you can.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9444

259. LETTER TO SHIVABHAI G. PATEL

January 29, 1933

CHI. SHIVABHAI,

You did very well in writing to me. You are faced with a really difficult moral dilemma. All that I can say in this matter is that you should consult your own conscience and fearlessly follow its bidding. There is a risk of your committing an error in taking that course, but that risk is worth taking. In such matters, the advice of others never helps. If, in consequence, you feel that

you ought to leave the Ashram, do not hesitate to do so. Nobody can force himself to observe *brahmacharya*. If one cannot observe it, one should admit one's weakness and follow the common way. It is possible to exercise self-control even in conjugal life. You may do as much as you can.

Write to me from time to time. Do not hesitate to write to me out of fear of adding to my burden.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9510

260. LETTER TO ANNAPURNA

January 29, 1933

CHI. ANNAPURNA,

Your handwriting is quite good, but you should make the letters larger. I know Chunilal's address. Does he write to you?

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9422

261. LETTER TO NARAYAN M. KHARE

January 29, 1933

CHI. PANDITJI,

The more you write to me about the Chharas, the more I feel that we the Hindus are responsible for their evils. We do not recognize our dharma. If we do, then we have not observed it. Now do what you can. If we try we can definitely reform them.

BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 244. Courtesy: Lakshmibehn N. Khare

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262. LETTER TO RAMACHANDRA N. KHARE

January 29, 1933

CHI. RAMACHANDRA,

Your letter is fine. It is very good indeed that your weight has increased by 20 lb. Continue putting on more weight. Those who improve in body, improve in mind also. Keep on writing to me. Since you know a little Urdu, brush it up.

BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 303. Courtesy: Lakshmibehn N. Khare

263. LETTER TO JAMNABEHN GANDHI

January 29, 1933

CHI. JAMNA,

I had a letter from Purushottam. Bombay will probably suit him. He should try it, and then come and see me whether it suits him or not. How happy I would be if both of you completely recover your health.

BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 871. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

264. LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAM GANDHI

January 29, 1933

CHI. PURUSHOTTAM,

I got your letter. It would be a very good thing if you would set us all at rest in regard to your health. And you can do so. I do not want you to do anything in which you have no faith. It is certainly good that you intend to seek the advice and help of Dhurandhar. Let me know what exactly "Yogashram" is. Madan also runs a 'Health Home' or some such thing. Get acquainted with it with the help of Bhai Khambhatta. His address is 275 Hornby Road. We have close relations with him and he is a very good man. I want you to come and see me after you have

spent some time there or if you find that the place does not agree with you.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 907. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

265. LETTER TO RAMABEHN JOSHI

January 29, 1933

CHI. RAMA (JOSHI),

May I describe your letter, received after a long interval, as a favour? Chhaganlal takes down the letters which I dictate, looks after files and puts every letter in its proper file, prepares dates for me to eat, etc., etc. He is learning the *Gita* by heart and trying to improve his handwriting. He is also trying to put on weight. I have already written to you that he has succeeded somewhat in this. All four of us take a walk every morning and evening. You need not, therefore, worry about Chhaganlal at all.

Tell this to Vimu also. If even then she continues to worry you about her father, tell her that I would then not call her a sensible girl. I should like her to say: "If father's body and mind improve and become stronger, let him remain in jail. I will endure separation from him."

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, p. 288

266. LETTER TO ANANDSHANKAR B. DHRUVA

January 29, 1933

I have always needed you; and do that more so now, as I have given you and Malaviyaji the rank of my guru[1]. Therefore you must act your role.

[From Gujarati]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. III, p. 100

[1] Gandhiji is jestingly alluding to the Bombay sanatanists' charge that he had come to look upon them as his gurus.

267. LETTER TO ASHRAM BOYS AND GIRLS

January 29, 1933

BOYS AND GIRLS,

Your letter can be said to be beautiful. I cannot send you such a beautiful one. All of you should try and increase your knowledge of farming. The more you know of farming, the more you will be interested in it. Take it from me it is a good training.

All of you going out to serve the Harijans—I regard it a better training still. If you work conscientiously and do not tire of it, you will be able to win them over and wean them from their bad habits.

BAPU

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

268. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

January 29, 1933

DEAR DAUGHTER AMTUSSALAAM,

Your letter. You did very well in going to Dr. Sharma. Write to me every week; if you write oftener, all the better. I will certainly write. Leave Delhi only when you have recovered fully.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Urdu: G.N. 275

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269. LETTER TO MOOLCHAND AGRAWAL[1]

January 29, 1933

BHAI MOOLCHAND,

(i) The varna system proper is no longer in practice and there are no varnas like the Bhangi or the Chamar. If we have to make a proper division we have to take into consideration the qualities of each individual.

(ii) It is a matter of one's inclination.

(iii) Inter-dining should be left entirely to individual choice.

(iv) Who bothers about anyone's wearing the *yajnopavit* these days? Having no preference in this matter I have no opinion to offer.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 769

270. LETTER TO GUJARAT CASTE HINDUS[2]

[Before *January 30, 1933*][3]

I have settled amongst you since 1915. I have often spoken to you on untouchability. You have often condemned it and promised to give it up. Fulfil this promise or . . . you can fill up the sentence.

I have used the word 'so-called' purposely. I do not believe in high or low. Religion teaches that he who believes himself high commits a sin. God creates various classes, but does not make any class high or low.

[1] The addressee had asked the following questions: (i) Under the varna system, to which varna do Bhangis and Chamars belong? (ii) Should there be intermarriage between people of different occupations? (iii) As removal of untouchability is the goal, should not people interdine with the Harijans? (iv) You are indifferent on the subject of *yajnopavit* [sacred thread]. Nevertheless, if Brahmis, Vaishyas and others can wear *yajnopavit*, can Bhangis and Chamars too wear it? *Vide* also Vol. LIV, "Three Conundrums", 7-4-1933.

[2] According to the source, Gandhiji wrote this to the "so-called high-caste brothers and sisters of Gujarat".

[3] The report is dated January 30, 1933.

Bulletins are being issued against me. I have been subjected to abuse. My writings are being torn from their context and used against me. Don't feel angry at that. Those who serve have been always treated like that. If they tolerate it, they profit thereby. I have been long used to it.

The Hindu, 31-1-1933

271. LETTER TO HARIJANS OF GUJARAT

[Before *January 30, 1933*][1]

Sooner or later, the temples are bound to be open for you. That is, you will be admitted to public temples on the same conditions as other Hindus, but devotees of God should be as clean as possible internally and externally. Do not say other Hindus are also unclean. Do not take the example of those who err.

The Hindu, 31-1-1933

272. LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI

January 30, 1933

CHI. MANILAL AND SUSHILA,

There has been no letter either from you or from Sushila. No sooner you leave the shores of India, my complaints start. Sita's boils must have disappeared as soon as the ship had left the shore.

I hope your work has become smoother. Let me know what arrangements you have finally made. If you wish to live happily and preserve your reputation, pay off the debt soon and never borrow money again. One should not incur a debt even for the sake of one's father. One may give one's life for him, but not forsake one's dharma, and incurring a debt is as good as forsaking dharma.

I am all right. I do not know whether or when I shall have to fast, but I am sure of this, that I will fast only if, and when, God prompts me. If you believe me when I say this, you will not be upset and will not be anxious to come running here. You should leave South Africa when you feel beyond doubt that it is your duty to do so. Till then, your duty is to remain there and

[1] The report is dated January 30, 1933.

do what service you can. You should live as if at present your country was South Africa.

You should preserve the utmost simplicity in your life except in regard to things which may be necessary for conforming to the standard of life there. Do not discontinue the daily recitation of the *Gita*; Chapter XII is in fact your spiritual food in the journey of life. Not only should you be able to recite the verses from memory but they should have also sunk into your heart. If they have, you will find that they contain the essence of all Shastras.

Did I write to you that Chhaganlal Joshi was with me? We are all well.

Ramdas also is well. Devdas is touring with Rajaji in connection with the temple-entry movement. Most probably they will see me today. Ba has gone to Kaira district. She writes to me. Radha and Kusum keep indifferent health. The former is likely to go and stay in Deolali. Dahyabhai is completely all right now and is now in Poona for change of climate.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4805

273. LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI

January 30, 1933

BHAI MUNSHI,

I read your three speeches. Two of them do not help one much to understand you but I did get something from the third. I liked it. The speeches would have told me more about you if the dates of all of them had been given. I will now try to glance through some of your books which have been received here and, if I feel like it, will write to you about them. You have aroused my interest. I do want to get much public service from you, and your books will help me to know you well.

Now about another matter. You are one of the trustees appointed by Kabibai's will. I saw your scheme for the high school. It was shown to me by Bhai Mulji. You must be aware that the High Court's order includes primary education. Despite that, why have you decided to start only a high school? And even in the high school I see that you have given place only to pupils drawn from a higher social level. Think over the following points and let me have your views:

1. What is meant by "high class Hindus"?
2. Does not the clause of the will under which you have framed your scheme also include primary education?
3. If it does, why have you excluded primary education?
4. Don't you think that you have made the hostel of the high school very expensive?
5. What place have you given to the mother tongue in your scheme?
6. Does the phrase "for high class Hindus" mean that the untouchable communities cannot take advantage of the high school? I have heard of a case in which it was ruled that, if an institution was established for a particular class, there was no bar to the admission of other classes if they could be admitted without injury to the interests of the former and if that class did not raise any objection to these others being admitted.

I hope you are all right. If you cannot write with either of the two hands, you need not write yourself. You may take the help of one of your companions.

Lilavati has not yet come and seen me. We are all well. Regards from us all to you and your companions.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 20144

274. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

[*January 30, 1933*][1]

CHI. NARANDAS,

I got the big packet of letters sent by you.

Your decision regarding the Giri family seems all right. It must be carried out now. Be firm and carry it out. If we do not act thus, the Ashram cannot go on. Its good requires that the decision should be carried out.

Be firm in talking with Ramji also. Discuss his problem also with all the others, and call him when you do so. We should act towards him in the same way as you would towards me or I towards you in similar circumstances. The path of ahimsa is like a razor's edge. Everybody in the Ashram should realize that the institution does not exist for him or her, but that it exists in order

[1] The date is supplied in *Bapuna Patro–9: Shri Narandas Gandhine*, Pt. II.

to train all the inmates for service, to teach them to offer themselves as sacrifice in the *yajna* of self-purification. There can be no room in it for selfish objectives.

Why didn't Santok go with Radhika? Who will look after her?

BAPU

[PS.]

Give me the cost of the quantity of grains consumed of which you have supplied the figures.

I think it would be better not to trouble Chhakkaddas for the slivers. It is not quite impossible to make them here.

Take immediate measures for Prema's throat.

There are six letters: for Prema, Amina, Mathuradas, Bhau, Mahavir and Narayan.

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

275. LETTER TO S. D. SATAVLEKAR

January 30, 1933

BHAI SATAVLEKAR,

I am sending for your perusal a book by the late Rajendralal Mitra. Return it to me after reading. I shall then read it along with your comments. One thing needs consideration. There could hardly be any doubt that the meanings he has inferred are the same as the meanings inferred by Hindus who studied Vedas and performed cow-sacrifices on their authority. If this is a fact, is there a historical or some other reason for it?

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

SHRI PANDIT SATAVLEKAR
SWADHYAYA MANDAL
AUNDH
DIST. SATARA

From Hindi: C.W. 4770. Courtesy: S. D. Satavlekar

276. LETTER TO USHAKANTA MUKHERJI

January 31, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter of 21st instant. I do not recollect having received yours of the 16th November last.

In reply to your elaborate argument I can only commend to your attention the various statements that I have been issuing from time to time. The more I study the question and the literature that correspondents send me, the more deeply I become convinced that there is absolutely no warrant in the Shastras for untouchability as we practise it today. He who runs may read the signs of the times and see that it is crumbling to pieces even as it is. Is it not better that we should deliberately destroy it and purify Hinduism? Its destruction merely through its own weakness will leave Hinduism weaker. The whole of your letter in my opinion betrays want of perception of the realities of the situation.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. USHAKANTA MUKHERJI
12 MUKHERJI PARA LANE
KALIGHAT, CALCUTTA

From a microfilm: S.N. 19272

277. LETTER TO MANMATHNATH SANYAL

January 31, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter of 24th instant for which I thank you. The extract from my article of 1920 seems to be quite correct though I have no means of verifying it. But I should repeat the ideas contained in that extract even today word for word, and I repeated the same thing to Sjt. R. Patwari. I do not know what is now going on in Bengal, but you can proclaim it from the house-top

that in my opinion interdining and intermarriage form no part of the movement for removal of untouchability.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. MANMATHNATH SANYAL
P.O. KANTALIA
DT. MYMENSINGH (BENGAL)

From a microfilm: S.N. 19273

278. LETTER TO KALI MOHAN GHOSH

January 31, 1933

DEAR KALI BABOO,

It was a matter of great joy to me to receive your letter describing the activities of Santiniketan and Sriniketan in the service of the Harijans. My heart-felt congratulations to you for the solid work you are doing.

I note that you are presently holding a district conference of the Harijans of Birbhum. I hope that that would result in a great wave of purification both amongst the Harijans and the caste Hindus followed by really solid work.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. KALI MOHAN GHOSH
HON. SECRETARY
SERVANTS OF UNTOUCHABLES SOCIETY
BIRBHUM, BENGAL

From a microfilm: S.N. 19274

279. LETTER TO BHAGWANDAS

January 31, 1933

DEAR BABOOJI,

The shorter form is more affectionate than the longer. Anyway I use it as such.

I wish I could induce you to follow my rule—not to publish a newspaper unless it becomes self-supporting. If the public want a newspaper, they should pay for it, and when it does not pay for itself, it shows that it is not wanted. For such a paper naturally there are no advertisements. There is no padding. It contains only that which the editor cannot help giving and the staff of such

newspapers will also be chosen for its spirit of self-sacrifice. You at least may not be party to a paper that exists on charity. Of course you will throw these ideas in the waste-paper-basket of your mind if you have any rigid notions about the conduct of newspapers and if these ideas find no echo in you.

I take it that as editor of the supplement you have every right to add your own comments to any of the opinions you may be publishing in the supplement.

I am now torturing my brain and heart to yield to me the right method of dealing with the situation that has arisen from the Viceregal decision. My statement is but the prelude to the action that is developing.

The suggestion you make does not appear to me to be practical in the sense that the people require prolonged training for its adoption. The vast mass of those who are today in the habit of attending temples fervently believe in *darshan* and its spiritual benefit. They will not deny to themselves a spiritual benefit for the sake of others who might be deprived of it and from their own standpoint they will be right. If they could be persuaded to believe that there can be no spiritual benefit to be derived from a temple whose trustees perpetuate injustice, it would be a different thing. That is the lesson we are trying to drive home, but we have not yet succeeded to the extent we would like to.

I never knew that Sri Prakasa was a stickler for the proper spelling of his name in the Roman character.[1] His name in Devanagari can only be spelt in one way. Rendered in a character with defective phonetics, it cannot be a matter of much consequence how it is spelt. However I shall respect his weakness.

I had a letter some time ago from Shivaprasad which led me to think that he was making steady headway. But your letter seems to point the other way. I would therefore like you to give me an accurate account about him when Sri Prakasa returns.

Of course if you can get the permission for the publication of my opinion of your book, if I succeed in sending one, I should have no objection whatsoever. Of course my private letters do find their way to the Press. That's no concern of mine. What I have to guard against is sending of opinions on books for publication or messages to newspapers for publication apart from untouchability.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 19275

[1] Earlier Gandhiji used to spell his name as "Shri Prakasha".

280. LETTER TO HRIDAY NATH KUNZRU

January 31, 1933

DEAR HARIJI,

I have your letter of the 26th instant. If you will look up my telegram about Lakshmanshastri[1], you will find that it was accurate enough. You got the telegram at 10.45 p.m. The next day began after midnight. Therefore Lakshmanshastri was reaching there, as he did, at 2 a.m. following 10.45 p.m. I would not however have bothered you about this, as it was quite a small matter, if I did not want to write to you about the defeat of the Harijan candidates.[2]

This defeat makes me sad. I would not trouble you to enquire again into the matter. But I cannot help owning to you my utter stupidity. I had fondly believed, I suppose quite without any warrant, that Harijan candidates will have a walk-over at elections, especially in the beginning stages. I see, however, that without reservation they would have a poor chance of being elected unless caste Hindus develop a high sense of honour or unless Harijans are overwhelmingly represented on the voters' list, but where there is neither honour nor overwhelming representation on the voters' list, reservation seems to be their only safety. This Cawnpore election opens my eyes as nothing else before did, and I can now appreciate the force of the summary rejection by Dr. Ambedkar of any convention. Nothing but statutory reservation would satisfy him, and it may be that we shall have to have statutory reservation everywhere as fit punishment for our selfishness. In order to avert a calamity of such a nature descending upon us, if I had my way, I would right this evil by three caste Hindus vacating their seats and allowing three Harijans to be elected. It would be a striking demonstration of our ability to repair wrongs if the defeat of Harijan candidates was a striking demonstration of our selfishness.

[1] Lakshmanshastri Joshi; Gandhiji had asked the addressee to receive him at the station.

[2] In the Municipal elections at Kanpur, all Harijan candidates had been defeated.

You may make whatever use you like of this letter.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. HRIDAY NATH KUNZRU
1 KATRA ROAD
ALLAHABAD

From a microfilm: S.N. 19276

281. LETTER TO MADHAVDAS AND KRISHNA KAPADIA

January 31, 1933

BHAI MADHAVDAS,

I got your letter. May God protect you. I shall tell Devdas to wire to Medh. He is here. But if Medh sends something, isn't that enough hope?

CHI. KRISHNA,

You should keep on writing to me. There is no need to worry about my elbow.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI MADHAVDAS GOKALDAS
MANORDAS STREET
BOMBAY, FORT

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

282. LETTER TO DR. RAGHUVIR SINGH AGRAWAL

January 31, 1933

BHAI RAGHUVIRJI,

I have your letter. I am not permitted to send for doctors from outside. They can come only with the special permission granted by the Government. So it cannot be helped. I have gone through your book and shall carry out the experiment prescribed therein when I have some leisure.

Yours,
MOHANDAS GANDHI

DR. R. S. AGRAWAL
RAM EYE CHARITABLE HOSPITAL
BULANDSHAHR

From Hindi: C.W. 9665. Courtesy: M. S. Agrawal

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283. LETTER TO HEMPRABHA DAS GUPTA

January 31, 1933

CHI. HEMPRABHA,

Your letter. I have understood your position. God will help you. Your faith will save you from all disasters. Stay on at Sodepur and do whatever you can from there. Your health is closely connected with your mental state. It will improve as your worries diminish. Come here whenever you feel like it.

Encourage Arun to write to me.

You must keep writing to me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1696

284. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO VICEROY

February 1, 1933

THE PRIVATE SECRETARY
TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY
NEW DELHI

DEAR SIR,

On the 30th December I sent you a telegram[1] for submission to His Excellency on the question of what is known as Dr. Subbaroyan's Bill regarding temple-entry. I have had no acknowledgement of it, formal or otherwise. Nevertheless I deem it my duty to make my submission to His Excellency on the decision just announced regarding Sjt. Ranga Iyer's Bills.

Though I feel that it would have served the cause of humanity better, in point of time, if Dr. Subbaroyan's Bill had been allowed, I feel thankful that sanction has been granted for the introduction of Sjt. Ranga Iyer's Bills, one of which is drawn after Dr. Subbaroyan's disallowed Bill.

My purpose in addressing this submission is to invite His Excellency's attention to some considerations that warrant helpful ac-

[1] *Vide* Vol. LII, pp. 309-10.

tion by the Government of India regarding the consideration of the Bills by the Assembly at as early a date as is consistent with the importance of the object of the Bills.

Not knowing the procedure of the Assembly, I sought Sjt. M.R. Jayakar's assistance and guidance which he very kindly gave me yesterday. He told me that the Government, if they wished, could make it possible to pass one at least of the Bills during the ensuing session of the Assembly.

If such is the case, I would urge that the Government are morally bound to give such assistance as may be necessary for the speedy consideration of the measures. By the acceptance of the Yeravda Pact relating to the representation of the 'depressed classes', now commonly described as 'Harijans', in the legislatures, they bound themselves morally to facilitate as far as it lay in their power the observance by caste Hindus of all the other conditions of the Pact, which had reference to social and religious matters. Inasmuch as His Majesty's Government endorsed the legislative part of the Pact, they recognized the representative character of the Conference that passed the various resolutions. One of them is as follows:[1]

It is in due fulfilment of the pledge thus given to the Harijans that the Bills have been brought. They are necessary inasmuch as the English Law of Trusts bars the progress of reform in the shape of opening temples to the Harijans. I am advised that the decisions of British Courts hold it a breach of trust by a trustee who would open temples contrary to the usage prevailing at the time of his entering upon his trust. Therefore it is not open either to the trustees or the congregations of the numerous Hindu temples even if they so wished to admit Harijans if usage shows, as it would show, that the general body of Hindu temples are not open to them on the same terms as to the caste Hindus. But for decisions based on the English Law of Trusts it would be possible for Hindu pandits and the laity to vary the custom and introduce reforms.

The Bills are designed to remove this obstacle to progress and restore the condition that existed prior to the decisions referred to above. His Excellency may not know that cases have already occurred in which Harijans have been fined for entering temples in good faith and for the sole object of offering worship. Hindu religious usage warrants no such punishment. It enjoins purification of the idol and the temple and prescribes purification of caste Hindus in the shape of a bath, but no punishment of the offending worshipper.

[1] This is not reproduced here. For the text of the Resolution, *vide* pp. 129-30.

Until therefore the Bills are passed or an equivalent is found by the Government, the vital part of the Hindu pledge cannot be performed. For me, personally, holding my life as hostage for the due and timely fulfilment of the pledge, an indefinite prolongation of the impediment is an intolerable agony. And as a prisoner I have, I feel, a right to seek Government's active assistance.

I ask for no State interference in religious matters. I am personally opposed to it. In the present case what is sought is to remove the existing State interference.

I hesitate to point out how the Government can help the introduction and consideration of the Bills. It would be presumption on my part to make any such attempt. I hope however that I have shown sufficiently clearly that this is a case for the Government of India to facilitate the progress and passage of the Bills in every way legitimately open to them.

Though I have shown this to some friends, I am not sending it to the Press.[1]

From a copy: C.W. 7925. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

285. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

February 1, 1933

MY DEAR CHARLIE,

I enclose herewith copy of my letter to the Viceroy on the Bills whose introduction he has just sanctioned. I take it that you have already seen my statement on the first Bill. I have not issued any public statement on the sanction for introducing a Bill which is almost a copy of Dr. Subbaroyan's Bill, except that it is meant now for the Assembly instead of the Madras Council. It is feared that the Bills, although formal sanction for their introduction has been given, will be shelved unless the Government are helpful and even anxious that the Bills should be considered by the Assembly during the session that begins on the 3rd instant. You will see my argument in my letter to the Viceroy. So far as I can judge, it is a conclusive argument making it a moral obligation on the part of the Government to facilitate the immediate consideration of the Bills.

The telegram referred to in my letter to the Viceroy was a long argument urging that sanction should be given for introduction of Dr. Subbaroyan's Bill as early as possible.

[1] For the Government of India's reply, *vide* Appendix IX.

Love.

M. K. GANDHI

Home Department, Political, File No. 50/II/33, p. 7. Courtesy: National Archives of India. Also S.N. 19284

286. LETTER TO M. R. JAYAKAR

February 1, 1933

DEAR MR. JAYAKAR,

Herewith copy of my letter to the Private Secretary to the Viceroy. I hope I have correctly set forth your advice. If you could directly write to the Viceroy, I would ask you please to do so.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Home Department, Political, File No. 50/II/33, p. 6. Courtesy: National Archives of India. Also S.N. 19279

287. LETTER TO DR. MOHAMMAD ALAM

February 1, 1933

DEAR DR. ALAM,

Id Mubarak from us all. It is very naughty of Begum Alam to get sick. I hope however that it was no more than a superficial fever and that there was nothing wrong about the appendix. You must carry out rigorously all the medical instructions and become proof against disease before you take up any active work.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

DR. SHAIKH MOHAMMAD ALAM
33 FEROZEPUR ROAD
LAHORE

From a photostat: G.N. 22

CWMG LIII

288. LETTER TO ALOO E. LALKAKA

February 1, 1933

DEAR ALOO,

I am glad you have been able to gain admission for two Harijan girls.[1] What is the use of your having got the necessary funds from Nargisbehn? You should have collected the small amount needed in Poona itself. Next time you must develop faith in yourself. Of course the girls have my blessings, and tell them when they grow up I expect them to become fine servants of the Harijan cause.

I did know, I don't know who told me, that Sister Mary was joining Verrier.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 19277

289. LETTER TO DUNCAN GREENLEES

February 1, 1933

DEAR MR. GREENLEES,

I write this in accordance to my promise. I am taking you at your word.[2] I shall make use of your services for untouchability work, but since you have offered yourself, body, soul, and mind for that service, after consultation with Sjt. Ghanshyamdas I have decided first to send you to the Ashram and have a little bit of the experience of the method we adopt in service and then to put you wherever you may be most wanted. Experience at the Ashram would enable you to come in touch with the variety of workers and the manner in which Harijan service is being organized. I mention nothing as to your remuneration because, if I understand you rightly, you want nothing more than what may be needed for the sustenance of the body. That may be fixed up after you have had your time at the Ashram. If, therefore, you retain the opinion

[1] The addressee had asked for Gandhiji's message and blessings for the two Harijan girls who were to be admitted to Karve's institute at Hingne, Poona.

[2] The addressee wanted to consult Gandhiji about his "possible future work for Harijans".

you expressed to me here, please come to Poona as early as you can. Everything else can then be fixed up.

Yours sincerely,

MR. GREENLEES
C/O THE MANAGER
ALLAHABAD BANK LTD.
ALLAHABAD

From a microfilm: S.N. 19278

290. LETTER TO DR. B. C. ROY

February 1, 1933

DEAR DR. BIDHAN,

I have your letter.[1] Ghanshyamdas is here and he will be able to tell you something about what happened in Bombay, for I had no knowledge of the composition of the Conference. I have simply concerned myself with the Pact purely from the Harijan point of view, for I assumed as an axiom that whatever was good for Harijans was necessarily good for caste Hindus and that too much good can never be given to Harijans. So far as the question of separate electorate is concerned, for my purpose the scheme of the Pact bears no analogy to the separate electorate provided for in the Government scheme. That caste Hindus have no voice in the selection of candidates cannot be a matter for complaint. The election of one out of four candidates selected by Harijans leaves a wide range of choice for caste Hindu voters cum Harijan voters. However, you will please let me know the progress of events there.

I wonder if Kamala will be fully restored to health so as to enable her to do active work. Thank you also for Abdul Alim's case. I hope the young man has already been admitted to the Refuge.

Yours sincerely,

DR. BIDHAN ROY
36 WELLINGTON ST.
CALCUTTA

From a microfilm: S.N. 19280

[1] The addressee had said that the caste Hindus of Bengal wanted to alter the Poona Pact "either by taking away the reservation of seats for the depressed classes altogether or by giving them a lesser number of seats by mutual arrangement", because they apprehended that "at the second election after the new constitution is established, the number of so-called caste Hindus in the local legislature will be reduced to less than forty . . ." (S.N. 19247).

291. LETTER TO BHAU PANSE

February 1, 1933

CHI. BHAU,

How did you get fever? I hope you are all right now. If your health does not improve in Rajkot, you will come here. We shall then think about a fast. In Rajkot you may eat the food which you get in the normal course, that is, *rotli*[1] made from wheat flour, ghee, milk, green vegetables and fruits. Jamnadas knows something about this subject. Follow his advice. There is also a good vaid there. If necessary, you may consult him. Instead of my advising you from here, I think it will be better if you let Jamnadas guide you there. Show this letter to him. Write to me regularly.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6794

292. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

February 1, 1933

CHI. PREMA,

You ought to be careful about your throat. I had cautioned you and advised you not to exert it soon after the operation. You should now please show it to Dr. Haribhai and follow his advice and improve it. Don't neglect it and invite trouble. You cannot afford to be obstinate in this matter. Your duty is: obey my order. The frequent colds must disappear. You are not the only one whose tonsils have been removed. Thousands of people have got their tonsils removed and benefited from the operation. If the operation turns out to have done you harm, that will be your misfortune. But before you are convinced that it has done you harm, you should give a trial to the doctor's advice. At any rate you must stop speaking loudly. Complete silence would of course be the best. But go and see the doctor and let me know what he advises.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10325

[1] Chapati

293. DRAFT CABLE TO C. F. ANDREWS[1]

February 2, 1933

REUTER'S SUMMARY FAIR. HUMANLY SPEAKING THAT IS LOGICAL OUTCOME VICEREGAL DECISION. WHAT GOD WILL DIRECT GOD ALONE KNOWS. CONCENTRATING AT PRESENT ON SECURING CONSIDERATION BILLS PRESENT SESSION. GOVERNMENT IF WILLING CAN HELP HERE.

From a photostat: S.N. 19288

294. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

After morning prayer, Thursday, February 2, 1933

CHI. MIRA,

Though I have not received your weekly letter as usual, I must commune with you as I do every Thursday morning.

There is one pound increase in weight to report this week. The saltless continues. The articles have become stereotype: papaw, 20 dates, four oranges, two sour limes, four dessert-spoonfuls honey, one lb. goat's milk, one dessert-spoonful almond paste. Honey I take twice with hot water and ten grains of soda bicarb each time and limes twice with cold water and soda bicarb. Milk in the morning and almond paste evening. There is a variation between the paste and ½ lb. milk. This gives you an accurate idea of my food. I began yesterday to take unboiled fresh milk. They say that unboiled milk if fresh and clean is any day preferable to and more digestible than boiled milk. I shall watch the effect of the experiment.

Raja, Birla, Devdas and Mathuradas have been among the visitors. They will all have left this morning for Bombay and thence for Delhi. Raja tells me that Devdas has discovered him-

[1] In reply to the addressee's cable which read: "Reuter quotes you follows: No occasion declare fast at present. Threat fast not extended embarrass Government but waken reformers. Fast now will virtually apply whole India not Guruvayur only. Is this fairly accurate satisfactory?"

self a most polished and effective speaker. He has just finished his tour in the South for untouchability work.

Radha is bad and has gone to Deolali. Kusum has slightly improved. Mary Barr must have reached the Ashram by now. Prabhudas is now in search of a wife.

We are all well.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

Herewith Devdas's speech in Hindi and its translation. It is an extraordinary performance.

[PS.]

After all I have your weekly letter but not the intermediate as yet. I have not the time to say more today. I would send you another note in continuation of this. Perhaps it will be allowed as part of this.

God keep you.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6261. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9727

295. LETTER TO GAURISHANKAR BHARGAVA

February 2, 1933

MY DEAR GAURISHANKAR,

I have your letter. I presume from your letter that you are entirely free from the attack that you had of facial paralysis of which I was sorry to learn.

Do you mean that the Harijan employees in the B.B. & C.I. Railway Workshops are admitted to temples, the temple authorities and the caste Hindu worshippers well knowing that they are Harijans, or, do you imply that they being well-dressed pass unnoticed? Measures are being taken everywhere to introduce clean ways of living among Harijans. I am glad therefore that you are having a Conference[1] just for the sake of bringing this home to Harijans. I wish your Conference every success. If Dr. Ambedkar comes to see me I shall talk to him about it. I take it that you have already written to him and to Sjt. Rajagopalachari. He will

[1] Rajputana Provincial Conference of the Harijans which was to be held at Ajmer on February 25 and 26

be leaving Bombay for Delhi tonight. You may therefore write to him directly.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. GAURISHANKAR BHARGAVA
PHUL NIWAS
CIVIL LINES, AJMER

From a microfilm: S.N. 19287

296. LETTER TO U. GOPALA MENON

February 2, 1933

MY DEAR GOPALA MENON,

I have your letter. Satyagraha regarding Guruvayur in the old style is not to be thought of just now. We must for the moment concentrate upon the passing of legislation and educating public opinion in favour of complete removal of untouchability and in getting those temples opened which are private properties or about which both the trustees and the public are agreed. Therefore our programme should be threefold:

Firstly, meetings all over the country urging the Government of India to provide all facilities in their power for the introduction and consideration of the two Bills and appealing to the members of the House generally not to obstruct the passage of the Bills, regarding them as measures demanded by the dictates of humanity and non-interference with anybody's private faith, and appealing to the Hindu members to vote solidly for the measures so as to leave Hindu conscience complete freedom of action regarding untouchability.

Secondly, you have to carry on house-to-house propaganda amongst caste Hindus and induce them to show in a concrete manner that they have ceased to believe in untouchability as it is practised today.

Thirdly, propaganda should be carried on amongst Harijans with reference to the observance of the laws of cleanliness and abstention from food and drink forbidden by Hinduism.

And all this work should be carried on by men of character who have a living faith in Hinduism.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 19289

297. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

February 2, 1933

CHI. DEVDAS,

I read your speeches in Hindi and English. You have expressed yourself well in both languages. Every speech is short and full of thoughts and most of the suggestions are useful. It is difficult to say to what degree the reform of Hindi is possible. Many languages have irregular genders for inanimate objects and this cannot be changed. There must have been some rule originally behind this phenomenon. The difficulty is felt only by those to whom the language is not their mother tongue, and should be accepted as unavoidable. The reform suggested by you involves a change in the basic structure of the language and seems impossible, at present at any rate. There has been no instance of a language which was simplified by a deliberate effort in such manner. A common script for all the languages would probably save some effort in learning them. But this is a question which concerns the science of the study of languages. I wanted to refer only to the beauty of expression in your speeches.

Have you studied Tamil and acquired any proficiency in it?

We could not talk much and you did not come again. But don't mind. You have congenial company at present and so I do not worry on your account.

Now that you are in Delhi, send me the Urdu books which you were to send and one small dictionary in which I can find the spellings of words without difficulty. It should preferably be a combined Urdu-English and English-Urdu dictionary. One book on grammar. And any other books which you may like. Write to me often.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1997

CWMG-III

298. INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS

February 2, 1933

Interviewed by the Associated Press, Mahatma Gandhi expressed pleasure that Mr. Ranga Iyer's second Bill, which is virtually a copy of Dr. Subbaroyan's Bill, has received the Viceregal sanction. He continued:

I can only hope that every facility will be offered for the immediate consideration of these measures by the Assembly. Though they are private Bills, they are measures of all-India importance and, from a humanitarian standpoint, of world importance. I hope that members of the Assembly have no difficulty in recognizing that the Bills constitute no interference with anybody's religion, whatever is being said to the contrary in utter disregard of the facts.

The Bills are necessary, if the State is to observe the strictest religious neutrality. Both the Bills are simply designed to remove impediments in the path of progress and do not coerce anybody or alter any religious custom or usage.

Replying to another question regarding the chances of the introduction of the Bills in the Assembly this session itself on which Mahatma Gandhi had been seeking information from prominent persons, he stated that he could say on authority of those who had been members of the Assembly, it was perfectly possible not only for the Bills to be introduced, but if members desired it, the Bills would become law. It was quite possible for the Government and members at least to afford reasonable facilities for the introduction of the Bills this session.

Asked for his views on the suggestion that the Bills should be circulated for eliciting public opinion, Gandhiji said:

I can only hope that no such procedure will be adopted, because the question underlying the measure is in no sense new and the Bills contain no complicated sections which may be difficult to understand. Opinion of different individuals and groups of parties is also well known. Therefore, circulation of the Bills means, to me, a mere dilatory procedure.

Asked if any definite programme has been chalked out as a result of his conversation with Messrs Birla, Rajagopalachariar and others, Gandhiji said that they had compared notes and tried to understand the implications in the Viceregal sanction for the introduction of the Bills as all-India measures.

They had debated on the method to be adopted for consolidating public opinion and for demonstrating the sincerity of the sanatanists. There was no essential difference between them and reformers, and the latter did not revolutionize religious customs or flout Shastras.

It was felt that the sanatanist agitation was largely due to the refusal of the sanatanists to appreciate the reformers' point of view, and the suspicion that more lay at the bottom of the movement for the removal of untouchability than was stated in their programme. It was, therefore, recognized that propaganda for enlightening the public should be continued and workers should be advised not to engage in vain debating but confine themselves to placing the issues in the clearest possible manner.

The Bombay Chronicle, 3-2-1933

299. LETTER TO PREMNATH BHARGAVA

February 3, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter enclosing your questions. I return the questions with answers given against them.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. PREMNATH BHARGAVA
BAGH RAMSAHAI, GHAS KI MANDY
AGRA

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Q. The report of the Hide Cess Committee, *vide* copy enclosed, states that the depressed classes and the peasantry would derive much benefit from the development of the tanning industry and incidentally refers to the existing appalling waste. Can this statement be accepted entirely in respect of unslaughtered cattle hides? If it can be, how should the development be brought about so as to yield maximum benefit to the depressed classes and to the peasantry?

A. It can. The development can be brought about only by teaching the classes concerned simple but scientific methods fitted for individuals and villages of lifting carcasses at the places where the cattle die and of treating every part in an economic manner excluding the use of meat for food.

Q. Should tanning of unslaughtered hides be taken up in India to the exclusion of slaughtered hides or only as an industry mixed up with that of slaughtered hides as at the present stage? Is it in any way derogatory for caste Hindus to take up this industry as a profession?

A. I should love to have tanning of the unslaughtered hides as a separate industry distinct from that of slaughtered hides. In my opinion it is not derogatory or irreligious for caste Hindus to take up this industry. It is essential for the purpose of cow-protection that this industry be developed as an aid to cow-protection and therefore on philanthropic lines.

Q. Would not the tanning of unslaughtered cattle hides on a large scale by modern scientific methods be helpful to the following?

(a) Economic uplift of Harijan brethren and an immediate item of programme of work for the Servants of Untouchables Society.

(b) Improvement of the living wealth of the country.

(c) The creation of a new field of activity for the educated unemployed.

(d) Protection of cows.

A. I have my doubts. Home or village tanning is necessary.

Q. The unslaughtered cattle hides can be tanned to near perfection of the slaughtered ones. Is your information to the contrary?

A. I believe that this is only partly true, if the carcass is taken up immediately after death and removed so as not to damage the hide.

Q. In the manufacture of leather goods, particularly shoes, difficulty is being experienced in providing lining which is to be thin and delicate. Such a leather is only available from the skins of live sheep and goat. Since Hindu India in a fair number is a flesh eater would it go against the principles of the industry of unslaughtered hides to utilize the skins for lining and other purposes of such sheep and goats as are unavoidably killed for food?

A. Much as I should like to answer otherwise, I believe that for the majority of Hindus the use of the skins of goats and sheep slaughtered for food will not offend their religious sense.

Q. In the event of the Agra Tannery at Agra restricting its activities to the tanning of unslaughtered hides exclusively, may the Tannery expect your blessings and distinguished patronage?

A. Any tannery restricting its activities as suggested would certainly receive my blessings if it is run on the lines suggested by me, but whoever does so should realize that in the initial stages he might have to lose. I can say nothing of distinguished patronage.

From a microfilm: S. N. 19291

300. LETTER TO ELIZABETH F. HOWARD

February 3, 1933

DEAR SISTER,

It was good of you to send me the *in memoriam* card announcing the death of your great and good mother, of the meeting with whom I have pleasant memories. Please accept from both Mahadev and myself our sympathies in your bereavement, though I know that those who have faith in God have the conviction that death is but a sleep and a forgetting. Do not harbour grief over the departure from this earth of loved ones.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G. N. 865

301. LETTER TO M. S. SESHACHARI

February 3, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter for which I thank you.[1] In every case where there has been resistance offered by prostration, whether in front of a temple or elsewhere, I have condemned it as being contrary to the rule of satyagraha. For, satyagraha requires suffering in one's own person, not offering physical resistance to another which prostration undoubtedly does. Being the author of satyagraha I have endeavoured to lay down certain rules for the guidance of those who recognize my authority, but as I claim no monopoly of the knowledge of the doctrine of satyagraha, it is open to anyone to give what meaning he likes to satyagraha and lay down rules also according to his liking.

My letter to the President of the League in Ellore has only a limited application. The word 'dodge' is to be taken in its dictionary meaning. I never knew it to bear the meaning of tramp-

[1] The addressee had asked why it could not be called a satyagraha and could be "dodged" if four or five orthodox Brahmins prostrated themselves in front of a temple and peacefully resisted any attempt to allow untouchables in the temple.

ing over any person. Once Pandit Malaviyaji 'dodged' to the amusement of the public and to the discomfiture of the so-called satyagrahi students prostrating in front of his college by erecting a bridge over them and making a safe passage for the fellow-students who wanted to exercise the right of attending the college. Not one of the prostrating brotherhood was in any shape or form injured or molested, and, if my recollection serves me right, the prostrating ones admired Malaviyaji's non-violent resourcefulness. But that was only one way of dodging. The dictionary says you can make a dodge behind, around, under, between or into what will hide one. But you will recognize that all these dodgings exclude violence.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. M. S. SESHACHARI
704 NORTH ADAYAVALANJAN
SRIRANGAM

From a microfilm: S.N. 19293

302. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

[*February 3, 1933*][1]

CHI. NARANDAS,

I got your letter.

You must have got my letter regarding Mahavir and the family must have left now. If they have not left, you may use the accompanying letter. It is best now that the chapter should be closed as early as possible. After it is closed, I will write in greater detail about the duties of people who live in the Ashram.

Titus's overstaying his leave seems improper. We would be in a better position to judge if we know the reason for his doing so. But it can be stated as a general rule that nobody should overstay his leave except for reasons absolutely beyond his control. However, do not start enforcing this rule with Titus. Know the reason from him after he has returned and write to me. But we can lay down the following rule for the future:

Anybody who violates a vow or pledge taken by him should, if he is outside the Ashram at the time of doing so, keep out of the Ashram and, if he is in the Ashram, leave it. In an ashram which is dedicated to truth, this rule should be observed without

[1] The date is supplied in *Bapuna Patro–9: Shri Narandas Gandhine*, Pt. II.

any exception. It will not apply in a case in which the reason for violating the vow or the pledge is beyond the control of the person doing so. A person who goes on leave also promises to return before a certain date. This rule is observed even in ordinary institutions. An institution in which it is not observed will not run for long or will lose its reputation.

You and other senior inmates there should discuss this rule among yourselves and, if all of you agree, read it out to the other inmates. If all the people accept it, enforce it rigorously thereafter. The enforcement of such rules is essential for the work which the Ashram has to do. I feel that it will soon be necessary for us to lay down our lives for banishing untouchability. But only those who are perfectly pure in their lives are fit to make such a sacrifice. If we did not strictly observe the necessary rules in looking after all the girls in the Ashram, we would be lost. We should not mind if the Ashram breaks up, but should not tolerate the violation of rules which we accept for ourselves. We are judged by the manner in which we observe formal rules in their true spirit. Only God can know whether we observe a rule in its spirit, but everybody can know whether or not it is formally observed. However, the Ashram does not belong to me alone; it belongs to you all. I have only stated my views. It is for you all to consider whether you should act upon them.

Mahadev had got Vasram's letter to him. I have referred to this in my letter to him. I hope he got that letter.

What you write about Chhotubhai is correct.

My headaches did not last long. They were cured by mud-packs. I have continued the packs as a preventive measure.

BAPU

[PS.]

Give the accompanying letters after reading them. Letters for Durga, Krishnamaiyadevi, Nimu, Liladhar, Bhagwanji, Ba and Mary Barr.

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

303. LETTER TO BHAGWANJI P. PANDYA

February 3, 1933

CHI. BHAGWANJI,

I got a letter from you after many days. Do we tolerate in other people what the Harijans do, i.e., refuse to work and yet ask for more money? What error do you see in what Narandas says? Shouldn't we expect them to give eight hours' work? Misplaced pity is violence. I make no distinction between them and other people, or only that we may tolerate faults in them which we would not in other people. Discuss this also with Totaramji, Panditji and Chimanlal and try to understand the point. I hope you will see the error in your reasoning or show me mine.

BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 351. Courtesy: Bhagwanji P. Pandya

304. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH

February 3, 1933

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

I got your letter. I need not write anything about the Giri family. I have seen instances of asthma being cured by giving up salt and through such other experiments. It is because of that that I recommended giving up salt in the book[1] on health. In India I have not had the miraculous experiences I had in South Africa, and being very busy with other affairs I have not been able to make any experiments. However, there will be no harm at all if you try the experiment. You will also have to take the Kuhne-bath in sunshine. The head must be covered with a mud-pack or a wet towel to protect it from heat. The bath should be taken before eating anything. The diet should consist only of fruit and milk. As for fruits, the papaw and *mosambis* will suffice. Such a diet requires no salt. One should get clear stools; if there is any difficulty, one should take enema. You should also daily practise slow breathing, retaining the air in the lungs for some time. All

[1] *Guide to Health*, first published as a series entitled "General Knowledge about Health"; *vide* Vols. XI and XII.

this may help you. If you do not know how to do the *pranayama* exercise properly, you may learn it from somebody in the Ashram who knows it. It helps very much.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 24375

305. LETTER TO HARIBHAU UPADHYAYA

February 3, 1933

CHI. HARIBHAU,

I got your letter. You should stop dates, *munakka*, dried grapes and bananas for the present. Take *mosambi* juice or juice of fresh grapes in the morning. I hope you can get good milk. Drink only as much as you can easily digest. You can take moderately fermented curds. Take honey together with milk. Take it with lemon juice and water, or take ten grains of soda bicarb with it. You can take the juice of pomegranates and apples. This should be all your diet till the wound has completely healed up. You may also drink the juice of fully ripe tomatoes without making it into soup. Just a little quantity will suffice for the present. Meet Gaurishankar who is in Santacruz. Purushottam is under his treatment. You may also inquire in Kaivalyadhama. Gomatibehn knows Gaurishankar. I will read [what you have written] about ahimsa. Look after Rohit. Give him my blessings.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 6075. Courtesy: Haribhau Upadhyaya

306. LETTER TO MOHANLAL M. BHATT

February 3, 1933

The world is not a carefully drawn geometrical figure but is a supreme work of art painted by the brush of a mysterious artist, whose significance is known only to the artist and will ever remain unknown to us. That leaves only desireless effort to us.

[From Gujarati]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. III, p. 113

CWMG - III

307. LETTER TO MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

February 3, 1933

We should try to cultivate in ourselves the strength of our elders and never follow the example of their weakness. We should see love in their eyes red with anger and save ourselves from their indulgence. Through ignorant compassion for us, they may permit us to do or ask us to do many things, but we should steel our hearts and refuse to avail ourselves of their indulgence. I may ask people never to tell a lie, but in a difficult situation may be tempted to connive at a lie. You will then show your love for me by forcibly opening my eyes, but will act as my enemy if you condone my weakness.

[From Gujarati]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. III, pp. 113-4

308. LETTER TO S. D. SATAVLEKAR

February 3, 1933

BHAI SATAVLEKAR,

Your letter. The Harijan Sevak Sangh is to bring out a Hindi weekly from Delhi. Will it be necessary to publish something over and above that? If so, why? Or, are you by any chance suggesting something in Marathi? I shall discuss it with Lakshmanshastri when I see him.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

PANDIT SATAVLEKARJI
SWADHYAYA MANDAL
AUNDH
DIST. SATARA

From a photostat of the Hindi: C.W. 4771. Courtesy: S. D. Satavlekar

CWMG III

309. LETTER TO PALLATH RAMAN

February 4, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I have no doubt that when the so-called higher classes or castes have forgotten the distinctions between high and low and given up untouchability, Harijans will give up untouchability as among themselves.

The origin that you give of Nayadis[1] is very interesting and instructive if it is historically true.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. PALLATH RAMAN
"SAHITHU SADANA"
PALGHAT

From a microfilm: S.N. 19294

310. LETTER TO BHAGWANDAS

February 4, 1933

DEAR BABOO BHAGWANDAS,

I have your letter with 15 copies of the Supplements. I talked to Sjt. Ghanshyamdas about the cost and he told me that he would certainly send you a contribution and write to you also. If he has not done so already, will you please remind him quoting this letter?

I know what you say about caste. By caste I have not meant varna. I draw a broad distinction between varna and caste. Caste is a comparatively modern growth. It had some material use and it may even have it now, but I feel that it has outlived its use, and in any event it was and is a social institution, having no spiritual basis, which varna has. But of this I would love to write when the occasion comes and time permits. Meanwhile, do please let me have your views whenever you have the time.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 19295

[1] An untouchable community of Kerala; *vide* Vol. XXXV, pp. 144-6.

311. LETTER TO L. L. YELIGAR

February 4, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter of 30th ultimo enclosing an explanatory article on one of sister Mahadevi's sayings. As soon as I get the time I shall go through the article and write to you.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. L. L. YELIGAR
C/O K. B. MUMMIGATTI
SCHOOL MASTER, HOSAYELLAPUR
DHARWAR

From a microfilm: S.N. 19296

312. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

February 4, 1933

MY DEAR GHANSHYAMDAS,

I have your letter. If Damodarlalji sends you any money, you will of course accept it as from anybody who sends it, but in my opinion there can be no approaching him. We would be well without his financial help unless it comes unsolicited and of his free will.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

SJT. GHANSHYAMDAS BIRLA
BIRLA HOUSE
ALBUQUERQUE ROAD
NEW DELHI

From a photostat: S.N. 19298. Also C.W. 7926. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

CWMG LIII

313. LETTER TO NARAHARI D. PARIKH

February 4, 1933

CHI. NARAHARI,

I got your letter. It is a good sign that we are able to see our own weaknesses. Even if people call us simpletons or impractical fools, we will not violate truth in word or deed. Your experience that it is difficult to live in that manner in a place like that is that of others too, but one may be said to follow dharma only if one does so even in the face of difficulties. He is not the best captain who steers a ship in a calm sea; it is the one who does not let a ship sink even in stormy waters. But we should not feel unhappy about the past. We have learnt the necessary lesson from it. In future let God decide what work you should take up and what you should not. All that we should do is to resolve to cling to truth in whatever circumstances we may be placed. We should have faith that God does not test beyond their strength those who trust Him. The pity is that we do not trust Him. If we do, why should we feel concerned whether we shall lose our good name by clinging to truth, or harm the cause or displease a co-worker? God is there to concern Himself with all these problems.

But my purpose in saying all this is only to advise you not to bemoan the past.

Give me a description of Kuvalayananda's Ashram. Who are the teachers there? What things do they teach? What fee do they charge?

Manibehn and you should learn this lesson from what has happened, that a mother should know how to take care of the children's teeth. Their food should not be very soft and should not contain too much starch. They should have sugar and jaggery in very small quantity only. Instead, they may be allowed to suck juice from lots of sugarcane in the season. When the season is over, the children may be given fruits containing sugar, like figs, *munakka*, dates, etc. Moreover, the mother should stand by the side of the children when they brush their teeth in the morning and teach them to clean the teeth with the babool stick vigorously, and also see that they use a mixture of powdered coal and salt

which has been properly sifted. They should be taught to gargle properly after every meal and to massage the teeth and the gums with their fingers.

The truth is that most of us are scarcely fit to be parents. Why should those who have not learnt the science of child-care bring children into the world? This question led some to the discovery of *brahmacharya* and some others to the discovery of artificial birth-control. The second is a dangerous and perilous way. The middle course, that of lethargy and indifference, is still more dangerous and perilous.

While teaching Mani how to take care of the children's teeth, teach her the whole science of child-care. She should also learn to observe the stools and the urine of the children. She should examine them from time to time. She should also examine their eyes, ears and nails, their habits of breathing and their tongues, and watch how they speak and what they do during the whole day.

All these things become very easy to do once the mother has formed the habit of doing them.

Tell Gomati that she may come whenever she wishes.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9054

314. LETTER TO ANANDI L. ASAR

February 4, 1933

CHI. ANANDI,

I got your letter. Your fever will not be cured by our blessings, it will be cured by your own care and effort. You should take complete rest. Complete rest means lying in bed all the time. You may read a little in bed. You should even eat without getting out of bed. The diet should be milk, curds and fruits, also boiled vegetables if you want. You may eat *rotlis* too, but need not worry about them if you cannot digest them because of lack of exercise. I am sure you will come to relish milk. If you do this, you are sure to be all right.

Not only three, but four of us give you blessings for eighteen years. Don't you want the blessings of Chhaganbhai? Ask Prithuraj to write to me and explain what the trouble with him is. Who is treating him? And what is the treatment being given?

Does Rohini glow with the brightness of the constellation of that name?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 5068. Courtesy: Anandibehn P. Buch

315. STATEMENT ON "HARIJAN"

[Before *February 5, 1933*][1]

The first number of the English edition of *Harijan*[2] to be published under the auspices of the Servants of Untouchables Society will be published on Saturday the 11th instant. It will be printed at the Arya Bhushan Press. Mr. A. N. Patwardhan, of the Servants of India Society, is the declared Printer and Publisher. Mr. R. V. Shastri, B.A., B.L., is the Editor. Only recently the latter left a lucrative post in partnership in Calcutta, and gave his services on a mere living wage to Mr. A. V. Thakkar, Secretary of the Servants of Untouchables Society. When it was decided that this English edition is to be published in Poona, I asked Mr. Thakkar whether he could spare Mr. Shastri for the editorial work, and whether the latter would undertake the responsibility. Both promptly responded.

I hope to contribute my full share so far as it is possible for me, to the contents of the paper. I hope the paper will have a very large patronage. It is desired to make the paper completely self-supporting. The annual subscription, inland, will be Rs. 4 including postage and Rs. 3 without, while the foreign subscription

[1] *Vide* "Letter to V. S. Srinivasa Sastri", p. 230.

[2] After Gandhiji's arrest in January 1932, *Young India* was discontinued, its last issue being that of January 14, 1932. As the movement against untouchability grew stronger, Gandhiji decided to bring out another journal, *Harijan*, to propagate his views. The first issue of *Harijan* appeared from Poona on February 11, 1933 under the editorship of R. V. Shastri. On April 13, 1935, Mahadev Desai became its editor. In 1940, during the Individual Civil Disobedience movement, it was suspended. However from January 18, 1942 it again began to make its appearance from the Navajivan Press, Ahmedabad, till the press was raided on August 21, 1942 and the journal banned. After the removal of the ban by the Government on January 10, 1946, the journal was revived on February 10, 1946, under the editorship of Pyarelal who continued to work in that capacity up to February 22, 1948. Subsequently, it was edited by Kishorelal G. Mashruwala and lastly by Maganbhai P. Desai till the journal stopped publication in March 1956.

will be Rs. 5-8. A single copy will be priced one anna. Intending subscribers will please send their names to Mr. Patwardhan, with subscription charges in money or stamps.

The Hindu, 6-2-1933

316. MESSAGE TO HARIJAN CONFERENCE, KOLABA

February 5, 1933

I hope the Conference will pass constructive resolutions, with the full intention of carrying them into effect.

The Hindu, 6-2-1933

317. LETTER TO E. E. DOYLE

February 5, 1933

DEAR COL. DOYLE,

Major Bhandari has just shown me the Bombay Government's order in connection with my cable[1] to Mr. Andrews. As it was rather important that it should go at once I have asked Major Bhandari kindly to withdraw an amount from my private account which as a matter of fact is not my own property. I am hoping for a revision of the Government's order and thus to reimburse my private account. My reason for asking for a revision is this. But for the very heavy bill that was paid to the dental surgeon my account would show a good balance. You will recall that the dental surgeon was called in at your suggestion and not mine; also that when you suggested that I should obtain a new plate I asked for Dr. Desai, a dentist friend, to be called in; and that I also told you in my letter of the 28th June, 1932 that I had suggested his name as "I had no desire to land the Government in the expense of a new set of teeth", and I knew that "Dr. Desai would not want to make any charge for the plates he might make for me." You will thus see that I could have had the plate without any charge and at that time I had never suspected that the dental charges if they had to be paid would be paid out of monthly allowance. As you are aware, from month to month I was saving as much out of the hundred rupees as possible. But you chose

[1] *Vide* p. 209.

to call in a dental surgeon of your own selection. I could have no objection and when the bill was shown to me by Major Bhandari and when he told me that the money had to be paid out of my allowance, though I demurred I did not wish to raise any objection because I did not think then that I would want to draw upon the balance that was then outstanding in my favour.

But in the new circumstances that have arisen, I must ask for the dental charges being removed from my account and if that be done there would be at once a balance in my favour. I would further suggest that Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel's and my accounts be amalgamated. There is a balance in his favour still left. If therefore these two accounts are amalgamated there would be a surplus left. I have consulted the Sardar and he is quite willing that our accounts should be amalgamated. In fact both of us have often suggested the adoption of this course to Major Bhandari.

May I ask you please to secure an early decision on this point as telegrams have to be frequently sent by me especially at this moment.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Government of Bombay, Home Department, I. G. P. File No. 10

318. LETTER TO BILL LASH

February 5, 1933

DEAR FATHER LASH,

You do confound a poor man like me. Who is father, and who is brother, and when, and also perhaps why? But that is neither here nor there.

It is a fine thing to find you in Sabarmati. I hope you will feel as much at home there as at the C.S.S.A., and it is good too that you are there when Mary Barr is there. I take a promise from every stranger that visits the Sabarmati Ashram that he should give me his criticism of the Ashram and especially tell me frankly all about the defects he might have noticed in it. You have to make the promise, please.

Now, for your difficulty. It is not necessarily wrong "to be compelled to act against one's reasoning and instinct through fear of hurting someone whom we love", provided of course that the thing we do is in itself not only not wrong but morally worth do-

ing. You will notice that I have copied your own wording. Conversely, to be compelled even through love to do a thing that is wrong is undoubtedly wrong. But then that love itself is wrong. It is good for me to love you and be loved by you. But it is immoral for me to do wrong for the sake of love. If there is any likelihood of that happening, we have to shun each other's company.

Having stated these two propositions, let me cite the world's experience in proof. Whether it is right or wrong, it is a fact that in innumerable cases men and women are good, not for the sake of good, but for the sake of love which they owe to others or which they receive from them. In an equal number of cases such love keeps us from falling. Perhaps you will easily admit that Jesus Christ was and still remains one of the greatest among moral coercers of the world. He continually coerces you, a very weak man otherwise, to do the right thing though your weak flesh would have you to do the wrong thing, and the strange thing is that you sing hymns of praise to Him for holding you tight in His chains. You do not mind some people laughing at you for your helplessness and weakness. Do not retort by way of answer: "But Jesus was Christ and God Incarnate." I have given you the most telling illustration to show what is happening in everyday life. Some have God to rely upon; others, poor mortals, have their parents; and yet others, like me, have their wives, sons and friends to lean on. I had, not very many years ago, all but fallen, but the thought of Devdas, who was then living with me, of Mahadev, Mathuradas and others who were at that time surrounding me and whom I believed to be themselves leaning on me, and the thought of my wife, kept me from going to perdition. It was their love which chained me so tightly and strongly that I could not burst through the bond although the flesh was pulling hard enough to tear the chains to bits and rush into hell-fire.

That is the type of coercion and no other which my love, expressed through my fast, was intended to exercise, the common thing in all these illustrations being the doing of a right act. There is nothing wrong in people doing the right thing under the pressure of love and later doing the same thing for the sake of it. I hope I have made my point clear, even though I might not have carried conviction.

You must pardon me when I contradict you by saying that God's shoulders are broad enough to bear the responsibility even of anything that is wrong. In Christian parlance, does He not bear easily the humanly intolerable burden of the world's sins?

This contradiction is unnecessary for our purpose, but I thought I would draw your attention to what I think is a clear slip. My fast was certainly right so long as I hold the belief truthfully that it was prompted by God. But even under God's shelter I cannot claim immunity from a fast which may be designed to compass unknowingly an immoral thing. Therefore, the motive behind must be right, the end in front must be equally right, and the act itself propelled by the motive should also be right. Hence in this chain the intermediate act, if it is violent, would vitiate both the motive and the end. Hence the necessity for unadulterated ahimsa—non-violence in thought, word and deed. And since the *Gita* says "Man can really only control his acts"[1], if they are right he may safely leave the rest to God, and whether he willingly and wittingly does so or not, God alone controls the rest.

I do hope that your foot is quite all right now. If it is not, I would not now ask you to try the earth-cure, but ask Narandas to send you to a doctor or fetch a doctor for you. It is no use playing with even a small mischief.

With love from us,

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 40

319. LETTER TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

February 5, 1933

Ere this reaches you, you will have seen from the papers that an English weekly called *Harijan* will be published from Poona by the Arya Bhushan Press, Patwardhan being the Printer and Publisher and R. V. Shastri, whom you know well, being the Editor. Of course I shall be writing for the paper and guiding the policy. It will be solely devoted to the Harijan cause. If you at all feel like it, I would appreciate a message from you, addressed in your own inimitable way, both to the caste Hindus and the Harijans, but the manner of doing it I leave entirely to you.

I hope you are keeping well.

RT. HON. SASTRI

From a photostat: S.N. 19299

[1] II. 47

320. LETTER TO N. C. KELKAR

February 5, 1933

DEAR MR. KELKAR,

I do want your active help in the campaign against untouchability. How far and in what manner you can give it, you alone know. But please understand that I am a beggar knocking at your door. When you have the leisure, do please give me a call by appointment, Wednesdays, Thursdays and Sundays excepted.

As you know, an English weekly called the *Harijan* will be presently out. It will occupy me for the whole of Wednesday and Thursday every week, and Sunday is a bad day for the jail authorities. I would also like you to give me a message for *Harijan*, if you feel like giving one.

From all accounts, I understand that you have physically benefited by your recent visit to London.

Yours sincerely,

N. C. KELKAR

From a photostat: S.N. 19300

321. LETTER TO R. VENKATA SIVUDU

February 5, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter and the memorandum of items of work to be undertaken by your Anti-untouchability League. I notice seven items, of which five relate to the carrying on of agitation or propaganda, one relates to satyagraha and one relates to the administration of funds. My advice is that all these may be cut out altogether and the activities of the League be confined to actual constructive work by individual workers. It is wholly unnecessary to agitate for waste land, political rights or even about matters of education. What you need today is to educate as many as possible and to relieve economic distress of as many as possible and to have as many temples opened as possible. There may be some propaganda required about this, but that is part of the con-

structive work itself and cannot absorb the whole of the time of the members. There is no question just now of satyagraha for anything. Such is my idea.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. R. VENKATA SIVUDU
HARIJAN SEVA SAMITI
BRODIEPET, GUNTUR

From a microfilm: S.N. 19301

322. LETTER TO N. H. PURANDARE

February 5, 1933

MY DEAR PURANDARE,

I have been working at your long letter. I handed it to Sjt. Patwardhan and asked him to tell me whether there was any overcharge at all in connection with the bill for the publication of the book. He placed himself in touch with Vasukaka and he says that you never showed him the book but asked him for quotation for printing a book containing eight demi pages. When he saw the proof and saw the corrections you have made, he said that in some respects the Arya Bhushan bill was lower than his. Thus whereas for composing, the Arya Bhushan bill is Rs. 18, for the same amount of work, Chitrashala's will be Rs. 36; for printing, Arya Bhushan 3, Chitrashala 5; for paper, Arya Bhushan 4, Chitrashala 8; and even in the bill as rendered by Chitrashala Press, the amount is 32 as against Arya Bhushan's 25/8. For covers Arya Bhushan has charged 7, Chitrashala would charge 7/8, for binding Arya Bhushan has charged 7/8, Chitrashala would charge 10.

So you will see that at every step you are wrong. I wish you could see your mistake.

Yours sincerely,

PROF. N. H. PURANDARE
POONA 2

[PS.]

Before this letter was typed, I had your postcard. You will see I have anticipated you in the foregoing. But if you will have Vasukaka Joshi to formally go through the bill, I will gladly hand the Arya Bhushan bill to him and give his opinion as to its fairness or otherwise. I will accept his opinion as final and on payment

by you of the amount fixed by Vasukaka Joshi, less what might have been received for the books already sold, the books will be delivered to you.

From a microfilm: S.N. 19302

323. LETTER TO SEENU

February 5, 1933

DEAR SEENU,

I must thank you for your letter and the very good photographs you have sent me. They gave me a good idea of the work you are all doing.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 19303

324. LETTER TO T. SUNDARAM

February 5, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. Please do not ask me to read and correct what you have written[1]. It is really beyond me, and from what little I have read, my advice to you is to abstain from writing anything at all about temple-entry or anything else to the papers. You have no restraint over your pen.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. T. SUNDARAM
TYPIST
TEPPAKULAM P. O.
TRICHINOPOLY

From a microfilm: S.N. 19304

[1] On "Temple-entry Compromise"

325. LETTER TO T. M. KRISHNAMURTHI

February 5, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter for which I thank you. Let me first of all set your mind at ease by telling you that no temple is to be opened to the Harijans except by the consent of the overwhelming majority of those who are at present entitled to offer worship at the respective temples. Therefore, there never will be any cause for desertion. Nor, so far as I know, are temples already opened—and there are no fewer than 500 temples opened—deserted by the ordinary temple-goers except a few.

I entirely agree with you that the hearts of people can only be changed by prayer, but my own experience and the experience of innumerable people shows that there is no intense prayer without fasting. My fasts have been in the past, as I hope they will be in the future, if they have to come, an expression of intense prayer.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. T. M. KRISHNAMURTHI
2/19 CHENGAL ROY MUDALI ST.
TRIPLICANE, MADRAS

From a microfilm: S.N. 19305

326. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

February 5, 1933

CHI. KAKA,

I got your letter. You should have got your teeth extracted earlier. Even now, you should get as many of them extracted as may be necessary, and not only thirteen. As too many midwives complicate labour, so also with doctors. Till you feel safe about the teeth, remain in Bombay. Don't feel at all that by doing so you will neglect your duty. You can serve in many ways while staying in Bombay While the treatment of the teeth is going on, you should live in the open air and daily go for as long walks—up to fifteen miles—as your body can endure without

fatigue. I am sure you go to bed early and rise early. The morning hours should always be spent in taking walks. In food, it is necessary to exclude all starches for the present. The best diet of course would be milk, curds, ghee and the juice of oranges and *mosambis*. These things do not have to be chewed. The starch should be converted into sugar in the mouth, which will not be possible in the present condition of your teeth. Hence the diet which I have suggested is the only suitable one. You may, if you wish, eat some green vegetables, like gourd or *bhaji*, but even these are not necessary.

Have no fear about my teeth. Since the doctors here don't worry about my elbow, why should I? For calling my own doctor, I would have to obtain special permission, which the Government is not likely to give. You should rest assured that I am not at all neglecting my health. The moment I suspect something, I will not remain indifferent even for a moment. And why should you worry about that which I myself am ready to worry about?

Your suggestion about Bal is correct. Write to me and let me know when he comes to Bombay. I believe *Harijan* will be published on Saturday.

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 9490. Courtesy: D. B. Kalelkar

327. LETTER TO BALWANTSINHA[1]

February 5, 1933

BHAI BALWANTSINH,

I have your letter.

1. The guru must possess the virtues of a *sthitaprajna*[2]. I have not come across such an embodiment of perfection. But I have found a few people in all countries who possess varying degrees of these virtues.

2. To remain equally unmoved by happiness and unhappiness, honour and dishonour means that one should not be hurt by insults nor feel elated by honours. But in no way does it follow that one should not reply to the insult or end the sorrow.

3. The virtues of a devotee can be acquired by effort and the

[1] The letter carries the following note in English evidently for the jail authorities: "This contains only answers to religious questions. M.K.G."

[2] A man of steadfast wisdom

direction of effort has been indicated in the chapter[1] on *bhakti*. But there is nothing to hinder one from acquiring the virtues in a different way if it be possible.

4. Sleep can become sounder by practice. On waking from sound sleep there is awareness of nothing except sleep and a sense of well-being. Even when the *Gita*, etc., are recited many thoughts rise unawares in the mind. Sound sleep is possible when the soul is in rapport with the *Gita* or, in other words, with God. Therefore we should faithfully continue the present effort of filling ourselves with the *Gita*.

5. The idea of writing about the *Ramayana* too has always been there but lack of time has stood in the way. Anyway there is no longer much need of it. One who studies *Anasaktiyoga*[2] well can easily get at the secret of the *Ramayana*.

6. The history contained in the *Ramayana* is only secondary. Spiritual philosophy is the main thing. Dharma has been revealed through the unfolding of events. Hence while studying the *Ramayana*, you must regard Rama as the Supreme Being and Ravana as the forces opposed to Him. You may equate Rama with Krishna, his forces with the Pandava army, and Ravana with Duryodhana. The *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana* express one and the same idea.

Your study of the Gurumukhi works is also useful. The vow of memorizing the *Gita* must be kept.

I have answered Bhai Fulchand's letter. I hope this letter reaches [him].[3]

We are all well.

Blessings to all from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1869

[1] *Bhagavad Gita*, XII

[2] Gandhiji's commentary on the *Gita*; *vide* Vol. XLI.

[3] An earlier letter to the addressee had miscarried; *vide* Vol. LII, "Letter to Fulchand B. Shah", p. 388.

328. LETTER TO G. T. HINGORANI

[Before *February 6, 1933*][1]

You should not be impatient. There should be no satyagraha just yet. We must educate public opinion, and deal gently with orthodoxy. Remember that at one time many of us shared the same prejudices as orthodox people do today. You must, first of all, ascertain whether it is the trustees who refuse to open the temples or whether it is the temple-goers who would not tolerate the admission of Harijans. For that purpose, you should have a scientific and accurate referendum, voting being strictly confined to those who are entitled to enter the respective temples. The proprietors of hotels and saloons stand on a somewhat different footing. They have their bread and butter to consider, and they must not be expected to take risks. Therefore, you must take a referendum of their actual patrons and if the patrons have no objection, I have no doubt the proprietors of hotels and saloons will be quite glad.

The Hindu, 7-2-1933

329. LETTER TO HOME SECRETARY, GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY

February 6, 1933

THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY
HOME DEPARTMENT

DEAR SIR,

I enclose herewith letter from Shrimati Mirabai (Slade) dated 28th ultimo and handed to me only this day. It speaks for itself. Being in answer to an anxious enquiry from me, the letter might have been given to me earlier. Since this letter was written the usual weekly letter was received in which she stated that she was examined by the Civil Surgeon who had recommended her for transfer. Miss Slade had repeatedly complained to me in her weekly letters about the stenches and the stifling atmosphere of Arthur Road

[1] The letter was released to the Press from Karachi on February 6, 1933.

Prison and recurring attacks of headache, giddiness, eruptions and the like. But I felt, as she had felt, that as a prisoner she must suffer the hardships of prison life. It might however be held pardonable, if not even right, in cases causing anxiety about health, for prisoners to bring to the knowledge of superior authority the condition of their health. Acting in accordance with that rule I have approached Government before now, wherever I have felt the necessity of bringing to their notice cases of prisoners in whose welfare I have been interested as if they were my own nearest relatives. The letter enclosed gives a true picture of Miss Slade's health, and her attachment towards me. It has been a privilege to me to enjoy that affection. She came to me with the fullest consent of her late mother and the reluctant consent of her father the late Sir Edmond Slade who never cut off the annuity that he used to give to her. I hardly need to say anything more about her family connections which are better known to Government than to me.

You will notice the dread she has of being sent away to a place further away from me. I wish she was less sensitive, but her sensitiveness has to be taken into account as it so quickly affects her body. I therefore suggest her transfer to the Female Yard attached to this Prison. From all the accounts that I have heard of the Yard, it is airy, roomy and much cooler than Arthur Road Prison. She will certainly be happier there.

I suggest too that she be examined by specialists in view of what she says about her glands and the condition of her tonsils. I would gladly name my doctors if Government would entertain their names, but I have no desire to press the point. I should be entirely satisfied so long as she is examined by specialists.

It grieves me to have to approach the Government over a delicate and personal matter. But I entertain the hope that perhaps the Government may even appreciate the fact that I have brought this matter to their notice. I shall be thankful for an early decision.

I remain,
Yours truly,
M. K. GANDHI

Bombay Secret Abstracts, Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 800 (40) (3), Pt. IV, pp. 29-31

330. INTERVIEW TO MACRAE[1]

February 6, 1933[2]

There may undoubtedly be points on which we will agree to differ, but I have no doubt that there will be so many points of contact between us that there will be no real difficulty. Whether there is or not, my own course in the matter is simple, as I have said repeatedly that caste Hindus have wronged the so-called untouchables, and that those of us who have realized the magnitude of that wrong have got to do penance for it.

Home Department, Political, File No. 44/35, 1933, pp. 16-8. Courtesy: National Archives of India

331. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

February 7, 1933

MY DEAR THAKKAR BAPA,

I have your several letters. As to the second edition of Holloway's, we must give up the idea for the time being.

As to the second Harijan day, can you tell me how much was collected on the previous Harijan day?

It is most vexing that the Hindi *Harijan* is taking all this time. I wonder if I sent you or Ghanshyamdas an offer from Delhi from a man to take over his weekly which he is now publishing—संजय. It might be worth while seeing him. According to his statement, Indra knows him.

The English edition would be out on Saturday. We are bringing out 10,000 copies of the first issue. It will be stopped if it does not become self-supporting, and it cannot but be self-supporting if all the Provincial Boards subscribe to a certain number of copies. They must need them for their workers if they are efficiently working organizations. Every such organization has to have a common organ. This applies to you also. So you will please telegraph to me how many copies you will want and you have to pay in

[1] This has been extracted from R. M. Maxwell's letter dated February 14, addressed to Home Secretary, M. G. Hallett.

[2] From *Mahadevbhaini Diary*, Vol. III, p. 129

advance for the copies you may need. You may send for the minimum number, so that at your end too there may be no waste. Some copies no doubt you will have to distribute free.

I would like you also to send Patwardhan a cheque or draft for Rs. 500. I had Rs. 544-6-0 with me which I wanted to transfer to you, but now I am paying that amount to Patwardhan. It would be regarded as a loan as from you to the paper, and as soon as subscriptions arrive, the loan will be refunded, unless there is a loss from the very commencement. Thus, you will credit me with Rs. [5]44-6-0[1] as having been received from me for untouchability work and debit *Harijan* with Rs. 544-6-0 in addition to the Rs. 500 I have asked you to send from there. Patwardhan cannot possibly need more than Rs. 1000 to go on with. Before he begins to receive subscriptions, moneys have to be disbursed for stamps, wages and paper.

If there is any news to impart for publication in *Harijan* you should send a telegram to Shastri; as a matter of fact, if you are receiving reports from all the Boards, you should be able to send Shastri a press telegram every week.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

From a photostat : G. N. 1108

332. LETTER TO VISHWANATH PRASAD MISHRA

February 7, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter.[2] Whilst I should be delighted to see election of Harijans to all elective institutions, I must not intervene by way of anticipating results. It would be hardly proper for a prisoner to do so.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. VISHWANATH PD. MISHRA
PLEADER
CHAPRA

From a microfilm : S. N. 19306

[1] The source is illegible here.

[2] The addressee had requested Gandhiji to send his blessings for the success of a Harijan candidate in a bye-election for the membership of the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council.

333. LETTER TO BHAGWANDAS

February 7, 1933

DEAR BABOO BHAGWANDAS,

A professor of Arabic has written to me asking for assistance in the work that he has undertaken of translating *Manusmriti* into Arabic. He does not know Sanskrit himself. Therefore he has to rely upon English translations. I have, however, warned him against taking the printed text going under the name of *Manusmriti* as the reality. When I read this book, whilst I was stirred by many verses of moral beauty, I was repelled by several verses which seemed to be so wholly contrary to the spirit of the moral teaching. I have therefore always held that the printed text is not the work of the same author nor written at the same time and that there have been many interpolations after the original verses were written. I have no authority for this statement save my own instinct. You have however made a deep study of this book and perhaps a comparative study of all the *Smritis*. If you have come to any decision and written something on it, I would like to have your opinion, or, if you know any person who has held the view that I hold of the *Smriti* or how he has reconciled the contradictory verses, I would like you to enlighten me. I am just now hard pressed owing to *Harijan* work falling on my shoulders. I wanted to write separately to Principal Dhruva on this matter, but I must give up that ambition and ask you to kindly pass this letter on to him so that he can let me have his own views also. I have warned Professor Haqqi against translating the printed text without examining the question from the standpoint suggested by me. But I cannot help him if he wants to be guided along the lines suggested by me unless I have some authoritative guidance myself. My instinct is good enough for my consolation but it can be no guide for others if I cannot support it with external convincing evidence.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 19308

334. LETTER TO N. R. KSHIRSAGAR

February 7, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter.[1] I understand what you say. If Harijans were not Hindus, *samskara*[2] would be necessary. None is necessary for Hindus before they can enter temples. Of course they have to observe the laws of ceremonial cleanliness and the rest.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. N. R. KSHIRSAGAR
15 NABHIKAM STREET
VELLORE (N.A.)

From a microfilm : S.N. 19309

335. LETTER TO HARIBHAU PHATAK

February 7, 1933

MY DEAR HARIBHAU PHATAK,

I have your letter. I am sorry that Mr. Mate should think that I betrayed any impatience or anger in carrying on the argument with him the other day. If there was any such betrayed, I must apologize to him. It was certainly not intended. He can come and discuss the whole thing with me. I promise to observe complete silence and listen to him whilst he is speaking. After all, my business is to deliver my message and convert those who think differently from me. I have no desire whatsoever to impose my views on anybody, and I cannot convert anybody by being impatient or angry. He may bring any friend he likes. Let there be a previous appointment made so as to avoid disappointment. Now that I have to attend to *Harijan* I must not give any appointments for Wednesdays and Thursdays. Fridays and Saturdays would be quite good.

[1] The addressee had written : "It is yet not a settled fact that the untouchables are really Hindus."

[2] Literally, 'impression'; here, a ceremony, especially of initiation

As to the subject-matter of your letter Mr. Mate is quite wrong in thinking that any but Hindu voters will have the right of voting under the Temple-entry Bill, and I can show quite clearly that there is absolutely no question whatsoever of compulsion. Nor is there the slightest desire to see the Bill passed if the Hindu Members do not want it. The first Bill has no reference even to temples. It is the most innocent that can possibly be conceived. It simply takes untouchability out of the penal law of the land. Surely, it was wrong when the courts were first called upon to give a legal status to untouchability. I should very much like to know in what respect either Bill constitutes an interference with anybody's liberty.

I am sorry to hear about Yashoda Bai. I shall certainly write to her.

With reference to the charkhas as you know, Kanitkar was manufacturing the very thing in Poona. His boy knows the thing. I had suggested slight improvements in the pattern that was brought to me. To have them from Bardoli would mean probably four annas railage, if not more, for each charkha, when the whole thing is capable of being made locally and cheaply. But if they must be had from Bardoli, I can easily get them.

Please thank the makers of the oils of the two bottles. I have still a lot left of *Narayan Thaila*[1]. I would plead with them not to send any more till I ask for it, and I undertake to ask for it when I have exhausted the stock so kindly sent by them.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm : S.N. 20175

336. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

February 7, 1933

MY DEAR C. R.,

I am sure you are doing good work there.

I do not at all like Ranga Iyer's statements in reply to Jagadguru's telegram. He there says, in spite of the Guruvayur referendum result, that Malabar Hindus are against temple-entry and gives a certificate to sanatanists for earnestness of purpose, conservatism and what not, and makes me out to be a fair approach to Buddha. If all the three statements were correct, one could have nothing to say against them, however embarrassing

[1] Narayan oil used in massage

they may be. But they are all the three wrong. Apart from the Guruvayur referendum, nobody knows the opinion of Malabar Hindus. Your own evidence of Travancore is against Ranga Iyer's opinion. The sanatanists cannot deserve a good certificate if they can produce no one who will at all listen to reason and understand the viewpoint of the reformer. They exaggerate the reformers' claim out of all proportion, and then to describe me as Buddha is to damn the cause in advance, for orthodoxy believes Buddha to have been an atheist denying the authority of the Vedas, varnashrama and everything. They take pride in the fact that Shankar arose to drive out Buddhism and they will naturally want to drive me out if I am anything like the Buddha of their imagination. The latest statement of Ranga Iyer therefore increases my fear of advocacy.

I hope Devdas had my letter awaiting him when he reached Delhi. That letter anticipated his letter just received. I am too full of *Harijan* work just now to give you more or write to him separately.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm : S.N. 20176

337. INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS

February 7, 1933

Requested to explain further his statement of 14th January[1] in view of interpretations in the Assembly yesterday, Gandhiji declared to the Associated Press:

The written words stand. I must not add to what I have already said in my statement.

Gandhiji's attention was drawn to different interpretations put on this statement, and particularly to the reference made by Sir Harry Haig in this connection to the meaning attributed to his statement by the Bombay Congress Bulletin. Gandhiji replied :

I cannot help people putting all sorts of interpretation to my writings. It is not a new experience to me. My statement is quite explicit. You can surely find the correct meaning. I have certainly not intended the statement to be equivocal, but it should be read as one whole. You can read many meanings out of sentences detached from their context.

[1] Drafted on January 7; *vide* Vol. LII, pp. 379-81.

Always alive to the limitations to his freedom of speech, Gandhiji declined to answer more pointed questions in this connection, saying :

You are treading on slippery ground.

Replying to another question regarding the charge of inconsistency levelled against him, in so far as he, a non-co-operator, had sought the aid of the Government and the legislature in connection with temple-entry, Gandhiji said he could not answer the question without entering into the region of politics, which he could not do. He proceeded :

I must therefore take the risk of damage to my reputation. But I prize my honour above reputation, and if that remains safe, then reputation will take care of itself.

The Hindu, 8-2-1933

338. INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS

February 7, 1933

Commenting on the letter of Jagadguru Shankaracharya of Puri to Mr. Ranga Iyer and the latter's reply thereto, Gandhiji said in an interview to the Associated Press:

I am really sorry that the Jagadguru should have written that letter about the Bills. I venture to think that the Bills do not, in any shape or form, interfere with religious liberty. On the contrary, both the Bills jealously guard it. Nor is the analogy used by the Jagadguru correct. There is no technical question involved in the Bills requiring technical knowledge. It is always open to worshippers to determine what company they would take with them for prayer. You may call that even a change of religion if you like. But you cannot deprive the people of that right.

What is there to prevent cent per cent of the worshippers in a temple admitting whomsoever they choose, even though such admission may be against the *Agama* governing that particular temple? There is no religious interference involved in restoring to the people a right that should never have been taken away from them. And if it is admitted that cent per cent of the worshippers can, if they choose, alter the rules of admission into a temple, then it should easily be conceded that a sufficient majority should have the right of determining the question of admission so long as they do not interfere with the liberty of the minority to perform worship in isolation from the majority.

Surely, it is a serious thing for a responsible person like the Jagadguru to label reformers, who claim to be followers of the same faith and believe in the same Shastras, as renegades from sanatana dharma. It also passes my comprehension how the passage of the Bills can be considered an unconstitutional procedure.

If the Jagadguru's letter is thus open to objection, I am afraid Mr. Ranga Iyer's reply also needs some corrections. I am not so sure as he is, that Malabar Hindu opinion is against the Bill, and so against the temple-entry of Harijans. The results of the Guruvayur referendum may be regarded as an indication to the contrary. Eyewitnesses who have been in Malabar have also told me that popular opinion is by no means against temple-entry. But that is a matter which can be determined anywhere if both the parties agree to have an unofficial referendum under joint supervision.

Then, Mr. Ranga Iyer, in his enthusiasm and blind affection for me, has been betrayed into an unfortunate analogy. I do not consider myself in any way fit to be compared with the Buddha. I regard myself as a very common man—a poor worker, liable to all the errors mankind is prone to make. I am merely a humble truth-seeker. But the analogy is unfortunate for another reason also. Sanatanists would say that the Buddha was an atheist, and that he did not accept the authority of the Vedas and did not believe in their divinity—not that as a matter of fact he was an atheist or did not believe in the Vedas. But, what he really was, is not pertinent to our point. Therefore, if I am also considered an atheist or non-believer in the divinity of the Vedas, I am certainly out of court, as a reformer asking Hindus to reject modern untouchability as being wholly against Hindu Shastras regarded as a whole.

The Hindu, 8-2-1933

339. LETTER TO MATHURADAS JAIN[1]

February 8, 1933

MY DEAR MATHURADAS,

I was glad at last to hear from you. If I was to stop your fast I had to use strong and precise language. As you had taken the fast in connection with something I had done or not done, I had to assume authority and also presume that I knew you sufficiently to send you a peremptory telegram. Now that you claim to have known me through my writings and doings, evidently the authoritative tone I adopted in my wire was quite justified. You must remember that I was acting like a responsible physician to his patient and I am glad that you promptly responded by breaking your fast. I am quite sure even after receiving your letter, that you did well in acting in accordance with my telegram.

Since you cannot write in English yourself, do write to me in Urdu, but write in bold clear hand and I shall be able to follow it.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SJT. MATHURADAS JAIN
ZIRA
DIST. FEROZEPORE, PUNJAB

From a photostat : G.N. 8942

340. LETTER TO S. A. K. SUBRAMANIAM[2]

[Before *February 9, 1933*][3]

I can say, with certainty, that those who prevent the depressed classes from burying their dead in Hindu burial places are against religious truth.

The Hindu, 14-2-1933

[1] *Vide* also "Letter to Dr. Parashuram Sharma", p. 145.

[2] This was in reply to the addressee's letter regarding the controversy raging in the Settlement of Penang between caste Hindus and depressed classes over the Hindu burial grounds.

[3] The letter was released to the Press on February 9, 1933.

341. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

[*February 9, 1933*][1]

CHI. MIRA,

Your weekly letter came in, in due course. And just two days before that was given to me your special letter describing your condition. Whereupon I sent a letter to the Government requesting your transfer to Yeravda and also an examination by specialists. I have done what I thought was my duty to do from every point of view. No prisoner has a right to demand transfer. He has to submit to the condition in which he is placed except under extraordinary circumstances. When I think of the prison life of Howard's[2] days and I look at today's, I marvel at the betterment in the condition. And yet to prisoners who find themselves in for conscience's sake, there should be no difference whatsoever between that life and this. They must be prepared cheerfully to submit to the life of Howard's days. For to them conscience is dearer than the ease of body and the pleasure of communion through physical means with the nearest and dearest ones. There should be therefore on the one hand every honest and permissible attempt to keep the body in good condition and to obtain the other amenities, on the other to receive disappointment with perfect detachment. You should continue to report the whole of your condition to the Civil Surgeon and give him the history of your previous glands. I wish you had written about them before to me. Anyway now the matter is in the Government's hands and more in God's hands. 'Not a blade moves but by His will.'

The passage you quote from the *Gita* refers to moderate habits. That is not what I had in mind. The passage I had in mind occurs in the last chapter, 52nd verse. I should translate it thus. "Who prefers solitude, who eats meagre food, who has under perfect control thought, speech and action, who is intent on meditation, who is free always from attachments."

[1] The source has "9-1-1933" which is evidently a slip as the "special letter", was dated 28-1-1933; *vide* "Letter to Home Secretary, Government of Bombay", pp. 237-8.

[2] John Howard (1726-90), prison reformer

You have no reason to complain of the quantity of your food. You dare not go by the abstract measurement. Double your quantity would be really meagre for many of our friends. The condition of your own body should be the sole guide as to the quantity without reference to that taken by others. All we should recognize is that voluntary meagre eating is one of the most difficult things in the world. It is a perpetual fast much more difficult than the complete periodic fasts. Meagre food voluntarily taken *must* lead to perfect poise, i.e., perfect health of body and mind. We can but make the attempt.

My food and weight remain what I described them to be last week. The elbow continues as before. I do not think any more about it. I thought I told you that I had resumed spinning. I did it, I think, Tuesday last week. I do it whilst I am receiving visitors. I have fixed no minimum. I have not yet reached even 160 rounds. Yesterday's was the highest, 141. The count is over 40.

What you say about Devdas is true. His must prove a very happy marriage. Lakshmi[1] too seems to be blossoming. It appears to be a case of pure love with high motive behind it. Devdas has always liked to serve Rajaji whom he regards as his English teacher. He could not have found a better.

I am, we all are, just now very busy over the forthcoming *Harijan*. I have a very good editor and an equally good manager. The press belongs to the Servants of India Society with which I enjoy what may be called spiritual relations. I have therefore not to worry about the details of management. God is great and compassionate if He is also terrible.

Love from us all. It is now 5.15 a.m.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6262. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9728

342. LETTER TO KESHAVRAO JEDHE

February 9, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

With reference to our conversation of the 7th instant, I do hope that the members of the Satya Shodhak Samaj[2] will throw themselves heart and soul into the campaign against untouchabi-

[1] Daughter of C. Rajagopalachari

[2] 'Society for Discovery of Truth'; founded by Jyotiba Phule

lity subject to the limitations prescribed by the Servants of Untouchables Society. I know that the Satya Shodhak Samaj is against Brahminism and against varnashrama. The present campaign does not deal with varnashrama at all and is not a campaign against Brahminism, but against untouchability, pure and simple, because the Society does not believe that untouchability is any part of Brahminism. We must not here mix up Brahmins who swear by untouchability with Brahminism. For we have a large and growing body of Brahmins who are as much opposed to untouchability as you and I can be.

Yours sincerely,

KESHAVRAO JEDHE
JEDHE MANSION, POONA

From a microfilm: S.N. 20191

343. LETTER TO E. E. DOYLE

Immediate *February 9, 1933*

DEAR COL. DOYLE,

Major Bhandari communicated to me yesterday the contents of the Government orders about a certain letter from Appasaheb Patwardhan addressed to me and withheld by Government. Not knowing the contents of the letter I can say nothing about it. I see in this morning's *Times of India* that Appasaheb Patwardhan has put himself on reduced rations. This has naturally disturbed me. I shall thank you to tell me whether there is any truth in the report.

Will you also please let me know what the orders of the Government of India are in the matter of conservancy work by volunteer prisoners?

Yours sincerely,

Bombay Secret Abstracts, Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 800 (40) (6), p. 319

344. LETTER TO RAMJI

February 9, 1933

BHAISHRI RAMJI,

Swarupbehn, wife of Ranjit Pandit and daughter of late Motilalji, is at present in Bombay. I think it would be nice if a tour of Kathiawar was arranged for her in connection with untouchability. You should collect money for that purpose and perhaps it may influence people. At present she is going to do this work alone. She has been detained so that she can be of service to Kathiawar. She is married to a Kathiawari, so we have a claim over her. If you wish to invite her, send me a wire and the programme. Who will tour with her? One woman should also travel with her. It would be better if Saraladevi or some other woman from there itself went with her. She could well be taken to several places in Gujarat. I shall write about this to Ahmedabad.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

345. INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS

February 9, 1933

Mahatma Gandhi has put himself in communication[1] with the Government in connection with the reported fast of Appasaheb Patwardhan, a political prisoner in the Ratnagiri jail, and he will decide his course of action in this matter on receipt of the Government reply.

I have no knowledge of the fast or rather his putting himself on reduced rations, apart from the newspaper report just shown to me. Of course, the news is disturbing; it has vital connection with my previous action[2] regarding Appasaheb and untouchability in Indian prisons. I have sought authoritative information from the Government, and meanwhile, I hope the Press report is incorrect.

[1] *Vide* "Letter to E. E. Doyle", p. 250.

[2] On December 4, 1932, Gandhiji had suspended the fast he commenced on the previous day in sympathy with Patwardhan on the question of granting permission to political prisoners for doing scavenging work; *vide* Vol. LII, pp. 112-4 and 128-9.

Asked if this fast will have his support, Gandhiji said he would prefer not to say anything at present, not having all the facts in his possession.

The Bombay Chronicle, 10-2-1933

346. TELEGRAM TO MANILAL J. VYAS

[After *February 9, 1933*]

MANILAL[1]
SERVANTS UNTOUCHABLES SOCIETY
BUNDER ROAD
KARACHI

YOUR LETTER[2]. SUBJECT JAMSHED[3] OTHER EXPERTS' OPINION RESERVATION UNDER JOINT ELECTORATE INEVITABLE.

GANDHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 20194

347. LETTER TO E. E. DOYLE

Immediate *February 10, 1933*

DEAR COL. DOYLE,

I had hoped to receive your answer by this time (11 a.m.) in reply to my inquiry[4] about Appasaheb Patwardhan. I would like you please to answer my query today and allay, if you will, the growing anxiety.

Yours sincerely,

Bombay Secret Abstracts, Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 800(40)(6), p. 323

[1] Joint Secretary, Servants of Untouchables Society, Sind

[2] The addressee, in his letter dated February 9, 1933, had stated that since the Karachi Municipality Bill was being presented in the Legislative Assembly provision for reservation for Harijans should be made in it.

[3] Jamshed Mehta, President of the Karachi Municipality

[4] *Vide* "Letter to E. E. Doyle", p. 250.

348. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

February 10, 1933

MY DEAR THAKKAR BAPA,

I have your letters. With reference to Jitendralal Bannerji and B. C. Chatterji, I think you should take no public notice of their letters, but you should carry on quiet correspondence with Ramanand Baboo. I am carrying on correspondence both with them and Dr. Bidhan. No public controversy is needed at least at this stage.

With reference to your letter about *Harijan*, after the letter was sent Ghanshyamdas came here and he gave the verbal sanction. Nothing more was therefore necessary. Nevertheless, the written sanction should be recorded in your books.

With this you will have the *Harijan* itself. I am hoping that it will be entirely self-supporting.

I have also the Memorandum about the proposed change of the name of the Society. I note the decision recorded by you and Hariji. Nothing more need be said about it now, and I think that the decision was inevitable.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 1109

349. LETTER TO HORACE G. ALEXANDER

February 10, 1933

MY DEAR HORACE,

This is just to tell you that the prayers of us all are with you for your complete restoration to health and we all hope that you are again healthy and strong.

I want your criticism of *Harijan*, as also of Jack Hoyland, to whom I am not writing this week.

Love from us all to you and Olive.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 1419

350. LETTER TO SUBEDAR GHATGE AND OTHERS

February 10, 1933

DEAR FRIENDS,

With reference to the application of A. J. Sonone for the post of Personal Assistant to the Chief Officer, Poona Municipality, and our conversation about it, it is obvious that I can give no opinion in such matters, but I can say as a matter of guiding principle that merits of candidates being equal a candidate belonging to the depressed classes should be given the preference.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. SUBEDAR GHATGE AND OTHERS
POONA CITY MUNICIPALITY
POONA

From a microfilm: S.N. 20200

351. LETTER TO BERNARD

February 10, 1933

MY DEAR BERNARD,

I was sorry to hear of your brother-in-law's sudden death. But birth and death are always with us and if there is joy about birth we must cancel it through the knowledge of coming death, and if there is sorrow about death we must cancel it by the knowledge of coming birth.

Florence has hardened her heart after her operation. She wrote long and good letters before; now she observes complete silence.

This week you will get ten copies of the first number of *Harijan*. You must try to get at least ten subscribers who would send their subscriptions in advance. That will save some commission. But if you cannot get the subscribers you need not worry. Only remember that unless there is advice from you, copies won't be sent to you next week.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 20204

352. LETTER TO BHAGWANDAS

February 10, 1933

DEAR BABOO BHAGWANDAS,

I have your letter for which many thanks. I think that as a matter of courtesy and for our record, we should print Raghunath Shastri Kokje's essay.

I have already written to you about the expenses. Ghanshyamdas has promised to send you a contribution and he told me that he would write to you too. I hope you will remind him if you have not done so already.

Shastri Dharurkar's replies were sent only for your information and satisfaction. They need not be published at all.

I know you want to save my time by writing to Mahadev, but it is as well not to do so. It may cause delay and your letters are no strain on me.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 20205

353. LETTER TO GULCHEN LUMSDEN

February 10, 1933

DEAR SISTER,

I thank you for your letter. This time Sir Henry Lawrence was right when he told you that "Abide with me" was one of my favourite hymns.[1] Though I am a devout Hindu, or even because I am a devout Hindu, I have no difficulty in appreciating the devotional hymns of other religions, and having had intimate contact with many Christians I came to appreciate some of the hymns even as a youngster. You will perhaps be glad to know that among them "Lead, Kindly Light" is the most favourite. But there are others also which you do not need to know.

As to the fast, let me say that you have been wholly misinformed. My fast was not directed to a political purpose at all. It was a purely spiritual act after the same style as Buddha's, only upon an infinitely humbler scale.

[1] *Vide* also Vol. XLIX, p. 501.

I am sending you a new weekly which is being published this week. In the light of your letter you might find it of some little interest.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From the original: C.W. 9528. Courtesy: Mrs. Hugh Lumsden

354. LETTER TO ESTHER MENON

February 10, 1933

MY DEAR CHILD,

Yes. You did keep me without a letter this time for some weeks and I was wondering why. I must not give you a long letter this time, because the new weekly *Harijan* absorbs me to the exclusion of everything else. You will see the copy that will reach you at the same time as this.

I can quite understand what a source of pleasure Charlie Andrews's presence must be to you and the children. His presence in your midst takes away from me too a load of anxiety on your behalf.

Love from us all to you all.

BAPU

From a photostat: No. 118. Courtesy: National Archives of India. Also *My Dear Child*, p. 98

355. LETTER TO MARGARETE SPIEGEL

February 10, 1933

MY DEAR MARGARETE,

I do hope you have been receiving my letters. I have the lovely photographs you have sent me. Everyone admired the album.

I am glad you are able, with the consent of your mother, to keep up your vegetarianism. I hope the body will feel none the worse for it. The spirit can only prosper under that simple food. But you must not be so cock-sure about your being more economical than I. You spent 5d. on one meal. I have made occasionally 3 meals out of 6d. in London. This may be in your favour that I did it when the things were cheaper than

now. I did it in London in 1890. You were not even born then, were you?

You will get by this mail the *Harijan* which I hope you will like.

Love.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

Spiegel Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

356. ITS IMPLICATIONS

Rev. Stanley Jones paid me a visit the other day[1] before sailing for America. He said that in America he would be asked many questions about the campaign against untouchability and had, therefore, some questions which he wanted me to answer. I was glad of the visit and I readily answered his questions. I do not propose to reproduce the whole of our conversation and all his questions and cross-questions, but I propose to give to the readers the main questions and the substance of my answers. His first question, then, was:

> Why do you restrict the movement to the removal of untouchability only? Why not do away with the caste system altogether? If there is a difference between caste and caste, and caste and untouchability, is it not one only of degree?

ANSWER: Untouchability as it is practised in Hinduism today is, in my opinion, a sin against God and man and is, therefore, like a poison slowly eating into the very vitals of Hinduism. In my opinion, it has no sanction whatsoever in the Hindu Shastras taken as a whole. Untouchability of a healthy kind is undoubtedly to be found in the Shastras and it is universal in all religions. It is a rule of sanitation. That will exist to the end of time; but untouchability as we are observing today in India is a hideous thing and wears various forms in various Provinces, even in districts. It has degraded both the 'untouchables' and the 'touchables'. It has stunted the growth of nearly 40 million human beings. They are denied even the ordinary amenities of life. The sooner, therefore, it is ended, the better for Hinduism, the better for India and, perhaps, better for mankind in general.

Not so the caste system. There are innumerable castes in India. They are a social institution. They are so many trade guilds,

[1] On February 4, 1933. Mahadev Desai's report of this meeting appeared in *Mahadevbhaini Diary*, Vol. III, pp. 122-6.

as was well said by the late Sir William Wilson Hunter. And at one time they served a very useful purpose, as, perhaps, they are even now doing to a certain extent. This institution has superadded to it restrictions which, in my opinion, are undesirable and are bound to go in course of time. There is nothing sinful about them. They retard the material progress of those who are labouring under them. They are no bar to the spiritual progress. The difference, therefore, between caste system and untouchability is not one of degree, but of kind. An 'untouchable' is outside the pale of respectable society. He is hardly treated as a human being. He is an outcaste hurled into an abyss by his fellow-beings occupying the same platform. The difference, therefore, is somewhat analogous to the difference between heaven and hell.

There is one thing more to be remembered about the caste system. For me, it is not the same as varnashramadharma. Whilst the caste system is an answer to the social need, varnashrama is based upon the Hindu scriptures. Not so the caste system. While there are innumerable castes (some dying out and new ones coming into being), the varnas are, and have always been, four. I am a firm believer in varnashrama. I have not hesitated before now to consider it as a gift of Hinduism to mankind. Acceptance of that dharma is, so far as I have been able to see it, a condition of spiritual growth. But I may not here elaborate my view of these four famous divisions in Hinduism. Their consideration is irrelevant to the present purpose. But I may make this admission that today this varnashramadharma is not being observed in its purity. There is an utter confusion of varna and if Hinduism is to become a living force in the world, we have to understand its real purpose and revive it; but we cannot do so, unless the canker of untouchability is destroyed. The idea of inferiority and superiority has to be demolished. The four divisions are not a vertical section, but a horizontal plane on which all stand on a footing of equality, doing the services respectively assigned to them. A life of religion is not a life of privileges but of duty. Privileges may come, as they do come to all, from a due fulfilment of duty. In the book of God, the same number of marks are assigned to the Brahmin that has done his task well as to the Bhangi who has done likewise. The second question was:

> Why do you want temple-entry for Harijans? Are not temples the lowest thing in Hinduism?

ANSWER: I do not think so for one moment. Temples are to Hindus what churches are to Christians. In my opinion, we are

all idolators; that in Hinduism we have images of stone or metal inside temples makes to me no difference. Thousands of Hindus who visit temples in simple faith derive precisely the same spiritual benefit that Christians visiting churches in simple faith do. Deprive a Hindu of his temple, and you deprive him of the thing he generally prizes most in life. That superstition and even evil have grown round many Hindu temples is but too true. That, however, is an argument for temple reform, not for lowering their value for Harijans or any Hindu. It is my certain conviction that temples are an integral part of Hinduism. His third question was:

Was not your fast pure coercion?

ANSWER: If it is agreed that my fast sprang from love, then it was coercion, only if love of parents for their children or of the latter for the former, or love of husband for wife and wife for husband, or to take a sweeping illustration, love of Jesus for those who own Him as their all, is coercion. It is the implicit and sacred belief of millions of Christians that love of Jesus keeps them from falling and that it does so against themselves. His love bends the reason and the emotion of thousands of His votaries to His love. I know that, in my childhood, love of my parents kept me from sinning, and, even after fifty years of age, love of my children and friends kept me positively from going to perdition, which I would have done most assuredly but for the definite and overwhelming influence of that love. And, if all this love could be regarded as coercion, then the love that prompted my fast and, therefore, my fast, was coercion, but it was that in no other sense. Fasting is a great institution in Hinduism, as perhaps in no other religion, and, though it has been abused by people not entitled to fast, it has, on the whole, done the greatest good to Hinduism. I believe that there is no prayer without fasting and there is no real fast without prayer. My fast was the prayer of a soul in agony.

Harijan, 11-2-1933

357. DR. AMBEDKAR AND CASTE

The following has just been received from Dr. Ambedkar:

At the end of our conversation[1] on Saturday last you asked me to send a message for insertion in the first issue of your new weekly *Harijan*. I

[1] *Vide* Appendix X.

feel I cannot give a message. For I believe it will be a most unwarranted presumption on my part to suppose that I have sufficient worth in the eyes of the Hindus which would make them treat any message from me with respect. I can only speak as man to man. As such it may be desirable that the Hindus should know my views on the momentous issue of Hindu social organization with which you have chosen to occupy yourself. I am, therefore, sending you the accompanying statement for publication in your *Harijan*.

STATEMENT

The outcaste is a bye-product of the caste system. There will be outcastes as long as there are castes. Nothing can emancipate the outcaste except the destruction of the caste system. Nothing can help to save Hindus and ensure their survival in the coming struggle except the purging of the Hindu faith of this odious and vicious dogma.

DAMODAR HALL
PAREL, BOMBAY 12
7th February, 1933

B. R. AMBEDKAR

Dr. Ambedkar is bitter. He has every reason to feel so. He has received a liberal education. He has more than the talents of the average educated Indian. Outside India he is received with honour and affection, but, in India, among Hindus, at every step he is reminded that he is one of the outcastes of Hindu society. It is nothing to his shame, for, he has done no wrong to Hindu society. His exterior is as clean as that of the cleanest and the proudest Brahmin. Of his interior, the world knows as little as of that of any of us. In spite of all this, he believes that 'it will be a most unwarranted presumption on his part to suppose that he has sufficient worth in the eyes of the Hindus which would make them treat any message from him with respect'. This is the caste Hindus' shame, not his, but I would like him to feel that there are today thousands of caste Hindus who would listen to his message with the same respect and consideration that they would give to that of any other leader and that in their estimation there is no person high and no person low. I would like him, too, to know that *Harijan* is not my weekly. So far as the proprietary rights are concerned it belongs to the Servants of Untouchables Society and, therefore, I would like him to feel that it is as much his as of any other Hindu.

As to the burden of his message, the opinion he holds about the caste system is shared by many educated Hindus. I have not, however, been able to share that opinion. I do not believe

the caste system, even as distinguished from varnashrama, to be an 'odious and vicious dogma'. It has its limitations and its defects, but there is nothing sinful about it, as there is about untouchability, and, if it is a bye-product of the caste system it is only in the same sense that an ugly growth is of a body, or weeds of a crop. It is as wrong to destroy caste because of the outcaste, as it would be to destroy a body because of an ugly growth in it, or a crop because of the weeds. The outcasteness, in the sense we understand it, has, therefore, to be destroyed altogether. It is an excess to be removed, if the whole system is not to perish. Untouchability is the product, therefore, not of the caste system, but of the distinction of high and low that has crept into Hinduism and is corroding it. The attack on untouchability is thus an attack upon this 'high-and-low'ness. The moment untouchability goes, the caste system itself will be purified, that is to say, according to my dream, it will resolve itself into the true varnadharma, the four divisions of society, each complementary of the other and none inferior or superior to any other, each as necessary for the whole body of Hinduism as any other. How it can be and what that varnashrama is, it is not necessary to examine here. But, such being my faith, I have always respectfully differed from those distinguished countrymen, Dr. Ambedkar among them, who have held that untouchability will not go without the destruction of varnashramadharma. They have made no distinction between caste and varna. But that is another story. At the present moment, it is the 'untouchable', the outcaste, with whom all Hindu reformers, whether they believe in varnashrama or not, have agreed to deal. The opposition to untouchability is common to both. Therefore, the present joint fight is restricted to the removal of untouchability, and I would invite Dr. Ambedkar and those who think with him to throw themselves, heart and soul, into the campaign against the monster of untouchability. It is highly likely that at the end of it we shall all find that there is nothing to fight against in varnashrama. If, however, varnashrama even then looks an ugly thing, the whole of Hindu society will fight it. For this campaign against untouchability is not one of compulsion, but conversion. At the end of the chapter, I hope that we shall all find ourselves in the same camp. Should it prove otherwise, it will be time enough to consider how and by whom varnashrama is to be fought.

Harijan, 11-2-1933

358. UNTOUCHABILITY

Untouchability as at present practised is the greatest blot on Hinduism. It is (with apologies to sanatanists) against the Shastras. It is against the fundamental principles of humanity, it is against the dictates of reason that a man should, by mere reason of birth, be for ever regarded as an untouchable, even unapproachable and unseeable. These adjectives do not convey the full meaning of the thing itself. It is a crime for certain men, women and their children to touch, or to approach within stated distances, or to be seen by those who are called caste Hindus. The tragedy is that millions of Hindus believe in this institution as if it was enjoined by the Hindu religion.

Happily, Hindu reformers have recoiled with horror from this practice. They have come to the conclusion that it has no support in the Hindu Shastras taken as a whole. Isolated texts torn from their context and considered by themselves can no doubt be produced in support of this practice, as of any evil known to mankind. But there is abundant authority in the Shastras to warrant the summary rejection, as being un-Hindu, of anything or any practice that is manifestly against the fundamental principles of humanity or morality, of ahimsa or *satya*[1].

This movement against untouchability has been daily gathering strength. It was in last September that leading Hindus, claiming to represent the whole of Hindu India, met together and unanimously passed a Resolution[2], condemning untouchability and pledging themselves to abolish it by law, if possible even during the existing regime, and, failing that, when India had a Parliament of her own.

Among the marks of untouchability to be removed was the prohibition against temple-entry by Harijans. In the course of the struggle, it was discovered that the British Courts in India had recognized this evil custom, so much so that certain acts done by untouchables as such came to be offences under the British Indian Penal Code. Thus, the entry by an untouchable into a Hindu temple would be punishable as a crime under the I.P.C.

Before, therefore, the movement of temple-entry can make headway, it has become imperative to have this anomaly removed.

[1] Truth

[2] *Vide* pp. 129-30.

It is for this purpose that Sjt. Ranga Iyer has given notice of two Bills to be introduced in the Central Legislature. After ascertaining the opinion of the Provincial Governments, H.E. the Viceroy has sanctioned the introduction of these Bills. But, being private Bills, they have a poor chance of becoming the law of the land, unless the Government and the members of the Assembly refrain from obstructing its consideration. It may be argued that, being pledged to neutrality in matters of religion, the Government are bound to facilitate the passage of the first Bill at any rate, inasmuch as it merely seeks to undo the effect produced by the decisions of British Indian Courts, and this it does by withdrawing legal recognition from untouchability.

There are practices in various religions professed by the inhabitants of this land whose breach is not regarded as criminal, though it would be regarded as very serious by the respective religious codes. Thus, beef-eating by a Hindu is an offence in the eye of the Hindu religious code, but rightly not punishable as a crime under the Indian Penal Code. Is there, then, any reason why the common law of India should punish a breach of the custom of untouchability? If there are many Hindus learned in the Hindu scriptures who find support in them for the present practice of untouchability, there are quite a number of equally learned Hindus holding the opposite view. Though this opinion of the pandits has already appeared in the Press, it is reproduced elsewhere for ready reference. Let it be noted that the signatories are all orthodox Hindus, as much lovers of their faith as are the learned men of the opposite school. On the 25th of January 1933 was held the session of the All-India Sanatan Dharma Sabha, presided over by Pandit Malaviyaji and attended by over one hundred learned men. It passed a resolution to the effect that Harijans were as much entitled to temple-entry as the rest of the Hindus.

If the Bills are not passed, it is obvious that the central part of the reform will be hung up almost indefinitely. Neutrality in matters of religion ought not to mean religious stagnation and hindrance to reform.

With due regard to the sanatanists, it is difficult to understand the cry of 'religion in danger'. Under neither Bill will a single temple be opened against the will of the majority of temple-goers in question. The second Bill expressly says so. The first Bill takes up a neutral attitude. It does not help a Harijan to force his way into a temple. The reformers do not seek to compel the opponents to their will. They desire, by the fairest means

possible, to convert the majority or the minority, as the case may be, to their view of untouchability.

It is said that the Harijans themselves do not want temple-entry and that they want only betterment of their economic and political condition. The reformer, too, wants the latter, but he believes that this betterment will be much quicker brought about, if religious equality is attained. The reformer denies that the Harijans do not want temple-entry. But it may be that they are so disgusted with caste Hindus and Hindu religion itself as to want nothing from them. They may in sullen discontent choose to remain outside the religious pale. Any penance on the part of caste Hindus may be too late.

Nevertheless, the caste Hindus who recognize that untouchability is a blot on Hinduism have to atone for the sin of untouchability. Whether, therefore, Harijans desire temple-entry or not, caste Hindus have to open their temples to Harijans, precisely on the same terms as to other Hindus. For a caste Hindu with any sense of honour, temple prohibition is a continuous breach of the pledge taken at the Bombay meeting of September last. Those, who gave their word to the world and to God that they would have the temples opened for the Harijans, have to sacrifice their all, if need be, for redeeming the pledge. It may be that they did not represent the Hindu mind. They have, then, to own defeat and do the proper penance. Temple-entry is the one spiritual act that would constitute the message of freedom to the untouchables and assure them that they are not outcastes before God.

Harijan, 11-2-1933

359. TO THE READER

The English edition of *Harijan* is being published by and for the Servants of Untouchables Society at my request and, therefore, in accordance with the views I have long held regarding reform journals.

It is being published on the assumption that

1. unfortunately, the Hindi edition cannot as yet serve the South and probably, Bengal,

2. it is necessary for the people in the different Provinces to know the progress of the reform from week to week in the Provinces other than their own,

3. since the movement, though essentially Hindu, has a worldwide significance and seeks the sympathy, if possible, of the

whole of humanity, it is necessary to keep the world acquainted with its implications and progress.

If these assumptions are correct, *Harijan* will supply a felt want and should, therefore, become self-supporting. If it does not, it must stop publication. If it is published at a loss, it will mean so much money taken from the mouths of Harijans. An endeavour is being made to expend every pice of subscription received on behalf of the Society for the sole service of Harijans and the advance of the movement for the removal of untouchability.

You will note that no advertisements are being taken for the upkeep of the paper. It has to depend solely upon the subscriptions received.

You can send the subscription for yourself or your friends, Indian or foreign, or for institutions, such as libraries, or for poor and deserving Harijans.

Ten thousand copies are being printed for the time being. Some copies will be sent free, either by way of compliment or exchange, but the list can only be limited. It is possible for you to extend it. I would like every English-knowing Harijan student and every untouchability worker to have a free copy on a certified application. This is possible only through the active co-operation of the reader who can afford to pay more than his own subscription.

The provincial organizations should send and pay for their own copies of which they should send advice in time, accompanying it with cheques or money orders.

So much for the financial part of this appeal.

That part of your obligation I know you will fulfil, if you are a reformer. But the harder is the necessary consequence of your fulfilment of that part. By paying subscriptions for yourself or others, you buy the right of, and recognize the duty of, serving the great cause in every legitimate manner possible for you. Thus, you can become an active helper in spreading the message of *Harijan* among those who are opposing the reform. This requires special qualifications. You need to have self-restraint. The opponents are in a state of rage just now. Some of them believe that sanatana dharma is in danger, as it has never been before. They imagine much more than the reform means and, therefore, do not hesitate to ascribe motives to reformers. You have, by your gentleness and gentlemanliness, to disarm suspicions and enable them to understand what the reform means.

If you will diligently study *Harijan*, it will equip you for the delicate task. It will give you an epitome of the week's do-

ings in the various parts of India in connection with the campaign against untouchability. It will also tell you what the others are doing and what the opponents are saying. It will also lay bare the weaknesses and mistakes of workers. Will you become a fellow-worker in this movement of liberating over forty million human beings from an intolerable yoke and of purifying Hinduism?

But I do not despair of even some opponents subscribing to *Harijan*. I am an irrepressible optimist. I have no quarrel with the opponents. These pages will be written as much for them as for the reformers. If *Harijan* stands for truth and if the reformers have patience, the opponents of today will be the reformers of tomorrow.

Harijan, 11-2-1933

360. WHY 'HARIJAN'

Several correspondents have asked me why I have adopted the name 'Harijan' for 'untouchable'. Some English friends have asked me for its meaning. It is not a name of my coining. Some years ago, several 'untouchable' correspondents complained that I used the word *asprishya* in the pages of *Navajivan*[1]. *Asprishya* means literally untouchable. I then invited them to suggest a better name and one of the 'untouchable' correspondents suggested the adoption of the name 'Harijan', on the strength of its having been used by the first known poet-saint of Gujarat. Though the quotation he sent me did not exactly fit the case he wanted to make out for the adoption, I thought that it was a good word. 'Harijan' means 'a man of God'. All the religions of the world described God pre-eminently as the Friend of the friendless, Help of the helpless and Protector of the weak. The rest of the world apart, in India who can be more friendless, helpless or weaker than the forty million or more Hindus of India who are classified as untouchables? If, therefore, any body of people can be fitly described as men of God, they are surely these helpless, friendless and despised people. Hence, in the pages of *Navajivan*, since the correspondence, I have always adopted Harijan as the name signifying untouchables. And, when God chose to entrust me with their service even whilst undergoing imprisonment, I could not use any other word for describing them. I recoil with

[1] *Vide* Vol. XLVII, pp. 244-5.

horror from that word and all it implies. Not that the change of name brings about any change of status, but one may at least be spared the use of a term which is itself one of reproach. When caste Hindus have of their own inner conviction and, therefore, voluntarily got rid of the present-day untouchability, we shall all be called Harijans, for, according to my humble opinion, caste Hindus will then have found favour with God and may, therefore, be fitly described as His men.

Harijan, 11-2-1933

361. SEEKING OR GIVING?

Several friends have written to me letters asking me in substance the following question:

> Why is it that you, who have always sworn by non-co-operation with the Government and Legislatures, are now carrying on propaganda for the passage of untouchability Bills by the present Legislatures, and are thus co-operating with both the Government and the Legislatures?

Newspaper reporters also have been plying me with the same question. I have evaded both by saying that I cannot, consistently with my obligation as a prisoner, deal with this question as fully as I would like to. But I can say this much, that there is no doctrine in the world which admits of the same kind of application under every variety of circumstance. Different circumstances evoke different applications of the same doctrine. Thus, my love for a starving man would require me to feed him. My love for my overfed child would require me to starve him, even though he may be crying for food. I am today non-co-operating with sanatanist friends, but I would like my questioners to analyse my non-co-operation, and they will find that in the very act of non-co-operation I am seeking their co-operation in my campaign. Exactly in the same manner, I may non-co-operate as much as I like with Government or any institution, but I would be a very foolish man, if I did not know that I was non-co-operating in order to secure co-operation from them. Thus, I am now seeking the co-operation of the Government and the Legislatures in order to further my purpose, which I hold to be very sacred and altogether good. Beyond this I may not go, for the reason I have already stated and which the reader should respect.

Harijan, 11-2-1933

362. AN OVERDUE CIVIC REFORM

Sjt. Hiralal A. Shah writes:[1]

The suggestion made by Sjt. Shah is certainly worthy of consideration as well by municipalities and local bodies as by individuals, but particularly by the former. Corporate cleanliness can only be ensured, if there is a corporate conscience and a corporate insistence on cleanliness in public places. Untouchability has a great deal to answer for the insanitation of our streets and our latrines, whether private or public. In its inception, untouchability was a rule of sanitation, and still is in all parts of the world outside India. That is to say, an unclean person or thing is untouchable, but immediately his or its uncleanliness is shed, he or it is no longer untouchable. Therefore, a person who is to attend to scavenging, whether it is a paid Bhangi or an unpaid mother, they are unclean until they have washed themselves clean of their unclean work. If, instead of being regarded as untouchable for ever, the Bhangi was treated as brother and was given an opportunity and even made to become clean after performing an unclean service for society, he should be as acceptable as any other member of that society. Corporations can, therefore, lead the way in this matter, but they will not unless the citizens insist. It is truly said that Corporations have no souls, that is, apart from the souls of the citizens. Whilst, therefore, commending Sjt. Shah's suggestion to all concerned, I would advise him to concentrate his energy upon one single spot and there agitate, both amongst the public and their Corporation, for the much needed reform. Let him, therefore, devote every ounce of his spare energy to educating public opinion in Bombay, where he has his habitation, evolve concrete suggestions and get them accepted by the people in the different wards, and he will soon find that his labours are crowned with success.

Harijan, 11-2-1933

[1] The letter is not reproduced here. The correspondent had suggested that sweepers should be provided facilities for becoming clean after work.

363. LETTER TO HOME SECRETARY, GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY

February 11, 1933

DEAR SIR,

On the 8th instant Major Bhandari communicated to me the information that Government had decided to withhold a letter addressed to me by Appasaheb Patwardhan. The next morning I saw in *The Times of India* a paragraph to the effect that Appasaheb had put himself on reduced rations. Thereupon the same day I wrote[1] to Col. Doyle inquiring about the news and asking to know the orders of the Government of India about conservancy work in the prisons by volunteer prisoners. Not having any reply I sent yesterday a reminder.[2] Since then I have a copy of the orders of the Government of India, but no reply to my inquiry about Appasaheb. For me the matter is of the gravest importance involving my honour. As a result of the protracted correspondence between the authorities and me there was a settlement about the subject-matter thereof and at the instance of Col. Doyle I sent the following wire[3] to Appasaheb Patwardhan on the 6th December last.

It clearly foreshadows resumption of fast by him in the event of an unfavourable decision.

The Government will observe that any decision in this matter that affects Appasaheb affects me equally. As I read the whole of the transactions between December 1st and now in this matter, the Government have recognized the correctness of my action. I hope that they do not now intend to revise their attitude and cut me off from Appasaheb. For the moment therefore I ask whether Appasaheb is or very recently had been on a partial fast and whether he and his comrades have been now permitted to do conservancy work.

Owing to the increasing tension caused by the report of Appasaheb's partial fast, I am requesting Major Bhandari, if he has authority, or to request Col. Doyle, if he has not, to telegraph

[1] *Vide* "Letter to E. E. Doyle", p. 250.
[2] *Vide* "Letter to E. E. Doyle", p. 252.
[3] Not reproduced here ; *vide* Vol. LII, pp. 128-9.

or telephone to the Government the contents of the substance of this letter and hope that the Government will end the tension by favouring me with an early reply.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Bombay Secret Abstracts, Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 800 (40) (6), p. 329

364. LETTER TO V. M. NAWLE

February 11, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter of the 8th instant. If you will take my advice I say "Go slow, be patient, do not mind what Bhalakar[1] says but do the service that falls to your lot faithfully and well."

Yours sincerely,

DR. V. M. NAWLE
444 RASTA PETH
POONA

From a microfilm: S.N. 20212

[1] L. B. Bhopatkar, editor of a conservative Marathi journal, *Bhala*

CWMG III

365. LETTER TO JAGANNATH PANT

February 11, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter and I appreciate it. Beyond what I have said in the columns of the *Harijan*, it is not possible for me to go and yet not commit breach of faith. If therefore the article in *Harijan* "Seeking or Giving"[1], does not convince you, I can only ask you to be patient with me and still give your whole-hearted service to the cause of Harijans.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. JAGANNATH PANT
RAMNAGAR
NAINITAL

From a microfilm: S.N. 20213

366. LETTER TO BABAN GOKHALAY

February 11, 1933

DEAR GOKHALAY[2],

I was too glad to have your note[3]. I have not yet seen the pamphlet but I shall get it in due course.

I shall be glad to see Mr. and Mrs. Wadia on Tuesday the 14th instant, at 2 p.m. if that date is convenient, if it is not, then on Friday, the 17th instant, at 2 p.m.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. B. GOKHALAY
GIRGAUM

From a microfilm: S.N. 20214

[1] *Vide* p. 267.
[2] Gandhiji's co-worker in Champaran; *vide* Vol. XIV.
[3] Report of a lecture by Sophia Wadia

367. LETTER TO P. NARAYANAN NAIR

February 11, 1933

DEAR NARAYANAN,

I have seen your letter to Mahadev Desai. I have asked the correspondent to send me cuttings from *Mathrubhumi* to which he refers. As soon as I get them I shall certainly let you have them. Meanwhile, I am glad of the assurance you have given me that *Mathrubhumi* never descends to the abuse of any community.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 20215

368. LETTER TO RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

February 11, 1933

DEAR RAMANANDA BABOO,

I thank you for taking so much trouble over my letter of the 20th ultimo about the Yeravda Pact. I had read all that appeared in the *Modern Review*[1] on the Pact and I wish that I had spared you the trouble of sending me copies by telling you that I had read them and asking you if you had any further comments to offer on the matter in view of the agitation set up in Bengal. I am not so bad as I used to be out of prison. Then, I had not a moment to read even the *Modern Review* let alone other magazines and papers. Inside the prison hitherto I have had time to read the *Modern Review* which you have been so kindly and punctually sending me from month to month.

The argument in your letter[2] is quite clear to me though it does not convince me. I was surprised even when I read your

[1] Of October, 1932

[2] Wherein the addressee had written: "My individual opinion is against the Poona Pact, so far as it relates to Bengal . . . Reservation of seats for the depressed will not help the really "depressed" or "untouchable" people. . . . The present "depressed" class M. L. C.s generally oppose nationalist parties and side with the pro-bureaucracy Mussalmans. Giving 30 seats out of 80 to the depressed castes would mean the practical wiping out of a nationalist opposition party in the future Bengal Council. . ." (S. N. 20155).

note on the Yeravda Pact. For I had heard that you had been party to the statement made by Dr. Moonje that so far as Hindu Sabha was concerned he was quite willing that cent per cent seats were given to the depressed classes, and I was glad when I read the statement and still more so when I heard that you had heartily approved of it.

My own position is fundamentally different from yours. If there was to be any reservation at all, and I saw that there had to be, we could not afford to give it in a niggardly spirit. We were bound to give as many seats as Harijan representatives desired and certainly up to their numerical strength. My action was based on absolute trust. If we have to suffer for it no one will be to blame but ourselves. We can never suffer if we will be only strictly just to them. We can never be generous, for there is no danger for years to come of our giving them too much. I wish that I can persuade every caste Hindu as to the measure of the enormity of the wrong done by them to Harijans. Nor do I mind many who have hitherto described themselves as caste Hindus rushing to the registering officers to be classified as Harijans. I do not mind because daily we must be advancing towards effacement of the vicious distinction between caste Hindus and outcastes, so much so that it would be a privilege for a caste Hindu to be classified as Harijan.

Indeed, in my opinion Bengal is in a better position than the other Provinces, if it is true that there are very few untouchables in the real sense of the term—and I think that it is true—but that many are classed as such because they are economically depressed and are suffering from other social disabilities than untouchability. So far as I am concerned, let all, everywhere, who are at all economically depressed and are suffering from any social disability get themselves registered as Harijans, if to be registered as Harijans is an optional act. That very fact will be a factor in the removal of untouchability instead of, as you fear, in hardening it.

Lastly, I do not share your fear that in many elections only those who may be called advanced Harijans will be elected. That and many other things will undoubtedly happen if the reformer either goes to sleep or is insincere. If he is sincere and active, untouchability will be a dying cult and those who are lowest in the social scale and intelligence will get their due. And if at the bottom of all your arguments and fears there is the suspicion that the reformer is not all that one would desire it to be, for a moment, but only for a moment, I would be tempted to share that suspicion, but I am a born optimist. I have faith in my sincerity

and activity. Therefore I refuse to suspect my comrades. Hence the counter arguments that I have advanced. I would invite you to share my faith in the reform and the reformers and believe with me that if we are true the Harijans will be true and all will be well. If you find nothing in my letter that appeals to you I would like you to strive with me and tear my argument to pieces. You know the regard I have for you. If it admits of enhancement it would only be enhanced by your frank and fearless criticism. I am anxious that we approach the Yeravda Pact and all it means with perfect confidence in its correctness.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE
C/O "THE MODERN REVIEW"
CALCUTTA

From a microfilm: S.N. 20217

369. LETTER TO P. SUBBAROYAN

February 11, 1933

DEAR DR. SUBBAROYAN,

I thank you for your letter and I hope that although even your Bill[1] has gone to Delhi you have not ceased to interest yourself in it and the larger measure and that both you and Mrs. Subbaroyan are doing all you can at your end to promote the cause both generally and particularly with reference to the Bills.

My regards to both of you.

Yours sincerely,

DR. P. SUBBAROYAN
FAIRLAWNS
EGMORE, MADRAS

From a microfilm: S.N. 20218

[1] On temple-entry ; *vide* footnote 3, pp. 14-5.

370. LETTER TO N. S. VARADACHARI

February 11, 1933

MY DEAR VARADACHARI,

I had your letter of the 6th instant. I am looking forward with interest to the proceedings[1] of tomorrow. If you can get me a brief statement such as the opinion published in this week's *Harijan*, do get it for publication in the next issue. Even an endorsement of the opinion from a well-known pandit or pandits I would like.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. N. S. VARADACHARI
A. I. S. A. KHADI VASTRALAYA
MADRAS

From a microfilm: S.N. 20220

371. LETTER TO P. R. THAKUR

February 11, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter of the 6th instant. I have never believed that the problem of untouchability can be solved by mere temple-entry. But I do believe that it can never be solved without temple-entry on equal terms with the others, and I further believe that the economic and educational advance can be accelerated by temple-entry which is really the mark of the removal of untouchability. One may be ever so educated and ever so rich and yet be untouchable, but immediately he has got religious equality through temple-entry, untouchability is gone. At the same time, I believe with you that the educational and economic advance must not be neglected nor subordinated to

[1] Of the meeting of pandits and important citizens who were to consider the question of temple-entry in Vaishnava temples

temple-entry. As a matter of fact, that is being prosecuted [as] vigorously as it is possible to do.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. P. R. THAKUR
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALL-BENGAL DEPRESSED CLASSES FEDERATION
127/1 RUSSA ROAD
CALCUTTA

From a microfilm: S.N. 20221

372. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

February 11, 1933

CHI PRABHAVATI,

I got your letter only yesterday. It was very good. Those who recite *Gita* give up any worry whatsoever. I do know that your fits are caused by some worry or other. If you need to write every fortnight to Jayaprakash you must write only to him and he can send me the news. If a monthly letter is sufficient for him it will be enough if I too may receive one in the month. Ba is again behind the bars, she is at Sabarmati. Mirabehn too has been transferred to Sabarmati Jail as her health was deteriorating.

Your letter to Ba I shall send to Sabarmati. You are doing well in studies. Can you understand English well? It was excellent that you were given the job of teaching.

Inform Kanta that I deliberately refrain from writing to her so that she may receive the essential mail due to her without any hindrance. Her news I continue to get through Sumangal.

Mrityunjaya and Vidyavati do not even write to me but I get the news about Father's health. There was no serious complaint about the women inmates of the Ashram; anyway neither your nor Kanta's name was mentioned in it. My work certainly goes on increasing, but I do have some help now that Chhaganbhai is here. Still who can share the work that only I can do? Either it remains undone or I myself do it somehow or other. Do see me on your release.

My health is perfect. I take milk and fruit. I take 1¼ lb. milk, oranges, dates and *papaya*, sometimes some roasted and crushed almonds too. The weight hovers around 103 lb. The pain in the elbow has become chronic. It should not cause any anxiety. I can spin every day but not much. It is about 100 rounds.

Sardar, Mahadev and Chhaganlal are all doing well. Which newspapers can you get? Would you be allowed the *Harijan* that I am bringing out? Mirabehn's letter comes every week. She is permitted to write every week as she does not see anyone.

Blessings to you both from
BAPU

[PS.]

If I write to you in Gujarati, will the letter be delivered to you, or must I write only in Hindi?

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 3433

373. MESSAGE TO MEMBERS OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

February 11, 1933

I am hoping that all the Members, irrespective of their opinion on the merits of the Temple-entry Bills, will join in facilitating consideration of the measures in this session itself.

The Hindu, 13-2-1933

374. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA[1]

February 12, 1933

MY DEAR SATISBABU,

You will have got on Sunday a parcel of 500 *Harijans*. I do not know how you will distribute them, but I suppose you can think of better ways than I can suggest from here. From among the friends in the mofussil you will please have as many subscribers as possible and get newsboys to do the street sales. I do not know if you will want the Khadi Pratishthan to act as agents. But if you feel that the Pratishthan cannot undertake the work, please try to get as many subscribers as possible and collect the money and send a cheque for the amount and save so much money for the *Harijan*. In case you would have the Pratishthan to take up the agency please let the Manager know direct the maximum number of copies you will want.

With *pranams* to Hemprabhadevi,

Yours sincerely,
MAHADEV

From a photostat: G.N. 1625b

[1] This was countersigned by Gandhiji.

375. LETTER TO F. MARY BARR

February 12, 1933

MY DEAR MARY,

I have your letters but I have also the news that you are suffering from asthma. Are you not overdoing it? You will not succeed in bending the flesh beyond its capacity. Humbly recognize your limitations. No one in the Ashram is expected to go beyond his or her strength. Do not go barefoot and do not expose your head to the sun. Do not draw water at the well. Insist on getting fruit for yourself. Let the doctor be called in if necessary. You have chosen to be a daughter. Now you have the opportunity of proving one and quickly getting well by carrying out instructions. I hope you are taking warm baths unless you are used to cold baths.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 5991. Also C.W. 3316. Courtesy: F. Mary Barr

376. LETTER TO G. M. THAWARE

February 12, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter for which I thank you. The idea of a separate university for Harijans is attractive, but it is hardly necessary to create a separate university. In the place of that we have Mr. David's scheme of which you must have already read and of which you will see a little more in last week's *Harijan*. It is elastic and economical in the sense that every rupee obtained under the scheme goes directly for the tuition of Harijans and it is also the quickest method of giving higher education to selected Harijan students. If Mr. David's scheme proves successful, there should be no difficulty in extending it so as to cover a further selection of students for being sent to foreign countries.

Industrial education too I should treat precisely in the same manner as I would treat higher education.

Of cinema shows I understand but little, having never attended any. An attempt is already being made to induce the better classes to engage Harijans as domestic servants and I think it is coming.

As to the caste system, I would commend the last week's issue of *Harijan* to your attention for my views. I think this answers all your questions.

I take it that you have sent a copy of your letter to the Central Board or at least a similar letter, if not a copy.

Yours sincerely,

G. M. THAWARE
ASST. GEN. SECY.
ALL-INDIA DEPRESSED CLASSES ASSOCIATION
NAGPUR

From a microfilm: S.N. 20229

377. LETTER TO N.

February 12, 1933

DEAR N.,

Kumar Diwakar Singh whom you call Devula gave me your note.

Your way of addressing me as your son is very strange. I lost my mother years ago. I am fast making daughters and sisters. But mother I have not found. Age is no bar. If you can inspire me with mother-worship towards you nothing would please me better. But let me say that your letter before me has filled me with misgivings. It smells of the hysteric. Your judgment of the friend whom you have sent is not confirmed by my talks with him. He seems to me to be a youth of unbalanced mind. He is not likely to do much in Allahabad.

But more serious still is the attack upon your character that came to me yesterday from an unexpected source. The friend who gave me the warning is a man of great worth and has no end to serve by misleading me. He simply warns me against my playing into your hands; of course the friend has no first-hand information.

But it is against my nature to keep such reports from those of whom I have them and in whose welfare I may be interested as I am in yours. Your first letters prepossessed me in your favour and I thought that I could use you for the common service of Truth.

This report coupled with your latest letter have created a doubt in my mind. I should hope that it has no solid foundation.

If you have any care for my opinion, you will lay aside all work and without trumpet come to Poona, leave your luggage at the station and come to me any day after 9 a.m. and let me see you face to face and ask you some straight questions.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 20041

378. LETTER TO DR. HIRALAL SHARMA

February 12, 1933

DEAR DR. SHARMA,

I was glad to have your letter.[1] Amtussalaam being with you puts me at ease. She has such great faith in your ability to cure her. I do hope that she will be thoroughly restored to health. I hope that your troubles will be soon over. I am glad you are preparing yourself for the Ashram life. It will please me greatly if you could go to the Ashram.

Yours,
BAPU

Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsh, p. 18

[1] Amtussalaam had told the addressee that Gandhiji, being worried about the correctness of the nature-cure treatment followed for the Ashram inmates, wanted him to go to the Ashram and stay there for some time. The addressee had therefore written to Gandhiji that after disposing of the work in hand he would immediately go to the Ashram.

CWMG LIII

379. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

[*February*][1] *12, 1933*

CHI. DEVDAS,

I got your letter. Write to me when you get time and let me know your reasons for thinking that the reforms suggested by you in Hindi are possible. There is Dr. Sharma's Sun-ray Hospital in Karol Bagh. Amtussalaam has been admitted there. She has great faith in Dr. Sharma. Find some time and get acquainted with him, and learn from him whatever appeals to you. Give me some details about the hospital. See Amtussalaam and inquire after her health. I hope you remember about the small Urdu dictionary. I will remember what you have written about Rajaji. Do not be lazy in writing to me. Send me Rajaji's and your comments on *Harijan*. Request him to write to me a few lines.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1993

380. LETTER TO RAMABEHN JOSHI

February 12, 1933

CHI. RAMA,

How is this? After taking a vow to write to me every week, you broke it the very next week. But please remember I will not leave you. One may not give one's word, but having given it one should keep it even at the cost of one's life.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5361

[1] From the postmark and the reference to *Harijan*; the source has "12-1-33", which is evidently a slip.

381. LETTER TO SHIVABHAI G. PATEL

February 12, 1933

CHI. SHIVABHAI,

I did not find your letter incomplete in any respect. I hope you got my previous letter.

An act of expiation for violation of a vow should be directly related to the nature of the vow. If one has been guilty of telling a lie, the proper expiation for it should be observance of silence for some time and not a resolution to give up drinking, for the latter is desirable even in itself. If drinking was the cause of one's speaking untruth, then of course it would be one's duty to give it up. Similarly, if you touched your wife's body with impure thoughts, you should stop going to her room or even refrain from the sight of your wife for some days. In addition to doing this, you may give up eating sweets as reminder to yourself of your resolution. However, you are fully awake and conscious of your lapses. You will, therefore, be saved.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9512

382. LETTER TO RAMACHANDRA N. KHARE

February 12, 1933

CHI. RAMBHAU,

This time you have signed your letter in Bengali. If you have done all this with a proper plan, it is certainly good. It should not be a matter for wonder that a young man should try to learn Sanskrit, Bengali, Urdu, Tamil, Punjabi, Sindhi, Hindi, Gujarati, Marathi, Oriya, Telugu, Kannada, Malayalam and English, for of all these the really independent languages are only three, English, Sanskrit and Tamil. The other languages are the daughters either of Sanskrit or Tamil. But you will be able to learn them only if you are really interested in them.

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 304. Courtesy: Lakshmibehn N. Khare

383. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

February 12, 1933

CHI. KAKA,

I got your letter. If we have trouble when we cut teeth, why should we not have it also when we lose them? Do you get pure milk? Though your experience is that a milk diet brings on weakness and causes diarrhoea, I still think that the experiment is worth making. Cereal foods should not be necessary for one to be able to digest milk. The fact that you require them indicates some weakness in the system. I cling to my belief that one can eat wheat only when one is able to digest milk and fruits. Some people believe that solid food helps in the digestion of milk. But in fact it is not digested, and is retained in the body in some harmful form which gives one the illusion of strength. If you get pure and fresh milk, it is worth while trying the experiment of drinking it without heating it. These days I drink such milk. It has done no harm so far, though I have not carried on the experiment long enough to say that it has benefited me. I started it about fifteen days ago.

You should get your knees massaged. You cannot afford to be an old man so soon. I have been rising at three these days and find Jupiter and Mars right over my head. I still indulge in my love of watching the stars. Just when my interest had become absorbing, you left me.[1] How much I miss you! I am expecting a big telescope on Monday.

Give me your comments on *Harijan*, and also write on some subject if you think of one. Don't be particular about writing artistically. If you think of any questions which you think I should discuss, send them.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 9493. Courtesy: D. B. Kalelkar

[1] Gandhiji and Kalelkar were together in Yeravda Jail in 1930; for Gandhiji's articles "Watching the Heavens", *vide* Vol. XLIX.

384. LETTER TO BAL KALELKAR

February 12, 1933

CHI. BAL,

I got your letter.

You did a very good thing in fasting as a remedy for your fever.

An innocuous egg is one from which no chick can come out. Personally I regard such eggs as acceptable food. From a medical point of view, they are beneficial in a variety of conditions. They are likely to be harmful in regard to *brahmacharya*, but not to persons of weak health. There are two considerations which can be urged against such eggs. From a religious point of view, they are an unnecessary addition to the number of articles which we eat, and from the point of view of vegetarianism they are as objectionable as milk. Probably it gives a hen greater pain to carry such eggs and be caged for their sake than it does a cow to be milked. However, such eggs are not in the same category as meat, which we regard as forbidden. It may be necessary in some cases to recommend innocuous eggs as medicine. This fully sums up my view on this subject. Keep a diary and do not neglect to spin for *yajna*.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 9494. Courtesy: D. B. Kalelkar

385. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

February 12, 1933

I have received Panditji's letter. It is disappointing. But I look upon it as a gift of love. I also am wiring to him to come and see me. If he does not come, it may be necessary for you to go there.

You should not worry about my fast. I am ascertaining the facts. I will not take a single step without careful thought, though I may not be able to convince you and others every time. Let me always remain true to myself. On the day on which I am

false to myself, you may be sure that I will have fallen. "Being false to myself" means not doing what I think to be right.

Yes, the heat which is being given to me is diathermy, but it has not benefited me at all. The Chief Surgeon here says that the trouble is a symptom of old age. This hypothesis does not seem to be altogether fanciful. If it is correct, why should we be upset? The only remedy then will be simple life and less strain on the affected parts.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuni Prasadi, p. 120

386. LETTER TO MOOLCHAND AGRAWAL

February 12, 1933

BHAI MOOLCHANDJI,

I shall publish the questions and the answers[1] somewhere as the occasion permits.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G. N. 833

387. LETTER TO VIDYA HINGORANI

February 12, 1933

CHI. VIDYA,

If the name Mahadev is astrologically unsuitable ask Father for a few suitable ones and send them to me. I shall select one from among them. Why does not Father himself give him a name? Hope you are both well. Blessings to Anand.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of Hindi. Courtesy: National Archives of India and Anand T. Hingorani

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Moolchand Agrawal", p. 192.

CWMG - III

388. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

February 12, 1933

DEAR DAUGHTER AMTUSSALAAM,

I have your letters. You did right in going straight to Delhi. Now you must remain there until you recover fully. You should come to see me on your recovery before you go to the Ashram.

That Dr. Sharma is preparing to go to the Ashram is comforting news to me.

You can write to me whenever you wish. It will cause me no discomfort to write to you, but your not writing will certainly grieve me.

Inform Kudsia that she may keep writing to me. How is she doing at Patiala?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Urdu: G. N. 276

389. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

February 12/13, 1933

MY DEAR C. R.,

I have read your and G.'s[1] appeal to the public. Why do you even so much as mention the fast and its possibility? You surely undermine its spiritual value, if the fast, if it at all comes, is to be a spiritual fast. I do not even know that the fast is a certainty if the Bills do not pass during this session or at all. I think that you should all dismiss it from your consideration altogether and let the public mind work unfettered by it. When it does come it will produce its own effect if it is a spiritual act. If it is the product of a diseased or arrogant mind, it will merely torture the body and excite pity or contempt according to the temperament of the people who may hear of it. Do take this advice as from an expert and act up to it to the fullest extent.

[1] Ghanshyamdas Birla

Then you have seriously to consider Pt. Malaviyaji's attitude.[1] He is strongly against the Bills especially if they are not to be circulated. Of course I do not share the view. I shall be writing to him. But you should see him if you can at all spare yourself or send Devdas alone. But on this I have no firm opinion. You will do what appeals to you most. You know the outside atmosphere firsthand. All my knowledge is secondhand and therefore worthless.

I had what must be described in one way as a very unsatisfactory interview with Dr. A.[2] He is irreconcilable. In another way it was satisfactory. I know him better than I did.

Please share the letter with G. and Thakkar Bapa.

Love.

BAPU

From a microfilm: S.N. 20230

390. DRAFT TELEGRAM TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

[*February 13, 1933*][3]

C. R.

PLEASE DO NOT MENTION POSSIBILITY FAST ANYWHERE ANY ACCOUNT. SUCH MENTION UNBECOMING AND IRRELEVANT. BUT TELL ALL MEMBERS ASSEMBLY ESPECIALLY HINDU MEMBERS THAT FOR INDIA'S HONOUR IT IS NECESSARY CONSIDER UNTOUCHABILITY BILLS THIS SESSION. IF BOMBAY MEETING OF SEPTEMBER WAS REPRESENTATIVE HINDU OPINION HINDU MEMBERS BOUND DELIVER GOODS BY PUSHING FORWARD BILLS. IF HINDU HONOUR MAY ALSO BE REGARDED INDIA'S HONOUR OTHER MEMBERS IN MY OPINION BOUND FACILITATE DISPASSIONATE CONSIDERATION BILLS. AM CONVINCED THAT NONE DESIGNED COERCE SINGLE PERSON OR INTERFERE WITH ANYBODY'S RELIGION. EXISTING POSITION STIFLES CONSCIENCE.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 20230a

[1] For a talk, *vide* Appendix XI.

[2] Dr. B. R. Ambedkar

[3] This telegram is found on pages 5 and 6 while the preceding letter is found on pages 1 to 4 of the same sheaf of papers.

391. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

February 13, 1933

CHI. PREMA,

It is the morning of the silence day. I got up at three and have taken up your letter to reply to it. I liked it very much indeed. You have given me in it all that I wanted. It fully answers to my imagination of what women can give me. What it gives seems small and unspectacular, but is very useful to a seeker after truth. I learn something from an objective letter like this one, and it helps me to guide you and others.

The Ashram is indeed a dharmashala. But the word has two meanings. It means a place where people can stay free, but it also means a place where one can learn dharma and try to follow it. The Ashram is a dharmashala in this second sense of the word. But dharma means truth. The Ashram, therefore, is a place where one may know the truth and try to follow it, that is, show *agraha*[1] for it, and hence it is Satyagraha Ashram.

In our quest for truth, we wish to cultivate unity with all living creatures. The Ashram, therefore, is an ever-growing family. But it is something more even than that, for it is the means and dharma is the end, and not *vice versa*. It is also a big school, and yet it is not so; for, since it is a family, we cannot mechanically apply there rules of outward behaviour such as are followed for other types of training. The letter of the rule has to be sacrificed in order to save the spirit of the rule.

I will now apply these observations to some specific cases. In bringing up and educating Lakshmi, we, including you, are being tested. What would we do to children in our own family? What would you do to your own sister? If Lakshmi does not observe the rules, the fault is chiefly mine, and then yours. I leave out the others. I leave out Narandas, too, for if we hold him responsible for the behaviour of every person in the Ashram, he will not be able to attend to his own duties. Looking after Lakshmi is a woman's job, and particularly of the woman to whom it is entrusted. The fault is chiefly mine because I am her adopted father and also mother. I did my duty as a father

[1] Firmness

but not as a mother, because I remained away from the Ashram most of the time. I feel now that I should not have accepted Lakshmi at all. But who was I to decide? I am but a servant of God. I did not seek Lakshmi. God sent her. Let Him, then, look after her. She was under the charge of Ba first, then of Santok, then of Gangabehn, and now she is under your charge. None of you asked to have charge of her. It was time and circumstances which put her under the charge of these persons one after another. You should now do the best that you can. Whenever necessary, you may consult me. Do not get tired of your charge or despair. Have faith and bathe her with your love. God will ultimately solve the problem. She has come to us as a representative of Harijans to claim payment of the debt which we owe to them. If she is full of shortcomings and is indolent, the responsibility for that lies on you, me and on the caste Hindus. We reap as we sow. I am trying to get her married off. I have written to Lakshmidas and inquired about Maruti. I have also written to Dudabhai.

You need not get upset because more boys and girls are coming to the Ashram. They will benefit to the extent that they observe the rules. We may let them stay as long as we tolerate their laxity, and ask them to leave when we can do so no longer. People do not stay in a dharmashala permanently. Even near relations do not stay permanently. Those of them who can accommodate themselves to the discipline of the Ashram will stay, and the others will leave. Why should we care either way? Moreover, we cannot adopt any other policy in the present circumstances. As long as we can do so, we should admit people who come unasked and who seem deserving. Most of them will leave on their own. Our rules themselves will drive them away. Everybody who comes must do physical work. They should clean lavatories and eat simple food in the same manner as we swallow medicine. They will not get jaggery, nor wheat as often as they might wish. If we can daily demonstrate more and more clearly by our manner of life that the Ashram is a representative of the starving poor, we shall always be safe and happy. This means that there should be increasing simplicity in our life in the Ashram and the rules should be observed more and more strictly. If fire preserves its nature, creatures which cannot endure it simply cannot live near it. That is the virtue of fire and not its defect. It is because, unlike fire, we are not true to ourselves that all the problems arise. My suggestion about simplicity and strictness in observing the rules concerns ourselves. We should

cultivate them in ever greater degree. We seek protection for ourselves in our inner selves and not outside of us—"we" here means all of us who voluntarily stay in the Ashram, you, I and everybody else. And one should not observe only as many rules as the other inmates do. One must observe every rule as strictly as one can. In this lies the secret of the progress of the Ashram. The rule should be, a liberal attitude towards others and strictness towards oneself. Even so, we shall preserve some minimum decency in our attitude to ourselves, for very often our liberal attitude towards others will not be sincere and our strictness towards ourselves will be so only in appearance.

The ideal for girls is a life of inviolate *brahmacharya*. Training for it includes training for ideal married life. Boys and girls do not require to be instructed as to what married life means. That relation is a part of the animal nature of men and women. The institution of marriage was devised as a means of exercising some control on that nature. Its perfect control means *brahmacharya*. Anybody who can observe this perfect control will also be able to observe the limited control of marriage. But those who regard marriage itself as their ideal will not understand the real purpose even of marriage. What training does one require for lust? It will grow of itself. However, the girl who has accepted complete *brahmacharya* as her ideal must learn how to manage a home. She must learn something about child-care. She will not be a nun living in a cave. An unmarried woman marries the whole world, makes herself a mother and a daughter to all people and thereby becomes fit to manage the affairs of the whole society. May be there has been no such unmarried woman. Nevertheless that is the ideal. For all girls, therefore, the training should be the same. I think I have explained the idea clearly. If I have not done so, ask me to explain it again.

This will explain your duty towards that Muslim woman.

The real cause of fainting fits and similar ailments in girls lies in our own shortcomings. If we have made fairly satisfactory progress, even the presence of young people among us will not be dangerous to the Ashram. But whenever we see such danger, we should ask the young man or woman to leave. If you wish to stop admitting other young men or women, you may do so.

All my hopes rest on Narandas. If Narandas who is the secretary of the Ashram is the Narandas as I imagine him to be, everything will be well. My faith in him is daily increasing. If he is defeated, some other old inmate of the Ashram will grow and advance, and I am sure, therefore, that everything will be

well. There are many residents in the Ashram but only a few inmates. That is why we do not get sufficient workers. In these very imperfect conditions, all of you should do the best that you can.

The Ashram is the measuring rod by which people can judge me. I take it with me wherever I go. Wherever my body may be, my soul is always in the Ashram. All the shortcomings found in the Ashram must be present, visibly or invisibly, in me too. If I have made a mistake in understanding you all, the blame must be mine and nobody else's. If, however, I do not know myself, how can I sit in judgment over all of you? When I think of particular persons, I see that I did not invite anybody except Chhaganlal and Maganlal. All the others were sent to me by God to test me or to help me.

And now another matter. You made a mistake in not going to Dr. Patel yourself. You cannot ask a doctor's advice through a note. Observe complete silence. Show your throat to the doctor and follow his advice. You should not be obstinate in this matter.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10326

392. LETTER TO HINDU CENTRAL COMMITTEE

February 13, 1933

DEAR FRIENDS,

1. In continuation of my letter acknowledging yours of 4th instant I have now to say that I have read the statement of the Hindu Central Committee with much attention and when after reading the statement I saw the names of distinguished lawyers amongst other notabilities as the original members of the Committee I was filled with sorrow.

2. Take this assertion in the statement:

> We feel that there is no question of inferiority complex in the divisions of Hindu society and least of all, no sin has been committed all these centuries by the orthodox Hindus who have been following the traditions established by all the merciful humanitarian sages of this land.

Is this assertion borne out by the evidence of the senses? If the Committee were to contend that there is in the Hindu Shastras no inferiority or superiority I should at once agree. But

untouchability as it is practised today with the attendant system of locations and deprivation practically of all the amenities of life for the so-called untouchables is surely proof of their inferiority. These disabilities have been often enumerated in the public Press. The precept of equality therefore seems to have been systematically and cruelly disregarded by modern Hindu society. Is the Committee able to point out any act on the part of what it calls the orthodox Hindus for the amelioration of the economic and material condition of the depressed classes? And is not the very existence of a class called "depressed" sufficient contradiction of the above-quoted assertion?

3. The Committee then proceeds and says:

> There are also in many places in the country large sections of the population amongst caste Hindus who are worse than *Panchamas* both economically and culturally.

I am unaware of any sections of caste Hindus who are both economically and culturally worse than *Panchamas*, and if there are I should very much like to know their names.

4. The third statement of the Committee to which I would invite attention is:

> It will be a travesty of truth to suggest that the orthodox Hindus have not been generous in their dealings with the *Panchamas* or Harijans in the villages.

Is it a sign of generosity on the part of caste Hindus to give leavings of their dishes to Harijans, to force their labour against a starvation wage, to deny to them the services of physicians, schoolmasters, barbers and practically all the other services to which they, the caste Hindus, are used?

5. Another statement of the Committee is:

> Except in the higher classes today, there is no unemployment problem in the country.

Surely, this is a sweeping statement at complete variance with known facts as found in historical and Government records.

6. The Committee then proceeds:

> The first creed of the orthodox Hindu is always the gift of food to the hungry and he has always felt it as a religious duty and his first prayer has been to the Lord to vouchsafe happiness to all human beings.

The creed is undoubtedly there. Has the Committee any evidence to show any corresponding action on the part of the orthodox Hindus in connection with Harijans?

CWMG - LIII

7. Then the Committee goes on to say:

> It cannot be suggested for one moment that though the Congress has thrown itself whole-heartedly in favour of this agitation for the removal of untouchability and for temple-entry after the announcement of the fast of Mr. Gandhi, it has done any appreciable service for the economic and material uplift of the depressed classes.

The Committee should know that it is not possible for the Congress "to throw itself whole-heartedly into the agitation". It is being carried on by the general Hindu population organized by the recently formed Servants of Untouchables Society. That Society invites all without distinction of party to help it to remove untouchability. This Society has planned a wide constructive programme. In so far as the Congress itself is concerned, its Hindu members have a record for the service of Harijans which is second to that of no other similar organization.

8. But the Committee goes on:

> If the call to join the movement for such uplift comes from persons who are pledged to temple-entry, the orthodox Hindus on their part cannot but view it with suspicion, especially when it is preceded by Gandhi's cry of "Leave the temple-entry to me".

I fail to see why the orthodox Hindus should view with suspicion the call for joining the movement for uplift because it comes from persons who are openly advocating temple-entry, not by compulsion but by conversion. And what can be the meaning of emphasis on my statement "Leave the temple-entry to me"? I am charitable enough to assume that the Committee framed that sentence without knowing the context in which "Leave the temple-entry to me" was first used. It was said in answer to correspondents who were impatient to offer satyagraha and adopt energetic measures for opening other temples. In order to keep the movement within fixed limits and in order to confine direct action by way of fast for the present at least to Sjt. Kelappan and myself I said to the correspondents, "Leave the temple-entry to me and go on with the other constructive programme of economic and educational uplift". The Committee can easily verify this from my writings. I hope therefore that the Committee will disabuse their minds of the prejudice betrayed against me in the sentence quoted.

9. The next sentence in the Committee's statement runs:

> If Mr. Gandhi and his followers will give an undertaking to save temples and other religious institutions from interference by the mixed legislatures of the land, we are willing to whole-heartedly co-operate with them.

I have shown repeatedly that the two Bills before the Legislative Assembly imply no interference with temples or other religious institutions. They seek to restore the status quo existing before certain decisions of law-courts, well known to the legal members of the Committee. I can give the assurance on my behalf and on behalf of my co-workers that we have no desire whatsoever to invoke interference by the legislatures in matters of religion and if only the Committee will co-operate in the prosecution of the general movement for the removal of untouchability, not of the desirable type such as is mentioned in the Shastras in the interests of sanitation, but of the—in my opinion—undesirable type as is being practised today, the Committee will soon discover that there is no cause whatsoever for alarm or suspicion and that if there is anything in the two Bills that can be shown to be an interference with religious liberty, the defect can undoubtedly be remedied without difficulty.

10. With the sentiment expressed in the last two sentences of the statement of the Committee I can whole-heartedly agree, for so far as I am concerned there is no desire indiscriminately "to import Western ideals of society, civilization and equality". Perhaps, no one has written, and endeavoured as much as possible to act in accordance with the writing, against Western civilization and I have not the slightest desire to destroy the foundations of Hindu caste system, if by that is meant varnashramadharma. The movement against untouchability is on that very account deliberately circumscribed and restricted to the very things described by the Committee except temple-entry, and as to this last, it can be shown conclusively that there is no desire whatsoever to force temple-entry but by proper disciplined agitation to bring about a change in Hindu public opinion, a change not inconsistent with the spirit of the Shastras.

11. If the Committee will dispassionately read my analysis of the statement, I am not without hope that it will see that whoever has framed the statement has committed the members of the Committee to assertions which cannot be supported by existing facts. The statement though sent to me is merely a copy of what has already been sent to the Press, but on reading the statement I discovered that according to the Committee's admissions there was a great deal that was common between the Committee and the reformers and that the assertions which were made in order to emphasize differences were mostly if not wholly imaginary and not capable of proof. I felt that I would point out to the Committee in a private communication the glaring flaws in the statement

and see if there was not any possibility of meeting on a common platform.

12. If the Committee however considers that all the assertions made in the statement can be supported and that I am labouring under self-delusion, I would be glad to be corrected. If the Committee sees any good in my letter, I invite it to send one or more representatives to confer with me with a view to exploring possibilities of common action or at least of understanding the real differences in matters of principle. Pending your reply, I am not sending this letter to the Press, but if the Committee finds it to be hopeless, it is at liberty to publish it.

Yours sincerely,

THE HON. SECRETARIES
HINDU CENTRAL COMMITTEE
459 MINT STREET
P.T., MADRAS

From a microfilm: S.N. 20232

393. LETTER TO RAMJI

February 13, 1933

BHAISHRI RAMJI,

I got your wire. Swarupbehn's name in her husband's house is Vijayalakshmi. Her address at Bombay is Meher Mansion, Laburnum Road, Gamdevi. I have sent her your wire and your suggestions. See that after coming there, she does not have to bear the expense. Arrange interviews with the Raja and Ranis. Introduce her to some courteous sanatanist, if there is such a one. Do not let her run up and down too much.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

CWMG III

394. LETTER TO M. S. ANEY

February 13, 1933

I am no more a general. I am as good as dead. I have ceased to be a general as I am dead in the civil sense. Not only that, but I am not even a pawn. All your generals and pawns are out. In reply to those who had doubts I quoted a well-known Sanskrit saying[1]. Who could make it clearer? The Government has correctly interpreted my words.

[From Gujarati]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. III, p. 141

395. LETTER TO URMILADEVI

February 13, 1933

No one has a right to physical rest. Spiritual rest is always possible. One must have the will power. This will be *anasaktiyoga*[2]. Those who work with non-attachment, never tire physically; if they do, they will soon go to sleep and have all the rest. In the absence of attachment the *atman* will surely be at peace.

[From Gujarati]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. III, p. 141

[1] यो ध्रुवाणि परित्यज्य, अध्रुवं परिषेवते।
ध्रुवाणि तस्य नश्यन्ति, अध्रुवं नष्टमेव च॥

"He who pursues an insecure object leaving the secure ones loseth the latter, the former being as good as lost."

[2] Performing actions without attachment to their outcome

CWMG - LIII

396. A LETTER

February 13, 1933

I hope you must have dismissed the idea of employing a Pathan,[1] haven't you? If one gets beating from one's wife and yet would not be angry, one should dance [with joy]. While among husbands there would be quite a few for every hundred who are given to beating their wives, the proportion for wives who beat their husbands may not be one in ten thousand. . . .[2] They may belong to a very small class. Make use of the knowledge you have acquired.

[From Gujarati]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. III p. 141

397. INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS[3]

February 13, 1933

Asked if permission was given to Appasaheb as a special case, Mr. Gandhi declined to answer. But it is learnt that the new orders of the Government of India, while permitting high-caste Hindus to do voluntary conservancy work, leave it entirely to the discretion of the Jail Superintendent to permit or not to permit a particular prisoner to do this.

Asked why he attached such importance to this subject, Mr. Gandhi replied that untouchability had to go everywhere, and more so in jails. Untouchability could not exist in jails where prisoners could not insist on high-class and low-class distinctions, and where they must be willing to perform all services, including those imposed on the so-called low castes.

Asked if he would advise high castes outside also to do conservancy work, Mr. Gandhi replied:

I would most decidedly expect high-caste men to render voluntarily all useful services which today are reserved to certain classes.

[1] The addressee, harassed by his wife, wanted to employ a Pathan so that the hirelings of his wife may not annoy his girl friends and two other girls who were accommodated in his house.

[2] Omission as in the source

[3] Gandhiji was interviewed after he had received information of the breaking of partial fast by Appasaheb Patwardhan in Ratnagiri Jail when he was permitted to do conservancy work as a volunteer.

The idea that the most necessary service in the world will be considered degrading or should carry any sin with it is abhorrent to me. Our villages will wear a different appearance altogether when sanitary services begin to be classed among the honourable occupations, nor will the streets of our cities be so dangerously dirty as they are today, when we have ceased to consider it degrading to take a brush, bucket and broom in order to do the necessary cleansing.

The Hindu, 14-2-1933

398. TELEGRAM TO MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA

February 14, 1933

YOUR LETTER. (I) SUGGEST YOUR COMING HERE (TO) DISCUSS IMPORTANT QUESTIONS BEFORE COMING (TO) DEFINITE CONCLUSIONS. (I) CONSIDER BILLS ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY IN TERMS OF (THE) BOMBAY PLEDGE. THEY DO NOT CONSTITUTE COMPULSION, BUT THEY RESTORE FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE. NEWSPAPERS PUBLISH INFORMATION THAT YOU HAVE WRITTEN ME OPPOSING BILLS. DO YOU DESIRE PUBLICATION (OF) YOUR LETTER (AT) THIS STAGE? AWAITING WIRE.[1]

GANDHI

Harijan, 18-2-1933

399. LETTER TO SRIPRAKASA

February 14, 1933

MY DEAR SHRIPRAKASH,

Though doleful, the receipt of your letter was a matter of joy for me. I have no doubt whatsoever that in the quiet of the village surroundings you will soon recover your lost health and repair your broken spirits. You are not an old man but being a man of emotion and possessing a sensitive nature, you imagine all sorts of evil. You have many years of active life and service in front of you. Many people have gone through much more distress of the body than you have and yet I see them today in possession of sound health and bright spirits. *Mens sana in corpore sano* you learnt in your youth and as soon as the body becomes healthy,

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

the mind is bound to react. Meanwhile therefore your first and the last care is to regain your health and not to worry about the future of the family, the country or the world. You cannot be the architect of any of these but you can contribute your own share to the advancement of all the three. In a true scheme of life the real advancement of one conduces to the advancement of all.

You may not write anything of your experiences of the events happening around you. That must be a sealed book to me except what I can gather through the papers that I am permitted to receive; nor, constituted as I am by nature, have I the slightest desire to know them. A prisoner is civilly dead to the outside world, and that is right. If he hankers after peeping into the forbidden land he is like the departed ghost which according to our belief misbehaves itself if it hankers after establishing communication with the world he was made by the Angel of Death to leave. A prisoner who misbehaves like the ghost fails to establish real communication with the world he has left and in the vain pursuit loses the pleasure, such as it may be, which falls to the lot even of the prisoner. Realizing this beautiful truth I have never misbehaved like the ghost.

I shall remember what you say about the spelling of your name.[1] It was Father who gave me the idea that you were a stickler for the right spelling of your name. You have now repaid him in his own coin and retort that he is a stickler, not you. I have thrown the apple of discord between father and son. You will now fight it out amongst yourselves. I do not mind because I am out of harm's way, and since I have your permission I shall continue to spell your name after my own fashion.

But if I am not concerned about your health I am much concerned about Shivaprasad's. I now understand why he is silent after having promised that he would send me weekly report about his health. I am deeply distressed. I will write to him, but in any case you will continue to give me such news as you may receive, and though you may not give me the news of the outside world you must continue to write to me about your own progress.

Remember me to the children and give them the love of us all and accept the same for yourself.

BAPU

Sriprakasa Papers, File No. G-2. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

[1] *Vide* also p. 199.

400. LETTER TO P. N. RAJBHOJ

February 14, 1933

MY DEAR RAJBHOJ,

I have your letter. I see that you are in a hurry. I have thought over your scheme and I have conferred with Sheth Jamnalalji also. I think that at the present moment you should concentrate your attention upon your Hostel. That will certainly absorb much of your time if you are to make it an ideal home for students and then you will want some leisure from that routine work for public engagements. If you took up the responsibility of conducting an Ashram you will have to devote yourself entirely to it and then possess qualifications which you might not have today. In any case, seeing that you have that high ambition, I would like you, when you can spare yourself, to pass at least three months at the Ashram and try to live the Ashram life. That will certainly be of use to you in every one of your activities.

I am quite sure that you should give up the idea of reviving *Dalit Bandhoo*. As to the Marathi edition of *Harijan*, I am considering the thing myself. You have seen how it is a rule with me not to issue any paper that does not become self-supporting. It is to me a test of its being wanted by the public. It is only in rare cases that a paper may be issued in the first instance at a loss.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SJT. P. N. RAJBHOJ
207 GHORPADE PETH
POONA 2

From a photostat: G.N. 789

401. LETTER TO T. K. S. RAJAN

February 14, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I am glad you have already taken the work among Harijans. You would report to me a fortnight hence the results of your activity, and I will say what more can be done.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. T. K. S. RAJAN
SALEM

From a microfilm: S.N. 20241

402. LETTER TO K. V. RADHAKRISHNA SHASTRI

February 14, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter.[1] I am afraid, however, that I cannot adopt the advice you give me.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. K. V. RADHAKRISHNA SHASTRI
VEPERY
MADRAS

From a microfilm: S.N. 20242

[1] The addressee had written: "You will do well to secure your release from jail. . . [and] . . . work for swadeshi."

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403. LETTER TO M. R. JAYAKAR

February 14, 1933

DEAR MR. JAYAKAR,

I thank you very much indeed for sending me a prompt reply, and I am glad that you have written to the Viceroy[1]. I have no doubt that it will have its weight. I thank you also for two copies of the Bill which you had sought to introduce into the Legislative Assembly, and as you have very considerately given me two copies of the Bill, I am promptly sending one to Rajagopalachariar for such use as he may want to make of it. I shall very probably make use of it for the ensuing number of *Harijan*.[2] I hope you got a copy of the first issue. If you had the time to go through it, I would value your criticism and your opinion for publication on the interpretation of the Shastras on untouchability. As that of a Sanskrit scholar and jurist your opinion will have great value if you can at all find time to give it.

Yours sincerely,

M. R. JAYAKAR, ESQ.
ASHRAM
WINTER ROAD
MALABAR HILL
BOMBAY 6

From a microfilm: S.N. 20243

[1] On the question of procedure to be followed in regard to the Untouchability Bills in the Assembly

[2] *Vide* "Sjt. Jayakar on Untouchability", p. 329.

404. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

February 14, 1933

MY DEAR C. R.,

Herewith a copy of the Bill that Mr. Jayakar sought to introduce into the Legislative Assembly of his time, and of his letter. The text of his Bill might be of use to you.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 20249

405. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

February 14, 1933

MY DEAR GHANSHYAMDAS,

I have your letter.[1] I understand the situation. We can but do whatever is possible and await the result. It is beyond the control of man. I have a long letter from Malaviyaji in which he opposes the introduction of the Bills altogether and in any case insists upon their circulation. I am suggesting to him that he should come over here and discuss the whole thing with me before coming to a conclusion. I have suggested to Rajaji[2] that he should go to him or send Devdas. I do not know whether it is worth while your going. I leave the thing to you.

About Bengal, I hope you saw my letter[3] to Ramanand Baboo. And now Dr. Ambedkar appears on the scene.

I have written to Rajaji and also telegraphed[4] him as to what I feel about exploiting the possibility of my fast. I think

[1] The addressee had written: "The Bill could be introduced with a Select Committee appointed in this session and can be passed in the Simla session only if the Government help. If the Government obstruct, then of course the Bill may not be introduced even in this session. But from what I see, I hope they will at least help the introduction of the Bill in this session; but they would not be prepared to go beyond that. They would insist on the Bill being circulated. . . ."

[2] *Vide* "Letter to C. Rajagopalachari", pp. 286-7.

[3] *Vide* pp. 272-4.

[4] *Vide* p. 287.

that it should not be done. The fast must be dismissed out of consideration altogether. This exploiting robs it of any spiritual value it might possess. The knowledge that it is a possibility may colour your action but you may not use it to affect the actions of others. That would amount to illegitimate pressure. I wish you will not henceforth mention it anywhere.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 20244

406. LETTER TO RANCHHODDAS PATWARI

February 14, 1933

I got your postcard. You had said in it that you would write a long letter. I waited for it, but since none came I am writing this. Ceaseless efforts are being made to persuade Harijans to follow the rules of cleanliness and hygiene. Others may not distinguish between the different aspects of my work for Harijans, but why don't you do so, and help me in regard to those which you accept? I hope you don't doubt my intention or ability to adhere to a decision firmly made. It was my elders who joined themselves in a mutual bond with the Patwari family and, following in their foot-steps, I became personally indebted to you and have, therefore, always looked upon you as a respected elder. How can I give up this respectful attitude and why do you try to make me give it up? What does it matter if there are differences of opinion between us? Haven't I such a difference with my sister too? But she does not cease to be my elder sister for that reason. My family has had the same kind of bond with the Patwari family for half a century and I, for my part, will not break it.

My *pranams* to Chhaganbhai.

Pranams from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 20239

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407. LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAM GANDHI

February 14, 1933

CHI. PURUSHOTTAM,

I got your postcard. Do not be impatient but learn as much from the Yogashram as you can. I have seen many who thought that they had learnt much in a short time, but repented afterwards. You should not, therefore, be impatient. You need not try Madan's treatments, but it would be worth while to see whether his institution is actually running and how. Come here at 12 noon on Saturday. Mathuradas also may accompany you if he wants. Others also who have secured permission and wish to come may do so. I have no letter from anyone about his coming.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 908. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

408. INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS

February 14, 1933

I have most carefully read Dr. Ambedkar's statement[1] for which I cannot conceal my sorrow, but I must also confess he has a perfect right to make a statement as he has done. Harijans have laboured under grievous wrongs for ages, and Dr. Ambedkar and other educated Harijans are fully conscious of these wrongs. The marvel to me is that they are not more bitter and more resentful than they are.

Having therefore excused their position, I cannot travel the same length that Dr. Ambedkar would have me do. He has asked me a straight question, and is entitled to an equally straight answer from me.

I have described myself as a Harijan by adoption and in order to qualify myself for the privilege that it is to me, I have endeavoured to enter the very depths of their feelings. I have lived with them, dined with them, and they have always claimed the

[1] *Vide* Appendix XIII.

CWMG LIII

first place in my thoughts and my prayers. I have done so not to do any favour to them, but as a matter of religious duty.

I am a Hindu not merely because I was born in the Hindu fold, but I am one by conviction and choice. As I know it and interpret it, it gives me all the solace I need, both here and hereafter. It solves for me many riddles of life. But it also contains, as it is practised today, the big blot of untouchability in the sense in which it is understood today, that is, distinction between man and man, one occupying the topmost rung of the ladder and another the lowest. If this doctrine of utmost superiority and utmost inferiority, descending from father to son for eternity, is an integral part of Hinduism without the slightest prospect of a change, then I no more want to belong to it than does Dr. Ambedkar. But I am convinced that this doctrine of eternal damnation is a thing utterly foreign to the spirit of Hinduism and the Shastras as I have understood them. There is no superiority or inferiority in the Hinduism of my conception. Therefore I should go the whole length with Dr. Ambedkar in fighting the arrogation of superiority on the part of any individual or class over any other. My fight against untouchability is a fight against this horrid doctrine. If untouchability goes from the heart of Hindus, superiority and inferiority are also gone.

But when Dr. Ambedkar wants to fight varnashrama itself I cannot be in his camp, because I believe varnashrama to be an integral part of Hinduism. It is quite evident that the varnashrama of Dr. Ambedkar's conception is being practised today, but that is not my conception of varnashrama. In my opinion, at present both varnadharma and ashramadharma are in abeyance, and if I were asked what varna is in operation at present, I would say Shudra varna, not because it is the lowest, but because it is the only thing that remains, for the divine knowledge, the power behind it and wealth for the support of this knowledge and power are gone. Knowledge, power and wealth there certainly are in a way. But in the religious conception of varnadharma, these three have to be used not for personal ends, but for spiritual and social advance. The only thing that remains open for all today is service, also included in the scheme of varnashramadharma, for a spiritual end. Out of that spirit of service, it is possible to revive spiritual knowledge, the power to defend it and the wealth to sustain both. Then, those who are in possession of that knowledge, and will use it for society will be Brahmins, those who use that power for the benefit of society will be Kshatriyas, and those who gain wealth and use

wealth, also for society, are Vaishyas. They will all depend for their very existence on Shudras, the embodiments of real service. For me that is true varnashrama, and there is no question of superiority or inferiority in this conception.

The Shudra is as necessary for society as the Brahmin. Each will have, more or less, all the qualities and privileges of the rest, but people belonging to particular varnas will perform the special service assigned to them. There is then, in this conception, no question of privilege, but only duty and service.

I invite Dr. Ambedkar to shed his bitterness and anger and try to learn the beauties of the faith of his forefathers. Let him curse the caste Hindus as much as he likes but let him not curse Hinduism without making an unbiassed study of it, and if it fails to sustain him in the hour of need, by all means let him forsake it.

Coming to the question of temple-entry, I entirely agree with him that Harijans cannot be and must not be beggars for it. It is for the caste Hindus to open temples whole-heartedly or not at all. I would repeat that the opening of temples is one of the duties that caste Hindus owe to Harijans. I hope Dr. Ambedkar's statement is not intended to convey the meaning that Harijans do not feel the deprivation of the right to temple-entry, for I know from personal knowledge that for thousands of them, it is a serious deprivation. The betterment of their economic and educational conditions is undoubtedly required. But no betterment of those conditions will give religious equality. That can be attained only by admission into temples and all the religious consolation to which caste Hindus are today entitled. This religious equality cannot be attained even by statute, but only when the heart of the caste Hindus is changed. The Bills before the Assembly are not intended to force open the temples to Harijans, but only to make it possible for the caste Hindus to throw them open when the hearts of the majority are changed.

Dr. Ambedkar has confined himself to the criticism of the second Bill (Temple-entry Bill on the model of Dr. Subbaroyan's Bill). In my opinion, this Bill is designed to test caste Hindu feelings. When the hearts of the majority are changed, temples would be thrown open. Surely, Dr. Ambedkar does not want forcible opening of temples. I do not, for one moment, hold the opinion, which he does, that the majority of caste Hindus today are not prepared to open temples to Harijans. Evidence of the Guruvayur referendum, despite Dr. Ambedkar's belittling, is undoubtedly in favour of a change of heart on the part of caste Hindus. The referendum in Madura too, recently published.

points in the same direction. There will be time enough to show dissatisfaction and disappointment when caste Hindus had been given an opportunity of expressing their opinion. Dr. Ambedkar, I observe, has remained silent about the first Bill (Untouchability Bill). It withdraws the recognition of secular law from the recognition of religious belief. I hope he has no objection to this Bill, but whether he has or not, caste Hindus have a duty to perform, that is, to secure the passage of the Bills with the utmost despatch.

The Hindu, 15-2-1933; also *The Hindustan Times*, 15-2-1933

409. LETTER TO M. G. BHANDARI

February 15, 1933

DEAR MAJOR BHANDARI,

There are two matters that I have discussed with you, with which you have told me you have no authority to deal.

The first matter relates to the supply of newspapers to me in terms of the orders of the Government of India, giving me special facilities about untouchability propaganda. Somehow or other hitherto I have managed to cope with my work in spite of restrictions that you have been exercising about newspapers addressed to me. I have already drawn your attention to very important matters escaping my notice owing to the non-delivery of these papers. However careful your staff may be, they cannot always be sure of having all the cuttings relating to untouchability in the papers received. Some papers such as Dr. Ambedkar's I have to look through fully and carefully. So far as I read the Government of India orders they contemplate no restrictions on the prompt receipt by me of correspondence and newspapers. It is obvious that I cannot carry on propaganda if I do not get such things in proper time. I therefore ask that all the newspapers received for me and which do not come under the heading of "prohibited literature" should be delivered to me as they arrive. Of course they may be taken away from me as soon as I have used them. I need hardly repeat the assurance that I have no use for them save for the one purpose to which all my energy and attention are being exclusively directed. I shall therefore thank you to obtain necessary and early instructions in the matter.

The second matter is about the new weekly *Harijan* which is being published in Poona in the interest of the Servants of Untouchables Society. Its policy is naturally being controlled by

me as it has been published at my instance. It has therefore to deal exclusively with questions relating to untouchability only and therefore it is a purely socio-religious weekly. I ask you whether copies could be sent to my associates and fellow-prisoners whether belonging to 'B' class or 'C' class. I would thank you if you will kindly ask for Government's instructions on my request. I may draw the attention of the Government to the fact that in 1922 when I was admitted into this Prison as a convicted prisoner and when in all other matters except food and sanitary conveniences I had no facilities given to me except what were permitted to other prisoners, there never was any difficulty about my getting newspapers of a purely socio-religious character. I hope, therefore, there will be none this time about the giving of *Harijan* to my friends, the fellow-prisoners.

Lastly, will you please convey my thanks to the Government for their very prompt attention to my letters[1] about Shrimati Mirabehn (Slade) and Appasaheb Patwardhan.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Bombay Secret Abstracts, Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 800 (40) (4), Pt. II, p. 123

410. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

February 15, 1933

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

In the hope of giving you a good letter against your splendid letter[2] I have been postponing writing to you. But I can do so no longer. Daily the work is increasing. I must therefore write now and do the best I can. I wonder if you are allowed an innocent paper like *Harijan*. I am sending it in the hope that you will get it. If you do, you will please let me have your opinion. The fight against sanatanists is becoming more and more interesting if also increasingly difficult. The one good thing is that they have been awakened from long lethargy. The abuses they are hurling at me are wonderfully refreshing. I am all that is bad and corrupt on this earth. But the storm will subside. For I apply the sovereign remedy of ahimsa—non-retaliation. The more I ignore the abuses, the fiercer they are becoming. But it is the death dance

[1] *Vide* pp. 237-8 and 269-70.
[2] *Vide* Appendix XIV.

of the moth round a lamp. Poor Rajagopalachari and Devdas! They are also in for it. They are dragging out the engagement with Lakshmi and weaving round it foul charges. Thus is untouchability being supported!

Sarup and Krishna[1] saw me the other day about untouchability and Indu[2] as part of the domestic interview. Indu was in excellent health and seemed to be quite happy. Sarup is having a brief tour in Kathiawar and Gujarat for anti-untouchability and Krishna was to have gone to Allahabad. Devdas is in Delhi helping Raja who is moving the M.L.A.s for the anti-untouchability Bills. Our time is being wholly occupied by the untouchability work. Sardar Vallabhbhai contributes all the envelopes for the ever-increasing number of outgoing letters. He is the diligent newspaper reader who digs out odd bits of information on untouchability and what not. He is also a factory for the inexhaustible supply of mirth. The inspection day is just the same to him as any other day. He never has any request to make. With me never a day passes but I have some request to make. But I do not know which is the happier. Why may I not be as happy as he, if I can take my defeats without pulling a long face!

We all envy your solitude and your studies. It is true that our burdens are of our own making or more accurately of my making. I have dashed to pieces all Vallabhbhai's hope of becoming a good Sanskrit scholar. He can't concentrate on his studies in the midst of the excitement of Harijan work and the daily dish of spiced criticism which he enjoys like the Bengal footballers their game. Mahadev continues to be what Shaukat described him to be—the *hamal*[3] of the party. No work is too much for him or beyond him. Chhaganlal Joshi is still finding his feet. But he is flourishing. With the spring now well on us, he cannot fail to blossom out. We are not a bad assortment. We observe the rules of the game and so make a fairly decent family strictly regulated by the code of varnashrama which between Dr. Ambedkar and me will soon provide a new sensation for the sanatanists. More trouble for me but none of my seeking, I assure you. I have now only space and time enough to say we all hope your progress all round continues steadily.

Love from us all.

BAPU

A Bunch of Old Letters, pp. 109-10

[1] Krishna Hutheesing
[2] Indira Gandhi
[3] Porter

411. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

February 15, 1933

MY DEAR THAKKAR BAPA,

I have your letter of the 9th instant, regarding Travancore Christian Pulayas. If they are unapproachable I don't know that we can exclude them from our service. After all, what is the service? The admission to schools we may not refuse to Christian unapproachables, or to wells. Again we may not refuse to share the wells with them. The line has to be drawn at the temples of course. Therefore you can say that Christian unapproachables would be entitled to the same civic services as the other unapproachables. When it comes to the question of giving individual scholarships, there may be a difficulty. But I am not inclined to anticipate and provide against it now. When it comes, we shall deal with it. All this, however, is my individual view and you should take it for what it is worth.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 1110

412. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

February 15, 1933

DEAR THAKKAR BAPA,

With reference to your letter of the 11th instant, Mr. Simon's[1] letter cannot be disregarded. He should be definitely asked whether he and the young men who would work under his supervision can conscientiously work amongst the untouchables purely with a view to 'service' and without the slightest mental reservation as to making them Christians. Their ambition should be to make them better Hindus and better members of society. You should tell Mr. Simon plainly that unless we have that guarantee, we may

[1] M. R. Simon, a representative of the Children's Special Service Mission in London. He had requested the addressee to accept some people from his Mission for the untouchability work.

not make the experiment of employing non-Hindu agencies. If Mr. Simon undertakes work under those conditions he should be entrusted with it and called upon not only to render at least a fortnightly report to you but to keep himself in touch with the local branch of the Society. You should also find out through Christian friends from St. Stephen's College what they can say about Mr. Simon.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: G.N. 1111; also S.N. 20252

413. LETTER TO HARDAYAL NAG

February 15, 1933

DEAR HARDAYAL BABOO,

I have your cheery letter. I hope you are combating the disease[1] for all you are worth and that though you are the oldest member of the family you have still vigour enough to fight it.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 20255

414. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

February 15, 1933

CHI. NARANDAS,

I send with this letters for Jethabhai, Jivaram and Budhabhai. I also send the letter written by Jivaram. It should be shown to all the inmates. It reveals his sincerity and the devotion with which he is working in Orissa. The letter need not be returned.

BAPU

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

[1] Of untouchability

CWMG - LIII

415. LETTER TO JANAKIDEVI BAJAJ

February 15, 1933

CHI. JANAKIBEHN,

It is Jamnalal's definite opinion that Om[1] should be separated. His next suggestion is that Om should be placed with Varutai. She will look after her carefully. If, however, you have any objection to this, she may be put either in the Ashram or in Sharda Mandir according as you wish. You should now select one of the three places, make the necessary arrangements without delay and inform me what you have done. Jamnalal thinks that you will prefer the Varutai proposal to the others, and he himself likes it most.

As for Kesarbehn, Jamnalal intends to make arrangements for separation as soon as he is released.

You should not delay in taking the necessary steps in such matters.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2910

416. LETTER TO PARIKSHITLAL L. MAJMUDAR

February 15, 1933

BHAI PARIKSHITLAL,

I got your telegram. I did not mean Saruprani, Jawaharlal's mother, but meant Sarupbehn, his sister, wife of Ranjit Pandit, who is in Bombay. As Pandit belongs to Rajkot, Sarupbehn can be regarded as a Kathiawari. The name given to her by her husband's family is Vijayalakshmi. She will reach Bhavnagar on 19th. Consult Ramjibhai and fix up your programme. Sarupbehn's address is: Meher Villa, Laburnum Road, Gamdevi, Bombay. If you can, send a weekly report of the progress of work in Gujarat for publication in *Harijan*.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3962

[1] Addressee's daughter Uma

417. LETTER TO RUKMINIDEVI AND BENARSILAL BAZAJ

February 15, 1933

CHI. RUKMINI,

I forgot to reply to one question which you had asked in your postcard. If the yarn spun by a person as contribution to the Spinners' Association is removed from the spindle and wound into a hank by somebody else, there will certainly be no violation of the *yajna*. However, the porridge will be sweet in proportion to the quantity of jaggery which you mix with it. Similarly, the *yajna* will be perfect in proportion to the labour which one puts in for spinning and producing yarn. If the spinning-wheel is got ready by one person, the yarn is moistened by somebody else, the length is measured by a third person and the yarn is wound into a hank by a fourth person and I only spin, I shall have done the *yajna* but shall deserve only pass marks.

Radhika's ship of health is certainly weak. One cannot say whether it will reach the shore safely.

CHI. BENARSILAL,

Jamnalal is quite well. Janakidevi was here on a visit.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9153

418. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

February 15, 1933

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

Your letter has reached me today after a long time. I hope you received the special letter I wrote four days back. I wrote it on learning of your fits. But your letter contains no mention of the fits. I gave the details of my food, etc., in that letter. Blessings to Kanta. Keep writing to me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 3432

419. LETTER TO TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU

February 16, 1933

DEAR DR. SAPRU,

I thank you for both your letters[1] and your telegram. I am approaching the members of the Assembly in my own way. Though I have written to the Viceroy,[2] there is no reply from him. Rajagopalachari and Ghanshyamdas are both doing their utmost to consolidate the opinion of the members of the Assembly. I see that you have considered only one Bill[3]. I would like you to consider the other also. It is a very short Bill. That also is before the Assembly and it is the first of the two to receive sanction for introduction. Therefore I take it that it would be the first to be considered by the current session of the Assembly, if it is to be considered at all.

For ready reference I am sending you Rajagopalachari's booklet containing both the Bills. If it does not come into your hands at the same time that this letter does, you will perhaps not mind sending for the first Bill from the *Leader* office.

I would suggest your writing to the Viceroy. Mr. Jayakar has written at my request.

Thank you for your enquiry about my health. I am keeping quite fit and well.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: G.N. 7588. Also Gandhi-Sapru Correspondence. Courtesy: National Library of Calcutta

[1] Dated February 2 and 11. In his letter dated February 2, 1933, the addressee had expressed his sympathy and support for the campaign against untouchability and stated: ". . . that even a moderate measure of this character has not much of a chance in the Assembly as it is constituted. . . . Meanwhile, my advice is that you should, over your own signature, address a communication to the members of the Legislature asking them to push forward this legislation. I fear an attempt will be made to secure the circulation of this Bill, which, in my opinion, will be tantamount to shelving it for the time being. Orthodox opinion may well be presumed to be hostile to it. It seems to me a clash with that opinion is inevitable." For extracts from his letter dated February 11, *vide* "Dr. Sapru on Untouchability Bills", 25-2-1933.

[2] *Vide* "Letter to Private Secretary to Viceroy", pp. 202-4.

[3] Ranga Iyer's Bill on untouchability

420. LETTER TO L. R. PANGARKAR

February 16, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I endeavoured to send you as full a reply as the time at my disposal would permit me to send.

I entirely endorse your suggestion that just as others learn from the Gods and the scriptures what they want to, so must I. Some people learn only by making blunders. I have often found myself doing so, but I don't regret for the simple reason that at the time I made the blunders I was wholly unconscious of them. I try to be cautious, but however cautious I may be, unless I become a perfect man, I cannot become proof against unconscious errors. But so long as I retain the capacity to own them frankly and fully as soon as I become conscious, it is well with me and well even with those who may be affected by my errors. If by fear of blunder I hesitated to act at all I should never succeed in reaching truth.

I must persist in saying that the Bills before the Assembly are in no way intended to compel anybody to act contrary to his conscience. I quite see your own viewpoint. It is my misfortune that I cannot make you see mine. I can therefore only ask you to be patient with me.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. L. R. PANGARKAR
NASIK CITY

From a microfilm: S.N. 20262

421. LETTER TO DUNCAN GREENLEES

February 16, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I was wondering what had happened to my letter[1] when I received yours of the 10th instant. Of course there can be no pledge till you know those with whom you have to work and

[1] *Vide* pp. 206-7.

they know you.[1] I hope you have got your box. I shall await your arrival.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 20263

422. LETTER TO B. R. AMBEDKAR

February 16, 1933

DEAR DR. AMBEDKAR,

I thank you for your letter of the 12th instant enclosing your statement. I did not receive anything from the Associated Press, but I saw it in the daily Press. I hope you saw my reply[2]. I wish that you could appreciate my viewpoint.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 20265

423. INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS

February 16, 1933

Commenting on the statement in the *News Chronicle* that untouchability is an evil extraordinarily difficult to uproot by legislation alone, Mr. Gandhi said:

I am not surprised at the ignorance betrayed by the writer in the *News Chronicle* when we have in India itself obstinate refusal on the part of many people to see that there is nothing at all in the two Bills in the shape of compulsion. I could understand the difficulty, if there was a measure to abolish untouchability by law.

Again, the writer asks whether the Government ought to regard the abolition of untouchability as a duty imposed on it by considerations of humanity such as compelled it to abolish suttee. Surely, a comparison between the Suttee Suppression Law and the present Bills is most misleading. The practice of suttee is a penal offence, whereas the present Bill merely withholds legal recognition from untouchability. In my opinion, the Government is morally bound to help the reformers to adopt reforms wherever public

[1] The addressee had welcomed the opportunity of going to the Ashram provided it was treated by both as an experiment, with no pledge as to the future on either side.

[2] *Vide* pp. 305-8.

opinion is ripe for it. British journalists should recognize the correctness of the reformers' position. They do not seek to bring about reforms by compulsion. Not to pass these measures will be a block on the progress of reform, which is being prosecuted by reformers against heavy odds.

Asked if he was doing anything to persuade the members of the Assembly to facilitate the passage of the Bills, Mr. Gandhi said that he had adopted the most effective step in sending Mr. Rajagopalachariar there to present his case and seek the assistance of every member, Hindu members for supporting the Bills, and non-Hindus for facilitating consideration of the Bills in this session itself.

The Hindu, 17-2-1933

424. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA

February 17, 1933

CHI. GANGABEHN,

I had written a postcard to you. I had not much expected to receive a reply, since, if you wrote to everybody, you would soon exhaust the number of letters which you were entitled to write. However, I got news about you from time to time. When you are out of jail, write to me an account of how you passed your time. My companions and I are quite well. But you will know all about that from my letter[1] to Mira.

I regularly write to the women prisoners here.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 8796. Courtesy: Gangabehn Vaidya

425. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

February 17, 1933

CHI. MIRA,

I begin this at 3.15 a.m. on Friday. It seems that now I shall get your weekly letter not on Wednesday morning but on Thursday afternoon. It suits me better. For I have no time for personal letters on Wednesdays and Thursdays, both the days

[1] *Vide* the following item.

CWMG - LIII

being required for *Harijan*. Everything must go out of my hands by 6 p.m. on Thursday. Hence though I must write on other days as well for *Harijan*, I must devote Wednesdays and Thursdays entirely to it. This is almost as before.

The extra note that I thought I might have to write I did not and could not have written with but extraordinary effort.

I gather from your letter that you are not locked for the night. You must take the fullest advantage of that liberty. The best food you want is the freshest air all day and all night. Therefore you should work outdoor during the day, if, as I learn, you have many *neem* trees in your yard. You should sleep all night directly under the sky—not even the shade of the trees—dew or no dew. The most direct contact with the stars is absolutely essential. Dew causes no mischief so long as you are well covered from toe to neck and the head also if necessary and so long as your lips are tightly closed and you are sure that you are breathing only through the nose—to ensure this at the time of retiring you should take a few deep breaths through the nose whilst you are lying flat on your back with legs fully stretched. You should set apart certain fixed time, say, five minutes each time for taking these breaths. Then you will acquire the habit of always breathing through the nose. Those who, without practice, think that they naturally breathe through the nose, are not always right. They do not know when they breathe through the mouth. Unfortunately in the majority of cases correct breathing is an acquired habit. Tuberculosis is an impossibility with one who takes freshest air, drinks pure water, eats properly the proper quantity of the proper food and has proper exercise.

I have thanked the Government for removing you from Arthur Road. They have done it promptly and well. It is true that I had definitely asked for transfer to Yeravda. But they must have their good reasons for not transferring you there. Sabarmati is undoubtedly the next best, knowing you as I do—Sabarmati should be the best if you realized that though my body dwells in Yeravda, my spirit is to be found in Sabarmati. The body without the spirit is like the Taj without Shahjehan—a tomb!

You should have reported all about the glands to the Surgeon at Arthur Road. We may not ask for transfers but we are bound to report our condition. For the authorities hold our bodies in the expectation that we shall report all about their condition to them. If we do not, we commit at least a technical, if not a full breach, of prison discipline. You will therefore report every irregularity to the Superintendent who the Government tell

me is an I. M. S. officer and therefore a fully qualified physician. You should try to make your body 100 per cent proof against disease.

It is a great joy to me that you have Ba with you and Gangabehn and Kusum. Have you no access to the others?

Tell Gangabehn[1] and Kusum that I wrote to both of them. I enclose letters for them and Ba. You will hand them, if they are entitled or permitted to have them. There is nothing in them but welfare news.

My weight and food continue as usual and so also the elbows.

With love from us all,

BAPU

[PS.]

Have just heard from Verrier that Verrier is to marry Mary Gillett on Thursday during Easter week, i.e., 13th April.

[PPS.]

Of course all the instructions I have given in this letter are subject to revision by the Superintendent.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6263. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9729

426. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

February 17, 1933

MY DEAR CHARLIE,

I hope you have been receiving my letters regularly. Herewith Dr. Ambedkar's statement and my reply[2]. The rest you have in *Harijan*. I also want you to read the statements of the two Harijan leaders Rajan and Deorukhkar.

I have now heard from the Viceroy[3] in reply to my letter[4]. The trend of it is that he insists upon circulating the Bills, and in the Assembly too there is little hope of a majority resisting circulation. I don't mind. It simply shows against what odds one has to fight, and on the top of that has come Malaviyaji's disagreement. This legal difficulty is an unexpected thunderbolt, but one has to deal with such difficulties also. I had expected that the

[1] Gangabehn Vaidya; for the letter to her, *vide* the preceding item.
[2] *Vide* pp. 305-8.
[3] *Vide* Appendix IX.
[4] *Vide* pp. 202-4.

Government would not help to impede the progress of reform. God will show me the way. You must not worry.

Love from us all.

MOHAN

From a photostat: G.N. 980; also S.N. 20269

427. LETTER TO AGATHA HARRISON

February 17, 1933

MY DEAR AGATHA,

I have your letter with the two enclosures which you dug out of Andrews's pocket.

Now that I give you a long letter in the shape of *Harijan*, you must not expect personal letters except rarely.

I know that you are working full speed and that is all we can do. The results are controlled by the Infinite Power, and hence we may not worry.

I have enclosed a number of important cuttings with Andrews's letter. Do get them all and read them.

Love from us both.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 1461

428. LETTER TO F. MARY BARR

February 17, 1933

MY DEAR MARY,

You have dried up after your misbehaviour in getting asthma. I understand that you are better. That is not enough. You have to be thoroughly restored. I hope your food is all right. Dal is not light food. You should eschew it. Bread, greens, milk and fruit is your diet.

Do please tell me all about your experiences.[1] Was Father Lash comfortable there?

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 5992. Also C.W. 3317. Courtesy: F. Mary Barr

[1] The addressee was staying at the Sabarmati Ashram at this time. Father Lash also stayed there for some time; *vide* "Letter to Bill Lash", pp. 228-30.

429. LETTER TO ESTHER MENON

February 17, 1933

MY DEAR CHILD,

Nowadays my time is more than fully occupied. Two clear days have to be given to *Harijan* to the exclusion of every other work. Therefore brief as they were, my love-letters have to be briefer still. But there is some compensation in that you have my general letter in the form of *Harijan*.

I know quite well what my visit to London meant to you. We do not know God's hidden ways. If we only submit to Him, He makes us do many things even unconsciously to ourselves. It will be such a joy to me if you never find yourself in the Valley of Despair, for, to be there even for one moment means lack of faith in a living God.

I enclose herewith a letter[1] for Jack Hansen[2].

Mahadev was delighted to have Tangai's sweet letter.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: No. 119. Courtesy: National Archives of India. Also *My Dear Child*, p. 99

430. LETTER TO MARGARETE SPIEGEL

February 17, 1933

MY DEAR MARGARETE,

I have your letter. I hope you have been receiving all my letters.

You should not think of coming here in the hope of getting a professorship or something of that kind so as to enable you to support your mother. You will only come when the way is perfectly clear for you. Surely, it is possible for you to love India even from where you are and to do many acts of service. You have plenty of years before you. Go through the necessary train-

[1] This is not available.

[2] "John Hoyland" in *My Dear Child*

ing, keep India your goal, and some day you will gravitate here. Of course you are like Lakshmi to me or Mira. But you must also realize that it is a hard yoke to bear.

Love.

BAPU

Spiegel Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

431. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

February 17, 1933

DEAR SATISBABOO,

Your telegram was received yesterday. A reply was sent most hurriedly. I forgot therefore to give you my opinion of the name of the Bengali edition. Why should it not be identical with the title of the English weekly, simply 'Harijan'? You will publish the Bengali edition as of the original, but you need not give and it should be wrong to give whole translation of everything that may appear in the English weekly. You should give only a condensed translation of whatever appears in the English edition. You will even omit certain things which may not be necessary for the Bengali reader and put in many other things, but nothing inconsistent with the tenor of the English edition. You will therefore personally supervise every line that appears in it. You will send me also for the English weekly whatever news you may have about the progress of the movement in Bengal.

Perhaps you have replied to the Manager of the *Harijan* as to the number of copies you want per week.

How is your work in the *bastis*[1] progressing, and how are you keeping yourself?

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 20272

[1] Localities inhabited by the poor

432. LETTER TO STUDENTS OF SEVA SADAN HIGH SCHOOL

February 17, 1933

DEAR YOUNG FRIENDS,

I have your letter. I shall be glad to see you all on Monday next, the 20th instant, at 2.30 p.m. You will not take more than 30 minutes and if you will come with questions prepared beforehand, we should be able to go through a lot of work in 30 minutes.

Yours sincerely,

THE SECRETARY
STANDARD VI
SEVA SADAN HIGH SCHOOL
POONA CITY

From a microfilm: S.N. 20271

433. LETTER TO MANIBEHN N. PARIKH

February 17, 1933

CHI. MANIBEHN,

You should not regard anything I write as a rebuke to you. If you do that, I shall be able to write nothing which may help you. What I wrote certainly does not apply to you alone. It applies to all, not excluding even myself. We must know what an ideal mother should be. I don't think that you have enough knowledge to be an ideal mother. Hard work may certainly help a woman to make up for part of the deficiency, but the original deficiency can be removed only by realizing it and taking the necessary steps to overcome it. The practice of making the children brush their teeth before going to bed is a good one. Massage the gums vigorously with your fingers. The babool stick is not so efficacious.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5974

434. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

February 17, 1933

CHI. NARANDAS,

Wednesdays and Thursdays are devoted wholly to *Harijan*. I cannot, therefore, write any letters on those days. Amina's problem seems to have been solved for the present. How painful that a Muslim boy or girl cannot be admitted in a Hindu institution? Of course Chandulal[1] or Nanabhai[2] are in no way to blame. They could not have given any other reply.

I don't think you read the letter written by Suresh. It is a long one. Let me know how you found him. Mahavir wrote to me from Bombay. He wants a letter of recommendation. I don't wish to give him one. Krishnamaiyadevi does not wish at all to work. I intend to write to her.

You will find with this a letter from Maruti. In view of what he says in it, it is best that they should be married as soon as possible. If Dudabhai or Lakshmi rejects the proposal, we will refuse further responsibility for getting her married. Read the accompanying letters.

Blessings from
BAPU

[Letters:] Narahari, Suresh, Manibehn, Maruti's to Lakshmidas, Marybehn[3], Lakshmi, Dudabhai, Amina.

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

435. LETTER TO CHHOTALAL K. MEHTA

February 17, 1933

CHI. NAPOLEON,

I was very happy when I read your letter. I did not receive the one written from Navasari. It was good that you went to Visapur. What is Somabhai suffering from?

[1] Chandulal Kashiram Dave, Principal of Sharda Mandir, Ahmedabad
[2] Narsinhprasad Kalidas Bhatt
[3] F. Mary Barr

Your handwriting is certainly better than it was. But it should improve still further. How many boys are there in your class? Give me details about what you are learning.

Sardar, Mahadevbhai and Chhaganlal send their blessings to you. Where is Kunvarji? How is he?

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I have written this letter with the left hand to give rest to the right hand.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2694

436. LETTER TO BHAILAL MOTIRAM PATEL

February 17, 1933

BHAI BHAILAL,

Thanks for sending me Lord William Bentinck's views on suttee.

Regards from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3298

437. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

February 17, 1933

I got your letter. You will see from the *Harijan* that it is not very necessary now to go to Panditji. We should not mind that the difference[1] has come out in the open. . . .[2]

[From Gujarati]

Bapuni Prasadi, p. 120

[1] Between Gandhiji and Malaviyaji over the untouchability Bills
[2] Omission as in the source

CWMG - LIII

438. LETTER TO HEMPRABHA DAS GUPTA

February 17, 1933

CHI HEMPRABHA,

I have your letter. Do whatever khadi work you can but with a carefree attitude even though the work prospers but a little. If our faith is sustained to the end, khadi and *Daridranarayana* are bound to emerge victorious.

When it becomes possible you can come here.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1698

439. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

February 17, 1933

CHI. BRIJKISAN,

Your letter. That you two are together is to my liking.[1] Both must be keeping fit. Yes, you will have to give up the attachment to Mother and the brothers. By our attachment we give them cause for hope and they are grieved when we cannot later fulfil their hope. When they are made to understand clearly, they no longer harbour hope but acquire a healthy attitude.

We are all well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2398

[1] The addressee was under detention in the Delhi jail.

CWMG III

440. LETTER TO RAMADEVI CHOWDHARY

February 17, 1933

DEAR SISTER,

I have your letter. You have not introduced yourself nor given your proper address. Give me a weekly account of your work. Who are the other ladies working there and what exactly are they doing? To what extent do the townspeople co-operate with you?

Blessings from
MOHANDAS GANDHI

SMT. RAMADEVI[1]
HARIJAN SEVIKA
C/O HARIJAN SEVA SANGH
CUTTACK

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2789

441. AN APPEAL TO M. L. A. S

A valued friend suggests[2] that I should send personal letters to the members of the Assembly bespeaking their support to the consideration, during the current session, of Sjt. Ranga Iyer's two Bills on untouchability. I hope there is no false pride in me. Having made up my mind, or, as critics would say, deceived myself into the belief, that in spite of my non-co-operation there was nothing wrong in asking the members to do what was right, I would not hesitate, if I was free, to go to them personally and show to them why it was necessary for all the members to allow the Bills to be considered without delay and for the Hindu members to back them for the sake of the purity of their religion. But I am not free and I have found in Sjt. C. Rajagopalachariar a better lobbyist than myself and perhaps better also at the art of wooing obstinate members. He is, therefore, in Delhi as my duly authorized agent to plead my cause. The public know what confidence I have in him as an exponent of and believer in

[1] Wife of Gopabandhu Chowdhary, a prominent khadi worker of Orissa
[2] *Vide* "Letter to Tej Bahadur Sapru", p. 315.

whatever philosophy there may be in me. Therefore, it would be superfluous, and if it was any other agent, even discourteous to him, if I was to write directly to the members who, I hope, will regard Rajagopalachari's appeal to them as much more than a letter to them individually.

Harijan, 18-2-1933

442. SJT. JAYAKAR ON UNTOUCHABILITY

The foregoing[1] is the text kindly sent to me by Sjt. Jayakar of the Bill on untouchability which he had sought to introduce into the Assembly while he was a member. It is important for three reasons: Firstly, it shows that he, as a distinguished lawyer and an equally distinguished Sanskrit scholar, considers that his Bill merely seeks to remove "obstacles", created by British Indian courts' decisions, in the way of the abolition, even by the people concerned, of customs which they may consider contrary to their welfare, morals or conscience. Secondly, it is in substance a combination of the two Bills now before the Assembly and the country; and thirdly, it shows that the matter has been before the country for several years and is in no sense new. The British Indian courts' decisions and rulings referred to by Sjt. Jayakar have acted on the Hindu society as a deadweight which has stopped its healthy growth. The two Bills, like Sjt. Jayakar's combination, seek merely to remove the deadweight.

Harijan, 18-2-1933

443. WORK IN CALCUTTA BASTIS

Sjt. Vasantlal Morarka writes from Calcutta:

> We have already commenced to do work amongst the Harijans. We have taken charge of 20 night and day schools in the *bastis*. Nearly 500 boys and girls are receiving instruction in these schools, and we are tackling the problem of having water-pipes laid, sanitary conveniences supplied and of carrying on propaganda for the eradication of the drink evil and other evil habits. Moreover, we had a meeting and sports organized under the chairmanship of Shrimati Saruprani Nehru. Marwadi, Harijan and other boys freely mixed together. Men and women also did

[1] Not reproduced here

likewise. There was absence of all artificiality about this gathering. Nevertheless, I must confess to you that the work in the *bastis* is very difficult.

I know what the work in the *bastis* is like. Sjt. Satis Chandra Das Gupta of Khadi Pratishthan has already described to me in graphic and heart-rending terms the condition of the Harijans living in the *bastis*. These difficulties may not daunt workers. If removal of untouchability was an easy job, we would have achieved it long ago. It is only now that we are having a foretaste of these difficulties. But patience and perseverance will overcome even an Everest of them.

Harijan, 18-2-1933

444. IS THIS BROTHERLINESS?

As sanatanists persist in their statement that untouchability, as we know it, is not a blot upon Hinduism and that Harijans are well treated and are a happy and contented lot, and as I know that some of them, if not many, honestly believe in that statement, it becomes necessary to demonstrate the fallacy of that belief and show that the treatment actually received by Harijans cannot possibly be worse. Such demonstration will also give the reformer an idea of the work that is in front of him. Even when sanatanists and reformers join hands, as they undoubtedly will one day, there will be work enough and to spare for several thousand volunteers. Though I have written and I shall continue to write with vigour about the necessity of admission of Harijans to temples, I have never given and shall never give a back seat to the constructive work. But what I am certain about is that admission of Harijans to temples will automatically quadruple the pace of constructive reform.

Here is, then, a free translation of a letter from a Gujarati worker among Harijans in parts of Gujarat near Ahmedabad:

> Harijans suffer great hardships from the so-called higher classes. In some villages they are not allowed to build verandahs for their houses. They may not build houses with an upper storey. They may not wear decent clothing, nor ride horses. There can, therefore, be no question in these villages of Harijan children receiving any education or having a decent recreation ground. The high-class people will not even tolerate any discussion about reform. The Harijans cannot take advantage of the Government instructions that they should

have access to public places on the same terms as other Hindus. And now there have sprung among them false sadhus and *bavas*[1] who under all kinds of pretences cheat them. Then, there is the vicious habit they have copied from higher classes of having infant marriages and incurring expenses in connection with these marriages. They do not hesitate to pay 30% interest on two or three hundred rupees that they must spend on the marriage of their children, and it often happens that these little children die before they come of age and so the whole of the expense becomes a complete waste. These customs have resulted in a perpetuity of debts which continue to increase without the prospect of ever being discharged. And, of course, they have untouchability amongst themselves. The result is that those who are considered the lowest have to exist on what dirty water they can collect from anywhere.

This is from one of the latest letters. The following is taken from a letter received by Sjt. Amritlal Thakkar from one Mr. Simon, M. A., who is a missionary for Children's Special Service in the West Godavari District.[2] He writes from Narsapur and says:

> The principal untouchables are Malas and Madigas who live on the outskirts of the main village, far from the habitations of the caste Hindus, and are the worst untouchables in the sense that they live in an appalling environment of dirt and squalour. The boys and girls live in huts under the most insanitary conditions and are ragged and dirty, as they have never understood or experienced the joy of being clean. Their parents themselves are careless of the cleanliness and the education of their children, not to say of their morality.
>
> I believe that such a condition is due to their poverty on the one hand, and the dirt to which they have become habituated from ages. The Malapalem and the Madiga gudem are on the borders of the caste Hindus' village, hemmed in, on all sides, by the encroachments of the paddy field owners. The Malas are a coolie class employed only for field work and the Madigas are shoemakers. The latter class eat the meat of dead animals. So, they live outside the pale of decent society, caged like wild animals, treated worse than the most uncared for village dogs.

It is not possible for me to reject any of these two pieces of evidence as exaggerated, because I have been an eye-witness to such things in other places. Nor am I disposed to underrate Mr.

[1] Mendicants

[2] *Vide* "Letter to Amritlal V. Thakkar", pp. 311-2.

Simon's evidence because of his being a foreigner, for the simple reason that his letter has been written for the sake of doing some service through the Servants of Untouchables Society and, therefore, incurs the risk of being utterly discredited if he made an exaggerated report. Even from the most selfish point of view, it can be shown that this criminal neglect of the manpower of the country is an economic waste which can never be exaggerated. The same people, if they were made honourable and equal members of Hindu society, will add to the material and moral resources of the country to an extent it is difficult to conceive. At the present moment they are a burden upon society. For, they discredit Hinduism, and the depression of 40 million human beings cannot but drag down the other 260 millions with them.

Harijan, 18-2-1933

445. WHEN IS IT POSSIBLE?

I observe that Sjt. C. Rajagopalachariar and Sheth Ghanshyamdas Birla have, in a statement issued by them, referred to the possibility of another fast by me. If these two friends have thus not hesitated to exploit such a possibility, it is not unlikely that others are doing likewise without my knowing it. I have already sent a wire[1] to the two friends urging them not to repeat the mistake. And hereby I warn all friends against copying their example.

Such exploitation robs a spiritual act of all its value. The dreaded event may never come to pass. All I know is that there is, so far as I am aware, no present possibility of its coming.

Pandit Malaviyaji, whom I regard as an elder brother, has sent me a loving message of which the following is the substance:

> You are in a hurry. You must go slow. Take care that pride of *tapasya* does not corrupt you. *Tapasya* without humility is of no avail and may even be harmful. There should be no more fasting.

I prize this warning. I know that pride of merit damages a soul like a heinous sin. I hope I am not consciously proud. What I am, unconsciously and in spite of myself, God only knows fully and, to some extent, those who surround me. I am not impatient with anyone. I am, however, impatient of untouchabi-

[1] *Vide* p. 287.

lity. But I know that its destruction is no one man's work. God has suffered the evil to exist all these long years and He will remove it in His own good time.

Nevertheless, He expects all Hindus to do their duty. Suffering even unto death and, therefore, even through a perpetual fast is the last weapon of a satyagrahi. That is the last duty which it is open to him to perform. Therefore, fast is a part of my being as, I hold, it has been, to a large or small extent, of every seeker of Truth. I am making an experiment in ahimsa on a scale perhaps unknown in history. That I may be wholly wrong is quite possible, but quite irrelevant to the present purpose. So long as I am not conscious of the error, but, on the contrary, am sure, as far as it is humanly possible to be, of being in the right, I must go on with my pursuit to the farthest end. And in this manner, but in no other, a fast or a series of fasts are always a possibility in my life. I have undergone many before now since childhood. There should be no alarm felt if they are undertaken for public causes. Nor must anyone exploit them in anticipation. When they come, they will produce their own effect and result, whether anybody wills or no. But it is wrong to speculate over the contingency.

I, therefore, implore the public to dismiss from their minds, and be unaffected by, the remote possibility of another fast by me in this campaign against untouchability and to accept my assurance that, if such a fast does come, it will have come in obedience to the call of Truth which is God. I will not be a traitor to God to please the whole world.

Harijan, 18-2-1933

446. AGREEING TO DIFFER

There are some whose friendship and co-operation I prize beyond measure. One of such men is Pandit Malaviyaji, whom from the time that we first met I have recognized as an elder brother. Nevertheless, it has been often my misfortune to disagree with him. Our disagreement, however, has never in the slightest degree diminished our mutual affection.

The correspondence published below[1] will show the reader how we have again found it necessary to differ. Conscience is a hard taskmaster.

[1] Not reproduced here; *vide* pp. 95-6, 298 and Appendix V.

I do not propose to deal with all the points covered in the correspondence. I would confine myself to the vital matter referred to in it, viz., the interpretation of the Bombay Resolutions. In my opinion, with all the deference that I owe to Malaviyaji, I feel that the Bombay Resolution[1] which I give below has only one meaning. Under it, responsible Hindus are bound to give to the Harijans through law that which only law can give. This they are bound to do now, if at all possible, and wait for the swaraj Parliament only if the legal relief becomes an impossibility now. It cannot be considered an impossibility till all effort humanly possible has been made.

My duty and that of the Hindus who accept my interpretation is quite clear. We must ask all the members of the Assembly, and especially the Hindu members, to help us to fulfil the pledge given, not merely to Dr. Ambedkar and cultured Harijans like him, but to the dumb and suffering forty millions whom they seek to represent, and whom it should be the duty and privilege of every caste Hindu to represent equally with the leaders of the Harijans. Let me repeat for the hundredth time that there is a legal bar against temple-entry which cannot be removed by any agreement on the part of all the Hindus combined. A legal bar can only be removed by a legislative act. What an agreement amongst Hindus can do is to move the Government to give effect to it as was done in connection with the political part of the Yeravda Pact. Those caste Hindus who strained themselves to ensure recognition of the political part of the Yeravda Pact are now doubly bound to give effect to the other resolutions which were the direct and natural consequence of the Yeravda Pact; and since in the course of complying with those resolutions it has been discovered that there is a legal difficulty which was not foreseen then, that difficulty has got to be removed at the earliest possible moment. Hence the two Bills.

But, says Malaviyaji, temple-entry, the opening of wells, etc., had to be done by persuasion, not by compulsion. I quite agree, but to remove a legal bar is not to do the desired thing by compulsion. There is the Madura temple. If I am correctly informed, the trustees of that temple are elected by the Hindu voters. They are pledged to open the temple. By an overwhelming majority, the Hindu voters have desired the opening of the temple. But, because of the legal bar, the trustees cannot open the temple to the Harijans. Will it be compulsion to have that

[1] Not reproduced here; for the text of the Resolution, *vide* pp. 129-30.

legal bar removed by law? I can cite several other instances where willing trustees of public temples are powerless to give effect to the public demand and their own wishes. I venture, therefore, to think that there is no escape from permissive and corrective legislation. If the Bills are defective, the defect can be remedied. I have submitted the Bills to two eminent lawyers for their opinion. Sjt. Jayakar's the public will learn from another column of this issue of *Harijan*.[1] I have also approached Dr. Sapru,[2] and I betray no confidence when I inform the public that he has already expressed his opinion in emphatic terms in favour of the second Bill, i.e., the Temple-entry Bill, to which Malaviyaji has taken strong exception. Dr. Sapru sees no compulsion in it. I have invited him to examine the first Bill also. Every legitimate difficulty can be easily met if the principle of securing immediate relief from the legal obstacle is admitted. Therefore, in my opinion, the way before the reformer is quite clear. He must invite the Government to facilitate consideration of the Bills during the current session, and appeal to the members also to give that facility. Success or failure is not his concern. But earnest and ceaseless effort is his concern and is under his control, and he must not flinch, whether he is one or many.

Malaviyaji suggests that the Bills be circulated. I have not been able to follow his reasoning. If the Bills were of a compulsory character, I should not only support circulation, but perhaps I should oppose their introduction altogether. But the Bills are purely of a permissive character. They pave the way for ascertaining Hindu opinion in accordance with rules laid down in the law itself. I should be prepared to accept any amendment that would make it impossible to force the opening of a single public temple against the will of those who have been hitherto entitled to offer worship in the particular temple. After all, what is wanted is not removal of untouchability by law. If the Hindu heart harbours untouchability, it will be there, whether the law recognizes it or not. But the aid of law cannot be invoked to regulate religious belief, as it was invoked by sanatanists when the court decisions referred to by Sjt. Jayakar were obtained. Legal interference, therefore, was invoked by the very people who are today stoutly opposing the introduction of the Bills, which seek not to impose any compulsion, but to remove the existing compulsion, that makes

[1] *Vide* p. 329.

[2] *Vide* p. 156; for Sapru's opinion, *vide* "Dr. Sapru on Untouchability Bills", 25-2-1933.

impossible a due fulfilment of the pledge embodied in the Bombay Resolutions.

Harijan, 18-2-1933

447. TEMPLE-ENTRY AND VARNASHRAMA

It is to be hoped that the reader has read Dr. Ambedkar's statement and my reply[1] on the temple-entry question and thereanent on varnashramadharma. I had intended to republish them in *Harijan*, but I see that it is not possible to do so without enlarging the size of a journal which is just entering upon the second week of its existence. I have, therefore, relied upon the reader having read both Dr. Ambedkar's statement and my reply.

Let the reader understand that Dr. Ambedkar does want temple-entry, but he wants something more. Very rightly, he would not beg for it. Quite wrongly, he would not even help caste Hindus to do the correct thing. The more that he wants is complete destruction of varnashramadharma of his imagination. Varnashrama to him means the essence of superiority and inferiority. I admit that today varnashrama does mean that, if it also means much more, but the evil of high-and-low-ness is represented by untouchability. When, therefore, the latter is demolished, varnashrama will be purged of the very thing for which Dr. Ambedkar abhors it.

Varnashrama of my conception is a wholly different thing. It exists only in name today. Let the reader, therefore, be not led astray from the main purpose. It will be time enough to look after varnashrama when the doctrine of high and low is demolished.

It is necessary, too, not to be disturbed over my definition of varnashrama. I am aware that it will shock sanatanist friends, but they will permit me to act according to my reading of the Shastras and the whole spirit of Hinduism. The letters that I receive from sanatanists do not tell me that they believe in the doctrine of high and low. On the contrary, they protest against my statement that caste Hindus have regarded Harijans as inferiors, always to be kept at a distance. Therefore, they should join hands in purging Hinduism of the doctrine of inequality of status, irrespective of their conception of varnashrama. After all, only that conception which the masses accept will hold the

[1] *Vide* "Interview to Associated Press", pp. 305-8.

field. The scope of the present campaign against untouchability is strictly limited. It will be a great pity to befog the public mind by raising before it the cry of 'Varnashrama in danger'. I am convinced that it is more in danger from those who will be blind to what is going on in Hinduism today than from Dr. Ambedkar who courageously says: 'I shall have nothing to do with varnashrama that would keep me and mine for ever at the bottom of the social scale.' If we would find room for such as him in Hinduism, let us show him by our acts that varnashrama is not a vertical line but that it is a horizontal plane on which all the children of God occupy absolutely the same status, though they may be engaged in different pursuits of life and though they may have different qualities and different tastes.[1]

Harijan, 18-2-1933

448. LETTER TO MOTILAL ROY

February 18, 1933

DEAR MOTI BABOO,

I had expected to hear from you after your visit to Allahabad. Please make up the defect now.

I expect your criticism of *Harijan*. You should also ask some responsible people to get subscribers and send me a weekly report of the actual constructive work done by the members of the Sangh[2] among Harijans. The report should be unvarnished.

Please tell Panchanan Shastri Tarkaratna that he has keenly disappointed me. Nothing pains me so much as a breach of promise. He promised to prosecute his search for a meeting-ground between sanatanists and reformers.[3] I have heard nothing from him on the point. He promised twice that he would send his son or someone equally learned to put before me his own view and to answer my questions and help me generally to understand the sanatanists' standpoint. Is he still going to send some such person ?

Again, his son was one of the pandits who were to have seen me. I was grieved that he should have been amongst those who, in my opinion, behaved in a manner unworthy of learned men.[4]

[1] For a discussion on varnashramadharma, *vide* Appendix XV.
[2] Pravartak Sangh
[3] *Vide* Vol. LII, p. 308.
[4] *Vide* pp. 37 and 43-4.

I had to exercise great self-restraint in drawing the curtain over the events of that painful day. They were painful because those who should be repositories of the real Shastras seemed to be so wanting in dignity and ordinary courtesies of life. This is the very first occasion when I have put my pen to paper in order to characterize the conduct of the learned men on that day, and I have done so because of my regard for Panchanan Shastri, and because his son was one of those *Shastris*. If I accept anything from Panchanan Shastri, he should know exactly where I stand, and he should know what I think of those to whom he lent the weight of his name and the services of his son.

You will either send this very extract to him or its translation or go over to him and personally tell him what I have written to you.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 20283

449. LETTER TO LOKANATH MISRA

February 18, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your very touching letter, but you must not be bewildered nor be pained. My reply was in Gujarati, but the translation you have read is fairly correct. What I have said[1] in answer to the questions put by the ex-Dewan of Morvi I have said repeatedly in my writings. It could not have escaped you if you had followed my writings carefully. Nor is it inconsistent with the law of heredity. The law cannot be changed but if we know the law we will suit our actions in accordance with it and that is precisely what my answer means. Essential qualities are transmitted from father to son. If parties having like qualities marry, they carry out the law of heredity and therefore also the law of varna. Such marriages have taken place in Hindu society ever since the establishment of varnashrama. This ought to give you satisfaction. You do not expect me to give you a detailed reply to the conundrums you have raised. You will believe me when I tell you that I have not even the time for doing it. If you will carefully follow the pages of *Harijan*, all your doubts will be solved. But if they are not, you should dismiss me from your consideration.

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Ranchhoddas Patwari", pp. 13-24.

The cause is far superior to me. You and I live for the cause and work for it. If I err in the common prosecution of the common cause, you will leave me and march forward towards the goal. The limits of untouchability work are well defined. Never mind my views of extraneous matters, such as caste and varna, intermarriage and interdining. I am not presenting my views on these matters for public acceptance at the present moment. I give those views for the satisfaction of enquirers, for I would have my friends and the public to know me as I am and not picture me as something they fancy but has no likeness to me. If even this does not give you satisfaction, you must find time to come to me and discuss the whole thing with me till you have full satisfaction.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. LOKANATH MISRA, M. A., B. L.
SECRETARY, ANTI-UNTOUCHABILITY COMMITTEE
PURI

From a microfilm: S.N. 20284

450. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

February 18, 1933

MY DEAR THAKKAR BAPA,

You have sent me draft of constitution and rules of the Society. Four people have been at it. All of us four feel that it is to be re-drafted altogether. Shastri is at it just now. You will please forgive me if I am not ready with my suggestions yet for some time. It does not matter if it takes a little time, but whatever we give must be thoroughly sound and perfectly readable.

About the Harijan Day, I think that the announcement should come from you officially. I will then support it. It might be as well if a Harijan Day is desired to be proclaimed now and again to fix a day in the month or a day every two months so that people automatically know and it becomes a kind of a monthly or six-weekly or bi-monthly religious observance. You will now do whatever you think is necessary.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 20281

451. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

February 18, 1933

MY DEAR GHANSHYAMDAS,

Lest you might have forgotten all about the contribution to the *Aaj* through Baboo Bhagwandas, on account of his publishing the learned opinions by way of supplement to the *Aaj*, if you have not already sent anything, please do so now.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

From a copy: C.W. 7928. Courtesy : G. D. Birla

452. LETTER TO BHAGWANDAS

February 18, 1933

DEAR BABOOJI,

I have your letter of 13th instant. The reversion to the longer style of addressing was purely mechanical without thinking that I had taken to the more homely style. You will please keep me to it if in the hurry of dictating correspondence I repeat the mistake.

I have already written[1] to Ghanshyamdas about his promised contribution. I have no doubt that it will come if it has not already. He might have forgotten it. I will no longer belabour the point about the necessity of newspapers being self-supporting. I observe that you have sterilized my argument through your great soul theory;[2] only this soul had no greatness thrust upon him when he developed and reduced to practice the proposition.

I am deeply grieved to have the disturbing news about Shivaprasad's[3] health and the death of his grandson through accident.

Yours sincerely,

From a copy: S.N. 20274

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

[2] The addressee had written: "The *Aaj* has, so far, been carried on by the charity of its sole proprietor, Shivaprasadji. . . . *Young India* has realized the ideal you describe, yet this has been possible because a 'Great Soul' was its editor, and it costs Providence and whole nations many crores of rupees—if the matter must be treated in terms of finance—to evolve such a Great Soul".

[3] A leading Congressman and philanthropist of Varanasi and the founder of *Aaj*, a Hindi daily

453. LETTER TO B. N. SASMAL

February 18, 1933

MY DEAR SASMAL,

I was delighted to have your letter. I suppose we have various editions of the Kaviraj all over India. I hope you are getting your copy of *Harijan* and that if you are not reduced to utter poverty, as I see you are not, you will straightaway send your own subscription and subscriptions and names on behalf of others.

Yours sincerely,

From a copy: S.N. 20279

454. LETTER TO M. M. ANANTA RAU

February 18, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I have before me your two letters dated 8th and 14th February respectively. I would now ask you to cry a halt. I esteem the great pains you are bestowing upon your compositions, but I must tell you that your arguments produce no effect on my mind. Some of them I cannot follow at all. Some of them are wholly irrelevant to the issue. You often beg the question and equally often make assertions as if they were axioms. In my opinion that is not the way in which you will drive the truth home to anybody. I believe that I am very pervious to argument and that I have the capacity for seeing my critics' standpoint. You have prepossessed me in your favour by your courteous language and by your quietly accepting and acting up to my suggestion about the ornamentation of your letter-paper. I therefore approach your letter[s] with a desire to find substantial help from them, but you will excuse me for saying that I do not find any. I would therefore now ask you to close this correspondence. I would be guilty of discourtesy towards you if I left you under the impression that your argument was at all going home and that therefore you could continue your correspondence.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: C.W. 9576. Courtesy: Government of Mysore

455. LETTER TO F. MARY BARR

February 18, 1933

MY DEAR MARY,

Our letters crossed with each other. You are living up to the failing ascribed to your sex. The Ashram has been made to rid each sex of its failings. Will you get rid of yours and learn to give in your letters the things that should be there. You have omitted to mention your asthma. I hope it has left you entirely. *Puniam* is usually spelt *punyam*. You should learn the Devanagari script. You will take no more than a week giving one hour daily. Then you will know why you cannot express the original by *puniam*. Even the 'n' does not give the original sound. There are five nasal sounds in Sanskrit.

'Narandas' is quite enough. But the bad habit of attaching 'bhai' or 'ji' has been the vogue and takes the place of 'Mr.'. Strangers would use only the other suffix. But you may omit either, if you are older than Narandas. If you are younger, 'bhai' becomes necessary as a member of the family. Being daughter to me, you are as sister to Narandas and every other member in the Ashram. 'Bhai' means brother as 'behn' means sister. Here endeth the first lesson.

You must not be impatient with yourself, if you pick up new things slowly. They will all become easy and natural by determined practice.

Love from us all.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 5993. Also C.W. 3318. Courtesy: F. Mary Barr

456. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

February 18, 1933

CHI. NARANDAS,

I am sending a friend to you. His name is Duncan Greenlees. He is a B. A. of Oxford University. He was a teacher in a school in U. P. He has also been in jail. He intends to devote himself to Harijan work. I have advised him to stay in the

Ashram for some time and see how he feels there. If we and he find that he will be able to work with us, we may assign him some work. So let him stay there and give him some work. He should also do spinning and weaving. He may be given teaching work too. He is a man of simple habits and is a vegetarian. Ascertain his requirements. I am sure that he will not be a burden on you. Give him the expenses of his journey from Poona to Ahmedabad, or credit the amount to his name. It is likely to be between Rs. 10 and 12.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

457. LETTER TO RAMABEHN JOSHI

February 18, 1933

CHI. RAMA,

I got your letter. If you come on a Friday or Saturday and inform us in advance, you will be able to meet me. It is not necessary to write to anybody in advance to get an interview with me. It will be enough if you inform me about the date. People can see me between 12 and 1.30. I will fix up about Joshi after you let me know the date.

Since Vimu does not want me to call her silly, I hope she has given up her tantrums.

BAPU

[PS.]

I just learn that Chhaganlal wishes that you should not come just now, but may come after three months. If you want to, you may write to me about this.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5342

458. LETTER TO VIMALA JOSHI

February 18, 1933

CHI. VIMU,

I got your letter, and also the peahen sent by you. But what is the use of a peahen who does not speak at all? And

your handwriting is no better than your peahen, and, moreover, the letter is written in pencil. This will not do.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5309

459. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

February 18, 1933

CHI. NARANDAS,

I got your letter. I have already written to you about . . .[1]. You did right in writing to Harjivan. I am afraid . . .[2] will not live in Bombay. He has still not become straightforward. . . .[3] seems to be deceiving us. She does not at all wish to do any work. We, however, should support her as long as we can afford. If, therefore, your suggestions have been acted upon and are working, continue the arrangement. Read the letters to Marybehn and pass them on to her.

Did Father Lash make any suggestions? Did you cultivate his acquaintance?

What happened about that Muslim lady? How is she?

BAPU

[PS.]

Letters for Mary, Rama and Vimu enclosed.

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

460. LETTER TO GANGABEHN B. JHAVERI

February 18, 1933

CHI. GANGABEHN,

Your letter was welcome. I had been waiting for it. Come and see me next Tuesday. I am not writing more here as we shall meet soon.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3952

[1],[2] & [3] The names have been omitted.

CWMG - III

461. LETTER TO PARIKSHITLAL L. MAJMUDAR

February 18, 1933

BHAI PARIKSHITLAL,

It is not necessary to arrange a tour programme for Sarupbehn in Gujarat. I was never keen about it. My suggestion was only that you should take advantage of her presence if you thought it necessary.

I am in correspondence with Bhai Jaisukhlal about Gujarati *Harijan*.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3993

462. LETTER TO HARIBHAU UPADHYAYA

February 18, 1933

CHI. HARIBHAU,

I got your letter. When it is no longer necessary for you to go to the hospital for dressing and you have regained sufficient strength, you may come and see me provided you wish to discuss with me anything connected with the problem of untouchability. There has been no harm in your having got yourself operated upon. But otherwise your explanation as to the cause of the trouble is correct. It has its origin in the stomach. The only remedy, therefore, is fasting followed by a period of light diet. For some time you should live on milk and fruits. What you have written about ahimsa is right. I was pained to read about Rohit.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 6076. Courtesy: Haribhau Upadhyaya

CWMG III

463. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

February 18, 1933

DEAR DAUGHTER AMTUSSALAAM,

I have your letter. Think no more of Kudsia[1]. After all, only her father has the right to decide her future. Our duty is to perform with heart and soul whatever job falls to our lot. The result rests with God. I hope Dr. Sharma's daughter[2] is all right. What was the treatment? I am very happy to learn that you are making all-round progress. What treatment is given to you? What do you eat? Tell me everything. I have written quite a few letters to you. I am keeping count of them. I shall certainly keep on writing.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Urdu: G.N. 277

464. LETTER TO RAIHANA TYABJI

BISMILLAH[3] *February 18, 1933*

DEAR DAUGHTER RAIHANA,

I have your letter. I have always expected you. Why should you depend on Padmaja to bring you? Can you not use some other car? Remember to avoid Wednesdays or Thursdays as both are reserved for the *Harijan*. Your hand is all right, I hope. When you are completely free of fever you may be prepared for a kiss.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Urdu: S.N. 9660

[1] Addressee's niece who, upon her return from the Ashram, had again become absorbed in the home atmosphere while the addressee had different hopes for her

[2] Who was suffering from smallpox

[3] Literally, 'by the name of God'

465. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR AND B. D. KALELKAR

February 19, 1933

CHI. KAKA,

I got your letter.

If milk, when taken without any other food, is not digested, it does no harm, but the milk which seems to be digested with the help of other food is not really digested but mixes with the food, and remaining in the body in the form of poison, it harms the gums, etc. This is the view held by more and more doctors and seems to be correct. You can have with milk oranges, grapes, pineapples, pomegranates and other juicy fruits. They will prevent milk from causing constipation. You should, therefore, start the experiment of milk-diet as soon as possible and accustom your body really to digest it. I make no distinction between milk and curds. Some doctors, probably most, believe that curds are more easily digested. The curds should not taste sour at all—the curds which we used to make by adding drops of lemon juice to milk would be the best. You should not drink the milk but sip it slowly. It would be better to take a spoonful at a time. To start with, you should take a quarter pound every hour. Do not mind if you get diarrhoea. It will stop in a few days. You may drink the fruit juice separately at any convenient time. In fruit juice, you should have the juice of six *mosambis* or of one pound of fresh grapes in two parts. You should take about four pounds of milk or curds, and mix with it as much butter as may be necessary. If you take milk in sufficient quantity, I doubt the necessity of butter. But it will do no harm if it can be digested even in the absence of other food. Doctors believe that, like milk, butter too does no harm if taken by itself. See how I have described the benefits of milk. But I have no choice. I can find no plant or herb which can equal milk in food value. There is certainly some truth in the belief that milk is a wholesome food even for yogis. It is the only substitute for meat. Only our vaids[1] could have discovered a vegetable substitute for milk, but, lacking zeal for dharma, they made no such attempt. I have failed in my search and given it up. We do

[1] Physicians practising Ayurvedic system of medicine

not know if anybody else will take it up and succeed. Perhaps in the West they may succeed. Among us there is no one who possesses the necessary medicinal knowledge to make such a discovery. We do not regard it as our dharma to acquire such knowledge and to make experiments with that aim. Anybody who wishes to undertake the task should be inspired with zeal for the welfare of the cow. He should be convinced that no milk other than the mother's milk can be the proper food of a human being. Such a person should then study medicine. We do not have at present men with such a spirit. If India is destined to discover such a substitute, God will send among us a person with the necessary gifts. Till then, let us sing praises of milk and do the duty which lies before us. I hope you will feel satisfied that I have replied to your question in greater detail than you had expected. I also hope that you will understand the relative importance of the issues involved. Think over all this and do what seems right to you, for even in such matters the final decision should be one's own. What I have said is true only about people with weak health. Those who are healthy will eat normal food and may even be able to digest it. If you want to experiment with milk-diet in a scientific manner, you can do so only in the Ashram or in the neighbourhood of a dairy where we have a right of entry; it is only then that we can get fresh milk. I suppose you know that yogis mix crushed *neem* leaves in milk before drinking it.

Write something for *Harijan* when you feel like doing so. I think innocent eggs are laid by hen without having been inseminated by a cock. You will get more information from the friend at Sangli. An innocent egg is one from which no chick can be born.

Personally, I very much liked the design for the title page of *Harijan*. It was entirely my choice. At first we had thought of getting a block made. But I liked the design better after it was printed and so the idea of getting a block made was dropped.

Shastra does not mean the pronouncements of men of spiritual experience in the past. It means the words of living men today who have had first-hand spiritual experience, that is, who have realized the Brahman. Shastra is something which is daily embodied in somebody's life. What exists only in books and is not followed in life may be philosophy, or it may be foolish chatter or mere hypocrisy. Shastra must be immediately capable of realization in experience, it must spring from the living experience

of the person who utters it. It is only in this sense that the Veda is eternal. All else is not Veda, but theorizing about Veda.

If . . .[1] is resolved to marry . . .[2] he should ignore our opposition and do so. There is no harm in doing that. The *Gita* verse, "What can self-control avail[3]", applies in this case. But then the couple should have courage and confidence in themselves. If the people ultimately see that they lead a life of self-control, the world will forgive the couple. It is such action which forsakes the rule of Shastra.[4] If it is inspired by a pure and noble ideal, it is ultimately condoned. But just now such conduct will be and ought to be disapproved. Our duty, therefore, is clear. We should not directly or indirectly give our consent to his marriage to . . . . If, however, he does marry her and if the people ultimately approve the marriage, we also will join in the applause. I think . . . is now forgetting . . . .

Blessings from
BAPU

5 a.m.

[PS.]

I wrote this letter between 3 and 5 and in the morning, excluding the time spent in prayer. I did not intend to give so much time to you—I cannot afford to do so. But—?

CHI. BAL[5],

Since children emulate their elders, the latter also should follow a child's praiseworthy example. Hence I follow yours. The news about Shankar[6] is certainly good. But I will try and know more. Since I have given too much time to Kaka, I will not write more than this for you.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 9495. Courtesy: D. B. Kalelkar

[1&2] The names are omitted in the source.
[3] III, 33
[4] A reference to the *Gita*, XVII. 5-6.
[5] Balkrishna D. Kalelkar
[6] Satish D. Kalelkar

466. LETTER TO HOME SECRETARY, GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

February 19, 1933

To
THE SECRETARY
HOME DEPARTMENT
DELHI

DEAR SIR,

I thank you for the reply[1] to my letter[2] addressed to the Private Secretary to the Viceroy dated the 1st instant. There are two things about which I would like to make brief observations.

The Government have assumed without just cause that "education and the provision of the normal facilities of life" are not considered by me as the vital part of the Resolution referred to therein. It was wholly irrelevant to the purpose of my letter to the Private Secretary to the Viceroy to state what was being done by me or through me in connection with these things. Indeed I have shown in my writings being published in the course of the controversy that education and the like were being prosecuted with all the vigour possible and that the pace would be quadrupled by the temples being opened to the Harijans.

As to the two measures now before the legislature, I may be permitted to point out that they are not intended to affect "religious customs and usages of the Hindu community". They are specially designed to leave that question to the community itself. The law as it stands makes impossible the operation of the Hindu mind on certain religious customs and usages, and the measures are designed to release the Hindu mind from those fetters. I would submit that it is the duty of the Government, which is pledged to neutrality in religious matters, to free the reformers from the shackles of, not of religious custom, but of the law. For, had it not been for the law, it would have been open to the trustees, with the consent of the temple-goers, to change the custom. Nor may it be forgotten that the Bills have come before

[1] *Vide* Appendix IX.
[2] *Vide* pp. 202-4.

the legislature as a result of the formation of a very strong body of public opinion in favour of the change of custom.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Home Department, Political, File No. 50/II/33, p. 40. Courtesy: National Archives of India. Also G.N. 7587

467. LETTER TO TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU

February 19, 1933

DEAR DR. SAPRU,

I thank you for your prompt telegram in reply to mine. I do need at the present moment all the legitimate support I can get.

I send you herewith a copy of the Government's reply to my letter and my reply[1] thereto. I send you also a copy of my letter of the Ist instant to which you will find the reference in the Government's reply.

If you have not already covered the ground in the letter promised in your wire, will you please supplement your reply with such remarks as you may think necessary in view of the enclosures, without of course referring to the correspondence in your supplement?

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: G.N. 7586. Also Gandhi-Sapru Correspondence. Courtesy: National Library, Calcutta

468. LETTER TO PERIN CAPTAIN

February 19, 1933

I must dictate if I am to overtake my correspondence. I was delighted to see the familiar writing and signature. You and Gosibehn and Kamalabehn shall come on Friday next at 2 p.m. Mathuradas told me that you were none the worse for your life

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

in Bijapur Mandir except that you had left there a few pounds of your weight.

With love to you all from us all.

PERIN CAPTAIN
ORIENT CLUB BUILDING
CHOWPATTY, BOMBAY

From a microfilm: S.N. 20287

469. LETTER TO M. R. JAYAKAR

February 19, 1933

DEAR MR. JAYAKAR,

I was glad to hear that at the instance of Seth Bhagoji Kir you were going to open two temples in Ratnagiri to Harijans on the 22nd instant. I hope that both caste Hindus and Harijans will appreciate this religious act of Seth Bhagoji Kir and that Harijans will take advantage of the opportunity they have now got of offering worship in these two temples.

I have no doubt that you will remind Harijan brothers and sisters that it is necessary in order to gain the full advantage of worship to conform to the obligations that lie upon all worshippers to observe the law of cleanliness, such as daily individual bath, wearing of unpolluted clothing and offering individual worship in the home, and abstain from carrion and beef eating and intoxicating liquors.

I am posting a copy of this to reach you at Ratnagiri lest this should reach Bombay after your departure for Ratnagiri.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 20288

470. LETTER TO M. R. JAYAKAR

February 19, 1933

DEAR MR. JAYAKAR,

I enclose herewith a copy of the reply received from the Government and my reply[1] thereto.

In view of this, could you not send me for publication as early as you can your opinion, if you can give it, that neither of

[1] *Vide* pp. 350-1.

the Bills contains any element of compulsion or constitutes any interference with religious observance and generally supporting, if you can do so, my argument in my reply to the Government letter, without of course making any reference to that letter?

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 20289

471. LETTER TO CHARU CHANDRA MITRA

February 19, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I have not yet got your pamphlet[1]. When I do, I shall certainly go through it carefully and answer your argument if necessary even through the columns of the *Harijan*. You may depend upon it that speaking for myself personally, not even a single argument of the sanatanists has escaped me, or, so far as it was possible for me to do, remained unanswered.

I did enquire about the meeting[2] in Calcutta that you have referred to, and the information that I received was that the statements made were gross exaggerations. I do not know if you have or can produce any proof for the charges made. I would at once ask my friends for a reply. For me this is purely a religious struggle in which neither untruth nor violence can have any place whatsoever.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. CHARU CHANDRA MITRA
5 HASTINGS STREET
CALCUTTA

From a microfilm : S. N. 20291

472. LETTER TO DR. B. C. ROY

February 19, 1933

DEAR DR. BIDHAN,

Could you send me for publication in the *Harijan* a resume of all the constructive activities on behalf of Harijans that will come under your observation in Bengal?

I hope you are getting your copy.

[1] *Untouchability and Temple-entry*, embodying the viewpoints of the sanatanists

[2] A protest meeting, presided over by Bipin Behari Ghosh, ex-judge of the Calcutta High Court, which was broken up allegedly by the reformers

I dare not ask you to send me subscribers, for I know that your time is otherwise fully occupied. But I must make the paper self-supporting, and I can ask you to send subscriptions on behalf of the Provincial organization for a certain number of copies for free distribution amongst those who should have the copies but whom you do not expect to pay.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm : S.N. 20293

473. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

February 19, 1933

MY DEAR C.R.,

You are not going to worry over the reference to the fast. Such errors come out of the depths of love—but love gone mad. I mended the error by magnifying it a hundred fold and driving a rich lesson home to people. I know that neither you nor Ghanshyamdas will repeat the error. Where is the cause for it? We simply work away.

Your reading of the *Gita* is perfect so far.

The A.P.I. news about 27 members did not disturb me in the slightest degree. You are there delivering the message to everybody who will listen. What does it matter now if nobody listens? As it is you have made considerable progress.

Nor has Malaviyaji's bombshell[1] disturbed me. It was bound to come. We have to have him with all his limitations as we consider them to be. But his so-called limitations are also his strength. It may be wise not to worry him now by sending Devdas and Shankerlal.

I send you herewith a copy of the Government's reply to me and my reply[2] to them. You will share all this with Ghanshyamdas.

I see you have in giving me your address struck off the names 'Lakshmi' and 'Narayan' and 'near Clock Tower'. Therefore the address is merely C/o Seth Gadodia, Delhi. What is the significance of the omission? Do you thereby get the letters delivered earlier?

I hope absence of any mention of Devdas's cold means he is all right.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm : S.N. 20296

[1] *Vide* Appendix XII.
[2] *Vide* pp. 350-1.

474. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

February 19, 1933

MY DEAR SATISBABOO,

I have your letter of the 15th instant. The description you give of smallpox in the *bastis* makes painful reading. I do not know how far that faith in Sitala Devi[1] is to be admired, and if it is to be admired, why should we undermine it? It seems to me that by patience and perseverance we have to undermine this blind faith and show to the people that smallpox is like every other disease caused by irregular living and that it is amenable like every other disease to proper treatment.

I do not know how far you are justified in avoiding vaccination and perhaps encouraging co-workers to do likewise. Of course I myself am a fanatic about some of these matters. But I never like people to copy fanaticism. A fanatic has his own justification. He may never be copied. Fanaticism must be instinctive. It may be almost compared to the blind faith of the people whom you have described and who recklessly touch and mingle with smallpox patients. But just as you and I cannot copy their blind faith with any prospect of success, so also may nobody copy anybody else's fanaticism; and since you have such ocular demonstration of the success of vaccination, unless you have your own independent faith and conviction that vaccination is bad you ought to be vaccinated and you should encourage your co-workers to do likewise. Anyway, I have washed myself clean of any responsibility for your daring experiment, if it is an experiment, and if it is a faith like mine, I have nothing to say. For it is not merely vaccination, but the whole of the serum treatment which to me appears as another species of superstition, not far removed from that of *basti* Harijans.

You should send me from week to week, if there is anything to be sent, a report of constructive work actually done in connection with Harijans in your part of the world, whether by you or others. If Suresh or anybody connected with him is doing this work, please pass on this message to them also.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm : S.N. 20300

[1] Goddess believed to be cause of smallpox

475. LETTER TO SURESH CHANDRA BANERJEE

February 19, 1933

MY DEAR SURESH,

I have been thinking of you almost every day, and not having heard from you for a long time, in my despair I dictated a message, quite selfish, to you, in my letter to Satisbaboo, and immediately I had finished that letter, Mahadev put your letter of 15th instant in my hands. You can better imagine my joy than I can describe it.

I see you have been near death's door again. It is better perhaps to realize that we are always near death's door, the healthy-looking people no less than the ill-looking. I know many bed-ridden people surviving the loss of dear ones who had looked pictures of health and who they had thought were bound to survive them.

Pray, do not become impatient. Understand thoroughly the distinction I have drawn between caste and varnashrama. Caste is a touch-me-not institution. If untouchability goes, you will find that touch-me-not-ism will go. According to my meaning of it varnashrama has not the slightest tinge of touch-me-not-ism. It is a spiritual law just as valid as any physical law, whether we recognize its existence or whether we do not. He who recognizes the existence of this law profits by his knowledge, even as a scientist, knowing the properties of a drop of water and the laws which are responsible for those properties, makes railway trains to move at a speed our ancestors had never thought of. So also if we recognize the law of varnashrama and give effect to it, we can do away with many ills of life. I can understand Dr. Ambedkar in his rage against caste Hindus refusing to see the wood for the trees, but you have no excuse whatsoever for not understanding the very clear distinction I have pointed out.[1] In any case I am convinced that to precipitate a fight on varnashrama today is to

[1] The addressee had endorsed the statement of Dr. Ambedkar explaining his objections to Mr. Ranga Iyer's Temple-entry Bill, and written : "The untouchability problem will never be effectively solved until and unless the caste distinction is removed from the Hindu society."

do a great disservice to the cause of the removal of untouchability. I must not worry you any more.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJEE
88-G CORPORATION STREET
CALCUTTA

From a microfilm : S.N. 20298

476. LETTER TO PARASHURAM MEHROTRA

February 19, 1933

CHI. PARASRAM,

I got your letter. You should acquire equal facility in both styles, so that you can use either as the occasion may require. We will use both also when we have an opportunity to revive *Navajivan.*

Work hard to help Duncan Greenlees as you have been doing to help Marybehn. It is desirable that he should learn Hindi as soon as possible. Let us pray to God to give peace to Father.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 7514

477. LETTER TO RAOJIBHAI N. PATEL

February 19, 1933

CHI. RAOJIBHAI,

It seems that you have not got the letter I wrote to you some time ago about Lalita. However, it is likely that you received it after you wrote your letter, as it is dated the second. Now there is no immediate problem. In two years' time, Lalita will probably decide for herself. The solution should be such as will not shock Nathabhai and as will safeguard the interests of Lalita. We should have faith that we shall be able to find such a solution when the time comes.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 8999

CWMG - LIII

478. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

February 19, 1933

CHI. PREMA,

I am determined not to make this a long letter.

If you can win over Maitri and all the three sisters improve, I will certainly regard that as your and Ashram's victory. Narandas has tried the way of love. See if you succeed.

You must have realized that Lakshmi must be married off now, or else she should leave the Ashram. I do not think any of you should be burdened any longer with her responsibility. Maruti is an exceptional young man. Lakshmidas also has had a hand in his training. You have found that what Moti had told you about him was not correct.

The arrangements which you have made about the girls seem to be all right. I liked your suggestion about Nirmala. I have not yet been able to discuss it with Mahadev, though. I also understand what you say about Prithuraj. I am eager to know more details about the Muslim lady. Cultivate the acquaintance of the English friend[1] whom I have sent there. He has impressed me as a man inclined to a life of renunciation. Look after his needs.

To which aspect of my behaviour, when you came to see me with Sushila, did your question refer? I do not remember anything. If you ask this question again, I will try to answer it.

I understand what you say about doctors. Once we have put ourselves in a doctor's hand, we should get from him whatever he can give. Otherwise we shall not do him justice, and may do harm to ourselves. We must admit that doctors do succeed in some cases, though it is also well known that they spoil many others through negligence or ignorance. I would certainly respect a person who takes a vow not to consult doctors any time. Millions of people cannot consult them at all. But I think that such self-denial is beyond the capacity of the inmates of the Ashram. We may, therefore, consult doctors who are reputed to be intelligent. You may certainly seek the advice of Kisan's uncle.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 10327

[1] Duncan Greenlees

479. LETTER TO RAMACHANDRA N. KHARE

February 19, 1933

CHI. RAMACHANDRA,

I got your letter. You should always write what you do after careful thought. Anybody who wants to be scrupulously truthful would not utter or write even one word without carefully weighing it. I had got confused by what you wrote. Now everything is clear.

You write *Jai Jai* to Sardar and *Pranams* to Mahadevbhai and Chhaganbhai. Explain the difference between the two. What does *Jai Jai* mean? Does it mean the same thing as *Jaya Jaya*? A person like me can afford to make a mistake in spelling a word. You boys and girls should always write correct Gujarati.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 305. Courtesy : Lakshmibehn N. Khare

480. LETTER TO DAHYABHAI M. PATEL

February 19, 1933

BHAI DAHYABHAI,

I got your letter. It is beautiful. I have not received the books as yet. They will arrive by and by. Your introduction is so good that I will read the books with interest. Write to me and let me know about the discoveries which you may make concerning Harijans.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati : C.W. 2701. Courtesy : Dahyabhai M. Patel

CWMG-III

481. LETTER TO VIMALCHANDRA V. DESAI

February 19, 1933

CHI. NANU,

I got your letter. Your handwriting still leaves much to be desired. If you understand that one should write each letter as carefully as one draws a figure, your handwriting will be beautiful.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 5757. Courtesy : Valji G. Desai

482. LETTER TO SUDARSHAN V. DESAI

February 19, 1933

CHI. MAVO,

I got your letter. Do you go out daily for a walk? I have preserved coloured slips for children like you. Which colour do you like?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C. W. 5761. Courtesy : Valji G. Desai

483. LETTER TO VALJI G. DESAI

February 19, 1933

CHI. VALJI,

I had got your letter. I did not reply immediately because I was waiting for the book[1]. I have got the copies now. I am distributing them among friends. I request everyone to whom I send a copy to let me have his comments. How many copies have been sold ? I hope you get copies of the *Harijan*. Send me your comments. If you feel inspired to write something, do so. I hope your health is improving.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 7447. Courtesy : Valji G. Desai

[1] "Life of Jesus"

484. LETTER TO ASHRAM BOYS AND GIRLS

February 19, 1933

BOYS AND GIRLS,

I got your letters. It is not wise to keep on changing the volunteers or, shall we say, the organizers. You may if you wish keep a number of them for a certain period for the sake of giving them experience but it should not be for less than six months. There would be order only if you saw that no one left on account of quarrels or because they felt offended. Do you keep a record of your activities? You should have a few rules for your organization and then cling to them. If you do this, your progress will be speeded up.

Pay more attention to farming. You should eat, and you will like to eat, vegetables produced by you all and by you only.

BAPU

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

485. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

[*February 19/20, 1933*][1]

CHI. NARANDAS,

Is the cost of milk, etc., which you send for Ba and Mirabehn paid by the jail authorities or is it borne by us?

I follow what you say regarding the weight of Rambhau, Jekore and others. I feel relieved. We should take care and see that the children do not feel the burden of the Ashram life. What you say about Chhotubhai is correct. Keep me informed about Liladhar. Duncan Greenlees will have arrived there and have been one of you by the time you get this letter. He will give you a letter which I have sent with him. He has produced a good impression on me. Make some arrangement to help him to learn Hindi. I hope you are not taken by surprise when I send somebody in this manner without previous warning. I could have

[1] From the reference in the letter to the arrival of Duncan Greenlees in Poona; *vide* also 342-3.

written to you about D[uncan] G[reenlees] five days earlier, but I forgot to do so and he arrived suddenly yesterday. I knew that he might arrive any day. If, therefore, I had written to you at the same time when I decided to write to him, you would have got five days' or at least three days' notice. If you think that it is improper for me to send people like this without previous intimation, tell me so. I will not then do it again. Give him clothes and other things which he may require. Supply him the required utensils too. Ask him not to keep any money or costly article with him. I forgot to do that.

If the digging of wells is about to be completed, write to Soniramji for money. Does Ranchhodbhai[1] visit the Ashram occasionally? I wonder because I have had no letter from him at all. Let all those to whom Hariyomal has written describe to him in plain words the bitter experiences they have had. He seems to be an honest man and, therefore, such frank letters are likely to produce an effect on him. Persons like Hariyomal learn only from bitter experience.

I felt depressed after reading . . . 's letter. You must have read it. It is likely that . . . beat her, as she says he did. Inquire and find out the truth. Ask . . . . Who writes the letters for. . . ? Or is her own handwriting well-formed and firm? Where is . . . now?[2]

Read what I have written to Kusum about sun-bath. Tell Dr. Talwalkar about it. If he approves of my suggestion, put up a sort of wall of hay or hessian or any other suitable material round the place where Kusum sits. The wall should be such as can be removed every day. Or you may select some other suitable place in consultation with the doctor and put up such a wall there and let her have sun-bath in that enclosure. If necessary, she may be carried there in a cot. Find out whether it is necessary to obtain Government's permission for putting up such temporary wall on agricultural land. Patients like Kusum are known to have recovered by only taking sun-bath with their bodies completely uncovered.

Some boys ask me in their letters to write "Blessings from" at least when I write to them. Please remind all that in order to save time and spare the hand unnecessary work I don't say it in words but leave it to be understood by the addressee. Everybody, therefore, should supply the phrase in his or her letter.

[1] Ranchhodlal Amritlal Shodhan, a mill-owner of Ahmedabad

[2] The names in this paragraph have been omitted.

4 o'clock, Monday [*February 20, 1933*]

Prakash complains that the inmates of the Ashram do not like looking after a sick person. If there is any truth in this criticism, we should hang our heads in shame. Do not misunderstand Prakash's criticism. All of us should examine our hearts and reform ourselves in whatever respects may be necessary.

Write to . . .[1] also what you wrote to me about him. Don't mind if he feels a little hurt. He is childish, but not dishonest.

BAPU

[PS.]

I had got the soap sent by Panditji. Why has he coloured it? There are 36 letters in all, tied with a string.

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

486. LETTER TO RABINDRANATH TAGORE

February 20, 1933

DEAR GURUDEV,

At the instance of Seth Ghanshyamdas you sent a poem[2] for the *Harijan* of which I hope you received the first issue. Harijans are your special care. I am therefore not going to be satisfied with that message only. If you can send something occasionally it will be a source of strength to me personally and a help to the readers of *Harijan* in the midst of so much that is going on to undermine their faith.

I hope you are keeping well.

With love from us all.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat : G.N. 4637

487. LETTER TO JAISUKHLAL K. MEHTA

February 20, 1933

MY DEAR JAISUKHLAL,

If it is at all possible, I would like you to get the opinion of some legal friends on the following points. I have already asked Sjt. Jayakar to help me, but he will do so both as lawyer and

[1] The name has been omitted.
[2] *Vide* Appendix XVI.

CWMG III

politician perhaps. But if we can get four or five signatures from well-known lawyers with his amongst them, I should value the thing all the more. I do not know that it is necessary to go through the stiff course of solicitors preparing a brief and submitting it to several advocates for their opinion. I would like it to be a considered opinion of lawyers as public men applying their knowledge of law to a question of great importance. The points to which I would like them to address themselves are these:

1. Is there any element of compulsion in any of the two Bills?
2. Is there any interference with any person's religious practice or conscience?
3. In spite of the willingness of the trustees as well as the worshippers of a particular public Hindu temple, is not one of the two Bills at least or a measure like them necessary before it is possible for a public Hindu temple to be opened in view of the English Law of Trusts and known decisions of the High Courts in India?

You should approach Mr. Bahadurji on this matter. But I do not insist; you know better what to do and how to do it.

You should attend to this as early as you possibly can.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. JAISUKHLAL MEHTA
"THE RECLUSE"
MURZBAN ROAD
FORT, BOMBAY

From a microfilm : S.N. 20302

488. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH

February 20, 1933

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

Milk should not be drunk, but eaten. Take it with papaw. Have no doubt that, if one does not get strength with milk, the strength given by other foods is likely to be illusory. Don't mind if you have to spare some time, but take hip-bath every day. Do go in sunshine, so that you do not feel cold at all.

We need not worry about Mahavir. Even if he is forced to resort to begging or stealing, ultimately he will come to good if it is so decreed. In the Ashram his soul was being degraded, for his life was not true there. Harilal will one day reform

himself, though he drinks and goes after immoral pleasures. If, however, I had kept him in the Ashram and somehow found him the money which he wanted, he would have let his thoughts run after immoral pleasures and would have been deceiving himself and the world.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 24376

489. LETTER TO BHAGWANJI P. PANDYA

February 20, 1933

CHI. BHAGWANJI,

Your desire is noble and your efforts are wonderful. You have put your discoveries before Narandas and me. Now listen to what Narandas says and go on doing your work with single-minded devotion. Others also will follow your example and all shortcomings will disappear.

BAPU

From Gujarati : C.W. 352. Courtesy : Bhagwanji P. Pandya

490. LETTER TO JAMNABEHN GANDHI

February 20, 1933

CHI. JAMNA,

Purushottam came and saw me. He has acquired fairly good knowledge on the subject. I have asked him to stay there for some time longer still and learn more. He now hopes, and so do I, that he will be all right. I hope you are progressing satisfactorily.

BAPU

From Gujarati : C.W. 872. Courtesy : Narandas Gandhi

CWMG VIII

491. LETTER TO BHOGILAL

February 20, 1933

BHAI BHOGILAL,

We can acquire "full and perfect knowledge" by observing the *yamaniyamas*[1].

The true aim of education is spiritual development. One should, therefore, go in for such kind of education as will bring it about. It need not be of one fixed type. Hence it is not necessary to say anything on that subject. One should lead a life of self-control.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 4752

492. LETTER TO NANALAL K. JASANI

February 20, 1933

BHAI NANALAL,

I had received your invitation. I had sent my blessings to Indira directly. She claimed an old connection with me. However, convey my blessings to both the brides and both the bridegrooms, and also my hope that they will lead a pure life and continually grow in the spirit of service.

You must have heard everything about the divisions. Chhagan is there. I have discussed the matter with Ratubhai. Do meet him. If Chhagan agrees, we may proceed further. Lilavati also has promised.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : C.W. 9629

[1] Rules and regulations of conduct for a spiritual aspirant

493. LETTER TO VIDYA R. PATEL

February 20, 1933

CHI. VIDYA,

You wrote to me after a long time. Write regularly from now on. It is not good for Premabehn to get angry with you. But a boy or girl who is eager to learn will not mind the teacher getting angry and will learn attentively.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 9637 Courtesy: Ravindra R. Patel

494. LETTER TO K. NATARAJAN

February 21, 1933

DEAR MR. NATARAJAN,

I thank you for your letter.[1] I can never take amiss any intervention from you. On the contrary, I have always welcomed it. You will perhaps be interested to learn that the original draft of the Resolution on Temple-entry and the like was also framed by me and handed to Sjts. Purushottamdas and Ghanshyamdas Birla. The Resolution as passed at the Bombay meeting is undoubtedly different from the one I had worded. The essential features of my Resolution have however been kept in the Bombay Resolution. Nevertheless I must apply to it the same canon of interpretation as we apply to Government's ordinary laws and the like. The intention of the author is irrelevant to the interpretation of his work if that intention is not carried out in his language. I have therefore mentioned the fact of my authorship of the original text as a mere matter of historical interest. If you will read the first Resolution[2] you will find the following:

[1] The addressee had referred to the Bombay Resolution of September 25, 1932 and written : "Of course, the Pact itself was largely your doing and you are the best authority as to what it was intended to mean. But the Bombay Conference, of which I was a member, did not intend more than Malaviyaji says. Perhaps, less."

[2] *Vide* Vol. pp. 129-30.

> This right shall have statutory recognition at the first opportunity, and shall be one of the earliest acts of swaraj Parliament, if it shall not have received such recognition before that time.

Therefore, the legislative aid was clearly contemplated by the resolution. But I go a step further. The meeting further agreed

> by every legitimate and peaceful means to secure an early removal of all social disabilities . . . including the bar in respect of admission to temples.

In the course of the conduct of the campaign one discovered that there was a legal obstacle in the path of the progress towards reform. Surely, it is up to the caste Hindus to remove the obstacles at the earliest possible moment. Every lawyer to whom I have referred the matter has assured me that even when the trustees and temple-goers desire a particular temple to be opened, it cannot be done because of the state of the law. So far as the defects in any of the Bills are concerned, they can surely be easily remedied. If you have any doubt about the position I have taken up, I would like you, if you at all can, to come over to Yeravda and discuss the position before you differ. If, however, you have no doubt whatsoever about your view of the matter, I must not trouble you to come merely for my pleasure.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. K. NATARAJAN
KAMAKSHI HOUSE
BANDRA, BOMBAY 20

From a microfilm: S.N. 20310

495. LETTER TO KESHAV

February 21, 1933

MY DEAR KESHAV,

I never thought that you wanted me to say anything in connection with your appeal, or if you did and I promised to do anything, I forgot all about it to the extent that I cannot now recall the contents of the appeal which was destroyed after I had read it. Please therefore send me a copy and I shall see what can be done with reference to it.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. KESHAV
CHRIST SEVA SANGHA ASHRAM
AUNDH, NEAR KIRKEE

From a microfilm: S.N. 20312

496. LETTER TO S. GANESAN

February 21, 1933

MY DEAR GANESAN,

I have your letter.[1] It is not possible to send you proofs before Friday mail, because the last article does not leave me before Thursday evening, and it will be dangerous to send you anything from day to day, because there is no certainty of what I write appearing in the issue for which it is written, nor of its appearing in the form in which it is written in the first instance. I can therefore only send you proofs of what is actually to go in and in the form in which it is to go in. That is determined only on Fridays.

You and your wife can certainly come and see me any time you like, except on Wednesdays, Thursdays and Sundays.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. S. GANESAN
C/O "SWATHANTHRA SANGU"[2]
TRIPLICANE, MADRAS

From a microfilm: S.N. 20313

497. LETTER TO PARESHNATH BHATTACHARYYA

February 21, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter of 15th instant for which I thank you.

I endeavour to be as precise as I possibly can about anything I write and therefore when I am confronted with anything as having been said by me, in justice to me I should have the very words that I have said. You will understand what I mean when I tell you what distinction there is between what you think I have said and what I have actually said.

[1] The addressee wanted to publish a supplement in Tamil and Telugu every Monday containing Gandhiji's articles in *Harijan* and had therefore requested for advance proofs which he wanted to reach him on Friday or Saturday.

[2] A Tamil tri-weekly

I do not consider "the *Gita* to be the only scripture of unquestionable authority which alone should be our true guide". What I have said and what I still hold is that for me in view of the multitude of books claimed to be scriptural and [of] conflicting texts, *Gita* is the only safe guide, because it contains the concentrated essence of all that the Hindu scriptures have to teach and that I would unhesitatingly reject anything that is in conflict with the spirit of the *Gita*. Thus I would test the validity of every religious precept or code of conduct on the anvil of that teaching.

Thus you will see that I exclude nothing. I take in all the scriptures, but I use the *Gita* to unlock their meaning.

I quite agree with your view of the *Samhitas*, but my difficulty in applying them to daily conduct arises from the fact that there are conflicting statements in the same *Samhita* and there is conflict among the different *Samhitas*. There again I summon the *Gita* to my aid.

Whilst I agree also that rules of conduct will show variation from the ideal and even between man and man, to be true to the ideal they should conform to it and enable one to make a progressive approach to it. They must not take one away progressively further from it.

Examined thus, untouchability, as it is practised today, in my opinion, is clearly contrary to the Hindu scriptures. As I read your several propositions, untouchability stands condemned by them.

As to the referendum, you have evidently missed the strict limitations placed upon its scope. If I had believed that current untouchability had its roots in Hinduism and that untouchables were clearly prohibited from entering temples, there would be no question whatsoever of referendum. But since there are two schools of opinion, why should not the people decide to which school they will belong? Who will decide for the people whether they should belong to the Shaivite sect or Vaishnavite, if not they themselves? Is that not what the Hindus have done all through their great history?[1]

Yours sincerely,

PANDIT PARESHNATH BHATTACHARYYA, M.A.
VEDANTARATNA
COOCH BEHAR (BENGAL)

From a microfilm: S.N. 20315

[1] *Vide* also "A Sanatanist's Conclusions", pp. 395-9.

498. LETTER TO GAJANAN BHARADWAJA

February 21, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter of the 19th instant. I can only advise you patiently to follow the columns of *Harijan*. Perchance you will find some answer in them to your questions[1]. As you yourself admit in effect that varnashrama is irrelevant to the issue that is agitating the public mind, I must conserve the energy of myself and the public by not saying more than is necessary on varnashrama, not that there is anything to conceal; as a matter of fact, what I may say hereafter can be gleaned by a patient reader from my writings. Only I have observed repeatedly that not until a particular question has become a live issue have readers of my writings concentrated upon what I have said upon that issue before it became a live issue. You may depend upon it that Dr. Ambedkar himself will not let me off as easily as you will. You will perhaps allow yourself to be put off, not Dr. Ambedkar quite so easily. Therefore you will please hold yourself in patience.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. GAJANAN BHARADWAJA
LONAVLA

From a microfilm: S.N. 20316

[1] The addressee had asked: "How would you determine the varna or the ashram of an individual at the time of reconstruction of the present Hindu society and when that reconstruction is to commence? What about the intermarriage and interdining amongst the four varnas? At what age would the varna be determined? Who would supervise and be responsible for the maintenance of the order of varnashrama? If marriage or dining is immaterial, how would your varnashrama differ from the Western order of society?"

499. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

February 21, 1933

One cannot say that there is coercion even in the second Bill. How can we say that there is coercion if a majority of the Hindus are ready? Moreover, it will also be possible to implement the compromise which I have suggested. Even so, if the first Bill is accepted I am not at all keen about the second. The second has been brought forward to satisfy the sanatanists. I think Malaviyaji does not like the first Bill. But if you think you can persuade him to accept it, certainly try to do so. . . .[1] If you wish to discuss the Bill further and understand its implications, come and see me.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuni Prasadi, p. 121

500. LETTER TO S. D. SATAVLEKAR

February 21, 1933

BHAI SATAVLEKAR,

I did not answer your postcard expecting to see Lakshmanshastri any day. Now I do not know when I shall see him. But I shall write more when I do see him. I am aware that Hindi or English are not useful for Maharashtra.[2]

Yours,
MOHANDAS

From Hindi: C.W. 4773. Courtesy: S. D. Satavlekar

[1] Omission as in the source

[2] The reference here is to the possibility of bringing out a journal in Marathi on the subject of untouchability; *vide* also p. 221.

CWMG - LIII

501. LETTER TO RAIHANA TYABJI

February 21, 1933

BISMILLAH

DEAR DAUGHTER RAIHANA,

Your letter. You must not attempt to visit me while you are still weak. It will be enough if you send a card regularly. Tell your sister not to come to me. She must not worry about it but devote herself even more to Harijan service. You do get the *Harijan* I hope.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Urdu: S.N. 9659

502. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

February 22, 1933

MY DEAR C.R.,

You must not take to heart what I have said about the mention of the fast by you.[1] I could not drive the lesson home unless I drew pointed attention to your mention. I have certainly forgotten all about it. Will you do likewise? Nor must you take to heart Dr. Ambedkar's explosion[2], the Government's decision[3], or Malaviyaji's opposition[4]. These are all in the day's happenings. Somehow or other not one of the three things has shaken me, possibly because I was prepared for all the three. Our satisfaction must lie in our having done the very best that we are capable of doing. You have certainly. You are not going to worry therefore in any shape or form. I know that you have left no stone unturned to have the Bills passed during this very session. No one could have done more.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 20321

[1] *Vide* pp. 286-7.
[2] *Vide* Appendix XIII.
[3] *Vide* Appendix IX.
[4] *Vide* Appendix XII.

503. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

February 22, 1933

MY DEAR GHANSHYAMDAS,

I have your two letters. I do not understand the intricacies of Assembly procedure. I have said and written as I have felt and having done that I should leave things to work themselves out. Circulation as I have understood from M. L. A.s means much more than you seem to think it does,[1] but if it merely means consideration of the Bills at the next session, there may not be much harm; but I do not know. You will now do whatever you all think proper.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 20329

504. WHY 'HARIJAN'[2]

Many people have asked me why I have used the name 'Harijans' for people whom we commit the sin of regarding as untouchables. Years ago a Kathiawadi *Antyaja* had written to me that names like *Antyaja*, *achhoot*, *asprishya* hurt his community. I could appreciate their feelings. For me they were neither *Antyajas* nor untouchables. It was this correspondent who had pointed out to me that the poet-devotee Narasinh Mehta in one of his *bhajans* had referred to the *Antyajas* as 'Harijans'. In my view the *bhajan* he had sent to me to support his conten-

[1] In his letter dated February 18, the addressee had written: "If we are to command a greater measure of support from the M. L. A.s we should not try to rush the measure through the House and so we have to reconcile ourselves to the circulation course. I know you do not agree with this, but personally I feel that for all practical purposes there is no difference between the circulation and the appointment of a Select Committee. Even if a Select Committee is appointed, nothing could be done before the Simla session and even if the Bill is circulated with a specific time-limit the Select Committee could be appointed in the Simla session and the Bill may then be taken into consideration. Thus in reconciling ourselves to the circulation course, we are not wasting any more time than would be wasted in any case . . . ."

[2] Gandhiji wrote under the same title in the English *Harijan*; *vide* "Why 'Harijan' ", pp. 266-7.

tion did not yield the meaning which he thought it did. All the same I liked the name 'Harijan' immensely. 'Harijan' means a devotee of God, beloved of God. It is God's promise that He is the Protector of the oppressed, an ocean of compassion, the strength of the weak, the Refuge of the helpless, the Support of the lame and the Eye of the blind. One may therefore expect Him to bestow especial grace on the oppressed. Looked at from this point of view, I am sure the name 'Harijan' is appropriate in every way for the *Antyaja* brethren.

Some argue that the *Antyajas* became untouchables because of their actions in their previous birth. Still others say: 'Let us suppose for a moment that we regard four crores of our brethren as untouchables. But what special miseries do they have to suffer that the other crores of people do not? The miseries that they suffer because of untouchability must be only mental and there is no remedy for it. Being the fruit of a previous birth, it must be regarded as a divine dispensation. The privations which the *Antyajas* suffer because of their poverty and destitute condition are the common lot of all the people of India with the exception of two or three crores of people. Why then should not all of them be called Harijans?' This argument is utterly absurd. Untouchability as we observe today is neither the result of actions of previous births nor of God's making. The untouchability prevalent at the present time is man's doing. The caste Hindus are responsible for it. No one can escape the fruit of his action. But by accepting the law of karma, we acquire no right to put the blame on others. The way of karma is indeed inscrutable. No one knows what karma will bear what fruit. We are all laden with one or other shortcoming, hence we have no right whatever to judge the shortcomings or sins of others. Our right and duty is only to help one another get rid of such shortcomings. Compassion is incompatible with untouchability whether predestined or unavoidable. Four crores of Hindus have to face unparalleled hardships because we treat them as untouchables. They do not get even food or a place to live in as others do, even though they have the money as well as other means. They have no temples, or dharmsalas or hospitals or schools for them as other people have. We have crushed them so much that they have almost forgotten that they are human beings. These four crore brethren have not even the will to rise from this abject and abominable situation.

There is no exaggeration in my account of Harijans. It may be there in one respect. No one knows the exact number

of Harijans. I have accepted the figure given by Shri Amritlal Thakkar. Thakkar Bapa is himself not very sure about the figure. After thorough survey all that can be said is that the number of Harijans cannot be more than four crores. But irrespective of the fact whether there are four crore Harijans or one, the guilt on the part of the caste Hindus remains the same. If there is any fault in my description of Harijans it may be one of understatement and certainly not of exaggeration.[1] If this oppressed class were not to have God's grace or mercy the world would cease to have faith in God.

The truth is that He exists and He is an ocean of compassion, the Protector of the oppressed, and the Feeder of the hungry. Therefore, in India, those who are most unhappy deserve to be called Harijans. And it is my firm belief that if we do not remove the untouchability practised against the Harijans and did not treat them as our brethren, Hindu society would perish under their curse.

As Tulsidas says,

> The sighs of the weak never go waste,
> Bellows of carcase-hide turn iron to dust.

[From Hindi]

Harijan Sevak, 23-2-1933

505. LETTER TO VERRIER ELWIN

February 23, 1933

MY DEAREST SON,

Son you have become of your own choice. I have accepted the responsible position. And son you shall remain to the end of time. The tie between you and me is much thicker and tougher than blood. It is the burning love of Truth at any cost. Therefore whatever you may do will not disappoint me. But I was sad.

I am not thinking of superiority of celibacy over marriage. I am thinking of what you had intended, almost pledged yourself to be. But I know that you had to be true to yourself and appear as you were.

[1] A Gujarati version of this article which appeared in *Harijanbandhu*, 12-3-1933, has the following additional sentences: "Whatever I have written can be substantiated. The facts therefore must be worse than what I have described."

I showed your letter to Jamnalalji and he too felt the same as I did.

But whilst I was trying to make time to write to you, in came Ala, tears dropping from her eyes. She put into my hands your letter and said, "How can I bear this? It was agreed between us that we were both to remain single, or if we could not, we were to marry each other." I consoled her and advised her to send you her blessings. I do not know what she has done or written. You will tell me what understanding there was between you and her.

But taking it for granted that your word was never given to Ala as she imagines it was, you and Mary[1] have my blessings. I have met her. I have a vivid recollection that the innocence of her face stamped itself upon my mind. I know that your joint life will be one of complete dedication to service. But if there is the slightest possibility of a breach (moral) of word given to Ala, you must both—you and Mary—be prepared to bear what will be the heaviest cross and sacrifice your cherished hope on the altar of Truth which is God. If there is a trace of suspicion of breach, you certainly and Mary and Ala—the latter two if they have the same living faith in Truth as I have credited you with—have to live single lives in spite of yourselves. Your love of Truth will transmute your desire for exclusive marriage into the universal marriage with Truth. For this divine marriage we men and women are all women and Truth is the only Lord, Master and Husband.

I need say no more. My letter is not satisfactory because it is written in ignorance of facts. But it need not be unsatisfactory as being between father and son. You can fill in the gaps. Of this you have my assurance that whatever you do, I am certain, will have been done out of obedience to Truth as it might reveal itself to you. More than that no man can do.

May God guide you and Mary.

With my deep love to you and Mary,

Yours,
BAPU

[PS.]

This was written just after the morning prayer—4.30 a.m. 23-2-33.

From a microfilm: S.N. 20351

[1] Mary Gillett

506. LETTER TO ELLEN HORUP

February 23, 1933

MY DEAR ELLEN,

I was delighted to hear from you. I appreciate all your affection. I have gone up hills but I have never walked along them all day long but I do know however what you mean by the mountains reaching the horizon.

The knowledge that I am a guiding *varde* to some friends humbles me and makes me more and more conscious of the tremendous burden that I carry on my shoulders. I have to watch myself and incessantly pray to the God of Truth that I may not prove a false guide to anybody.

Yours sincerely,

MISS ELLEN HORUP
GENEVA

From a photostat: S.N. 20335

507. LETTER TO H. V. GLASENAPP

February 23, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I have just got your letter addressed to the Secretary of the Ashram at Sabarmati. I have no knowledge of the book called *India* by Luciano Magrini. I have not read the book. I do not know Italian and I have never given any opinion on the book to anybody, and so far as my knowledge goes, I have seen no notice of the book in the Indian newspapers.

Yours sincerely,

H. V. GLASENAPP, ESQ.
PROFESSOR OF SANSKRIT
KOENIGSBERG UNIVERSITY (GERMANY)

From a photostat: S.N. 20336

508. LETTER TO K. R. CHHAPKHANE

February 23, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

Perhaps you know the correspondence I have been having with Sjt. Athavale. As he refers me to you and perhaps rightly, I approach you and would ask you kindly to let me know under what conditions and terms I handed over to you the collections I had made in Sangli during my visit[1].

Yours sincerely,

SJT. CHHAPKHANE
SANGLI

From a microfilm: S.N. 20337

509. LETTER TO K. SANTANAM

February 23, 1933

MY DEAR SANTANAM,

I must dictate my letter to you to save time. I was delighted to see your old familiar hand but sorry to learn that you had not been keeping well. You must not put on fat. Though I am a quack, I am a quack who has tried experiments on himself and therefore can speak with some authority. You ought to take plenty of exercise. Walking is the prince of exercises, and you should give up all prepared fat, such as, oil or ghee, and take as little milk as possible and live on juicy fruit and brown bread without butter. In a month's time you will find yourself a changed man. You may take green, non-starchy vegetables simply boiled. We do not realize how we become prey to disease by criminal ignorance of the right dietary and the absolute necessity of exercises in the fresh air. I shall keep a letter with this for Krishna.

I know that you will do all you can for *Harijan* newspaper and the Harijan cause in general.

Yours sincerely,

PT. K. SANTANAM
7 RACE COURSE ROAD, LAHORE

From a photostat: S.N. 20338

[1] In November, 1920

510. LETTER TO BAJI KRISHNA RAO

February 23, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your telegram, as also your interesting letter.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. BAJI KRISHNA RAO, PLEADER
IST CHETMI BAZAAR
SECUNDERABAD

From a microfilm: S.N. 20345

511. LETTER TO TANGAI MENON

February 23, 1933

MY DEAR TANGAI[1],

You have sent me a note not written by you. Therefore you cannot complain if I sent you a reply not written by me.

I know that Uncle Charlie eats much salt, but you must not copy bad habits of elderly people, and eating much salt is a bad habit, and much salt spoils the original flavour of things with which it is mixed.

Uncle Charlie has also a habit of spoiling little children by giving them too many sweets. Therefore, if I were you, I should distribute sweets amongst lots of poorer children and I should feel happy at the thought of sharing with them gifts received from friends.

Love and kisses from us both.

BAPU

My Dear Child, p. 119

[1] Daughter of Esther Menon

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512. LETTER TO ESTHER MENON

February 23, 1933

MY DEAR CHILD,

Having dictated this letter[1], it has got to go to Tangai, though it is going to cost 2½ annas to the Harijan cause. Let us hope that both Nan and Tangai will make up for the loss a thousandfold and more.

Love.

BAPU

My Dear Child, p. 119

513. LETTER TO F. MARY BARR

February 23, 1933

MY DEAR MARY,

Your Hindi letter is extraordinarily good. We all admired your very clear handwriting.

God has many definitions: as many as there are men and women on this earth. सत्, चित्, सुख are also among them, they may be rendered as Truth, Knowledge and Bliss. They are interlaced.

The selection of morning verses is designed to satisfy all wants. Every verse represents a power or powers of God the Infinite and the Indescribable.

Yes, I had a letter from Verrier. It surprised me, it did not disappoint me. I believe with Paul that men should marry rather than burn. Celibacy is good for those whose mind co-operates with the body. I do remember Mary Gillett well. Her innocent face impressed itself on me the very first time I saw her.

I am glad you are getting on well there. And now you have Duncan Greenlees to care for. You will please see to his comforts and know him too.

Love.

BAPU

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

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[PS.]

You should sleep under the sky and you will feel cool throughout the night. I have your letter about Kashmir. Of course you should go and stay there till June if the climate agrees and then come down. But the duration will depend upon circumstances.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 5994. Also C.W. 3319. Courtesy: F. Mary Barr

514. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

February 23, 1933

CHI. NARANDAS,

I got the large packet of letters sent by you. You will find with this a letter[1] for Mary and one for Greenlees. Lakshmidas and Anandi have come here. Anandi has been having fever and the temperature remains at 99. It even rises by one or two points in the course of the day. It does not fall below 99. But I am completely hopeful that we shall be able to cure her fever here. For one thing, the climate of the place is excellent.

When Dudabhai comes there, have a talk with him and come to a definite decision. If he agrees, let the marriage take place as soon as possible. If he does not give his willing consent, tell him that we shall not be able to look after Lakshmi any longer. If your own experience is contrary to my inference and if you feel inclined to let her stay, you may ignore my opinion.

Impart to Amina as much as you can. It would be good if she daily practises the Urdu script. What happened about Parvati? Is Ranchhodbhai in difficulty about anything? I worry about him as I have had no letter from him. Parnerkar's scheme which all of you have approved is an old one, though it is certainly good. Ask him to write to me. What arrangement do you propose to make for selling milk? I follow what you say regarding the land at Bidaj. Let me know how you find Duncan. If the impression which he has produced on me turns out to be correct, he is likely to prove a fine worker.

What is the composition of the plaster applied to Kanu? By whom was it recommended? In all such cases of injury, complete rest for the injured part is the most important thing. Sometimes the injury is to such a part that, in order to give rest to it, it is necessary to rest the whole body. But this is the qui-

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

ckest remedy for curing the pain. Have a talk with Prabhudas and try to help him to overcome his restlessness.

If Bhagwanji devotes himself whole-heartedly to his new job, he can do excellent work. Has Dhiru's health improved? I am not happy that he has stopped writing to me altogether. I hope you had a talk with Motibehn. Have any people there enlisted themselves as subscribers of *Harijan*? Or do any people buy retail copies? Do you get any visitors?

BAPU

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

515. LETTER TO DEVIDUTT SHUKLA

February 23, 1933

BHAI DEVIDUTTJI[1],

I have your letter. I am aware of the service rendered by Pandit Mahavir Prasadji[2] to the Hindi language. *Sarasvati* was known to me even in South Africa. I may also be allowed to join in congratulating him on the occasion of his 70th birthday and I hope that we shall have the benefit of his literary services for many more years and that *Sarasvati* will continue to progress.

Yours,
MOHANDAS GANDHI

From Hindi: C.W. 9666. Courtesy: Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Prayag

516. TELEGRAM TO RAGHAVENDRA RAO

February 24, 1933

HON. RAGHAVENDRA RAO
HOME MEMBER
NAGPUR

JUST HEARD SETH POONAMCHAND RANKA SEONI JAIL FASTING. DO NOT KNOW REASON. WILL YOU PLEASE INQUIRE AND LET ME KNOW WHETHER REPORT TRUE, AND IF SO, CAUSE OF FASTING.

GANDHI

Home Department, Political, File No. 31/108, 1932, p. 59. Courtesy: National Archives of India. Also Bombay Secret Abstracts, Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 800 (40) (3) A, p. 3

[1] Then editor of *Sarasvati*, a monthly journal
[2] Mahavir Prasad Dwivedi, founder-editor of *Sarasvati*

CWMG - FREE

517. TELEGRAM TO CHHAGANLAL P. MEHTA

February 24, 1933

CHHAGANLAL MEHTA
NASIK VILLA
PARSIVADA
RAJKOT

HOPE MARRIAGE WILL BE SIMPLEST POSSIBLE. MY BLESSINGS KANTILAL PADMA. HOPE YOU AND CHILDREN QUITE WELL.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 7173. Also C.W. 4667. Courtesy: Chhaganlal P. Mehta

518. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

February 24, 1933

CHI. MIRA,

This is Friday morning 3.30 a.m. No letter from you as yet for this week! I wrote to you regularly last week. That was on Friday as yours was received Thursday afternoon. I take it your new abode and new keepers mean a temporary disturbance in the routine. I shall wait and pray and take to heart the message of *Gita Mata*. She is a wonderful mother. I suppose you know that she is called Mother. '*Gita*' means 'song'. It is used as an adjective applied to Upanishad which is in the feminine gender. It has been likened to the sacred cow, the giver of all desires. Hence Mother. Well, that immortal Mother gives all the milk we need for spiritual sustenance, if we would but approach her as babes seeking and sucking it from her. She is capable of yielding milk to her millions of babes from her exhaustless udder.

In doing the Harijan work in the midst of calumny, misrepresentations and apparent disappointments, her lap comforts me and keeps me from falling into the Slough of Despond.

So you find me laughing and free from care. My weight has become steady at 103 and the diet also the same in quantity and kind. For the time being unboiled fresh milk goes on without

doing any harm. Writing for *Harijan* occupies most of my time and Mahadev's. Chhaganlal too is kept fairly busy.

No more this time. I must wake up the others for prayer now.

Love to you and the others from us all.

BAPU

[PS.]

I send you by registered book post religious postcards which Princess Aristarchie sends almost every week with carefully selected verses at the back of each. Do you know that Verrier intends to marry Mary Gillett in April!

Mahadev reminds me that I wrote to you last week about Verrier.[1]

I have just got your letter. But no time to deal with it today.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6264. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9730

519. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

[*February 24, 1933*][2]

MY DEAR CHARLIE,

I have your letter. You know what is happening to the Bills. It is unfortunate and it is bad. The Government have taken up, in my opinion, not an attitude of neutrality but one of partiality. I do not know if you have caught the central point of my argument. It would be partiality to the reformers and would also be interference with religion if the Government gave facilities for the consideration of a measure compelling temple-entry. It is partiality to orthodoxy in that the Government will not remove the legal bar to temple-entry created by decisions of courts of law, decisions not based on statutory law but on religious usage, thus making untouchability a crime as if it was part of the Penal Code. The Government to be neutral should lift this bar and say to either party: 'We cannot take sides in religious matters. Untouchability may be for some of you a breach of your religion, but there is no breach in it of

[1] *Vide* p. 320.

[2] From Bombay Secret Abstracts

common law and therefore there can be no punishment under the common law.' There are innumerable religious practices in Hinduism not even [as] offensive to the moral sense of the world as untouchability undoubtedly is, and yet their breach is not penal under the common law. All that the reformers want is opportunity for progress, opportunity for converting public opinion, and when and where it is converted, opportunity for giving effect to that conversion. Today even if cent per cent of Hindus entitled to worship in a particular temple desired the admission of Harijans to that temple, they could not carry out their wish because of the decisions I have referred to. The two Bills are designed to remove this anomaly. I watch, wait and pray.

Love.

MOHAN

From a photostat: G.N. 979; also Bombay Secret Abstracts, Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 800 (40) (3), Pt. IV, p. 113

520. LETTER TO S. GANESAN

February 24, 1933

MY DEAR GANESAN,

I have your letter of 20th instant, but as I have anticipated you and told you that advance copies[1] can be sent to you on Fridays and not before,[2] I need not say anything more.

Mahadev just reminds me that sending you copies on Fridays gives you no advantage because Madras copies are all sent on Fridays. My previous letter tells you how utterly impossible it is to send you anything earlier.

I return the letter from Dr. Rajan.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 20347

[1] Of *Harijan*
[2] *Vide* p. 369.

521. LETTER TO MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA

February 24, 1933

I had your telegram[1] asking me whether you could release the correspondence for publication. As I had done so 48 hours before the receipt of your telegram I did not send a wire in reply, thinking that you must already have seen the notice of the publication[2].

Since then I had no time to dictate a reply to you, as *Harijan* takes up practically all my time up to Thursday evening.

I hope you are getting regularly your copy of the *Harijan*. I do not know whether you at all get the time to look at it. Now that the world knows the difference of outlook between you and me as to these Bills, I would like you to review the whole position in the light of what you yourself have suggested.

You say that it is possible by discussion between sanatanists and reformers to arrive at a compromise without the aid of legislation. I taxed myself as to how this could be, even assuming that there was complete agreement between sanatanists and reformers that public temples should be thrown open to Harijans. Even that agreement cannot supersede the law which lays down that Harijans cannot enter public temples.

I therefore cannot get away from the very real moral difficulty that unless we get the law altered, we are not in a position to keep the pledge given in the Bombay Resolution. We cannot plead helplessness under cover of this law, of which I knew nothing at the time I drew up the Resolution about temples. I suppose that you do know that the original draft was prepared by me. True, several changes were made after, but no change was made so as to alter the substance of my draft.

I wish therefore that for the sake of the very religion which you and I hold dearer than life itself, you will examine the moral difficulties I have presented here. And let me repeat, if it is at all necessary, what I have said in my article in *Harijan* that this latest difference in viewpoint between you and me does not, in the slightest degree, diminish my regard or affection for you.

PANDIT MALAVIYAJI

From a photostat: S.N. 20348

[1] *Vide* Appendix XII.

[2] In *Harijan*, 18-2-1933

522. LETTER TO ADA WEST[1]

February 24, 1933

MY DEAR DEVI,

I was glad to have your letter. I see you are now doing lighter work. The change was certainly necessary for you and I hope that it has benefited you. Of course we have cold here, but in this part of India cold weather is very nice and pleasant, not at all severe, but it is very severe in the Punjab, though it is very bracing.

I think I did meet Dr. and Mrs. Gray whilst I was there. You should give me news of Albert whenever you have any, because I do not hear from him at all. I have written to him.

Devdas is in Delhi doing Harijan work. Ramdas is in the same prison, but not in the same yard. I am permitted to see him occasionally. Mahadev is of course with me and doing quite well. Ba and Mira are together in the Sabarmati prison, and so far as I am aware, they are keeping well. Pyarelal is in a jail at a place called Nasik. I hear from Manilal and his wife almost every month. Medh and Pragji also write to me occasionally.

Are you getting *Harijan* every week? The whole of my time is occupied with that work just now.

I am not writing to Muriel[2] this week. Please give my love to her and all the dear friends of Kingsley Hall and the School House.

SHRI DEVI
KINGSLEY HALL
POWIS ROAD
BOW, E.3

From a photostat: S.N. 20349

[1] Sister of Albert West, Gandhiji's co-worker in South Africa
[2] Muriel Lester

523. LETTER TO MARGARETE SPIEGEL

February 24, 1933

I had your beautiful letter. I prize your love. Of course I was not angry with you and therefore there is nothing to forgive. On the contrary, it is a matter of joy to me that I have friends to whom I can write without reserve and without any fear of being misunderstood.

However, I am glad that you have resolved upon not spending money on love cables. Love need not express itself in words, but if it must, love-letters ought to be quite enough. Immediately we realize that we have nothing of our own, that all we have is held in trust for those in greater need, we have to spend it like misers.

I hope you are getting your copy of *Harijan* every week.

From a photostat: S.N. 20350

524. LETTER TO MIRZA ISMAIL[1]

February 24, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

N. I came to know through the temple-entry agitation. And I was taking interest in her work for the removal of untouchability. Meantime a friend brought rumours to me about her character. I straightway put the substance of the rumours before her and invited her to come and see me if I was to take Harijan service from her. She came without hesitation. She will be with me for a few days longer. She tells me that you know her. Will you please tell me what your impressions of her and her work are?

SIR MIRZA ISMAIL
BANGALORE

From a microfilm: S.N. 20353

[1] Dewan of Mysore

525. LETTER TO RAMACHANDRA

February 24, 1933

DEAR RAMACHANDRA,

N. is in Poona as you may know. She tells me you were for some time in the Ashram at Sabarmati. What year could that be?

She further tells me that latterly you have not felt quite happy about her. Please tell me quite frankly all you know about her or may have against her.

KINGHERI ASHRAM
BANGALORE CITY

From a microfilm: S.N. 20354

526. LETTER TO NARGIS CAPTAIN

February 24, 1933

I have at last a letter from you. You will tell me all your experiences in Kumbhakonam and Guruvayur. You can do khadi work most decidedly, and you can also meet the orthodox people and discuss with them the whole question of the service of Harijans. Though orthodoxy is well entrenched in Cochin, you will have no difficulty in approaching the orthodox people, and then of course there is a large Gujarati colony in Cochin. You should meet them.

Lastly, you should secure subscribers for the *Harijan* among the very large number of English speaking Cochinites.

NARGISBEHN

From a microfilm: S.N. 20359

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527. LETTER TO N. D. VARADACHARIAR

February 24, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter of 20th instant, as also a copy of *The Madras Law Review*, for both of which I thank you.

I have now sent for the text of Rao Bahadur Rajah's Bill. As soon as I get it, I shall certainly study it carefully and try to write about it in the *Harijan*.

So far as I can understand the Bill from your note, I do not know that it solves the temple-entry question. Meanwhile, if you have a copy of the Bill, I shall thank you to send it to me, so that if I get a copy from you earlier than from friends in Delhi, I shall begin to work at it.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. N. D. VARADACHARIAR
C/O "THE MADRAS LAW REVIEW"
118 ARMENIAN ST.
MADRAS

From a microfilm: S.N. 20362

528. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

February 24, 1933

CHI. NARANDAS,

I got your mail including letters by Narahari and others.

Read the letter to Prabhudas. Have a detailed talk with him and calm him. Ask him to discuss his problems with Narahari or Panditji. Don't let him go till he has become calm.

Yes, I had a long talk with Purushottam. I will write to him more about the subject when I get time.

BAPU

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

529. LETTER TO MUNI SHANTIVIJAYJI

February 24, 1933

MUNISHRI SHANTIVIJAYJI,

I have known N. through correspondence since she communicated to me her intention to fast by way of protest against me. It was from her own letter that I learnt how she regarded you as her all in all. As I heard certain allegations against her while our correspondence was going on, I wrote to her about them immediately and suggested that she should come and see me. She did so immediately. It appears from our conversation that the allegations against her may be baseless. I have been guiding her to an extent, but I think it to be my duty to ascertain your wish before I give her any positive advice. Hence this letter. I have written it with her knowledge. She will remain here till your reply is received. I request you to have no hesitation in making any suggestion you wish to do.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 20352

530. HIGHER EDUCATION FOR HARIJANS

I hope all those who are interested in the removal of untouchability are familiar with Mr. David's scheme for the higher education of selected Harijans by caste Hindus. The scheme was published some time ago in the Bombay Press after being enthusiastically accepted by the Servants of Untouchables Society. In Mr. David's words, "It aims at enabling a large number of untouchables to enjoy the benefits of the best higher education (including technical instruction) possible in this country." Under it, "well-to-do caste Hindus are expected throughout India each to bear the expenses for such education of at least one Harijan student for a period of five years. Scholarships should be given to selected candidates and the expenses imply the provision of educational fees, books and living expenses on a modest scale". Mr. David thinks that Rs. 500 per year per Harijan would be required for college education and half as much for high school education. He advises donors to subscribe, wherever it is possible, the whole amount covering five years in one lump sum.

"In order to build up the self-respect of Harijan scholars", says Mr. David, "it should be laid down that each scholar would be expected to reimburse the amount originally advanced for his education as soon as he is in a position to do so. Thus a student under this scheme is provided by means of a loan and not a gift." And if a large number of students discharge these debts of honour, Mr. David anticipates that a permanent fund will be created.

Mr. David advises the formation of a committee or committees in Provinces which will frame rules for the selection of candidates, and the disbursements of subscriptions will be subject to the recommendation of such committee or committees. He is emphatic that the scheme, if carried out, should "produce important and sustained results", and make possible within a comparatively short period the creation of a large number of lawyers, teachers, doctors and engineers from among Harijans. The existence of a considerable number of such persons would be of material help in raising the social status of the depressed classes, and, he adds, "it is framed on strictly non-controversial lines, thus widening to the maximum its potential field of response. It should win the support of even the staunchest sanatanists. . . . It is an opportunity at hand for caste Hindus to give concrete expression of their feeling towards untouchables."

Let me hope, with Mr. David, that the scheme will commend itself to the "staunchest sanatanists" and that in any case it would receive liberal support. I do not know whether the Central Board or the Bombay Board has received any donations. I venture to suggest to the Bombay Board that, if it has not already done so, it should form a small committee getting, if possible, a sanatanist to work on it, frame rules and get scholarships.

Whilst it would be the most proper thing to get 1,000 donors who would contribute Rs. 2,500 or 1,250, as the case may be, for full five years' expenses, it is not necessary to confine oneself to the letter of Mr. David's scheme, so long as its spirit is observed. The central point of the scheme is that there should be a decent fund at once collected from caste Hindus for the higher education of a select number of Harijan boys or girls. I, therefore, invite subscriptions for the scheme. They will be duly acknowledged in these columns. Donors should send moneys to the Manager, Sjt. A. V. Patwardhan, marking the envelopes 'the David Scheme'. Acknowledgements will be published from week to week, and the money will be handed to the Central Board for their disposal strictly in accordance with the donor's instructions. As soon as the first full subscription is received, I would advise the

Central Board to make its selection. Donors may make their own choice of the Province from which Harijan boys or girls may be selected, or they may even make their own selection of such boy or girl and hand the donation to the Central Board or Provincial Board for disbursement to, and supervision of, the candidate so selected.

Harijan, 25-2-1933

531. DR. SAPRU ON UNTOUCHABILITY BILLS

As the public know, I have been in communication with Dr. Sapru and Sjt. Jayakar over the two Bills which have stirred Hindu opinion. Sjt. Jayakar's opinion I have already published. Dr. Sapru's opinion is now before me on both the Bills. In his letter of the 11th instant on the first Bill, he says:[1]

> ... Whatever may be my own personal views, there is no doubt that some eminent Judges (Hindus included) in Madras, Bombay and elsewhere have interpreted the law in such a way that you cannot throw open the temples everywhere to Hindus of the depressed classes except by an Act of the Legislature. ...

Now coming to the Bill itself.

> ... I am afraid the forces of orthodoxy are strong in the Assembly and I am more than doubtful whether the reformers will carry the day. ... I should not, however, feel surprised if dilatory tactics are adopted and the motion to circulate the Bill is carried. ... Framed as the Bill is, I should strongly oppose the motion to circulate the Bill and should enlist the sympathy and support of the members of the Legislature to go ahead with the consideration of the Bill. I appreciate the moderation of the Bill, though, speaking for myself, I should not hesitate to go much further than the Bill. ...
>
> ... In my individual capacity I can be of very little use, so far as the Assembly is concerned, but I can assure you of my support, even though I feel that the Bill is a very mild measure.[2]

On this I telegraphed for his opinion also on the shorter Bill of the two. His reply dated 18th instant (omitting the immaterial or personal matters) is as follows:[3]

> ... As I read this clause, it seeks to remove disabilities from which the untouchables are suffering under the existing law, but it does not

[1] Only extracts are reproduced here.
[2] For Gandhiji's reply, *vide* p. 315.
[3] Only extracts are reproduced here.

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seek to impose any disability on caste Hindus. So far as the latter are concerned, there does not seem to me to be anything like an element of compulsion contemplated by the Bill. If they do not wish to associate with the untouchables in the temples, they are not, by this Bill, compelled to do so. All that it requires them to do is that they must not stand in the way of the untouchables. It also lays down a rule of law for the courts which are required not to recognize any custom of untouchability for judicial purposes. I, therefore, fail to discover any element of compulsion in this Bill.

I have read in this morning's papers the telegram of Malaviyaji to you and your reply to him. Personally I am in complete agreement with you, both as a lawyer and as a public man.

I think I owe it to you to say frankly that I look upon both these Bills as being essentially very moderate. Left to myself, I should be prepared to go much further and I have not the same horror of compulsion in a matter of this character as some others have. You are, however, taking the line of least resistance and I am prepared to stand by you. . . .[1]

Harijan, 25-2-1933

532. A SANATANIST'S CONCLUSIONS

Pandit Pareshnath Bhattacharya, M. A., Vedantaratna, writes from Cooch Behar under date 15th February, 1933:[2]

...I beg to note down in brief outlines the chief points and principles on which I have failed to concur with you.

(1) You are reported to have said to the effect that the *Gita* is the only scripture of unquestionable authority which alone should be our true guide in matters social, religious and spiritual. . . .

(2) The sources of Hindu religion are enumerated in the first chapter of the *Manusamhita*. There is no valid reason for its rejection on the mere suspicion of interpolations.

(3) Scriptures are clearly distinguishable into two classes :

(a) those dealing with high principles of philosophy and directions for spiritual advancement,

(b) and others laying down laws for social discipline and prescribing penalties for lapses and crime.

(4) In dealing with society and socio-religious institutions, we must recognize and abide by the authority of the *Samhitas*. . . .

[1] For Gandhiji's reply, *vide* p. 351.

[2] Only extracts are reproduced here. For Gandhiji's reply, *vide* pp. 369-70.

(5) The noble ideal of Vedantic Monism, Pantheism or Panatheism has no application to the problems of social organization or reform, for the simple reason that a whole people can never soar to that height.

(6) Humanism is admittedly the highest form of religious idealism, but for all practical purposes it must remain the private property of the saints and *siddha purushas*. There are inequalities in the society, both in natural endowments and personal habits. No amount of love or legislative efforts will do away with these inequalities between man and man.

(7) According to the abstract theory of justice, we cannot condone invidious distinction between man and man for the mere accident of birth or the mistaken choice of profession. But in dealing with men, we must face the stern reality and admit the necessity of differential treatment between different castes and classes of people.

(8) The Hindu law-makers were not insensible to the theoretical rights of men, nor were they actuated by the pride of caste or racial hatred. . . .

(9) According to the Shastras, a sannyasin has no caste. Likewise in practice, a truly pious man is always revered irrespective of his caste. This shows the true spirit of Hindu religion. . . .

(10) Religious reform cannot be enforced on the results of referendum. For religion, unlike politics, is always cherished by a small minority and it is always for these few to guide, and for the majority to follow. Religion cannot be democratized with impunity.

With these observations, I beg to request you to reconsider the position which you have taken up with regard to the temple-entry question, and if it is not possible, to convince the orthodox people who are always open to conviction.

It would have been much better if the Pandit had quoted my very words about the *Gita*, as he would at once have seen the difference between what I am reported to have said and what I have actually written. This is what I wrote in my statement dated 4th November last:[1]

> It is the one open book to every Hindu who will care to study it, and if all the other scriptures were reduced to ashes, the seven hundred verses of this imperishable booklet are quite enough to tell one what Hinduism is and how one can live up to it. And I claim to be a sanatanist because for forty years I have been seeking literally to live up to the teachings of that book. Whatever is contrary to its main theme I reject as un-Hindu. It excludes no faith and no teacher.

The Pandit and the reader will see that there is a very wide difference between what I have actually said and what is attri-

[1] *Vide* Vol. LI.

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buted to me, and, that being the case, the grounds for showing the untenability of a position I have never taken up become irrelevant.

Similarly with reference to the Code of Manu, I never rejected the whole of it on "the mere suspicion of interpolation"; and as to interpolations, they are more than a suspicion, for what I consider as interpolations are clearly in contravention of the fundamentals laid down in the *Gita* and, for that matter, in Manu's Code itself. The following is Manu's touchstone of religion:

विद्वद्भिः सेवितः सद्भिर्नित्यमद्वेषरागिभिः।
हृदयेनाभ्यनुज्ञातो यो धर्मस्तं निबोधत॥

> Whatever is always followed by the learned, the good and those who are free from anger and attachment and whatever is experienced in the heart, know that to be religion.[1]

Another text is, again, from the same Code:

धृतिः क्षमा दमोऽस्तेयं शौचमिन्द्रियनिग्रहः।
धीर्विद्या सत्यमक्रोधो दशकं धर्मलक्षणम्॥

> Steadfastness, forgiveness, restraint, non-stealing, purity, control of the senses, intelligence, learning, truth, freedom from anger, these ten are the touchstone of religion.[2]

Accordingly, whatever is clearly contrary to this touchstone must be rejected as an interpolation.

The Pandit has summarily dismissed the ideals of Hinduism about equality and justice, by regarding them as the private property of the saints, forgetting that ideals and saints become perfectly useless if the practice of the poor sinners can never approach the ideals and their repositories, the saints. What is that justice "which will not condone invidious distinction between man and man but will make us face the stern reality and admit the necessity of differential treatment between different castes and classes of people"? Who are the different castes and what is the differential treatment between them? For instance, among the Banias, whom I should know best, there are about 50 castes. I know of no differential treatment between them. Nor do I find any authority for the formation of these castes in the *Smritis*. There are as many castes among the Brahmins as there are leaves in the little tree under which I am sitting, but I do not find any *Smriti* which enumerates these castes and the

[1] *Manusmriti*, II. 1
[2] *Manusmriti*, VI. 92

differential treatment. I have a shrewd suspicion that these gentlemen will fight to the last ditch any attempt made to mete out differential treatment to them, and some of them may even, like my non-Brahmin friends, consign to the flames Sanskrit verses printed and stitched together and passed off as divinely inspired *Smritis*.

The Pandit says:

> The best way, therefore, of rising superior to the stigma of social inferiority is not enfranchisement, but emancipation from the snare of the dark forces of Nature.

Who is to be emancipated from the snare of the dark forces of Nature? Evidently the Pandit means that it is not the Brahmin who has to emancipate himself from the snare of superiority, but the poor Harijan has to disengage himself from the snare of inferiority. Unfortunately, that is precisely what the modern sanatanist Brahmin is resisting, and that is precisely what Dr. Ambedkar demands almost at the point of the bayonet. For, he says, 'the dark forces of Nature shall no longer hold me in their snare. I shall rise to the same height that the Brahmin occupies, even though I may have to demolish both him and myself in the attempt.' Yet that is the net result of the Pandit's prescription.

As against the Pandit's, my humble prescription is that it is the Brahmin whose privilege and duty it is to disentangle himself from the snare of superiority and himself become a 'Harijan, man of God'. Then only will he vindicate the glory of varnadharma and the true message of Hinduism, for which he is supposed "to live, move and have his being". I invite the Pandit to appreciate this very simple prescription.

Lastly, he has done himself and me less than justice by misreading the scope of the referendum suggested by me. Surely, worshippers in a temple have at any time the right to admit others to worship with them on the same terms as they themselves do, so long as they do not interfere with the ceremonial or the mode of worship, which undoubtedly can only be regulated by experience.

Let us know this ancient practice by its own ancient name, and perhaps it will cease to frighten the Pandit, and other orthodox friends. Have not Mahajans always decided matters of admission to temples? And Mahajans are assemblies of men and they decide by putting their heads together and taking the sense of the meeting. I presume that this would be described as a

referendum in the English language. I have suggested nothing more and nothing less than this.

Harijan, 25-2-1933

533. THE SCHOOLMASTER ABROAD

I wrote to the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri for a message to the *Harijan*. And I received a characteristic reply marked 'private'. The letter seemed to me to be too good to be suppressed. I, therefore, wired for permission to publish it. The reply wire was as characteristic as the letter.

> Firstly inappropriate to *Harijan*, secondly offensive to partisans, III requital for your steadfast affection. However if perchance useful please publish.

And here is the letter:

Private SVAGATAM, MYLAPORE,
February 13, 1933

DEAR BROTHER,

Thanks for your affectionate letter, in which you ask for a message to your new baby.

I am going to change towards you. It is necessary in your interest, no matter what effort it costs me.

You live in a difficult world. Waking or dreaming, you are racked by thoughts of sin and penance, confessions and truth-quests, satyagraha and moral self-flagellation. Those that talk to you or correspond with you continually pose doubts and serious problems, only deepening the grimness and suffocation around you. Few bring lightness of talk, familiar expletives, innocent jokes, revealing banter. You badly need a privileged jester in your establishment. Have you read a story called Ardath by Ouida? The hero there has a critic whose business is to expose his errors and bring to light the flaws in his character. Being a professional fault-finder, he overdoes his part in the end and defeats his first object. I shall vary my function from time to time and disappear from the scene every now and then. But I will endeavour to awaken parts of your mind long gone to sleep and to supply elements of nourishment which it has long been without. Of course, you can stop the medicine if it disagrees and you cannot stand it. That would be a sign to me that the disease had gone too far.

You are an extraordinarily correct writer of English. The ordinary reader will not detect any slips on your part. They are not only rare but

of a subtle nature. The eye of a schoolmaster, made acute by dwelling on trivialities of grammar, can alone see them. Here are some, all from the first number of the *Harijan* and from the parts bearing your name.

Page 3. "If it is a bye-product of the caste system, it is only in the same sense *that* an ugly growth is of a body." ('That' is fast undergoing a change in English, but this use is far in excess of present usage. Better say '*in which* an ugly growth is a bye-product of a body'.)

Also read the whole passage again. Don't you say in effect 'if the caste system is a bye-product of the caste system'?

Page 3. "The outcaste-ness, in the sense we understand it, has therefore to be destroyed altogether." (A slip similar to the above. Between 'sense' and 'we' insert 'in which'.)

Page 4. "Caste Hindus have to open their temples to Harijans, precisely on the same terms as the other Hindus."

(Say 'the same terms as *to* the other Hindus'. Else, it would mean that the other Hindus opened their temples on certain terms to Harijans.)[1]

Page 7. "Beyond this I may not go, for the reason I have already stated and which the reader should respect." (Insert 'which' after 'reason'. The conjunction 'and' must not be made to connect a suppressed 'which' and an expressed 'which'.)

Page 8. "Untouchability has a great deal to answer *for* the insanitation of our streets and our latrines." (Idiomatically, 'for' is part of the verb 'answer', and cannot govern 'the insanitation'. We must insert 'in' after 'for', though the sentence becomes inelegant. I would recast it: 'Untouchability is answerable for a great deal of the insanitation etc.').

Page 8. "Therefore, a person who is to attend to scavenging, whether it is a paid Bhangi or an unpaid mother, they are unclean until they have washed themselves clean of their unclean work."

(The looseness is, perhaps, the result of rapid dictation unchecked by subsequent reading. 'A person' is left hanging in the air. The plurals 'they', 'themselves' and 'their' are justified by the common gender required. Still the discord of number is apparent to the point of harshness and may be avoided. Read 'A person . . . is unclean until washed clean of the unclean work.')

Let me add a criticism of substance. On page 7 you answer a question under the heading "Seeking or Giving?". The paragraph has gained brevity at the expense of clearness. The difference between giving co-operation and seeking it requires more elucidation. Likewise the analogy of love leading to feeding in one case and starving in another. But you are obscure and even baffling when you say that your policy of non-co-operation with Government allows of your seeking its co-operation when-

[1] This correction has been made in the text at p. 264.

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ever your purpose is, in your opinion, 'very sacred and altogether good'. Most sensible people follow this rule in ordinary life, not seeking co-operation when they don't care and seeking it when they care. They don't proclaim it as a policy or give it a grand name.

Ever yours affectionately,
V. S. SRINIVASAN

I wanted to share this letter with the public, because such a letter would help any publicist and his cause and that in an unexpected manner, more so when written without any thought of publication.

I want also to use the publication of the letter for easing the tension between sanatanists and reformers. Let them learn that closest friendships can subsist between persons of contrary temperaments. As the public know, Sastri and I have opposite views on many important questions. Our mutual regard and affection have never suffered on that account. There is no reason whatsoever why the same rule cannot be extended to parties and groups representing opposite schools of opinion. The sanatanists are out to defend religion as they believe it. I take their claim at its face value and deal with it as such. Why need they impute to me political motives when I solemnly assert that for me, too, the question of untouchability is a matter purely of religion? Would that the affection subsisting between Sastri and me prove so deep and extensive as to reach and affect the whole society!

But enough of this. I almost hear Sastri's spirit whispering to me: 'You are misusing the medicine I prescribed to wean you from your disease of grimness and the like.' Therefore, let me hasten to tell him and the public that I have in my little camp of four a specially privileged jester in Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. He succeeds in bending me almost double every day with laughter over his unexpected sallies. Gloom hides her fiendish face in his presence. No disappointment, however great, can make him gloomy for long. And he will not let me be serious for two consecutive minutes. He will not spare even my 'saintliness'! It may deceive simple people but never the Sardar or the sanatanists. Both tear down the mask and compel me to see myself as they delight to see me. To be just to the sanatanists, let me admit that Vallabhbhai does not see me quite as sanatanists do. But that is beside the point. The thing that Sastri wants in our little family is there cent per cent. Next time he enters the Assembly or some such place, he must vote special thanks to the Government for putting Vallabhbhai with me or me with him.

But this consoling information does not in any way release Sastri from his self-imposed obligation. For the Sardar will not do what Sastri can be trusted to do mostly. Unlike him, the Sardar has the wretched habit in the end of saying 'ditto' to all I say. And that is bad for anybody.

Let the student note in passing Sastri's love for the language he has mastered as few men have done. He is a purist in everything. We badly need purists in our country. I want only purists as fellow-workers in this glorious campaign of abolition of untouchability.

As to the purity of the language of *Harijan*, whatever faults are found notwithstanding Sastri's warning will be shared with me by Shastri, the Editor, and by Mahadev Desai, who shares with the schoolmaster the weakness for writing correctly in the language which for the moment he is using.

I must leave the reader to find out for himself or herself the many other beauties of Sastri's letter. If he will do so, he must read the letter three or four times and look up all the references in the first issue of *Harijan*.

Harijan, 25-2-1933

534. A CAMPAIGN OF ABUSE

Correspondents have been sending me cuttings from sanatanist newspapers containing distortions of conversations with me and attributing to me things I have never said.

There is a sheet in Tamil that the Editor has been kindly translating to me. It contains nothing but libels against reformers. There is in it what purports to be a report of my conversation with a Madura Pandit[1] who came to see me some time ago. One correspondent wonders if, as the report has tried to make out, I could have said that there were no chaste women in India. The whole report is a caricature, the most material portions having been omitted. But I must not fill the columns of *Harijan* with a transcript of the caricature and the true version of the conversation of which Mahadev Desai took notes at the time. But I reproduce the portion relating to women. Here is first a free translation of the Tamil report:

> GANDHI: Should a pure woman consort with her husband when he is given up to sinful ways?

[1] Presumably Subramanya Sastrigal; *vide* letters to K. S. Subramania Aiyar, p. 411, and K. K. Venkataram Aiyar, p. 415.

THE PANDIT: Yes. The sinful husband will be metamorphosed into a virtuous man by the chastity of the wife.

GANDHI: Are there chaste women in these days?

PANDIT: How can we say there are none? There may be virtuous women for all we know. But why wander from our topic of conversation? Let us go on with our discussion.

Be it noted that the Madura Pandit or his friend took no notes. Here is the relevant portion of Mahadev Desai's notes:

PANDIT: The temples are intended for women and Shudras. According to Shastras, Shudras only can enter the temples today, because they alone are observing their *swadharma*[1], viz., service, and chaste women have the same right. The others are burdened with karmas and duties, which now they have ceased to perform and, therefore, not entitled to enter a temple.

GANDHI: So whilst a Brahmin may be a karma *Chandala*[2], his chaste wife may be entitled to enter a temple.

PANDIT: The wife because of her chastity purifies her husband.

GANDHI: Then, the moment a man has a wife who is pure, he becomes pure, no matter what sort of life he lives.

PANDIT: Yes; his wife saves him.

GANDHI: A man may go to the dogs, and yet if his wife is chaste, he becomes pure?

PANDIT: Yes, his wife saves him; though what he does is wrong, his sins will be neutralized.

GANDHI: So, if a man wants to remain immune from the consequences of his acts, all that he has to do is to be armed with a chaste wife.

PANDIT: Quite so.

GANDHI: Well, then, since we are not going to impute bad character to a single woman in India, for we must assume every one of them to be pure, unless, of course, she admits that she is impure or she has been found to be impure—every married man is pure and there should be no untouchability.

PANDIT: She should be a true *pativrata*, a genuinely chaste woman, described in our religious books like *Ramayana*.

[1] Duty of oneself
[2] Untouchable for one's actions

GANDHI: How are you to determine that a particular woman satisfies that definition?

PANDIT: *Agni-pariksha.* She must prove her chastity by undergoing the ordeal through fire, as Sita did.

GANDHI: And so, those who cannot come scatheless out of it must be declared to be impure?

PANDIT: Indeed.

GANDHI: I have done.

Enough, however, about the Tamil sheet. A Gujarati sheet published by one claiming to be a sanatanist *Shastri* and now distributed broadcast in Hindi by sanatanist papers in North India professes to publish excerpts from my writings, sixty in all, which have the effect of proving me to be the very embodiment of everything anti-Hindu. Excerpts are torn from their context and made to bear a meaning the opposite of what they have when read in their context. Here is a sample of statements attributed to me:

My parents and Sita were Bhangis.

The Shastras are the productions of hypocrites, and the sages are so many Satans.

I regard a Bhangi to be superior to a Brahmin.

I am an iconoclast.

Now my correspondents, some of them frankly puzzled, invite me to deal with these charges. I must respectfully but resolutely decline the invitation. If there are people who will believe of me the things that are said in the writings sent to me, no refutation will save me. The public must take me as I am. What is more, the cause is everything, I am nothing. If the campaign against untouchability is just and necessary for the very existence of Hinduism, it will survive the reputation of a thousand Gandhis.

What is, however, sad, almost tragic, about these libellous statements is that they are made by responsible sanatanists reported to be learned men and presumed to be holy men fit to be religious teachers of unsophisticated simple folk. Their curious interpretations of the Shastras, their refusal to read the signs of the times, their defence of obviously superstitions and even inhuman beliefs and customs, one can understand as being honestly held. What may appear as superstitious and inhuman to the reformer may not appear so to them. But the resort by responsible pandits to untruths, distortions and suppression of truth is bound to do incalculable harm to Hindus and Hinduism. Let

sanatanists put up as stubborn a fight as they like in defence of what they regard as a good cause. But I implore them to weed it of untruth.

Harijan, 25-2-1933

535. *'WE DO NOT HATE'*

One who is a Vedanta Shastri and Secretary of a branch Brahmin Sabha writes:

> Sanatanists do not hate untouchables but hate their customs and daily actions. They are always ready to give all the Hindus, whether touchables or untouchables, every help they can. They give the untouchables priests, preceptors, Shastras with Ramnam, etc. But there are some so-called educated persons who always hate those untouchables. They are always keeping aloof from them and they want to pollute the sanatanists with the impurity brought by them from non-Hindus.

The foregoing I have taken from a fairly long letter and I have taken it as a sample from many such letters. 'Hate' is perhaps the wrong word. I should use the word 'despise'. And if to relegate a body of people to distant locations, to regard their touch, approach or sight as pollution, to throw at them the leavings of one's food, to deny to them the use of public roads and institutions, even the use of public temples, is not to despise them, I do not know what the word 'despise' means.

The writer says that the untouchables have priests and preceptors. My own experience and the experience of numerous reformers is to the contrary. Despairing of real priests, they have raised from among themselves what must be called 'an apology for priests'. The writer betrays the secret when he says that untouchables have the "Shastras with Ramnam", implying that they can have no access to any other Shastras. What are their daily customs and daily actions which evoke hatred? Their daily action was described in graphic terms by the Poet in his message[1] for our first issue. Save for carrion-eating, their customs are the same as those of innumerable caste Hindus. And carrion-eating is by no means common to all the untouchables so called. If a census were taken, we would be astonished to find that there are so few. I hope to present the readers of *Harijan* with reliable statistics in this matter. And I have not a shadow of a doubt that

[1] *Vide* Appendix XVI.

caste Hindus are responsible for this habit of carrion-eating and that, immediately they are welcomed as brothers and sisters and are offered the ordinary amenities of life on the same terms as caste Hindus, that habit will automatically drop out.

Lastly, the common experience is that whatever has been done for the Harijans by caste Hindus has been done by those who have received education or who are otherwise ranked as reformers. It will give me pleasure to know that sanatanists as such have done much or anything for Harijans. I would gladly publish the list of their charities or other acts of service rendered to Harijans.

Harijan, 25-2-1933

536. "HARIJAN" IN THE VERNACULARS

Some readers are anxious to know when, if at all, *Harijan* will be published in Hindi and other languages of the country.

The idea was to publish the Hindi edition first and the English and the other editions after. But, as there was delay in publishing the Hindi edition, the Chairman of the Central Board of the Servants of Untouchables Society authorized the publication of the English edition without waiting for the former.

I am happy to be able to inform the reader that the Hindi edition will have been out before this is in his hands. Arrangements are proceeding as fast as possible for the publication of provincial editions in the provincial languages, e.g., in Bengali, Marathi, Tamil, Gujarati, etc. My prescription has been and is that they should all be self-supporting. Moneys that are being collected for and by the Central and the Provincial Boards must be predominantly spent among the Harijans, i.e., for their educational and economic uplift. The weekly journals and leaflets are part of the necessary propaganda chiefly among caste Hindus. Therefore, they should pay for it. Except up to a point, I do not believe in presenting the public with free literature on any subject. It may be ever so cheap, but never free. I believe in the old Sanskrit proverb, 'Knowledge is for those who would know.' But these are my personal views. I can only tender my advice to the organizations and organizers. There is no copyright in *Harijan*. Enterprising vernacular newspapers will publish their own editions of *Harijan*. Some have already written to me of their intention to do so. I can prevent no one. I can only plead with

everyone to follow the advice which I have tendered and which is based on considerable experience.

Harijan, 25-2-1933

537. TELEGRAM TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

February 25, 1933

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI
CARE GADODIA, DELHI

SEND RAOBAHADUR RAJAH'S BILL[1] AMENDING SECTION 144 WITH YOUR OPINION.

BAPU

Government of Bombay, Home Department, I. G. P. File No. 20-X, 1933

538. TELEGRAM TO SUPERINTENDENT, SEONI JAIL

Reply Prepaid *February 25, 1933*

SUPERINTENDENT
DISTRICT JAIL, SEONI (C. P.)

AM INTERESTED IN SETH POONAMCHAND RANKA PRISONER YOUR JAIL. PLEASE WIRE CONDITION HIS HEALTH.

GANDHI

Government of Bombay, Home Department, I. G. P. File No. 20-X, 1933

539. LETTER TO M. G. BHANDARI

February 25, 1933[2]

DEAR MAJOR BHANDARI,

As you know I have been endeavouring during my present incarceration to study the heavens. You have kindly allowed astronomical literature to come in to me. I need a fair-sized

[1] For Gandhiji's comments on the Bill, *vide* "Rao Bahadur M. C. Rajah's Bill", p. 456.

[2] According to the Bombay Secret Abstracts, "4-3-1933"

astronomical telescope. Lady Vithaldas has one and has kindly consented to give me a loan of it. Drs. Ramnathan and Desai of the Government Observatory (Poona) who put the telescope right say that I won't be able to use it unless they gave personal directions. They need to be with me for that purpose for about half an hour after the stars are observable. If there is any objection to this lesson being given to me in the yard in which I am kept during the night, it may be given in the yard reserved for untouchability interviews.

I shall thank you if you will please ascertain the wishes of the Government in the matter.[1]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G. N. 5130; also Bombay Secret Abstracts, Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 800 (40) (4), p. 151

540. LETTER TO DR. MOHAMMAD ALAM

February 25, 1933

DEAR DR. ALAM,

I was delighted to have your letter and to observe that you were making steady progress.

If she continues to be as careless as she has been in her Urdu writing in her latest letter, please tell Begum Alam that I shall have to tone down my compliments. At one time I thought that she was competing with Zora[2] in beautiful writing, but in her present letter I fancy that I can easily beat her after half a dozen letters from Zora. This won't do. I do not want to break my idols. I had begun to think that Muslim women beat their Hindu sisters hollow in perfect writing, for every Muslim sister who has written to me has a beautiful hand. Begum Alam must keep up that reputation. I hope to enclose with this a letter for Begum Alam.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Encls.

From a photostat: G.N. 28

[1] The last sentence is from the Bombay Secret Abstracts. In reply Gandhiji was informed that the Government could not relax the rule "by which no visitors are allowed inside the jail after lock up, as this would disturb the jail routine and prevent the staff going off duty".

[2] Zohra Ansari

541. LETTER TO SAMUEL FRANCIS

February 25, 1933

DEAR SAMUEL,

I had your letter of 12th January. I am writing[1] to Hon'ble Mr. Natesan to look after you and your children on your reaching Madras. You will therefore please write to him giving him the exact date of your arrival and the name of the boat. You will not expect Mr. Natesan to [do] more than finding lodgings for a short time. If your children can live simply and in the Indian style, he won't find any difficulty. Nor will he find any difficulty in supporting a high style of living if you have ample money at your disposal.

Yours sincerely,

SAMUEL FRANCIS, ESQ.
8 MARK LANE
EAST LONDON, C. P. (S. AFRICA)

From a microfilm: S.N. 20387

542. LETTER TO G. A. NATESAN

February 25, 1933

MY DEAR NATESAN,

I enclose herewith a letter from Samuel Francis of East London, and a copy of my reply to him. This will remind you of the old days when I had thrown on your broad shoulders the burden of looking after quite a number of Indian deportees from South Africa.[2] I hope that I have not done anything wrong in expecting you to find quarters for Samuel Francis and his children on their landing in Madras if they give you previous intimation.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 20368

[1] *Vide* the following item.
[2] *Vide* Vol. XI, p. 96.

543. LETTER TO SESHGIRI BALKRISHNA RAO SONDE

February 25, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter of the 11th instant. There was a similar letter from another friend, whose name I forget at the moment, to whom I gave my views.

I am quite convinced that sacrifice of dumb animals to appease a deity cannot have any religious or other merit about it. It is a sinful act. These sacrifices are a relic of barbarism and it would be a great sin if, in the face of the anti-untouchability movement with temple-entry as a part of it, animal sacrifices are not stopped altogether.

You can make whatever use you like of this letter.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. SESHGIRI BALKRISHNA RAO SONDE
LANDOWNER AND MERCHANT
SIRSI (N. KANARA)

From a microfilm: S.N. 20369

544. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

February 25, 1933

MY DEAR C. R.,

Your letter of the 21st. I have heard Vallabhbhai reading your reply to C.P.R.

Tastes differ. You consider the second number of *Harijan* excellent except for the denunciation. I consider it excellent certainly for that, if for nothing else. But I agree with your opinion that the thick types for some of the headings look ugly, but things will gradually improve.

I am following your great effort for getting the Bills through. I am not going to shed tears if you do not succeed.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR
C/O SETH L. N. GADODIA
NEAR CLOCK TOWER, DELHI

From a photostat: S.N. 20370

545. LETTER TO K. S. SUBRAMANIA AIYAR

February 25, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. There is an article in the current issue of the *Harijan* with reference to the conversation[1] mentioned by you. There is no cause for dejection. In all great movements, hypocrisy and fraud will spring up. We must battle against them in the purest manner possible having full faith that truth must conquer in the end.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. K. S. SUBRAMANIA AIYAR
SREERAGAVAPURAM ST.
KULLADAIKURICHI
(TINNEVELLY DISTT.)

From a microfilm: S.N. 20371

546. LETTER TO M. V. PARAMESWARAN CHETTIAR

February 25, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. You are quite right in thinking that the object of the anti-untouchability movement is to level down the distinctions of high and low. There would be to the end of time different professions and occupations, different qualities also, but none of these differences necessitate the distinction of high and low.

The motive behind the temple-entry is from this standpoint easily understood. It is to demonstrate to the Hindu mind and to the world that in the house of God there is no one high and no one low. This is a reform wanted by those caste Hindus who have got the conviction that hitherto the treatment meted out to the so-called untouchables has been sinful and contrary to the spirit of Hinduism.

[1] Which Gandhiji had with Subramanya Sastrigal on January 9, 1933; *vide* "A Campaign of Abuse", pp. 402-5.

Those who think that temple-entry has anything to do with Congress politics are wholly mistaken.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. M. V. PARAMESWARAN CHETTIAR
VALLAT ANGADY
POST ANGADIPURAM (S. MALABAR)

From a microfilm: S.N. 20373

547. LETTER TO M. C. RAJAH

February 25, 1933

DEAR RAO BAHADUR,

I thank you for your letter of 22nd instant enclosing copy of your Bill to amend the Code of Criminal Procedure. I shall surely study it and publish the text in the next issue of *Harijan* and comment upon it. If there is anything special about the Bill which I cannot incorporate in my note in the *Harijan* I shall certainly write to you about it separately. I hope you are getting your copy of the *Harijan*. You will please let me have any comment you may have on it.

I am glad you are doing your best to expedite the passage of the two Untouchability Bills.

Why should you thank me for any humble effort that I can make for the common cause? Am I not myself a member of the community? I may not be yet a fit member, but I shall leave no stone unturned to become fit.

Yours sincerely,

RAO BAHADUR M. C. RAJAH, M.L.A.
ROYAL HOTEL, DELHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 20374

548. LETTER TO M. R. JAYAKAR

February 25, 1933

DEAR MR. JAYAKAR,

I see you have the old enemy[1] again. I hope however that with the aid of good medical advisers you have successfully routed him.

[1] The addressee was suffering from fever.

I wonder if you were able to pass on my letter[1] about the opening[2] ceremony to Vinayakrao[3]. He has certainly done very good social work in Ratnagiri, and it must have been a very serious disappointment to him, as also to Sjt. Kir that you were disabled from performing the opening ceremony.

I hope you got my second letter[4] together with the letter about the Ratnagiri temple. With the letter I sent you a copy of the Government's reply to my letter and of my rejoinder.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 20375

549. LETTER TO H. KHADER KHAN

February 25, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter and copies of the *Light*.

It is impossible for me to find the time for writing out a reply to all the things said in the paper, but there is no difficulty for a diligent student to find an answer to every one of the things in my writings.

I do not consider myself qualified for writing out a learned comparison between the *Gita*, the Bible and the Koran. I have studied these sufficiently for my own satisfaction. Beyond that I have considered it unnecessary for me to go.

Yours sincerely,

H. KHADER KHAN (OF SALEM)
ARKALGAD (P. O.)
HASSAN DIST. (MYSORE STATE)

From a microfilm: S.N. 20376

[1] *Vide* p. 352.
[2] Of two temples in Ratnagiri to Harijans
[3] V. D. Savarkar (1883-1966), an old revolutionary who later became leader of the Hindu Mahasabha
[4] *Vide* pp. 352-3.

CWMG-LIII

550. LETTER TO S. NEELAKANTA AIYAR

February 25, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your two letters, one of which is unsigned, of the 14th instant.

I quite agree with you that so far as the civil rights are concerned, we can make no distinction between Christian untouchables and Hindu untouchables, except that where Christians have special facilities for education you need not worry about them.

About the other letter, I am unable to say anything definite in the absence of fuller information, but this I can say that if the rites are intended as a condition precedent to their admission to varnashramadharma, I am wholly opposed to the performance of the rites; if on the other hand, they are meant for their betterment and as part of a spiritual instruction, they might be quite harmless and even beneficial, if the selection is properly made and the rites are performed by men, qualified both by their character and learning.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. S. NEELAKANTA AIYAR
SECRETARY
SERVANTS OF THE UNTOUCHABLES SOCIETY
TRAVANCORE BOARD
TRICHUR

From a microfilm: S.N. 20377

551. LETTER TO HARIBHAU PHATAK

February 25, 1933

MY DEAR HARIBHAU,

I had a very long conversation with Upasak. His wife is a very unsteady woman, she may even desert him any day and she is wholly incapable of observing self-restraint. Such a couple cannot possibly go to the Ashram where *brahmacharya* is indispensable. I do not think also that Upasak will be able to conform to

all the conditions of the Board, but he says that if the grant up to April is now paid, i.e., Rs. 22, he will try to do what he can to keep the school going and he will take his chance if he cannot. I think that this is a proposal worth considering. If, therefore, it is possible, I recommend Rs. 22 being paid to him with the absolute warning that nothing more will be paid to him thereafter.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 20378

552. LETTER TO D. M. DAVIDSON

February 25, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter[1] of the 23rd instant giving me your experiences of your visit to Rahuri.

Yours sincerely,

MR. D. M. DAVIDSON
B. I. T. BLOCK NO. 5/25
ST. MARY ROAD, MAZAGAON

From a microfilm: S.N. 20381 a

553. LETTER TO K. K. VENKATARAM AIYAR

February 25, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. You will find a brief reference, in the current issue of *Harijan*, to the matter referred to in your letter.[2]

Yours sincerely,

SJT. K. K. VENKATARAM AIYAR
C/O UDIPI HINDU RESTAURANT
EAST VELI VEEDI
MADURA

From a microfilm: S.N. 20383

[1] It gave an account of the work done by the addressee among untouchables during the Christmas holidays.

[2] The addressee, in his letter dated February 17, 1933, (S.N. 20273) had referred to the report of an interview between Gandhiji and Subramanya Sastrigal on January 9, 1933; *vide* "A Campaign of Abuse", pp. 402-5.

CWMG - III

554. LETTER TO HAQQI

February 25, 1933

DEAR PROFESSOR,

As I have already told you, I wrote[1] to Baboo Bhagwandas of Benares. I hope he has written to you, but if he has not, you should put yourself in touch with him. His address is as follows: "Seva Ashram, Sigra, Benares Cantt".

I hope to find another friend very shortly. As soon as I have met him, I shall see that he writes to you.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 20384

555. LETTER TO GOKUL MOHAN ROY CHURAMONY

February 25, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. The simplest manner in which I can put before you my views about the education of children is that they should be put in the company of people having a character beyond reproach. If we were living in an ideal age, the parents should be such people. Unfortunately parents are not always in a position to take up this responsibility, and we have therefore to find suitable people from society, and although it is not easy to find such people, it is a search worth making.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. GOKUL MOHAN ROY CHURAMONY
C/O SJT. SRISHCHANDRA GHOSH
RAMCHANDI SAHE
PURI

From a microfilm: S.N. 20388

[1] *Vide* p. 241.

556. LETTER TO D. RAGHAVACHANDRAYYA

February 25, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. Many people dedicate books to others without waiting for their permission. You can also do likewise. I can do nothing to you. For me to give you the permission would mean that I have read your book and have generally approved of it. You will admit that this I cannot honestly do.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. D. RAGHAVACHANDRAYYA
SATH SASTRI
SATH BRAHMANA ASRAMAM, BEZWADA

From a copy: S.N. 21545 a

557. LETTER TO RAMDAS GANDHI

February 25, 1933

CHI. RAMDAS,

Khushaldas has passed away. I received both the accompanying letters yesterday evening. I have written to Shantilal and informed him. Khushaldas has indeed been released from the suffering of this life. The truth is that everybody who goes on a journey along that royal road is released from this life. For this life is given to us for repaying our debts, and nobody can leave before he has paid off his. If this idea is correct, death means that the person has paid off his debt partially at least.

He who knows with perfect conviction that this life is given to us for repaying our debts can repay his debts to all, and the ancients described that as attaining *moksha*. *Moksha* means complete freedom from debt and, consequently, end of the cycle of births for the person.

I was pained to see your condition yesterday, your broken health and your mental suffering. I had no remedy for either, and was pained because you attributed to your father more power than he possessed. I felt as Harishchandra had done. He had

become ready to sell his only son for the sake of dharma. I have been doing very much the same thing. Though I know the remedy for your poor health, I cannot adopt it because of my concern for dharma, nor can end your mental suffering for the same reason.

If you follow the rule that you cannot avail yourself of facilities which other prisoners who keep bad health would not get, you can do nothing to improve your health. I can understand that you would not like to ask for special facilities for yourself, but it does not seem right to me that you should not avail yourself of facilities which may be offered to you when you explain to the authorities the condition of your health. When you are outside, you enjoy more facilities than the countless millions and never think about the matter. I ask for and enjoy, both in jail and outside, facilities which they can never hope to get, and am fully aware that I do so. But I do not feel that I violate dharma thereby. If an elephant tries to crawl like an ant, he will not succeed in becoming an ant thereby and will cease to be an elephant, which means that he will have lost his true nature. An elephant like me, however, would humbly accept his big size and consume food weighing more than thousands of ants and would also draw, without the least effort, loads which those ants could never draw. An elephant is entitled to consume food which the size of his body requires. Only, he must not waste that food by not giving proportionate service in return. That is, he should carry loads proportionate to his strength. If he does that, he will have consumed as much food and given as much service as an ant. This is communism. If, therefore, you can secure the food which your body requires by legitimate means and without humiliating yourself for the purpose, you should do so and improve your health, and then serve other people to the best of your ability.

But even in trying to serve other people and securing facilities for yourself by legitimate means, you should know and understand your duty as a prisoner. A prisoner has no right except that of preserving his self-respect, for he ceases to be the master of his body as soon as he becomes a prisoner and the jail superintendent becomes its master. Even if the latter does not give the prisoner enough to eat or to drink or sufficient clothes to wear, the prisoner should remain contented and cheerful. Anybody who cannot do so is not a true prisoner. We must admit that in this age the British policy towards prisoners is comparatively more liberal than that of any other government. It is improving day by day. There is certainly room for much more improvement

still, but that is another matter. A prisoner may fight to bring about such improvement. If, however, he remembers the general principle stated above, he will not be disappointed if he fails in his attempt—for he has no absolute right to enjoy any facility. If you understand this reasoning fully, I shall be relieved and you will be able to overcome your mental unrest.

I will certainly try to do what I can in regard to everything which you mentioned—but in my own way, and that is bound to take time. The delay will not make me impatient, and I wish that you also should not be. What can you or I do? Certainly we are not masters of the result.

We can only try the best that we can. You have been doing what you can, and I also will do what I can. Even if we don't succeed, you should dance with joy, and so will I.

> Be not moved by joy or sorrow; with the body were they created;
> None can escape them for by the Lord of Raghu were they decreed.

Do you follow all this? Read the letter three or four times, and if you do not follow any point ask me to explain it again.

Keep me informed about the condition of your health.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 20366

558. LETTER TO VIYOGI HARI

February 25, 1933

BHAI VIYOGI HARI,

I have your telegram. I do not know whether the Hindi *Harijan*[1] has or has not come out. What should I write for you? You may select anything you like from the published issues of *Harijan*. Your skill will be tested in making a proper selection of articles and translating the relevant portions. After seeing the Hindi version I shall decide if anything more needs to be written. Yes, one thing you can do. If you address me some questions, I may by way of answer write on some important topic.

[1] *Harijan Sevak*, edited by the addressee. The first issue came out on February 23, 1933, but Gandhiji got a copy only on February 26. *Vide* "Letter to Viyogi Hari", p. 428.

I hope the journal will become self-supporting from the very start.

BAPU

[From Hindi]

Badonke Preranadayak Kuchh Patra, frontispiece

559. LETTER TO HEMPRABHA DAS GUPTA

February 25, 1933

CHI. HEMPRABHA,

Your letter. Who do you mean by 'Arun's[1] father'[2]? Where was he? Yes, do send me the Hindi translation when it is printed. Why not get the Hindi version printed in the Vishal Bharat Press? Benarsidasji would love to get it printed. Do you know him? If not, show this letter to him. Have you noticed any improvement from sun-baths? Arun must be all right by now.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1697

560. LETTER TO ABBAS TYABJI

February 26, 1933

MY DEAR BHRRR,[3]

So you have entered your eightieth year and you do not want to believe it!! Shall we say it is your eighteenth year? Being nearly 15 years younger than you, I should be a four-year-old baby expecting to grow new teeth. How nice! Then the sanatanist friends can swear at me to their heart's content for many, many years to come.

But no such good luck for them. For with your silvery beard, even little children won't take you to be only 18. They would vote us down as old humbugs wishing to give them no chance.

If you get your Rs. 2,000 from the Maharajah, it would be a good start.[4]

[1] Addressee's son

[2] Actually Arun's grandfather ; *vide* "Letter to Satis Chandra Das Gupta", 5-3-1933.

[3] This was the form of greeting between Gandhiji and the addressee.

[4] The addressee was collecting funds in Kathiawar for Harijan work.

CWMG - III

You should waylay all the lecturers that come there. They should give you something for the great cause.

Poor Rehana! I had a note from her. You will not hurry her out of Poona if she is comfortable at Nanavati's.

Do you know what time it is now? Not yet 4 a.m. Good morning.

Love from us all.

Yours,
BHRRR

From a photostat: S.N. 9583

561. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

February 26, 1933

CHI. NARANDAS,

Champa has written to me about repairs in her bungalow and the need for getting it painted. She also wishes to go to some hill station during the summer. If painting and repairs are necessary, get them done. About her desire to go to a hill station, I have put some questions to her in my letter. Read it. Does she remain on good terms with you? Does she behave with proper courtesy? How is Ratilal? Does he wish to go to a hill station ?

Read my letter to Parashuram. He wishes to spend some time with Rajaji. I don't know whether the latter will give his consent. Can you make him free for two months? Who will teach Hindi during his absence?

Tell Kusum that as I wrote to her separately some time ago, I don't write to her today. I shall get another opportunity to write separately to her.

BAPU

[PS.]

In all there are 14 letters. They are all stitched together.

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

562. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

February 26, 1933

CHI. NARANDAS,

I got your letter. You will find with this a letter for Bhagwanji and one for Panditji. I believe that up to a certain quantity (12 ounces) milk is supplied to a prisoner at the cost of the jail.

Personally I am glad that you have told Hariyomal that he could come back. Such persons learn only through experience. Your suggestion regarding Parvati is excellent. If it is acted upon, both will be free.

We must bear the expenses of Prabhudas's journeys. He is rather timid. He will probably take time to find a partner, and it may even be a difficult task. He will not get over his restlessness till he marries. The forcible repression of his strong desire to marry was the cause of his restlessness.

Your remaining firm about the problem of Lakshmi is very necessary. I cannot understand Dudabhai's opposition. I have had no letter from Purushottam. I did ask him to write to me. I don't think fasting will do him any harm. If he knows how to break the fast gradually, he is bound to benefit from it. If the bone-setter knows his job well, there will be no harm. It will probably be safer to get Kanu examined by Haribhai[1]. If Mathuradas remains firm in his resolve, Motibehn will give up her opposition. It has been my unfailing experience that if one of the two parties is firm and the other party knows that he or she cannot be shaken from his or her resolve, the latter resigns herself or himself to the situation. As we forget in time our grief even over the death of one who was dearest to us, so also this folly leaves us by and by. The truth is there is some weakness in both parties and that is why they need each other's support. Really speaking, such support is of no avail. If it helps any couple to keep their resolve, the fact must be counted as an accident. How can a blind person lead another blind person? How can one who is drowning save another in the same plight as himself? How can a person who is not free from passion help his or her partner to be so? The reasoning is quite simple.

[1] Dr. Harilal Desai

You need not take any trouble to enlist subscribers for *Harijan*. We will send five copies to the Ashram addressed to no particular subscribers. You may use them in any way that you can. See if you can maintain a file with four out of the five copies, or with the copies which remain unsold. Some day they will be useful.

I got *Satyarthaprakash*, the slivers and the leather for the soles. Kellogg's book must have been sent to Dhulia jail for Madhavji. Or it was with somebody in Vijapur. I am sure about this.

BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./I; also *Bapuna Patro–9: Shri Narandas Gandhine*, Pt. II, pp. 35-6

563. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

February 26, 1933

CHI. PREMA,

Do not expect a long letter today. I have been writing so much with the right hand that it has got tired now. Nor have I much time.

I got the slivers sent by you. They were received yesterday evening. I spun with them today. Assuming that their weight as stated by you is correct, I see that I can spin yarn of 60 counts with slivers made from the *devkapas* variety of cotton. I will give half the quantity to Mahadev to spin. He has better skill in handling slivers than I have. Very probably he will be able to spin yarn of 100 counts at the very first attempt.

You give no news about your health. Is your throat all right? How is the backache?

Let me know how you found Mr. Duncan.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10325

CWMG III

564. LETTER TO BHAU PANSE

February 26, 1933

CHI. BHAU,

If Rajkot agrees with you, you should stay there for a longer time. While there, you may help Jamnadas in any way you can. If you are completely cured there, the improvement will remain even after you have left Rajkot. Let me know your daily programme of work and also your diet.

Those who have money ought to help others. Those who cannot meet their needs in any other way, like totally disabled people and sannyasis (genuine), etc., deserve to be helped.

The mendicant may be deserving if he gives all his time to social service and accepts no other return.

The woman certainly deserves help.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6750

565. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

February 26, 1933

I got your letter only today. I would certainly advise you to go to Banaras. It is our duty to plead with Malaviyaji. Whether we shall succeed or fail does not depend on us. The interpretation which you put upon his wire[1] is correct. From the wire it seems that he has an open mind on the subject.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuni Prasadi, p. 121

[1] Presumably Madan Mohan Malaviya's telegram dated February 15; *vide* Appendix XII.

566. LETTER TO VIDYA R. PATEL

February 26, 1933

CHI. VIDYA,

I got your letter. You should have faith in Premabehn's advice and follow it. That will be for your good. This applies to the other teachers too.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 9633. Courtesy: Ravindra R. Patel

567. LETTER TO ASHRAM BOYS AND GIRLS

February 26, 1933

BOYS AND GIRLS,

Harijan children won't listen to talk on abstinence from liquor. But coming in contact with you, they will gradually be influenced. It is a nice idea to visit them on Sundays. Try if possible to make this arrangement. It would be enough if the Friday programme is shifted to Sunday. Discuss it with Narandas. If your conduct is spotless, it will definitely influence them. It is inevitable that you should mix with older people. They also will be won over by love and service. Sometimes you may invite the Harijan children to the Ashram. Before inviting them take permission from Narandas.

I regard it as good news that the weights of most of you have gone up and also the counts of the yarn.

BAPU

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

CWMG III

568. LETTER TO KALICHARAN

February 26, 1933

BHAI KALICHARANJI,

I have your letter. I know all that is written about me. I do not think there is any remedy for it except remaining unperturbed. I hope that nobody believes it at all. And how can my denial have any effect on those who believe it? Anyway I have written something in this connection in the current issue of *Harijan*.[1]

MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 8039

569. RESIST UNTRUTH WITH TRUTH

February 26, 1933

It is unfortunate that untruth is being preached these days in the name of the sanatana dharma. I am receiving many new sanatanist newspapers which abound in untruth and indecency. I have been severely attacked in them. Many correspondents ask me to write something in reply to them. What can I write? Some say I do not believe in religion. In answer to that, except for me to say that religion is my life-breath what other reply can I give? A learned religious propagandist has written in the same vein. I can only give this reply to it that every word of it is almost entirely untrue. His words are not proved untrue because I say so, just as, his mere saying so does not establish what he says as truth.

Still untruth can be resisted by truth alone. It is necessary to understand this great saying. The root of all actions is in thought. False thoughts result in false utterances; and after that, or along with it or without the utterances, action follows. In the same way right action has its roots in right thoughts. If the thought is not true then that action or utterance which seems true is only false, is erroneous. That is to say, if I am entirely truthful even in my thoughts falsehood will be warded off automatically. People will not believe these canards. This firm faith keeps me unperturbed, and my friends also should be unperturb-

[1] *Vide* "A Campaign of Abuse", pp. 402-5.

ed. This false propaganda cannot last long. It is that for a short while the atmosphere will be contaminated by it. In every agitation such things always happen.

Let the reformer remember one thing. Let him never even contemplate untruth. We have a great religious mission before us. The abolition of untouchability is the great religious task before me, an onerous duty. To eradicate untouchability is the supreme duty of every Hindu. We can never accomplish this religious task with untruth. Ultimately anger or violence is also untruth. For this reason, it is necessary for those who serve Harijans never to be angry with their opponents; never to utter lies; but to overcome anger with affection, rudeness with courtesy, falsehood with truth, and violence with non-violence. And since we cannot control the outcome but can certainly practise truth and other virtues, God has said, "You have only the right to action; and not to the fruit thereof."[1] If all those who serve Harijans will stick to truth, then the result will only be good. There is no doubt whatever in this.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1068; also *Harijan Sevak*, 10-3-1933

570. KEEPING THE WORD

February 26, 1933

A gentleman writes;

> You are very hasty. Although a non-co-operator, you even seek help from the Assembly. Why such weakness? Negotiate with the sanatanists and have the temples thrown open.

I replied to this gentleman on these lines:

I am not hasty. I am striving to fulfil my pledge. In Bombay, at the end of September, this large conference of Hindus leaders on behalf of the Hindus resolved to strive to get the temples thrown open to Harijans in as peaceful a manner as possible. Now this difficulty has cropped up in our way, namely, the British courts have decided that Harijans cannot enter many temples. Even a consensus among Hindus cannot abolish the law. Law can be abrogated by law alone. So legislation has become necessary and Shri Ranga Iyer has presented the Bill. It does not have even a hint of force or of interference with religion. According to the Bill, if the Hindu public wish so, temples can be thrown open to the Harijans. The temples will be thrown open when Hindu public decide to

[1] *Bhagavad Gita*, II. 47

do so; never by the Bills. There is no question of co-operation or non-co-operation in this. But this matter is outside my province today. People should have this much faith that if I, the author of the principle of non-co-operation, am a partisan to the passing of these Bills, the possibility of the principle being violated is very little. The important thing is that it is the duty of those who made the solemn declaration in Bombay to do their utmost to remove the legal obstruction. Only then can they say:

Rather die than go back upon one's word.[1]

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1070; also *Harijan Sevak*, 10-3-1933

571. LETTER TO VIYOGI HARI

February 26, 1933

BHAI VIYOGI HARI,

It is mail-time now. I received your telegram. I had sent a reply. I have also received Hindi *Harijan*[2] today. I am sending two articles[3] with this letter; I hope they will reach in time. I have not been able to read *Harijan Sevak* yet. I shall write about it in the English [*Harijan*].

BAPU

[PS.]

You may correct the language.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1086

572. LETTER TO BEGUM MOHAMMAD ALAM

February 26, 1933

DEAR SISTER,

Your letter should serve as an Urdu lesson for me. However short the letter may be, the alphabets must be well formed. Your earlier letters were beautiful. I was extremely glad to learn that both of you were now maintaining good health.

Blessings from
BAPU

BEGUM ALAM

From a photostat of the Urdu: G.N. 29

[1] *Ramacharitamanasa*, Ayodhyakand
[2] *Vide* "Letter to Viyogi Hari", pp. 419-20.
[3] "Resist Untruth with Truth" and "Keeping the Word"; *vide* pp. 426-8.

573. LETTER TO BENARSILAL AND RUKMINIDEVI BAZAJ

February 27, 1933

CHI. RUKMINI,

Two letters from you are lying before me. I am writing this before the morning prayer. I am glad that you don't want to be exempted from writing to me even when there is pressure of work. If one works methodically, one does not feel any strain. Such work becomes part of one's nature. Since you get news from Deolali and the Ashram, I need not mention anything. Hindi *Harijan* is being published now.

BAPU

CHI. BENARSI,

Your simile for that string of sixty allegations is a good one.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 9646. Courtesy: Benarsilal Bazaj

574. LETTER TO VIYOGI HARI

February 27, 1933

BHAI VIYOGI HARI,

I have gone through *Harijan Sevak*; I did not like it. It requires more labour and more study. It contains the news of the opening of the Santram temple at Nadiad. The news is published despite the fact that the Santram temple has not been thrown open. No news item should be quoted from the papers without verifying it. Publication of such news always undermines one's prestige and harms the cause of dharma. The prefix 'it is reported' is certainly there but who can thank you for it? Very many things are reported but few turn out to be true on verification. This must now be corrected. Enquire from the head of the Santram temple. The account of activities has taken up too much space. It indicates that you had nothing left to print and that is why even after so much space being used up the lower portion remained blank. And that is an eyesore. You could have found sufficient

material from the two issues of *Harijan* lying with you. Certainly there was no lack of time. The translation of my article should have borne at the end the appellation 'translation'. Even the translation is not satisfactory. *Harijan Sevak* should not be stuffed with articles but it should be a guide to the workers and should abound with news. The problems facing the sanatanists should be indicated and solutions suggested. The falsehoods of the sanatanists should be exposed at the appropriate time. Hence we must receive exhaustive reports from all provinces. The letters published already in *Aaj* need not be reproduced.

I am sending today a wire[1] in this connection. I trust you will not mind my plain speaking. All this is meant not to discourage but to encourage you.

The two articles I sent yesterday must have reached you.

BAPU

From a microfilm of the Hindi: S.N. 20393

575. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

February 28, 1933

DEAR THAKKAR BAPA,

I know you don't believe in giving yourself rest. I propose to join you in not giving you rest. Mahadev wrote to you at my instance yesterday about the wretched get-up of the *Harijan Sevak*, both as to the matter and the manner. I sent even a telegram to Viyogi Hari.

Today I send you what has appealed to me as an extraordinarily clever report on the Harijan organizations of the Punjab. I am dealing with it in the ensuing *Harijan*, but you should circulate the copies of the enclosed report among the Punjab organizations and get their replies. If you think that there is absolutely nothing to be said for the report and that it simply contains a series of exaggerations and unsupported statements, naturally you will not go to the expense of copying the report and multiply your and your staff's work. You will then return me the report with a brief note that it is not worthy of consideration. Perhaps you know the writer; if you do, you will let me know all about him. I am still in correspondence with him. I wonder if you read the English *Harijan*. It is addressed to you personally as it is to every Harijan servant, because it contains

[1] This is not available.

suggestions for workers, appeals to them, as also arguments to arm them for their battle. Arguments and appeals you may not need at all, but suggestions you must welcome, no matter from what quarter they come. There is one suggestion of my making in my article on the Punjab report which I do not want to duplicate, because I expect you to see it in the *Harijan*. If you see a flaw in the reasoning, or if you find it to be impossible to carry out, you will tell me and if your counter-argument appeals to me I shall correct it. But it is better that instead of making big suggestions privately I make them publicly.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI A. V. THAKKAR
BIRLA MILLS
SABJI MANDI
DELHI

From a photostat: G.N. 1112; also S.N. 20410

576. LETTER TO R. KAIMAL

February 28, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I believe I have a previous letter of yours unanswered. I must however deal with it when I come to it in the regular course.

With reference to your question in your letter of 23rd instant, my emphatic answer is, like the rest, the present priesthood is decadent. If it was not, we should find Hinduism in a different state altogether.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. R. KAIMAL
TRIVANDRUM

From a microfilm: S.N. 20400

CWMG III

577. LETTER TO K. N. KATJU

February 28, 1933

DEAR DR. KATJU,

I thank you for your valuable letter.[1] I am glad that your daughter is happy with her husband. I know you will do all you can for the *Harijan.*

I appreciate your argument about temple-entry. In my opinion, based even upon the present experience of new temples which are being opened, the donors have no fixed ideas. They simply build temples for Hindus without a rigid definition for the class of Hindus to be admitted to the temples. Hinduism has never been a rigid faith. It has kept abreast of the times. Untouchables of today were not the untouchables, say, a hundred years ago, and those who were untouchables a thousand years ago are undoubtedly not untouchables today.

Would you say that the English law of Trusts is applicable to Hindu usage? Some of the most learned *Shastris* who are no reformers of the Western style do not hesitate to give the opinion that Hindu public temples should never have been closed to untouchables. According to your argument, our ancestors could stop the march of Hinduism by opening temples in accordance with the usage then in existence. I would like you therefore to re-consider your position, and if there is a flaw in my deductions from your argument, I would like you to strive with me. For I have no desire to see any injustice done to any party or person.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. K. N. KATJU
19 EDMONSTONE ROAD, ALLAHABAD

From a microfilm: S.N. 20401

[1] The addressee had written: "...It cannot be denied that ... for many many centuries, rightly or wrongly, untouchables have not been allowed access to public temples. ... it seems to me that it is not so much a question of Hindu Shastras or their right and correct interpretation, but in truth a question of what the founder must be deemed or presumed to have intended. ... Otherwise I do not see what right has the majority to override the intention of the founder, and it may be open to any member of the Hindu public to appeal to a civil court to give effect to the intentions of the founder. I am just mentioning this point for your consideration. ..."

578. LETTER TO VITHALRAO K. JOSHI

February 28, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter.[1] As soon as I got Sjt. Athavale's letter, I wrote[2] to Sjt. Chhapkhane. I did not know his full name and address, but I am sure he will get my letter.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. VITHALRAO K. JOSHI
NEW PETH, SANGLI

From a microfilm: S.N. 20402

579. LETTER TO P. H. GADRE

February 28, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. If you do not mind, I would wait till I see your article in the Press, but you may certainly come and see me if you feel like it any day except Wednesdays, Thursdays and Sundays between 1 p.m. and 2 p.m. by previous appointment.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. P. H. GADRE
NASIK CITY

From a microfilm: S.N. 20403

[1] The addressee had written : "It is quite false that you commended that the sum be retained by Mr. K. R. Chhapkhane of Sangli, for use in the political advancement in general and specially in the Sangli State, at his absolute discretion. . . ."

[2] *Vide* p. 379.

580. LETTER TO GAYA PRASAD SINGH

February 28, 1933

DEAR GAYA BABOO,

Many thanks for your letter and all the effort you are putting forth in connection with the Untouchability Bills.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. GAYA PRASAD SINGH
13 C FEROZSHAH ROAD
NEW DELHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 20404

581. LETTER TO TRICUMDAS DWARKADAS

February 28, 1933

MY DEAR TRICUMDAS,

I thank you for your letter enclosing counsels' opinion. I see that I put down my questions[1] stupidly and I have got what I deserved.[2] But as Dr. Sapru had understood my questions put in identical language I thought that I was quite safe. If I get a moment's leisure I will re-frame the questions and see what I can get. Even the present answers you and I can understand, but the general public will certainly cry out 'His own lawyers say there is compulsion and interference.' I am therefore not making any public use of this opinion. My thanks are all the same due to the friends for taking the trouble of promptly giving their answers.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. TRICUMDAS DWARKADAS
C/O MESSRS KANGA & CO.
YUSUF BUILDING
CHURCH GATE STREET
BOMBAY

From a microfilm: S.N. 20409

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Jaisukhlal K. Mehta", pp. 363-4.

[2] The addressee had forwarded opinions of D. N. Bahadurji, V. F. Taraporewala and M. C. Setalvad.

582. LETTER TO P. R. LELE

February 28, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter for which I thank you. I knew about Jaisukhlal's illness and I wrote to him on Sunday. Will you be in full charge then? I received today Sjt. Tricumdas's letter with opinion. I have sent him a letter[1] of acknowledgement.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. P. R. LELE
THE RECLUSE
31 MURZBAN ROAD
FORT, BOMBAY

From a microfilm: S.N. 20405

583. LETTER TO C. NARAYANA RAO

February 28, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your postcard.[2] I quite agree with the sentiment expressed therein.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. C. NARAYANA RAO
PEDDA WALTAIR
UPLANDS, WALTAIR P. O.

From a microfilm: S.N. 20407

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

[2] The addressee had regretted that some sanatanists were opposing the two proposed Bills and stressed the importance of legislation for the removal of untouchability.

CWMG - LIII

584. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

February 28, 1933

DEAR DAUGHTER,

Your letter. It is very good indeed that Devdas has arrived.

You must not be impatient for serving others. First of all improve your health, everything else will be all right then. If Dr. Sharma puts his trust in God and has a sincere wish to go to the Ashram his path will be cleared by Him. If the doctor has full faith in his treatment the Ashram offers good scope and the people will learn to trust him. However, he must not hope for the present to sell his books.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Urdu: G.N. 278

585. TELEGRAM TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

[On or after *February 28, 1933*][1]

YOUR WIRE. SORRY BUT UNRUFFLED. WE MUST CARRY ON.

BAPU

From a photostat: S.N. 20408

586. LETTER TO DUNCAN GREENLEES

March 1, 1933

Newcomers do find the routine a stiff business. But we are trying to live the life of the billions of the earth. They are toilers all the day long. They have to do their thinking whilst their bodies are working. When the routine becomes natural, it becomes pleasant and does not interfere with hard thinking. All thinking

[1] The telegram was in reply to the addressee's received on February 28. It reads : "Despite generous disciplined co-operation majority House and cruel neutrality Government all but one hurdle overcome. Obstruction had its way. House adjourned quarter after five. Bill not reached. Next only non-official day twenty-fourth."

is not useful. Clear thinking is the need. That can only come through continuous sacrifice, i.e., toiling for the service of others.

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy : Narayan Desai

587. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

March 1, 1933

CHI. NARANDAS,

I got your mail (a big packet). I think it would be best to serve rice to Maitri and others who insist on it. We may only explain the properties of the different classes of grain and not press anybody to follow our advice. These properties are a matter of direct experience. I see from experience every day that we should consume a minimum of starches. Rice is pure starch, and so it is served to people who cannot digest any other grains. The derogatory use of the term "rice-eater" is perfectly justified. But this argument will convince only those who use their reason. It is not at all likely to appeal to a person whose stomach will not tolerate anything but rice. I could write a great deal more on this subject, but I have no time for that.

Ramabehn saw me yesterday. You have not won her trust. Try harder. She wishes to learn English. She wishes to do so in spare time after doing her work for the Ashram. Go and meet her. Listen to what she has to say and request Mathew or Mary or Duncan to give her one hour daily. Do all you can to satisfy her desire to learn English. If any of the women who are old inmates of the Ashram wish to learn English, their desire is natural. We feel the necessity of its knowledge every hour, and also observe that as soon as a person learns English he or she goes up in the esteem of others. We cannot check this tide. There is no harm in knowing the language itself. The harm comes from the misuse of the language, from its blind worship. Women are not likely to cultivate such an attitude soon. If you see any flaw in this reasoning, point it out to me.

BAPU

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

588. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

Morning, March 2, 1933

CHI. NARANDAS,

You must have received the letter which I wrote to you yesterday. Make careful preparations for Lakshmi's marriage and see that everything goes well. Jamna and you should give away the bride, and Velanbehn should offer the bridegroom. If possible, I will send Lakshmidas there. As usual, keep a dhoti, shirt, cap, *takli* and a copy each of the *Gita* and the *Bhajanavali* ready for the bridegroom. Tie the marriage knot with the ends. Give a translation of the vows[1] to both the bride and the bridegroom. And they should fast on that day and eat nothing till after the ceremony is over. You, Jamna and Velanbehn also should fast. Both the bride and the bridegroom should perform the ceremonial worship of the cow and the tree and recite Chapter XII of the *Gita*. It is not necessary to invite any friends except Anasuyabehn. We don't want the marriage to be published in newspapers, though we do not wish to keep it a secret either. The bride and the bridegroom may leave for home by the night train and start working immediately. Velanbehn will arrange for the sari on behalf of Maruti. If you wish to ask any other question, you may do so. Invite all Harijan friends to attend the wedding. If you wish, you may serve them refreshments. In that case, I believe fruit will be the best. But consult your own convenience in all this, and make any changes which you feel necessary. Let the members of the Committee come together and plan the arrangements. Invite the senior women inmates also to the meeting of the Committee. Let the day of marriage be for us a sacred day of *tapascharya* and self-purification and one to be celebrated in keeping with our ideal of simplicity and self-control. Let all present shower their blessings on the bride and the bridegroom. Maruti's letters simply fill me with admiration for him. If he remains true to the aspirations which he expresses in them, we shall believe that he must have become a member of Lakshmidas's family blessed with the holy merit of his good deeds in pre-

[1] The marriage vows, called *saptapadi*, which form the essential part of the Hindu marriage ceremony. For a translation of the vows, *vide* Vol. XXX, p. 88.

vious lives. Lakshmidas's love for him, too, must be wonderful beyond words. And what excellent training he must have given!

Explain to everybody in the Ashram that it is the universal experience that anybody who does not give his best, physically and mentally in serving the sick, can do no other useful work, and that the Ashram exists to enable its inmates to serve others. Nobody in the Ashram, therefore, should be half-hearted in doing service.

BAPU

[PS.]

Doesn't Velanbehn keep well? Read my letter to Dudabhai. I have not pressed him to attend the wedding. I am enclosing letters for Dudabhai, Lakshmi, Velanbehn and Durga.

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

589. LETTER TO AGATHA HARRISON

March 2, 1933

MY DEAR AGATHA,

I have not been able to overtake your letter of 10th February before now. Please forgive me. I see that it required a prompt reply. I hope, however, that this will be in time for you in helping you to come to a decision if you had not arrived at it when this reaches you.

I have no hesitation in saying that you should accept the invitation[1] of the Y. W. C. A. if they will bear the expense of the journey. Poor workers must not be expected to find the expenses themselves.

I hope the *Harijan* gives you all the information you may need about the untouchability movement.

Love from us all.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

MISS AGATHA HARRISON
2 CRANBOURNE COURT
ALBERT BRIDGE ROAD
S. W. 11

From a photostat: G.N. 1462; also S.N. 20436

[1] For the Quadrennial Conference to be held at Ootacamund from April 29 to May 8

590. LETTER TO MARGARETE SPIEGEL

March 2, 1933

MY DEAR MARGARETE,

You are sending me letters regularly. But you are telling me nothing except about myself. You must now begin to tell me something about your children, and the many things that you teach them and how you teach them. You don't think that those things will not interest me. They will, because they might be of use for the Ashram children. You should tell me also as a teacher what you would do to and for the Ashram children if you had them under your charge.

Love from us both.

BAPU

Spiegel Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Also S.N. 20429

591. LETTER TO ESTHER MENON

March 2, 1933

MY DEAR CHILD,

I have your letter. I am sending it to Maria. I know she will be delighted with it. Probably you wrote the same time that you wrote to me. Even so, the news of your joining her early will not be stale to her.

I posted a letter[1] last week to Tangai and just gave you a line only. I hope she felt duly proud to receive a letter all to herself, put in an envelope bearing her address, and I hope that she sent me a thousand kisses when she got that letter.

As I am pouring out my heart through *Harijan*, I feel that I have nothing more to say to the members of the growing family.

With all the experience gained in a big hospital, Menon should return as a distinguished specialist in surgery.

Love from us all and kisses to children.

BAPU

From a photostat: No. 120. Courtesy : National Archives of India. Also *My Dear Child*, pp. 99-100

[1] *Vide* p. 380.

592. LETTER TO W. TUDOR OWEN

March 2, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

It was good of you to think of me and send your paper[1]. Whether I can agree with you or not, I know that you have always something useful and original to say.

With the restrictions natural in a prison-house, you will not expect me to discuss the political aspect of your paper. I have therefore only to tell you that I shall read the paper with sympathy and attention and shall approach it without any preconceived ideas. I have no axe to grind. I believe that I have got the mind of a scientist. I endeavour always to look at all the sides of a question and I have sanity and courage to own my mistakes as soon as I detect them.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 20423

593. LETTER TO JON ROMMEL

March 2, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter[2] and your book called *Regeneration.* I glanced through the pages, but I must confess to you that I found in it nothing to appeal to me.

Yours sincerely,

JON ROMMEL, ESQ.
NIAGARA FALLS
N. Y.
4111 SAUNDERS ROAD
LEWISTON

From a microfilm: S.N. 20425

[1] "India at the Cross Roads"

[2] The addressee had asked Gandhiji not to "start another fast", and stated that his "mode of dress, and method of procedure" did not coincide with his views.

594. LETTER TO NELLIE BALL

March 2, 1933

MY DEAR NELLIE[1],

Next time when you feel like writing you should trace the spelling of your name. As I read your signature I can only make out 'Mell Bull'. I can easily read 'Bull' as 'Ball', but Esther confounds me. She has clearly spelt your name as 'Nellie Ball'. I have therefore adopted her clear spelling in preference to your doubtful 'Mell'. If therefore I have made any mistake you must go for Esther. But I see that you are a little philosopher with a big heart. Therefore you will exclaim, 'What is in a name? It is the spirit that matters.' And whether I trace Mell or Nellie my spirit goes out to you, the little invalid daughter. But I propose a peremptory change in the way you describe yourself. Your body is no doubt shattered, but your spirit seems to have risen triumphant over the body. I do not want to think of you therefore as my 'little invalid daughter', but my 'little daughter strong with the faith in God'. Now that C. F. Andrews is there you will certainly have the joy of receiving visits from him frequently and not only rarely. He is a genius for seeking out persons like you and going to them as often as he can. To visit people in power is a tax upon his mind. To visit people like you and me is a matter of perennial joy to him. He derives his strength from his association with those whom the world calls weak and helpless and who often but wrongly feel so themselves. But I must now stop.

You should give my love to your doctor and ask him to write to me about you.

Yours,

From a photostat: S.N. 20427

[1] Of Birmingham

595. LETTER TO ANNE MARIE PETERSEN

March 2, 1933

MY DEAR MARIA,

I enclose herewith letter from Esther which I have no doubt you will like and prize. We shall all look forward to their coming in autumn and it will be a great relief to me.

Mary Barr wrote to me that she was likely to accompany you during your visit to Kashmir. I hope it is coming off and that it will do you good and give you a little bit of bracing air and rest to your tired limbs and mind.

I hope you are getting your copy of the *Harijan* regularly.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 20431

596. LETTER TO MURIEL LESTER

March 2, 1933

MY DEAR MURIEL,

I know you will always be wandering. That is part of your work and therefore it does not appear to me quite as horrible as you think it might. I hope your new child will not fare as badly as the preceding one. Of course those who have read your book[1] do not mind having read it, but these are very few. Those who do not want to know anything about your having entertained a funny little man cannot be blamed for not wanting your book. There must be quite a few thousand people who would like to know the story of Kingsley Hall and Children's House dedicated to the service of the neglected poor. Why were you sorry that John Morris was being removed to an old workhouse? Would he not get there the same kind treatment he had at the hospital? Where is the place situated? I suppose you will see him often enough, or, is the workhouse far away from you? When you see him you should take my love to him. I see you are in your 18th year and so is the Ashram at Sabarmati. Let

[1] Presumably *Entertaining Gandhi*, published in 1932

us hope that both the institutions pass muster in God's book. I am glad that Devi[1] has lighter work.

Yours,

From a photostat: S.N. 20432

597. LETTER TO GERTRUDE S. KELLER-CHING

March 2, 1933

DEAR SISTER,

I continue to receive your letters fairly regularly. You must not hesitate to write as often as you like so long as you don't always expect prompt acknowledgement from me.

I hope you got over the effects of the hurt long ere this reaches you.

I am glad you possess all the volumes of the Upanishads. Some of them will no doubt appear dry to you, but I am quite sure that you will not miss the central teaching which permeates all the principal Upanishads. But no teaching, however lofty it may be, enables us to control our nerves and our senses. That control only comes from incessant prayer from the heart and from utterly selfless service.

Yours sincerely,

GERTRUDE S. KELLER-CHING
VILLA LAVOISIER
LA SIGNALS', LAUSANNE

From a photostat: S.N. 20433

598. LETTER TO M. R. JAYAKAR[2]

March 2, 1933

DEAR MR. JAYAKAR,

I thank you for your letter.[3] If you can give me your opinion without much tax on[4] your energy, I would value it. Every

[1] Ada West

[2] A letter, in terms identical with paragraph 3 onwards, was sent to C. Rajagopalachari on March 3.

[3] The addressee had written: "I am doubtful whether you still desire to have my opinion."

[4] The source has "of".

help that comes counts in the midst of the difficulties that are being created day after day.

I hope you are fast regaining your lost strength.

I wonder if you have seen the *Madras Law Review*'s opinion on Rao Bahadur Rajah's Bill.[1] I enclose it for your perusal. Tell me whether you still hold to your opinion. I personally think that Mr. Rajah's Bill deserves support.

You had my telegram[2] in reply to yours. Whether for the moment we succeed or not, we must continue to create public opinion in favour of the Bills and make such effort as is possible to have them passed. That we did not succeed on the 27th does not worry me.

I hope you are following carefully what I am writing for the *Harijan*. It is my weekly letter to you as much as it is to other co-workers. You will read what I have said about temples.

Mathuradas must have gone to Benares to see Malaviyaji.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. M. R. JAYAKAR, BAR-AT-LAW
THE ASHRAM
WINTER ROAD
MALABAR HILL

From a photostat: S.N. 20434

599. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

March 2, 1933

MY DEAR GHANSHYAMDAS,

I have received from Mr. M. I. David Rs. 2,500. So far as I know, it is the first answer to the appeal on behalf of his scheme. Mr. David wants to remain anonymous. I am sending the money to you by registered and insured packet. For the present you will please retain the money on account of the David Scheme. It would be better to put it so as to bear interest at once. We won't need to use it all at once and I expect to get his own letter which he has promised.

I think that we ought to be able to announce a few scholarships. You blessed the scheme, the Bombay board blessed the scheme and if it ends with a solitary subscriber, and that also

[1] *Vide* "Letter to M. C. Rajah", p. 412, and also p. 456.
[2] Presumably identical with "Telegram to C. Rajagopalachari", p. 436.

the creator himself, it would be a miniature disaster. Do, therefore, induce Lala Shreeram and others at least to give these paltry sums and let me announce some names.

I hope Viyogi Hari and Amritlal Thakkar have shown you what I had to say about the Hindi *Harijan*. It needs very considerable improvement. You were to have given some personal attention to it. Do please give it.

I hope you are keeping good health. Is the nose causing trouble? Whether it is or not, it should receive early attention.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

[PS.]

The sooner now the Selection Board or Committee that I have suggested is formed the better it will be.

From a microfilm: S.N. 20435. Also C.W. 7929. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

600. LETTER TO P. J. ANDREASEN

March 2, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter and a copy of *The Secret of the Universe*.

Though you have asked me to acknowledge your letter only after I have read the book, I do not want you to be in suspense, because I am so preoccupied with the work on hand that I have no notion when I shall be able to reach the book.

Yours sincerely,

P. J. ANDREASEN, ESQ.
30 EVANS WAY, BOSTON, MASS.

From a photostat: S.N. 20437

CWMG - LIII

601. A LETTER

March 2, 1933

You seem to have cultivated a spirit of service beyond my expectation. I, therefore, have no fear now. May you always remain what you are. It is no ordinary responsibility which you are undertaking. In your hands lies Dada's honour and, if I may say so, of Hinduism, too, in large measure. If you shine in the life which you have adopted, even your detractors will be converted and become your admirers.

Don't feel unhappy at my absence. Though my body will be here, my soul will be with you and watch you both and protect you.

[From Gujarati]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. III, p. 168

602. INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS

March 2, 1933

Gandhiji stated in reply to a question that, if the necessary permission was given, he would, after duly examining the terms of the permission, quite willingly make a declaration of his policy on political questions. But just now he was not thinking about it at all. Politics was excluded from his thoughts. He was deliberately practising and doing this for two reasons, firstly, that he might not be burdened with its weight when he had another subject in hand to which he had been permitted to devote attention, and secondly nothing might escape his lips, even inadvertently, which would be tantamount to a breach of faith with the Government. He was now so constituted that he could not discuss politics. He added:

It is a wonderful gift God has given me.

Did it mean he was not interesting himself in contemporary political events? Gandhiji replied:

Oh yes, but only as a foreigner would. I note them in passing, but I bestow little thought on them. Of course, if the ban is lifted, and I am permitted to speak, I can, without any difficulty, speak on questions of policy and fundamental principles.

He added that those agents in his brain who were now on leave would then begin to work.

Asked if in his own opinion, the Harijan movement had not diverted attention from civil disobedience, Gandhiji replied :

Surely, it is a matter which everyone can decide for himself, because, all the materials are before him. One might as well ask me what is the height of the Himalayas when both he and I are seeing it. One will say it is 23,000 feet, another 25,000.

Asked as to what was his estimate of the height, Gandhiji replied at once.

Full 29,000.

The Hindu, 3-3-1933

603. LETTER TO K. RAMACHANDRA[1]

March 3, 1933

MY DEAR RAMACHANDRA,

I thank you for your wire. But I did not reply as I would not trouble you to come just now. I would like you however to write out whatever you know about N. It should not be difficult for you to do so although you consider the case to be intricate. Then, if necessary, I might ask you to come.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 20440

604. LETTER TO M. R. JAYAKAR

March 3, 1933

DEAR MR. JAYAKAR,

I thank you for your two letters with your opinion[2]. It will assist me greatly. I would like you to bear the Bills in mind and do whatever is possible.

I hope you have recovered all your lost strength.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 20445

[1] Of the Deena Seva Sangh, Bangalore

[2] Published in *Harijan*, 11-3-1933

CWMG LIII

605. LETTER TO DIWAKAR SINGH

March 3, 1933

MY DEAR DIWAKAR SINGH,

I am glad you wrote to me. I had already seen a notice in the papers about your work. If you will stick to it, I am sure that the work will prosper. The quieter it is, the better it will be. Do please continue to report progress. N. is here just now and I have shown your letter to her. She is happy over the beginning made by you and she agrees with me about the necessity of avoiding showy demonstration and she adds that this she can say from bitter experience.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

KUNWAR DIWAKAR SINGH
3 CANNING ROAD
ALLAHABAD

From the original: C.W. 9655. Courtesy: Municipal Museum, Allahabad. Also S.N. 20447

606. LETTER TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

March 3, 1933

MY DEAR ANAND,

I have your letter. They say dreams go by contraries. Naturally, therefore, there was nobody and no prisoner and no trial.

The more we merely think of the duty in front of us the greater is the satisfaction from it. Absorption in the immediate duty is like *brahmacharya*, peace-giving and invigorating.

Love.

BAPU

From a microfilm. Courtesy: National Archives of India and Anand T. Hingorani

607. LETTER TO PRABHULAL

March 3, 1933

BHAI PRABHULAL,

I got your letter. If you go on working with patience and firmness, your success is assured.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4133

608. LETTER TO LILAVATI

March 3, 1933

CHI. LILAVATI,

I got your letter. Come on Monday at 2 p.m. I do not write more as we are to meet. Narandas's letter is enclosed. Write down all your questions and bring them with you.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9324

609. 'NO INFRINGEMENT'

The following important opinion[1], on the question of temple-entry, of Sjt. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, ex-Law Member of the Madras Government, is taken from the daily Press.

SJT. KELKAR'S COMPROMISE

Sjt. N. C. Kelkar was good enough to pay me a visit at my request to discuss the question of temple-entry. I was anxious to know what he thought of the proposed legislation. He said that he had for years held that there was no way out of legislation in matters, even affecting religion, where a law alone could set them right, as in the case of temple-entry. Judge-made law had ordained that trustees of public Hindu temples were bound to pre-

[1] Not reproduced here. It said that temple-entry legislation did not infringe the property rights of anyone.

vent Harijans from entering them. No amount of public opinion could undo that law. It could demand the passage of a law but could not make the law permitting temple-entry.

Whilst, therefore, Sjt. Kelkar agreed that measures like Sjt. Ranga Iyer's were necessary, he said that actual temple-entry would only be effected by amicable settlement. He had no doubt that Harijans should enter temples on precisely the same terms as caste Hindus. But public opinion might not be ripe for the former's admission to the sanctuaries. If so, the caste Hindus should forgo the rights which Harijans could not have. He, therefore, suggested that in all the public temples there should be a common barrier set up, beyond which nobody but the priest actually in charge of the ceremonial could go. This would mean that, in some temples where now caste Hindus are able to enter the sanctuary and touch the idol, they would have to deny themselves that right, if they were not prepared to let Harijans enjoy it equally with them. I said I should have no objection whatsoever to such a compromise, provided, of course, that it was honestly carried out in practice. Nothing would please me better than to see this unseemly domestic wrangle close at the earliest moment.

Harijan, 4-3-1933

610. A WAIL FROM KUMAON

A Harijan correspondent from Haldvani writes complaining that nothing is being done by caste Hindus on their behalf in his district. This complaint is a sign that the message of the September resolutions has reached the Harijan masses and that, therefore, they are expecting great things. Provincial Boards of the Servants of Untouchables Society will have to organize their work so as to penetrate the remotest village and let the Harijans know that every attempt is being made to fight the monster of untouchability.

Harijan, 4-3-1933

611. JOINT OR SEPARATE?

Correspondents suggest that there should be separate temples, schools, wells, etc., for Harijans for the time being. A general adoption of the suggestion may easily be the way to perpetuate untouchability, and we might as well have had separate elec-

torates and elections for them, if we are to have everything else separate for them. I would certainly not have staked my life just to avoid separate electorates. I staked it, and it is still at stake, for the purpose of eradicating the present unnatural untouchability from the religion itself. I rose against separate electorates, because it would have spelt an end to the effort for the destruction of the canker. They would have meant an end to effective penance by the penitent caste Hindu. With the Yeravda Pact, such penance is a possibility, whether the penitents are in the majority or the minority. That there is a mighty upheaval in Hinduism and that we have two well-defined divisions working actively for their respective objectives is the surest justification for the Yeravda Pact. As a result of it, the religious untouchability goes or the reformer. If he is to be true to his pledge, the reformer has no other choice.

Therefore, separate temples and separate other services must be regarded with suspicion. Let us consider the limitations of the suggestion.

Till the legal obstacle in the way of opening public temples to untouchables is removed, the opening of existing temples on a large scale comes to a standstill. But the march of reform cannot be stayed. There are three ways of doing the thing.

(a) Where public opinion and trustees are quite demonstrably in favour of opening temples, trustees may open the temples under their charge and may take the risk of an injunction being issued against them.

(b) Private temples should be opened where the owners are willing to open them.

(c) Wealthy and spiritually minded people may open new temples under pure methods of consecration. (I add the adjective advisedly because I believe that all is not well with the existing temples.) These temples will be purposely designed for the Harijans as well as for the other Hindus. These must, there fore, be situated in such localities as are easily accessible to Harijans.

Common schools and wells should be opened where the existing ones are not available for Harijans either owing to the violent and successful opposition of the neighbours or some other unavoidable cause. Harijans cannot be left uncared for in matters of necessary services till public opinion has ripened. If there is a clearly awakened body of Hindus who have the same feeling towards Harijans as if they were their own kith and kin, they will not wait for public opinion to consolidate itself before taking ac-

tion. They will do their best to supply pure water and good education to their own newly found kith and kin.

There is one special consideration in favour of opening what may be called preparatory schools for Harijan children. I cannot do better than quote the reason in the words of a co-worker who has gone to live in their midst and who writes:[1]

> My school is conducted in a Harijan verandah. Some of my scholars are ... full of dirt.... My lesson, therefore, begins with telling them how to keep clean, and behave. ... They are bad liars. Some of them are industrious and wise. I play with them and perhaps learn more than I teach. ... I begin my class in the early morning. I sleep in a Harijan dharmasala about a furlong from the school. ... I naturally sometimes enter their homes when they do not mind. Many of them are dark holes with inmates packed like matches. ... But I am a novice. I know my limitations. ... I long to fulfil God's conditions for becoming a true Vaishnav.

This is but a sample of the condition of raw Harijan children. We want every one of these children to learn to live in a clean and decent manner. We want them all to attend the common public schools. Therefore, preparatory schools for them are an absolute essential if we mean honest business.

Harijan, 4-3-1933

612. CONFUSING THE ISSUE

The Secretary of the Jat-Pat Torak Mandal, i. e., Society for the Abolition of Caste, has published in the daily Press his letter to me of the 18th ultimo.

He does me the honour of calling me a 'deep thinker' and in the same breath withdraws it by saying:

> You have failed to see that the caste system is the origin of untouchability and that one cannot do without the other.

I venture to suggest to the Secretary that, if he is really honest in his paying me the compliment, he must suspend his judgment about the caste system and follow out the reasoning of the 'deep thinker' of his imagination; whereas if he has called me a 'deep thinker' in order to increase the height from which I have fallen, I fear that no reasoning of mine will affect him.

[1] Only extracts are reproduced here.

However, according to my wont, I propose to give the Secretary credit for honesty and shall, therefore, strive with him. I am one of those who think that the caste system, in so far as it is the English equivalent for varnashrama, is nothing but a division of labour or duty. Anyone who will take the trouble of looking at any religious book must find this out for himself. In that sense the divisions or classes are four and no more, and these classes are known all the world over. One is the repository of knowledge, the other is that of power, the third is that of wealth and the fourth is that of service. All these four labours are regarded as duties to be discharged by every one of them for the protection and advancement of dharma, and everyone who performs his duty to the best of his knowledge and ability gains equal merit with the rest, if the latter, too, do likewise. The merit, therefore, consists not in being one or the other, but in the performance of the duty assigned to it. Here, there is no untouchability. There is no superiority. And this is the essence of varnadharma. It may be non-existent today and it is so. That, however, in no way diminishes the force of my argument that there is no superiority and inferiority in the original conception of varnadharma and that untouchability can never be a necessary outcome of this pure division of duties. If this varnashrama cannot be revived in its original simplicity and purity, persons like me would consider it to be a calamity. Others may welcome it, but let varnadharma and untouchability stand or fall on their own merits or demerits. Confusing the two can only add to the difficulty of removal of untouchability, which all reformers and even many sanatanists desire. The caste-abolitionists must, therefore, hold their souls in patience and join the battle against the common and admitted evil of untouchability.

Varnashrama, as I interpret it, satisfies the religious, social and economic needs of a community. It satisfies the religious needs, because a whole community, accepting the law, is free to devote ample time to spiritual perfection. Observance of the law obviates social evils and entirely prevents the killing economic competition. And if it is regarded as a law laying down, not the rights or the privileges of the community governed by it, but their duties, it ensures the fairest possible distribution of wealth though it may not be an ideal, i.e., strictly equal, distribution. Therefore, when people in disregard of the law mistake duties for privileges and try to pick and choose occupations for self-advancement, it leads to confusion of varna and ultimate disruption of society. In this law, there is no question of compelling

any person to follow the parental occupation against his or her aptitude; that is to say, there can be no compulsion from without as there was none for, perhaps, several thousand years, during which the law of varnashrama worked without interruption. By training, the people had recognized the duty and the justice of the law, and they voluntarily lived under it. Today, nations are living in ignorance and breach of that law and they are suffering for it. The so-called civilized nations have by no means reached a state which they can at all regard with equanimity and satisfaction.

It is easy enough to see that this conception of varnashrama has nothing to do with restrictions as to inter-dining and intermarriage. The Vedas and the *Mahabharata* are filled with illustrations both of inter-dining and intermarriage. But these are matters of choice, not a matter of religious regulation. No one can be compelled or required to dine with any other or contract marital relations. No doubt social habits will grow up and regulate these things more or less rigidly. But it would be wrong to dignify them by the name of religious observances. Therefore, inter-dining and intermarriage can form no part of the campaign against untouchability. In so far as they are a matter for reform, they must be treated, in my opinion, as an absolutely separate subject, unconnected either with untouchability or even with varnashrama reform. So far as the multiplicity of castes apart from varnadharma are concerned, they are essentially trade guilds or societies, with intermarriage and inter-dining restrictions of a more or less rigid character superimposed upon them. Castes are as numerous as the leaves of the famous banyan tree whose every branch becomes a trunk for shooting out more branches. They are undergoing a perpetual transformation. Many have disappeared and new ones are appearing. Surely they have nothing to do with varnashrama; nor have they anything to do with religion. That today they are regarded by sanatanists as an integral part of Hinduism arises, in my opinion, from an utter ignorance of the working of these trade guilds. There are undoubtedly many undesirable practices that have crept into these corporations, but that is only because Hinduism as a religion has ceased to be a living, vitalizing force. We are today living upon capital which is itself being fast exhausted.

Harijan, 4-3-1933

613. THE DAVID SCHEME

It is a matter of great pleasure for me to be able to announce, so far as I am aware, the very first subscription of Rs. 2,500 to the David Scheme for the higher education of Harijans.

As the reader may remember, this amount covers five years' expenses for one Harijan student. I am sorry I cannot publish the name of the donor[1], as he desires to remain anonymous. I hope that this announcement will result in inducing others to send in their donations.

Harijan, 4-3-1933

614. RAO BAHADUR M. C. RAJAH'S BILL

Rao Bahadur M. C. Rajah, M. L. A., has sent me a copy of his Bill, 'Further to amend the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898'.[2]

This measure is not likely to give much relief to the Harijans from the disabilities they are suffering from. But I should welcome its passage as a nail driven in the coffin of a custom which I regard as wholly evil.

Harijan, 4-3-1933

615. HINDI "HARIJAN"

The Hindi edition of *Harijan* is at last out. The first issue was published on the 23rd ultimo.[3] It is the same size as the English edition and has no paid advertisements. The annual subscription is Rs. 3-8-0, a single copy is one anna. It contains among other things articles by Swami Satyadeva and Sheth Ghanshyamdas Birla and me, a brief poem by the well-known Hindi

[1] M. I. David; *vide* "Letter to G. D. Birla", pp. 445-6.

[2] The Bill, not reproduced here, provided that no order under section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code might be made preventing the exercise of lawful rights by "untouchables" on the ground that persons belonging to the "higher castes" might create disturbances.

[3] *Vide* "Letter to Viyogi Hari", pp. 419-20.

poet and author, Shri Maithilisharan Gupta. There is naturally something from the pen of the Editor, who is Sjt. Viyogi Hari, well known to the Hindi literary world. For years, service of the Harijans has been a passion with Sjt. Viyogi Hari. He was for some time himself editing and publishing a journal specially devoted to the removal of untouchability. There are, too, the usual news columns. The news service leaves much to be desired. But no doubt, in this and every other respect, every succeeding number will be better than its predecessor till the desired standard is reached. The habitation of the paper is Birla Mills, Delhi, the address of the Servants of Untouchables Society, under whose auspices the paper is being published. I may inform the reader that the Bengali edition was expected to make its appearance on the 28th ultimo with Sjt. Satis Das Gupta of the Khadi Pratishthan as Editor. Satisbabu says in his letter to me that, in order to overtake the last issues of the English edition of the *Harijan*, his first two numbers would be double numbers. Arrangements are in progress for bringing out the Gujarati *Harijan*.

Harijan, 4-3-1933

616. A MAHARASHTRA SAINT'S TESTIMONY

Sjt. R. D. Paradkar, Editor and Publisher, *Moropant's Works*, writes:[1]

> You have pointed out[2] that the use of the word 'Harijan' to denote the untouchable class in the present movement inaugurated in their behalf has by no means been novel and that the word had thus been used previously by a Gujarati poet. I have taken up the pen just to let you know, as the news is likely to give you particular pleasure, that the very word has been used in the same sense by Moropant, the celebrated Maharashtrian poet. The stanza[3] in question is as follows. ...

Similar testimony is to be found in the writings not only of the other saints of Maharashtra but also the saints of the whole of India. If industrious scholars will collect such sayings of the saints from different parts of the country, I shall gladly hand them to the Editor for publication in the *Harijan*, and they will

[1] Only an extract is reproduced here.

[2] *Vide* "Why 'Harijan' ", pp. 374-6.

[3] Which is translated as follows: "In your superior wisdom you give Harijans names like Mahar, Yawan, Kanbi. It is the fruit of the tree that reveals the property concealed in the seed (i.e., actions reveal the man)."

be a help and an inspiration to the workers in the cause of the abolition of untouchability.

Harijan, 4-3-1933

617. AS THEY SEE US

Hardly has the great central organization of the Servants of Untouchables Society made the commencement, when complaints against it and the provincial organizations have cropped up. They come chiefly and naturally from Harijans. One of these correspondents sent to me some time ago an able letter, undertaking to give details if I desired. I took him at his word and asked him to give me details; and the letter he has sent me in reply is abler than the first. It will compete with any well-written report of an inspector. It contains a summary of reports of every organization claiming to work in the writer's Province for the uplift of Harijans, and after giving me sufficient details, his one conclusion about all the organizations practically without exception is:

> They are run principally by caste men who have their own axes to grind or who are in need of some occupation that would maintain them decently. The utmost that some of these have done is to fling a few scholarships at Harijan boys. Some others have been great at delivering lectures. All have come to us as patrons. Hardly has anyone come as a friend and equal, let alone as a servant. Your provincial organization is no exception. It is difficult for a Harijan to approach its chief man without fear and trembling. He is always in danger of being met with a frown.

My correspondent is also not without suggestions, which may be summarized thus:

> If you are to take advantage of the great awakening that has taken place, you must concentrate upon primary education on a mass scale. You will not drive out the ignorance of ages without spreading that education. We shall certainly help, but seeing that caste Hindus want to remove untouchability and make us one with them, there is no better way of employing their money and their labour than in imparting this education.

It is necessary to know the Harijan mind in any programme of work that may be taken up. Caste Hindus, for whom removal of untouchability is a matter of penance and purification, have undoubtedly to do much more than open schools everywhere. I have discussed elsewhere[1] where such schools may be opened.

The conduct of caste Hindus would be generally tested by its reaction upon the mass mind of the Harijans. If we have really changed towards them, they will feel the change in a thousand ways. Our activity, I mean that of caste Hindus, will affect every department of their lives. Even in the remotest village we are interdependent, so much so that this interdependence cannot be dissolved all at once, even if we desired it, without resulting in the greatest harm to the nation in general; and this interdependence, which is today that of slave and master, will never be corrected unless there is absolute religious equality. It is a tremendous task, but as we progress towards the goal, the truth must dawn upon every caste Hindu that there is no half-way house between abject slavery and perfect religious equality. Hence my humble insistence upon temple-entry without losing sight of the other things we must do.

My correspondent is bitter in discussing what he considers to be the extravagant management of the different organizations that have come under his lash. As an expert organizer that I may claim to be, I have been generally guided by the rule that the cost of administration, that is, overhead charges, should never exceed 10% of the receipts—5% being the ideal—the balance going to the cause which brought the organization into being. I suggest this test to the Central Board and the Provincial Boards and all other independent Harijan organizations run by caste Hindus. Let it not be said of us that we spend more on running the organizations than upon Harijans themselves. Let us see to it that, out of every Rs. 100 received as donation for the Harijan cause Rs. 90 go straight into the pockets of Harijans. Therefore, our officials should be largely volunteers, never highly paid wherever paid service is required. Wherever it is possible, we should get Harijans. We should select candidates and train them. The correspondent says that peons in the organizations inspected by him are not drawn from the Harijan ranks.

Let every organization for the service of Harijans introspect itself in the light of the criticism I have condensed and the suggestions I have made. I know that the correspondent has painted the picture as black as he could. He has refused to see the bright side. I know something of Harijan service done by caste men in the different Provinces. I know that there is a bright side to the work of the organizations referred to by my correspondent, but it was unnecessary for me to give the bright side. It will

[1] *Vide* "Joint or separate?", pp. 452-3.

take care of itself, if the organizations will take care of the dark side of the picture. Most organizations have a capacity for self-deception. There is a tendency towards self-glorification. The *Harijan* exists for the sake of giving due prominence, therefore, to every bit of criticism that can be levelled against us by Harijan critics.

Harijan, 4-3-1933

618. IS IT LOSS OF FAITH?

A co-worker writes:

> Some of us feel that your 'fasting unto death' may mean a conscious or unconscious loss of faith in the efficacy of non-violence. Can you enlighten us, who have derived our faith in non-violence from you?

It is a flattering thought that some people have derived their faith in non-violence from me. But I would warn them that I may prove a broken reed at a critical juncture, if they have not assimilated the spirit of non-violence and if it has not become an integral part of their life. Faith in a man is a perishable quantity, for it vanishes like smoke when their idol does not come up to their expectations; but what gives us hope and courage in the nick of time is an undying faith in a cause or a principle, irrespective of persons from whom it is derived.

Having uttered this warning, let me say that my 'fast unto death' was not due to loss of faith in non-violence, but it was, as I have already said on more than one occasion, the last seal upon that faith. Sacrifice of self even unto death is the final weapon in the hands of a non-violent person. It is not given to man to do more. I, therefore, suggest to this co-worker and all the others that in this religious battle against untouchability they must be prepared joyously even to 'fast unto death', if such an urgent call comes to them. If they feel that they are party to the September pledge[1] given unsolicited to the Harijans and if they cannot make good the pledge in spite of ordinary effort, how else, being non-violent, will they propose to deliver the goods except by laying down their lives?

The Shastras tell us that, when people in distress prayed to God for relief and He seemed to have hardened His heart, they declared a 'fast unto death' till God had listened to their prayer.

[1] *Vide* pp. 129-30.

Religious history tells us of those who survived their fast, because God listened to them but it tells us nothing of those who silently and heroically perished in the attempt to win the answer from a deaf God. I am certain that many have died in that heroic manner, but without their faith in God and non-violence being in the slightest degree diminished. God does not always answer prayers in the manner we want Him to. For Him life and death are one, and who is able to deny that all that is pure and good in the world persists because of the silent death of thousands of unknown heroes and heroines!

Harijan, 4-3-1933

619. THE BOGEY OF BOYCOTT

This is the substance of what a correspondent[1] writes in the course of a long letter:

> Some of us caste men tried and succeeded in having certain wells in some of the Bihar villages opened to the use of Harijans. But the Brahmin *pujaris* nearby retorted by stopping the service in the village temple, and the local Brahmins threatened to stop all religious services at *shraddha*[2], marriage and the like. This frightened the simple villagers. I feel tempted to offer satyagraha, but I desist lest I might do so in anger. What would you advise in such cases?

Not long ago there was a similar case near Trichinopoly. Dr. Rajan acted with decision. Himself a Brahmin by caste and Shudra by right of service, he defied the orthodox Brahmins who had refused even to perform the funeral rights in the case of death in a reformer's family.

My advice, therefore, is that there is no occasion in such cases for satyagraha. Those who regard untouchability as a sin must be prepared to suffer all the hardships of boycott and the like as a part of the process of purification and penance. In all humility they must learn to dispense with the outward form. Anything done in the name of God and for His sake needs no support from an officiating priest, whether it is a death or a marriage or a *shraddha*. Anybody can unite a couple in marriage by reciting the sacred *mantras*, whether it is Ramanama or any of the known formulae according to the tradition in which one has been brought

[1] Janakdhari Prasad; *vide* "Letter to Janakdhari Prasad", pp. 463-4.
[2] The Hindu ceremony of oblation for the spirit of deceased ancestors

up. God is known not by His thousand names only but by millions of names. Any name which comes from the heart and by which we can recognize Him is as good as any other or, rather, the best of all for us. But these things can only be done by those who have the courage of their conviction, faith in themselves, faith in their cause and faith in a living God. This is not a movement in which faint-heartedness can be of any use. Only workers with stout hearts and irreproachable character will be able to infect the villagers with their own strong convictions and enable them to do the right thing in the face of boycott or worse persecution.

Harijan, 4-3-1933

620. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

March 4, 1933

CHI. MIRA,

This is Saturday before prayer time 3.30 a.m. No letter from you till Friday evening. I put off even yesterday in the hope of getting your letter in the afternoon and still posting you something yesterday but that was not to be. So each week your letter is getting later in coming. But though I look forward to it I do not worry.

The letter-writing is not a right of prisoners. Therefore there is no deprivation. What in ordinary life religion calls duty becomes or seems to be compulsion in the prison life. But that is not the case with us. We are in a way voluntary prisoners. Therefore we may not feel the compulsion as such when a certain permission is withdrawn or is regulated in the manner suited to the authorities. I can do without your letters if need be and you must train yourself to do likewise and *feel happy*[1]. In a manner everybody trains himself to do without things when he cannot get them. A follower of the *Gita* dharma trains himself to do without things *with happiness*[2] called equanimity in *Gita* language, for happiness of the *Gita* is not the opposite of unhappiness. It is superior to that state. The devotee of the *Gita* is neither happy nor unhappy. And when that state is reached, there is no pain, no pleasure, no victory, no defeat, no deprivation, no possession. Prison life is a life of privilege if we learn to practise the *Gita* teaching. It is easier in the prison than outside. For outside we have the opportunity of picking and choosing. Hence we are not always able to test ourselves. In the

[1]& [2] These words are underlined in the source.

prison, there are various jarring occasions. Are we able to bear them with equanimity? If we are, it is well with us.

I have kept your letter of 19th February which I got after I had written my weekly letter. You had Mridula in your party. I hope she is quite well. She was not quite strong and healthy. Ba should look after her jaws. Does she wear her teeth? Does she take enough exercise? Does she do any reading herself ? Does she get weekly letters or fortnightly? I know last time she did not get several of my letters. I do not know what happened to them. This time I am anxious that she should get my letters. So far as I am aware prison authorities had not withheld her letters.

I do propose to write to Dr. Saunders[1] about your history. But whatever the history, there is only one treatment which I have mentioned to you. There need be therefore no waiting for his report. It would be interesting to know what he has to say. Sunlight, simple food in which vitamins have not been destroyed and exercise in the open air will dissolve all glands and other affections.

Verrier has cried off the proposed marriage with Mary Gillett. But his communications are not happy. He is showing a very vulnerable spot in his character. But it is well to know our friends as they are and still to love them.

Here they come for the prayer. 4.10 a.m. I stop.

Love from us all.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6265. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9731

621. LETTER TO JANAKDHARI PRASAD

March 4, 1933

DEAR JANAKDHARI BABOO,

You were quite right in sending me your long letter. You will see that one portion of your letter I have dealt with in the columns of the *Harijan*.[2] I have purposely refrained from using your name. You will have to lead the way by defying the priesthood yourself, and you will find, as I have found elsewhere, that the boycotting priests will immediately quiet down and want to perform the ceremonies, for they would not want to lose the income

[1] Arthur Saunders, addressee's cousin, who had attended on her from her childhood in England. *Vide* also "Letter to Dr. Arthur Saunders", 5-3-1933.

[2] *Vide* "The Bogey of Boycott", pp. 461-2.

that they get from the performance of these ceremonies. They proclaim the boycott today, because they think that thereby they will be able to get more money from frightened people, and you will find too that you will presently get reformers who will gladly officiate at these functions. That was what Dr. Rajan was able to do.

Do please continue to write to me whenever you feel you have something to say to me.

As for your personal struggle, no *prayashchitta* is necessary except that you should resolutely live apart from your wife, and you will soon find you will be quite all right. You must develop the will to enforce this resolution.

The other thing you ask is much more difficult. You attain to '*param*', i.e., truth, by constantly practising it. The saying that a man becomes what he thinks is a scientific truth. Here thinking does not mean the mental vapours. It means perfect accord between thought, speech and deed, and when there is that completely, you are within sight of Truth. I wonder if it is clear to you.

I am glad you like Miss Lester's book. She is indeed a good woman. Her address is: Muriel Lester, Kingsley Hall, Bow, London, E 3.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SJT. JANAKDHARI PRASAD
ISLAMPUR
P. O. MUZAFFARPUR (BIHAR)

From a photostat: G.N. 53

622. LETTER TO RAMA RAJU

March 4, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. Of course I would gladly discuss the problem of untouchability with Pandit Krishnamacharya if he could possibly visit Yeravda.

The difference between Malaviyaji and myself is as you properly say unfortunate, but since the difference was there it is as well that it has come out. It promotes healthy public opinion.

Yours sincerely,

RAMA RAJU
MASULIPATAM

From a microfilm: S.N. 20453

623. LETTER TO BOYD TUCKER

March 4, 1933

MY DEAR BOYD[1],

I have your long and good letter but none too long to mar my pleasure. You were quite right in writing the letter. The best appreciation I could show was to publish the relevant parts of it and to offer my own criticism. I had prepared the article[2] for this week's issue of the *Harijan*, but it had to stand aside for matters more urgent. I hope however it will go in next week. I shall then send you a proof copy and as I have said there all I had to in connection with your letter I will not repeat the argument just now. The reference to Gurudev I have not given in the *Harijan*. I know he has been specially tender towards me of late. Perhaps Truth suffers through his reticence if he has absolutely strong and confirmed views on the question as your letter would suggest he has. I should hold it to be a great tragedy if through the tenderness of friends, untruth had crept into my life or had passed current among the people. If what I hold is truth, it must stand the light of fiercest criticism even of friends who have hitherto worked with me. I have no end to serve but that of Truth. If my defeat means victory of Truth, I would count that defeat itself as victory. I do not regard my judgments as infallible and even though I may be right in 99 cases out of 100, I do not want to trade upon it and assume or expect other people to assume that the 100th judgment is also right. I have for that reason called Gurudev the great sentinel, and I have always appreciated his warnings even when I have not been able to depart from my course by reason of his warnings. They have put me on my mettle and made the people think and choose. It is not good for individuals or nations to be under the hypnotic influence of any single person. It is a golden cover that hides the face of Truth. You may, if you like, read this to Gurudev, and if he is clear in his mind, after reading the article that you will see in a few days, that he has no doubt in his mind that I am in error, let him issue his warning by way

[1] An American correspondent who was at Santiniketan at that time
[2] *Vide* Vol. LIV, pp. 49-51.

either of a public statement or a letter addressed to me for publication. But if he has any doubt I want the benefit of that doubt, because I do not want the people to be confused. As it is, on this temple-entry question I do not hold the field undisputed. They have all kinds of arguments put before them for examination. I do not want Gurudev's to be one of this crowd of arguments against the simple issue. His must be an overpowering deliverance standing by itself in its strength and originality.

I am personally not quite sure that Gurudev agrees with you in your attitude, for Santiniketan has its own temple or church or *mandir*, whatever you like to call it. Where two or three people gather together in a particular place in the name of God to offer worship, it becomes a temple. In Santiniketan we have a humble but beautiful building where prayers are offered, incenses burnt and sermons given. In Sabarmati we have no building, no walls, but the cardinal points are the walls, the sky is the roof and mother earth is the floor; nevertheless, the spot that has been selected for the morning and the evening prayers has all the essentials of a temple. But in accordance with your letter even that bare ground is a prostitution of religion. Surely, Gurudev will not agree with you in this attitude if I have understood it correctly.

With love from us,

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 20454

624. LETTER TO N. V. THADANI

March 4, 1933

MY DEAR THADANI,

Though I cannot immediately promote you to the rank of a privileged jester, your letter just enables you to be admitted as a candidate for that coveted service. You have therefore every reason to persevere. You have no reason to fear publicity. When you have actually been admitted to that high order, whether you fear or covet publicity, it will be there.

You had only one English educated Indian seriously to tell you that untouchability has been from the beginning of time. I discover these celebrities practically every day, and, if I was not a child of the Mother *Gita* all the fears that Sastri entertained would

have been long ago realized in spite of the presence of a privileged jester. But thank God, the *Gita* is a never failing mother, and what is more, she is immortal.

Yours sincerely,

PRINCIPAL THADANI
RAMJAS COLLEGE
DELHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 20455

625. *LETTER TO MELISCENT SHEPHARD*

March 4, 1933

MY DEAR SISTER,

I am glad you are back to your work. I did not know that you had come.

Yes, Benarsidas is one of the good men we have. I know him very well indeed.

Your appeal I appreciate though it is superfluous. For I began this work after my own fashion when I was 15 years old and, finding myself in the house of a prostitute[1] I discovered suddenly that God had deprived me at that time, to my shame as I then thought and later as I discovered to my great pleasure and the glory of God, of the animal instinct. I knew then how man was misbehaving towards woman, and since then I have never allowed a single opportunity to pass by without making an effort to eradicate the evil. I have written strongly against it, spoken against it still more strongly. My private correspondence is filled with the same thing. At the present moment my activities in that direction must be necessarily circumscribed. But within that limit you may depend upon my doing all I can to deal with the evil. In the *Harijan* I won't be able to handle the problem directly. The reason for it is obvious.

You have no need to apologize for being a foreigner doing this service. When people realize that you have no other motive, but the simple motive of serving these fallen sisters of India and through their service also serving the fallen men of India, they will forget that you are a foreigner. Those who have other ends to serve under the guise of humanitarian service will always

[1] *Vide* Vol. XXXIX, pp. 24-5.

be treated as foreigners, whether they wear the white skin or the brown skin.

Yours sincerely,

MELISCENT SHEPHARD
6 RAJPUR ROAD, DELHI

From a photostat: S.N. 20456

626. *LETTER TO P. N. SANKARANARAYANA AIYAR*

March 4, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your postcard. I had your letter also with copy of your report and pictures. These are lying in my file awaiting disposal. When I reach them and if I have anything to say I will certainly write to you.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. P. N. SANKARANARAYANA AIYAR
NO. 1 3RD STREET
GOPALAPURAM
CATHEDRAL P. O., MADRAS

From a microfilm: S.N. 20457

627. *LETTER TO L. M. SATOOR*

March 4, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter and figures of census for which I thank you.

In the census you are taking in Poona you should have a column for giving the sub-caste to which Harijan may belong, and for children you should have a column showing who attends school and what occupation, if any, the child is following, what he or she is earning. There should be a description too of their tenements, the condition of water-supply, lighting and streets or roads if they are living in separate quarters.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. L. M. SATOOR
99 MAIN STREET, CAMP, POONA

From a microfilm: S.N. 20458

628. LETTER TO ANNAPURNANAND[1]

March 4, 1933

Tell Shivaprasad to give up reading the newspapers. He can read the *Gita* or *Yogavasishtha* or the *Ramayana*—Balkanda or Uttarkanda—or the dialogue of Socrates on death[2]. He should leave worldly affairs solely to God.

[From Hindi]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. III, p. 172

629. WHAT SHOULD HARIJANS DO?

Q. (1) What should be done to unite the several sub-castes among Harijans into one?

(2) In large cities where there is sewerage the Harijan brothers are being deprived of their livelihood. What should they do under these circumstances?

(3) In certain towns at the time of marriages and the like Harijans are not allowed to ride a horse. You have written about the duty of caste Hindus. But please write and say what the Harijans should do under such circumstances.

A. The above three questions have been sent by a Harijan brother. All the three are difficult questions. As long as there are several sub-castes among caste Hindus it is very difficult to abolish the different sub-castes among Harijans. But this much is true that if there is a great awakening among Harijans then they can march ahead by leaps and bounds, at once. I should like to see a time when Harijans will be actually far ahead of the caste Hindus. But the question here is about the present condition.

In the present circumstances, it can only be said that castes considered higher among the Harijans should attempt to mix with castes deemed lower. For example, the Mahar[3] caste should mix with the Mang[4] caste; they should begin to eat together and intermarry. The Mahars who mix in this way with the Mangs should

[1] The addressee was secretary to Shivaprasad Gupta who was seriously ill.
[2] Plato's *Phaedo*
[3] & [4] Sub-castes among Harijans of Maharashtra

be fearless and face whatever difficulties they might encounter.

The second question is common to all. In this age of transition many occupations will vanish and new ones will crop up. It has always been so. The question of sewerage can never arise in villages. Only towns can have sewerage. Scavengers are found in towns. I imagine that where there is sewerage, some scavengers must lose their jobs. It is the duty of the municipality to provide work for such unemployed scavengers. My advice is that weaving or some such occupation should be learnt by the scavengers. In Gujarat I noticed that scavengers who lost their jobs took to weaving. There is no common remedy for all in this matter. It varies with the individual.

The third question is very difficult. It is implied in the question itself that Harijans are entirely helpless and frightened. Under these circumstances, it can only be said that they should go to the police for help. Dr. Ambedkar told me that since the police belong to higher castes, they do not assist and this is quite possibly true. Therefore, it can only be said that where there is police indifference or opposition and where no help is offered by the caste Hindus and where the Harijans are not sufficiently strong, it is best to have patience. The only consolation is that there are occasions in the life of every person and every community when there is no other course open except to keep patience. Were it not so, man would become an atheist, and forget God. Therefore, if the Harijans can see no non-violent way out of a difficulty, then they had better pray to God for help.

Harijan Sevak, 5-3-1933

630. LETTER TO BHAGWANDAS

March 5, 1933

MY DEAR BABOOJI,

I have your letter of 28th ultimo. If you need more for the *Aaj*[1] Supplement, you will please ask Sjt. Ghanshyamdas. He told me that he was writing to you to that effect. I have received 20 copies of Kokje Shastri's opinion, for which many thanks. I am now having a weekly bulletin about Shivaprasad's health from Calcutta. Let's hope that the prayers of the many for his recovery will be answered.

[1] The source has "Art".

Differences of opinion with Malaviyaji are sometimes inevitable. But I have regarded them always as blessings in disguise. One can have differences with him without the slightest bitterness, and as they are always honest they serve to educate public opinion.

Yours sincerely,

DR. BHAGWANDAS

From a microfilm : S. N. 20460

631. MESSAGE TO "SOCIAL SERVICE QUARTERLY"[1]

March 5, 1933

The field of social service is as wide as India itself, but it may not be an exaggeration to say that the centre of it is Harijan service; for, in serving the Harijans, the worker will meet with every conceivable social problem in a concentrated form and he will have to possess the best qualities.

From a photostat: S. N. 20468

632. LETTER TO F. MARY BARR

March 5, 1933

CHI. MARY,

Received your letter.[2]

Your letters are never fault-finding. You need not therefore be afraid of writing as you feel, without any polish. I want you to think aloud. Polishing is often a concealment of thought. If it is relevant thought, the concealment amounts to an untruth. In ordinary life our speech is rarely 100 per cent truthful. If you will go through the translation of all the verses we sing for the morning prayer you will perhaps find what you are craving for. Only remember that Mother Earth, Mother Saraswati, etc., are all manifestations of God, even as Father God is a manifestation. No one has described the whole of Him.

The test of your yarn is not at all bad.

[1] The message was addressed to Vaikunthlal Mehta and was meant for a special issue of the journal to be published in April.

[2] The superscription and the first sentence are in Hindi in the source.

The coolness of a room is never the same as the coolness right under the sky. In London, I slept with the door and the window open but had the roof for fear of the rain coming down any moment. But you must not try, so long as you have any fear.

I wonder if I answered your question [as to] when I began spinning. I began it in 1919, i. e., when I was 50. I know people who began after 60. You have therefore no cause whatever for despair. And if it will give you comfort, know that I was a dunce.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

It is not necessary to fast whilst you are silent. Begin first with a few hours.

From a photostat: G.N. 5955. Also C.W. 3320. Courtesy: F. Mary Barr

633. LETTER TO CHARU CHANDRA MITRA

March 5, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. I am now sending your letter to Dr. Bidhan Roy for such investigation as may be possible for him to undertake.

With reference to your pamphlet, I have read it. You will permit me to say that I regard it as unbalanced. Such argument in it as is relevant has already been dealt with in the pages of the *Harijan* which you can easily secure, because there is a local sale of the paper. Sjt. Satis Chandra Das Gupta, 15 College Square, is the Agent.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. CHARU CHANDRA MITRA, ATTORNEY-AT-LAW
5 HASTINGS STREET
CALCUTTA

From a microfilm: S.N. 20475

634. LETTER TO DR. B. C. ROY

March 5, 1933

DEAR DR. BIDHAN,

I enclose herewith a letter from Sjt. Charu Chandra Mitra. Will you please make what enquiry is possible and perhaps write direct to Sjt. Charu Chandra Mitra, sending me a copy of your reply, or, if you prefer it, send your reply directly to me? If the reformers were in error, we should publicly apologize.

I hope that the Board is doing constructive work.

Yours sincerely,

Encl. 1 Letter

From a microfilm: S.N. 20461

635. LETTER TO DR. ARTHUR SAUNDERS

March 5, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

Mirabai (Madeleine Slade) is, as you perhaps know, undergoing imprisonment under the Civil Disobedience policy of the Government of India. Her health has latterly been a cause of some anxiety. She tells me that you, as the family physician, attended at all her youthful illnesses and were present at an operation she had undergone for glands.[1] If you have a record of her illnesses I would thank you to send me a copy for use when required. I may mention that there is absolutely nothing serious about her health just now. She has been removed to a better prison and has been feeling better also after her removal. But as there was a fear at one time that she might have tubercular glands, by way of precaution I have asked you to give me what information you can about her previous condition.

Yours sincerely,

DR. ARTHUR SAUNDERS
37 HARLEY STREET
LONDON, W.

From a photostat: S.N. 20466

[1] *Vide* p. 463.

636. LETTER TO P. N. VENKATARAMAN

March 5, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. You will find that I shall be constantly writing about varnashramadharma in the pages of the *Harijan* as so many correspondents have been writing to me as you have done.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. P. N. VENKATARAMAN
580 PYCROFT'S ROAD
TRIPLICANE, MADRAS

From a microfilm: S.N. 20469

637. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

March 5, 1933

DEAR SATISBABU,

I have your letter, and I have also two copies of the Bengali *Harijan*. I wish my knowledge of Bengali was such as to enable me to read what you have been writing. Sjt. Ghanshyamdas has heard me say that I am studying Bengali. Unfortunately, that is untrue. What I told him was that I was studying Urdu and that if I had the time I had a great longing for studying Bengali and reviving my knowledge of Tamil. A study of Bengali, as you know, is an old dream. It was about to materialize in 1914, but I had to abruptly leave London for India and the lessons which Mrinalini Devi was giving to me had to be suspended. Therefore when Mahadev has read the paper I will send you what he has to say. The cover is certainly attractive. You will let me know what reception it has had from the public. As for the articles to be sent in advance, there are tremendous difficulties, but I shall see what can be done.

I understand your position about vaccination. Your faith will sustain you.

You will see how the report that you sent about the Bengali work was interwoven by Shastri into the "Week to Week" columns[1].

Have you noticed the 'comedy of errors' that happened in connection with the information that Hemprabha had given me about Aroon's father's death? When I read her letter, I could not believe my eyes. There was nothing wrong with you. You were Aroon's [*sic*] father and yet the expression 'Aroon's father' was there right enough. I read or showed it to the Sardar, Mahadev and Chhaganlal, and we all came to the conclusion that it must be another Aroon whose father was dead, because later from the language used by Hemprabha it was clear that you were to have seen Aroon's father before he died, but you and she were too late. I had a vague recollection of Hemprabha having adopted a boy or girl, so I connected Aroon with this adoption, and yet there were not two Aroons to my knowledge. Therefore my letter[2] to Hemprabha baldly referred to a strange Aroon's father. Your letter cleared the mystery. And now comes Aroon's post-card, but of course your letter itself was quite clear that it was your father who had died. If I had remembered, as I should have remembered, that your father was still alive, I would at once have known that Hemprabha meant grandfather instead of father. But at the time I read Hemprabha's letter I had forgotten altogether that your father was still alive. It was only your letter which revived the recollection.

I hope you and Hemprabha, Aroon and everybody who read my letter had a hearty laugh at my expense. But if I had been there when my letter was received, I should have joined that hearty laughter, or perhaps called for a laughter at Hemprabha's expense. I am not writing separately to Aroon. You will therefore share this portion with him. I see that he is still not quite well. And tell Aroon that I shall write to him when he has written to me the letter he has promised.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 20470

[1] Of *Harijan*
[2] *Vide* p. 420.

638. LETTER TO V. S. R. SASTRI

March 5, 1933

DEAR FRIEND,

I have read your letter of 24th February from beginning to end with greatest attention. Whilst I acknowledge the great pains you have bestowed over the composition and the Sanskrit learning which you exhibit, you will permit me to say that I miss the application of that learning to the reality, and it has been a matter of very deep grief to me that in the contact I am having with so many learned sanatanists, hardly any one of them has touched the fundamental points I have raised. I state them for you.

Of all those who appear as untouchables in the census figures, who are the untouchables by birth? Where is the authority in the Vedas for regarding them as such? And if there is none in the Vedas, can the later Shastras impose disabilities or create classes not contemplated by the Vedas? What is there in the Shastras to justify the numerous disabilities which I have described in the pages of the *Harijan* and which are suffered by those who are classified as untouchables?

You ask me whether I claim to be a sannyasi. I do not. I claim to be a very ordinary Hindu trying to serve the faith of my ancestors in the best manner I know.

Yours sincerely,

PANDIT V. S. R. SASTRI
25 N. SUBBARAYA MUDALY ST.
MADHAVAPURAM, MYLAPORE
MADRAS

From a microfilm: S.N. 20472

CWMG-III

639. LETTER TO ALASTAIR MACRAE

March 5, 1933

DEAR MR. MACRAE,

I got your letter of the 3rd instant yesterday. I was deeply grieved like you to see the A. P. report. The interview was undoubtedly only for you, and I had no notion that Gopalan had taken it. But not only did he take it, he never even showed it to me. Hence the extremely bad form in which it has appeared. It does not even accurately convey my opinion. Nevertheless, I am quite satisfied there was no dishonourable conduct on Gopalan's part. It was a *bona-fide* mistake. I hope therefore you will dismiss from your mind all irritation against him.

Yours sincerely,

ALASTAIR MACRAE, ESQ.
ARSENAL ROAD
POONA

From a microfilm: S.N. 20473

640. LETTER TO P. R. LELE

March 5, 1933

DEAR MR. LELE,

I thank you for your postcard.

Yes, I have already got Sjt. Jayakar's opinion. I understand what you say about yourself. I hope it would be possible for you to continue. Can you tell me how Sjt. Jaisukhlal is getting on?

Yours sincerely,

SJT. P. R. LELE
31 MURZBAN ROAD
FORT, BOMBAY

From a microfilm: S.N. 20474

641. LETTER TO M. I. DAVID

March 5, 1933

DEAR MR. DAVID,

I thank you for your letter. I duly received the notes for Rs. 2,500. You must have seen the announcement in the *Harijan*.[1] I shall jealously guard your wish that your name should not be published. I shall do what is possible to ensure a proper selection of the first student.

The name[2] that you give to the Scholarship is an impossible name, but I do not know that any name is at all necessary, and if there must be one, it must have the ancestral name, and that would be 'The David Scheme Scholarship'.

Whilst I shall try to secure the name of a suitable student, you will not hesitate to let me know if you ever come across a good candidate. I need hardly tell you that in all I do the co-operation of Sardar Vallabhbhai is always there.

Yours sincerely,

M. I. DAVID, ESQ.
4 QUEENS ROAD
FORT, BOMBAY

From a microfilm: S.N. 20476

642. LETTER TO KESHAV GANDHI

March 5, 1933

CHI. KESHU,

You should ask Narandas why you have lost weight. It should not have gone down so much. Get rid of anger and envy. Ask someone there to tell you why the name of the Ashram was changed.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3288

[1] *Vide* p. 456.

[2] The addressee had suggested "Mahatma Gandhi-Vallabhbhai Scholarship".

643. LETTER TO MATHURADAS P. ASAR

March 5, 1933

CHI. MATHURADAS,

Motibehn[1] is again impatient. You will have to face the test once more. If you are firm, all will be well. Cling to your vow.

Don't work at the cost of your health. Moti writes that you do not keep well. Continue to write to me.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3760

644. LETTER TO JAMNABEHN GANDHI

March 5, 1933

CHI. JAMNA,

I heard that you have had another attack of asthma. How is it? You did well in writing to Purushottam not to be in a hurry to leave Santa Cruz. He had promised to write to me, but till today I have had no letter from him.

BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 873. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

645. LETTER TO NARMADABEHN RANA

March 5, 1933

CHI. NARMADA,

You seem to have no regard for truth. You did not write any letter yourself and you demand that I should write to you.

You did well in paying a visit to your home. Now devote yourself completely to work.

Write to me regularly.

BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 2773. Courtesy: Ramnarayan N. Pathak

[1] Addressee's wife

CWMG - III

646. LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI

March 5, 1933

BHAISHRI MUNSHI,

I got your postcard. It seems that you are being weighed down by misfortunes. But probably man cannot be tested except through suffering. I had already given a 'quack doctor's' advice to let Jagdish stay where he was if his health had deteriorated very much. Your hand does not seem to have improved yet. Take proper treatment and see that it does.

We all share your sorrows.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 7527. Courtesy: K. M. Munshi

647. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA

March 5, 1933

CHI. GANGABEHN,

I am glad that you are released. You did not get the second letter which I wrote to you, but I think they must have given it to you at the time you were released. Write to me about your experiences in jail this time. You have done right in accompanying Lakshmi. Write to me about your experience in the Ashram together with your experience in jail. And also tell me how your health was while in jail.

What did you read, and what did you think about? And what work did you do? The women prisoners here are quite well. The Jail Superintendent often tells me in joke that, when you were here, all the other women prisoners wanted medicines from you, but now nobody asks for any medicine. I replied to him, of course. But you also may send your reply, if you wish.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–6: G. S. Gangabehnne, p. 67. Also C.W. 8797. Courtesy: Gangabehn Vaidya

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

TALK WITH SADASHIVRAO AND SHINDE[1]

January 13, 1933

BAPU : Even after this Bill is passed the majority should not exercise their right to frighten away the minority. The temple should be kept open for a few hours daily for the sake of the minority. They too have a certain sentiment for the image and believe in its importance and power. I would make room for such people and give them first preference. I would say to them that they should have *darshan* to their heart's content before the temple becomes 'impure'; I would go in after that.

SADASHIVRAO : But would it not hurt their inferiority complex?

BAPU : The question of inferiority arises only in the case of Harijans. If the reformists are in a majority, the Harijans should act like seniors, and should do out of their free will what they are not bound to do by law.

I don't want separate temples erected. But I would say to them [the sanatanists]: 'I shall make the necessary arrangement for you. You should not go away. I do not want to pay you in the same coin. You had regarded us as low. You asked us to be content with having *darshan* of the tower. But we are not going to regard you as low. We shall let you precede us and we shall respect your sentiments regarding the purity of the image.' Man compromises either through weakness or because he is strong. As a votary of truth I would make a compromise on the basis of my strength. Only yesterday I dealt with the sanatanists in this way. They asked me to sign some document. Normally I would not endorse such a statement. But in order to satisfy them I affixed my signature, but after making a couple of most essential changes. If I disclose what took place between them and me, it is not going to shed lustre on Hinduism.

I have learnt a lot from my involvement in this issue. I came to know what the Shastras had to say. Without knowing all this I could not have issued such statements. I would not have at any rate been able to write with such authority. Even the thought of this compromise would not have occurred to me had I not had all these interviews with them.

SHINDE : But they think this is where the hitch comes in.

BAPU : I do not look upon it as any hitch. I do not believe that all those who raise objections are insincere. I don't want to drive them out of

[1] *Vide* p. 42.

the temples. The lives of those who go to temples with a sincere heart are linked with the temples. I say this on the strength of my mother's example. She would not put a grain in her mouth without having *darshan* in a temple, however ill and bed-ridden she might be. She used to derive strength from this practice of hers. I do not want to exercise the right I have acquired as though I were a demon or a bully. I have to give a thought to a true mother. All the women who visit temples are but mothers to me. If they want to preserve the purity [of the images], they may do so. The Harijans should be charitable enough to let them do it. In fact they should let them do it of their own free will. Take the instance of spectacles and injections which are in vogue. Our ancestors would regard these as superstitions. Tomorrow there may come up somebody who may regard praying as so much superstition. Even then we ought to respect people's sentiments. Therefore the compromise I have suggested is absolutely correct. The sanatanists would not admit it but I do see they are coming closer to me. I am myself a Harijan and I have influence over them.

SHINDE: The Harijans will of course listen to you. They are bound to listen to you. When I ask you not to make any compromise, I do not mean that there will never be any compromise.

BAPU: Mate wanted a segregated space for having *darshan*. That was an unfair compromise.

SHINDE: From the spiritual point of view your compromise is no compromise at all. It will gradually wear out.

BAPU: Yes, it takes for granted mutual respect and sincerity. Only then does a temple become a true temple. In the same way the sanatanists can, if they want to, have tables reserved in restaurants. While I suggest all this I take it for granted that we are in the majority. If the sanatanists are in the majority we may not set foot in the temples.

I have found out a new way of looking at compromises. The initiative for compromise should come from the stronger party. Only he who has truth on his side can arrive at such a compromise.

SHINDE: Yes, the same is true of forgiveness, which only the strong can practise.

BAPU: This compromise in no way detracts from your principles, or mine or anybody else's. One that would do violence to other's principles can only be called cruel.

[From Gujarati]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. III, pp. 47-9

APPENDIX II

DISCUSSION WITH A FRIEND[1]

January 13, 1933

Q. What is meant by the Inner Voice?

A. The Inner Voice is the voice of the Lord. It is a voice other than our own. It could be the voice of Satan or of God. In order to ensure that it is God that speaks from within us, we should correctly observe the *yamas* and *niyamas*. Millions of men may claim to hear the Inner Voice but the true Inner Voice could be heard in very few. We cannot adduce proof in its support. But it does have its influence. The Inner Voice is a power beyond us but it is not an outer force. 'Beyond us' means 'a power which is beyond our ego'. When the ego is lying dormant there are two forces which act upon it, the real and the unreal. When we are one with the power that is real it is said, in the language of mysticism, that God is speaking through us. When we are one with *sat* our ego is reduced to zero.

Q. When can man claim to have heard the Inner Voice?

BAPU: That depends upon the man. When he experiences that he is not acting on his own he can make that claim. Supposing I constantly try to hear the Inner Voice, I constantly pray to God that He should act through me and reduce me to a cipher, a moment will come when I shall feel that the Lord is letting me hear Him. At such a time I can even say that I am hearing the voice of the Lord. But how can I prove it? It is for my conduct to prove it. But that too will not be the final test. Supposing a man lies buried in a cave in the Himalayas and God sends me there to see him. Supposing I reach the place, I dig a little and meet the man. Even then quite likely it may not be that I heard the Inner Voice. It could be a mere accident or even my illusion or someone might have said it to me. The world will no doubt judge me from the result. If the result is favourable the world will say that it was a miracle. But indeed there can be no final proof in this case. Man himself does not know when he is deceiving himself, or when he is pretending. There is a greater danger in hypocrisy than in self-deception.

We find further proof when there are many instances pointing towards the same conclusion. This includes all the great men, Buddha, Krishna, Mohammed. It was not with their own power that they uttered the truths. But some occult power urged them to such utterance. Some people are worthy

[1] *Vide* p. 44.

enough, and through them the occult power works. But we cannot be sure when it will happen.

[From Gujarati]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. III, pp. 49-50

APPENDIX III

DISCUSSION WITH DHARMADEV[1]

January 17, 1933

BAPU: I accept heredity to the extent that the progeny of a pure Brahmin man and a pure Brahmin woman should be a Brahmin. If such a Brahmin raises his children as Shudras he should be regarded as fallen from his varna. He becomes a fallen Brahmin.

DHARMADEV: But why at all call him a Brahmin?

BAPU: There is no high and low among the varnas. We may call him only fallen because he can return to his varna by quitting his fallen state. Leave aside the talk of high and low. Suppose a carpenter gives up carpentry and takes up the work of cleaning lavatories. The *Gita* would describe him as fallen from dharma. "Better is death in the discharge of one's duty." A carpenter may not go after the work of a goldsmith. Similarly, if he tries to get instructed in the Vedas, even then I would call him a carpenter who had fallen. We want to bring about harmony between dharma and karma (i.e., practical life). Will it do if we talked of making people adventurous and asked them all to embark upon trade? Hence occupations came to be hereditary. We may only ask them to apply their talents and powers for society's enduring welfare. Today we admire those who assault the Kanchanjungha. My heart does not admire them; it censures them. It is not that we never made any discoveries. Patanjali is responsible for the scientific discovery of ahimsa.

DHARMADEV: Does it mean that one may not develop in oneself any quality appropriate to [any other] varna? I am a Kshatriya but I have no Kshatriya quality. You are a Vaishya, but where is your Vaishya conduct?

BAPU: I was talking of a pure social order. No such order exists today. There is today a confusion of varnas because the ashrama system has disappeared. Only one ashrama remains now—the householder's. And that too not based on dharma but on self-indulgence. And the varna that remains is the Shudra's. Today we are slaves under an alien rule because there are no more Kshatriyas, no more Brahmins, no more Vaishyas. The Vaishyas are busy making money. And can we describe ourselves even as Shudras? We serve only under compulsion, not regarding service as our

[1] *Vide* p. 77.

dharma. A *Shastri* admitted to me that we are all *Chandalas* by our actions. What should this *Chandala* community do? Should it attempt to bring about varnadharma? I don't say that this varnadharma should have the same name. The Shastras have described dharma as without beginning but they do speak of organization into varnas. I am yet doing my *sadhana*. I cannot speak in this matter with any self-confidence because my *sadhana* is not adequate.

DHARMADEV: Then why don't you say that you don't believe in any varna, as there is no varna today? You have maintained that a Brahmin is born, but Brahminhood is not acquired by birth. "A man is born a Shudra."[1]

BAPU: I don't agree with you on this point. The Arya Samajists have restricted their reason. My language is aphoristic, it lacks precision. It is therefore open to several interpretations.

DHARMADEV: You say that Brahmins should regain the high position they held of yore.

BAPU: Quite correct. I was born a Vaishya, but people see in me certain qualities worthy of a Brahmin and say that I am a Brahmin. But I must earn my livelihood through my qualities as a Shudra. At the Ashram everyone works eight hours a day to earn his food. This communism of mine is deduced from Hinduism. Ruskin also taught the same thing. But today the Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya, Shudra all want to become multi-millionaires. Hence I maintained that everyone should have equal payment, whether a barrister or a Shudra. Everyone should dedicate his talent to the service of the community. If the whole community made sacrifices the people would not starve. Even gamblers have everything in common. We are worse than the gamblers. I have come across such generous gamblers on board who pocket nothing as their personal gains but spend it off in the company. My heart weeps at our present condition. Tears may not fall from my eyes but my heart does weep. I cry when anyone commits an untruth or succumbs to passion at the Ashram which runs on public funds. I wish that the experiment which I am carrying on at the Ashram is tried in the whole world. If I fail in this I would not mind taking a thousand births to fulfil it. Whoever employs his talent for personal gain is good for nothing. One's talent ought to be utilized for one's own community. I must express my thoughts in a new language.

DHARMADEV: But you also say that you accept both varna and karma [one's actions as deciding one's caste].

BAPU: Look, here is a matter of justice. What can we do if people do not lend us their ear however much we may carry on our propaganda? That is why man has been advised to observe silence. What else can be propagated except truth? I have declared what varnadharma is, but

[1] The second half of the verse says, "He becomes a twice-born (Brahmin) through his sacraments."

now I don't propagate it because it is irrelevant. There is no feeling of high and low in varnadharma, but it is very much there in untouchability. Therefore untouchability is an excrescence on varnadharma.

DHARMADEV: It was born of caste.

BAPU: Yes, from caste; but with the disappearance of untouchability the feeling of high and low among the castes will also go. The greatest reptile is the serpent of untouchability. I don't care if the rest, such as the scorpion and so on persist. When untouchability goes . . . .

DHARMADEV: But it will not go unless we break the barriers of caste.

BAPU: Why did I undertake this fast? Only to do away with that feeling of high and low.

DHARMADEV: Why don't you say it plainly? You mix up the issues of heredity and actions.

BAPU: But I do proclaim myself an enemy of caste; I am a champion of the varnas.

DHARMADEV: But you do mix up [the issues of] heredity and actions. Why should we regard Harijans as Shudras? But you have said as much.

BAPU: Now I would not repeat that statement. Now I would only say that we may not regard him as *Chandala*.

DHARMADEV: Why don't you clarify the sanatana dharma? Sanatana dharma is the eternal dharma.

BAPU: Sanatana dharma might contain the eternal dharma, but if the people would not accept this position how will it remain eternal? I subscribe to the Jain theory of *anekantavada*. I do not accept any one thing as admitting only one solution. Hence I call this dharma the true dharma. But I would not call it *sanatana*—as long as the world does not accept it.

DHARMADEV: Where did you find this interpretation?

BAPU: This is the historical interpretation. The historical interpretation of *goghna*[1] is different from its actual meaning.

DHARMADEV: No. You are not clarifying your position to the sanatanists. You ought to tell them that sanatana dharma means the eternal dharma, the Vedic dharma; all that is opposed to it is *adharma*. "There is no dharma higher than the Veda." You have said in one place that the Shastras should be acceptable both to the reason and to the heart. Nothing in the Vedas is contrary to reason.

BAPU: Say, there are two *Shastris* quarrelling over the interpretation of the word *duhitri*. One says that it means a daughter, the other says it means one who milks the cows. Both of them went far in the dispute and the judge ordered both of them to be sent to the gallows because one talks of one thing and the other talks of the same thing in a different sense. Similarly we cannot carry on a discussion by each of us offering a different interpretation of sana-

[1] Slaughterer of cows

tana dharma. Therefore I say that you are making nonsense of sanatana dharma. They say there is a sanatana dharma to marry off a ten-year-old girl. Now if the people would not support such a thing, who would call it sanatana dharma? They say they have millions of men behind them, I say there are millions of men behind me. I emphatically say that I talk of nothing but the ancient dharma which I interpret as above. Someone said that I should declare myself an Arya Samajist. I said, "Why? Is it because people might stop agreeing with me?" Should I give up the *Smritis*, *Itihasas*, Puranas? I have a different interpretation of image-worship in which I believe. I even maintain that there is image-worship in Christianity and even Islam. According to my dharma I should preserve all that is worth preserving and reject all else. Hence I say that I don't want a new name. The name Hindu dharma is enough for me. For me Hindu dharma is an unfathomable ocean. It includes many things. Therefore I call myself neither an Arya Samajist nor a Brahmo Samajist but only a Hindu.

DHARMADEV: In what sense do you believe in image-worship? Acharya Ramadev maintains that since the temple is a public place it should be open to all. However, we should try and persuade the priests to give up image-worship.

BAPU: Here I differ with you. I believe that those who have the *darshan* of the Lord in Kashi Vishwanath [really] see Him. My mother never took a meal without having *darshan* of the Lord in the temple. She used to tell me that she went there to become pure, to fulfil her dharma. I bow to her. I wondered what dharma I could teach this mother. All these things are imaginary and are sustained only by faith.

DHARMADEV: But would one agree to see bread in stone?

BAPU: Yes, if a man looked upon stone as bread and ate it he will no doubt have peace at the moment. Vishwamitra took the flesh after stealing it. He bathed and performed *sandhya*, and then threw it away. But did he not have peace when in the first instance he took it? I am a votary of truth, I am in quest of God, I find new gems daily which I go on distributing to others. The same thing is to be found in my recent statement about civil disobedience and untouchability. It may look incomprehensible because the science of satyagraha is new, people are not used to it.

DHARMADEV: Some say that you are promulgating a new Veda with the help of your Inner Voice.

BAPU: Let them say so! I believe there can be no new Veda. The Vedas are endless. Anybody's utterance at the inspiration of the Lord within is nothing but Veda. What Mohammed has said could also be Vedic utterance. That is precisely why truth is Veda.

DHARMADEV: Veda is truth.

BAPU: All right, but Vedas mean pure knowledge and pure knowledge cannot be opposed to truth. If you come across a statement opposed to

morality or truth you should say that it is an interpolation. Or if it is a Vedic statement you do not accept it.

DHARMADEV: Do you still find *Satyarthaprakash* a disappointing work?

BAPU: I have not yet said that I don't. What should I do?

DHARMADEV: At the time when you said it you wanted to bring about Hindu-Muslim unity by any means. That is why you said so.

BAPU: That means I told a lie?

DHARMADEV: No. But the atmosphere had influenced you. I request you to please read the book again. I have read it many times and every time I read it I find something new in it.

BAPU: This I can accept. But at present where can I find the time to read? But I shall see.

[From Gujarati]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. III, pp. 62-6

APPENDIX IV

INTERVIEW TO "THE HINDU" CORRESPONDENT[1]

POONA,
January 14, 1933

"Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof", cryptically remarked Mahatma Gandhi when your correspondent met him this afternoon in the shade of a mango tree in the jail compound and asked him what would be his attitude if the Government decided on some dilatory course of action to gain time and refused immediate sanction to Dr. Subbaroyan's Bill.

The Mahatma's general health, I was told, is fairly good. I learn that no specialist has yet been called in to examine his right elbow. He was signing numerous replies to letters, which Mr. Mahadeo Desai had prepared earlier in consultation with him. At one corner was sitting Gandhiji's Madrasi typist.

Gandhiji said that he would await the Government of India's decision. He stated that he had decided to express his views on the much discussed proposition to send round a committee to gauge opinion in respect of temple-entry.

Gandhiji wanted the lawyers to examine the legal issue and pronounce their opinions irrespective of the Government's decision on the question of giving sanction to the Bill. If the Government decided against giving sanction to the Bill, he was sure matters would not be allowed to rest there. He would try to unsettle a settled question, in the same manner as he had done in the case of the Premier's Award. He would enter into correspon-

[1] *Vide* pp. 80 and 87.

dence with the highest authority and would resist with his life, if necessary, what he considered to be a piece of injustice to a section of humanity.

The Hindu, 16-1-1933

APPENDIX V

STATEMENT BY MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA[1]

The object of the special session of the Sanatana Dharma Mahasabha is to focus and voice the most informed and most esteemable orthodox opinion on some questions, including those relating to the removal of untouchability and temple-entry which has been agitating the sanatanist world on one side, and those who are described as reformers on the other. I have been distressed to note differences between the two sides becoming acute, and it is evident that if these differences are unsolved, the Hindu community would be further divided and weakened. The differences are largely due to misunderstanding, and this, in its turn, is due to a great extent on imperfect knowledge of what the Shastras have laid down for our guidance in important matters in question. It should not be necessary to say that Mahatma Gandhi cannot desire to injure sanatana dharma. He has proved to the world that he is willing and determined to throw away even his life in the attempt to serve the country by removing disabilities under which the vast number of those who belong to it labour, so that they may enjoy the full benefit of being Hindus and remain contented and happy members of the community.

It is equally necessary to say that sanatanists who do not agree with Mahatma Gandhi's proposals or methods are not wanting in sympathy with the depressed classes. This being so, I am confident that it is possible to arrive at a solution of the problem in conformity with the Shastras which should be acceptable to both sections of sanatanist opinion—more advanced and less advanced—and which should establish peace and religious unity among the Hindu community on a basis that will endure.

From statements recently made by Mahatma Gandhi, it is clear that he is not only willing, but anxious to show every respect for the orthodox opinion.

From utterances of several esteemed exponents of sanatana dharma, it is also clear that they are willing to move forward to bring about an understanding which will be consistent with the Shastras. This being so, I believe that, by dispassionate consideration of the Shastras by those who claim to expound them, it will be generally conceded, rules of action can be laid down which would secure the most liberal and practicable advance for the humblest Hindu and satisfaction to the most orthodox conservative opinion which is willing to act in con-

[1] *Vide* pp. 95 and 333.

formity not merely with the letter, but also with the spirit of the Shastras. I have convened the Mahasabha with the conviction that such a unity can be brought about among the sanatanist Hindus and appeal to all of them to make such contribution to the success of this effort as lies in their power.

To prevent misunderstanding, I wish to make the position clear. Speaking in 1923 as the President of the Hindu Mahasabha of Holy Kashi in the presence of great gathering of learned and pious men, I pleaded that opportunity should be afforded even to the humblest Hindu to have a purifying and ennobling *darshan* of the deity whom we adore in our temples and offer his prayer to Him. I urged that this may be done in conformity with rules which may be laid down in that behalf and further urged that other disabilities from which the depressed classes suffered should be removed. I still hold the same opinion and have publicly repeated it many times during the last few years and last few months, but have never been able to approve of recourse to satyagraha with the object of getting the temple opened to the depressed classes. I do not think it right that this kind of pressure should be exerted in a matter where religious convictions and practices come into play. Those who adhere to the orthodox view have also got their convictions which are deep-seated and come down through the ages. I believe that it is the sacred duty of those of us who differ from them to do our best to bring about a change of those convictions. But by the very nature of the case, this duty demands that we should attempt it by resort to peaceful persuasion only.

This was laid down in a resolution which was passed by the Bombay public meeting held immediately after the Poona Pact over which I presided, and at which, the All-India Anti-untouchability League was established for the purpose of carrying on propaganda against untouchability. That resolution stated that "for this purpose steps should immediately be taken to secure as early as possible that (a) all public wells, schools, roads, sarais, dharmashalas, crematoriums, burning-ghats, etc., should be declared open to the depressed classes and (b) all public temples should be open to members of the depressed classes provided that for carrying out (a) and (b) no force or compulsion be used but resort shall be had only to peaceful persuasion." It is both just and expedient that the solution of such a question should be one that would satisfy the community as a whole. In my opinion, such a solution can be reached only by the method of argument and persuasion with the help of those scholars who are versed in the Shastras and who desire the good of every section of the community. It is to bring about such an agreement and solution that I have invited the special session of the Sanatana Dharma Mahasabha, and I am hoping and praying too that God will bless the attempt and crown it with success.

Towards this end, I intend to place the following concrete proposal before the Mahasabha, that for the uplift of the depressed classes, the following plan may be adopted:-

1 (a) *Samskar* and *updesh*—initiation and instruction—known as *diksha*. This will consist (a) of *prayashchittam*—penance and purification;

(b) *tyag*—giving up carrion and beef, leavings of dishes (*uchchhishta*), wine;

(c) *diksha*—receiving *mantram*, either *ashtakshar mantram* (with or without wearing *tulsi* bead); *panchakshar mantram* (with or without wearing *rudraksha* bead);

(d) *Achara grahana*—daily bath and daily prayer (morning and evening), daily reading of the sacred book (teaching every man, woman and child to read and write will be an integral part of the scheme);

(e) *vrata*—vows—observing five necessary vows which are prescribed for all castes, ahimsa, satya, *asteya*, *shaucham* and *indriyanigraha*, (hurtlessness, truth, non-stealing, purity of body and mind, and control of senses);

2 (a) freedom to join public meetings and public schools ;

(b) use of public wells, roads, parks, sarais, dharmashalas, burning-ghats, etc.; and

(c) entry into public temples for *devadarshana* and *stuti*.

NOTES. If the scheme is approved, the giving of *diksha* should be completed within a month. The carrying out of this scheme will mean a great social, religious and spiritual uplift of the classes. It will mean making them Harijans in the full sense of the term. This will be only one of the proposals to be placed before the gathering of Acharyas and learned men. There will be many proposals before them for their consideration. There is every hope that with God's grace result of deliberations will be one which will be welcomed with joy by all followers of sanatana dharma and all well-wishers of humanity.

The Bombay Chronicle, 19-1-1933

APPENDIX VI

TALK WITH M. G. BHANDARI[1]

January 24, 1933

The Superintendent read the statement. When Gandhiji woke up he said, "What do you propose to do now? Let me know so that I may inform the Government. . . . But it would be better if you do not go on a fast now."

BAPU: There is no Inner Voice urging me to go on a fast forthwith. It would be regarded as an arbitrary action if I went on a fast now. I am perturbed at the Viceroy's decision, no doubt, but it is likely that my perturbation might be only temporary. A fast might be in the offing but not now.

[1] *Vide* p. 128.

If it comes up in its natural course let it. I cannot say when it will come. I shall have to go on a fast only if I feel helpless—as I had been at the time of the Award when I resorted to a fast. You can inform the Government that it is not my intention to go on a fast in the immediate future. You have already seen my statement. I have nothing in my heart over and above this statement. Today I woke at 3 in the morning, and my mind was absolutely clear about what I had to write. The beautiful *Chitra* star was shining above.

[From Gujarati]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. III, p. 86

APPENDIX VII

TALK WITH DUNCAN GREENLEES[1]

January 25, 1933

BAPU: Whatever the non-Hindus might do is not likely to touch the core of this injustice because the Harijans are still clinging to Hinduism. I know how much they are inter-twined with Hinduism. That is why I had poured out my heart in my speech at the Round Table Conference. In India the villages are mostly populated by Hindus. All the untouchables say that they are Hindus. Quite a few do not even feel the injustice. They are in such a miserable plight that the thought of renouncing their faith would not occur to them. But I shall not be surprised if some day they set out to kill the Savarnas.

G. Would they be suffering from inferiority complex?

BAPU: No, worse. In the case of inferiority complex there is the consciousness of injustice being done. But these people are not even aware of it. That is why I say that if a non-Hindu happens to be interested in this movement he should be prompted only by compassion. If a non-Hindu wants to help, he should associate himself with a Hindu organization before doing so.

G. I have been to the temples of South India.

BAPU: I want to stop this parody of Hinduism. I want pure gold. There will be political consequences of this activity, but I don't at all think of political consequences. I would engage myself in this activity even if there were to be no political consequences, I don't care for them. I want to bring about spiritual results and for that I am willing to sacrifice thousands of lives including mine. This is a great injustice being done to a large section of the community. To remove it we ought to work with a sense of atonement. One should work with the feeling that one has committed an injustice and

[1] *Vide* p. 142.

CWMG - LIII

one must remove it oneself. I don't want a Gengiz Khan to descend upon us and threaten to cut the throats of the obstinate Savarnas and bring about this reform.

[From Gujarati]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. III, pp. 89-90

APPENDIX VIII

DISCUSSION WITH C. RAJAGOPALACHARI AND OTHERS[1]

A

January 30, 1933

Today Rajaji, Devdas and Ghanshyamdas arrived and discussed the situation arising from the Viceregal sanction to Ranga Iyer's Bill. Bapu explained that the whole question was religious and had nothing to do with politics.

My position is wholly religious. I cannot look at this thing from a political viewpoint. I must have the Bill withdrawn if people are really opposed to it. Then someone will tell me with the promptness of an arrow what I should do. We certainly do not wish to enter temples stealthily. Temple-entry is definitely a spiritual act and it must bring about a revolution in society. This whole idea of my fast is based on the belief that a large section of the people favour temple-entry, but they do not voice it. If people are on our side but the law is not, we can ask the trustees to break the law and to put up with it if someone were to bring an action against them under this law.

Bapu then stated that they should obtain a clear referendum in this regard. . . . But Bapu thought that even if it were to take three months the work must be accomplished in the area chosen.

BIRLA: In that case the best referendum is that there should be fresh elections to the Legislature on this issue.

BAPU: We would easily win them. But that will not give us the ratio of the temple-going Hindus' vote.

. . . Acharya invites us to go to the Varnashrama Swarajya Sangh. He is involved in it. And if we want to do so, we can, by capturing the Sangh and defeating him as it happened in 1921 when the Hindu Mahasabha was captured. But whatever it is, it is intolerable that the Bill should hang fire for two years simply because it was being circulated among the members.

RAJAJI: Why should we object to it if the delay was due to the circulation of the Bill among the members?

[1] *Vide* p. 172; also footnote 3, pp. 14-5.

BAPU: Because we know it is only an excuse and it is dishonest. If as a result of the referendum public opinion suddenly sways in favour of the Bill I would press for its early passage. . . .

Then they discussed the subject of *Harijan Sevak*. Rajaji's objections were: (1) Our journal will be read only by our own people whereas at present your statements are published in all the newspapers. (2) The journal might prove useless.

BAPU: It is very necessary for training our workers and also for tying up all loose ends. There are so many things which cannot be conveyed through A.P.I. In fact I wonder why you did not feel the necessity of a journal till now.

For conducting the referendum Birla suggested having pandits instead of laymen but added few men of character could be found among them.

BAPU: Then they are not needed. Character means clinging steadfast to one's beliefs. The beliefs of a man who changes them for a higher fee have no worth. I would of course choose to have a sincere pandit, but I would prefer a layman to a pandit who lacks character.

B

January 31, 1933

Vallabhbhai had a heated discussion continuing from the previous evening about a referendum and about utilizing Rajaji in upper India for this purpose. . . . [He argued] that a referendum as such could be of no use unless we have our further aims clarified.

BAPU: My doubt increases whether the people are firmly behind us.

VALLABHBHAI: We never had the opportunity to show it. . . .

Yesterday Bapu had said to Rajaji that he would be able to advise him in this matter to a certain limit only.

RAJAJI: Since you have started this movement we must work for it. . . . But if the movement would work only if I were out of it I would prefer to quit.

BAPU: If you independently and dispassionately feel that you alone would be my representative in this movement you should regard this as a clear call to work for the movement and ought to continue the work without caring for public criticism. But I always recite the verse: "Whoever, leaving secure things, etc."[1] to those who have the slightest doubt in their minds and tell them that they ought to give the benefit of the doubt to their initial pledge of civil disobedience. But if you feel you have a clear call, and it seems you do, you must do Harijan work.

RAJAJI: Is the fast yet impending?

[1] The verse runs as follows: "Whoever, leaving secure things runs after insecure ones loses the former, the latter being as good as lost."

BAPU: Yes, it is unavoidable. Looking at the happenings around I think the sooner it comes the better. I have heard about a case at Kanpur. Three Harijan candidates contested the Municipal Corporation election. The other party sponsored none but three Harijan candidates to oppose them. With the result that no Harijan was elected. This has deeply hurt me. I had girded up my loins against having reserved constituencies. But now I think that had I been in Ambedkar's place I would have opposed it much more violently. In this Kanpur case they prevented the Harijans from winning only to safeguard their own interest. The people should have only seen to it that three Harijan candidates win the election either for their own party or for the opposition. This case is a clear violation of the Poona Pact. I wrote to Hariji (Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru).

He attempted to explain it with cool unconcern and informed me that he would further investigate it. But I want no such investigation. I have already told him to set right this injustice.

Birla and the others told Bapu that the Kanpur case was only an exception. The Hindu society was undergoing a speedy change for the better.

BAPU : I do know it. Such instances should not precipitate the fast. But such incidents do upset me. I am however consciously striving to postpone the ordeal of fast.

BIRLA: But once these Bills are passed wouldn't there be an end to this question of the fast?

BAPU: No, my friend, not at all. The fast does not depend solely on the Bills. The question before me is not merely that of temple-entry but the whole question [of untouchability]. Day after day I feel more and more that the likelihood of my fast is not diminishing but growing. I cannot say why it is so. I do not even know what will precipitate it but this feeling is slowly but certainly growing. I know this much that I am not at all at ease. All these incidents taken as a whole fail to make a good impression on me. True, some good things are also happening. I cannot shut my eyes to them. On the contrary, I try to close my eyes to unfavourable things. For instance look at this nasty correspondence I am carrying on with these religious teachers and legal pandits.

BIRLA : But you should be content with the speed at which the reform is proceeding.

BAPU : Yes, those who have patience will be content. But it does not at all comfort my heart. I know our workers have plunged into activity, there is no lethargy in them. But looking at the whole thing there is hardly anything that can satisfy my heart.

RAJAJI : . . . To cut a long story short I may say that you have grown impatient.

BAPU : I know, as a practical man I must hold my patience. There is no reason to be impatient. Let me assure you that I entertain no such

feeling. I had taken no time to come to the decision before January 2 that I should not go on fast. And let me inform you that some of my co-workers are sore because I didn't begin my fast on January 2. Only a few days ago a friend argued that no reasons had come up to postpone the fast which had already been decided upon.

RAJAJI : You have pampered all these co-workers. (Loud laughter)

BAPU : That is all right. But there are others too who have condemned this postponement and they are not at all known to me. One gentleman even went on an eleven-day fast protesting against me. I sent him a severe wire telling him that his fast was a sin and nothing less; only then did he give it up. Hence as far as this question goes please believe me that I am struggling within myself. Yet I cannot say to you that there will be no fast. When I say this my friends in England do not get angry with me. Whenever they have a doubt in their mind they try to believe that there must be God's hand behind. Andrews had written to me several times expressing his doubts. Afterwards he wired to me cancelling all his letters and assured me that he had then understood the whole thing correctly.

Alluding to people's superstitions, Rajaji said: Some people really believe that hitherto Gandhiji used to bring the rains but now he is committing an act owing to which the rains may fail.

BAPU : You are talking about the ignorant people. But I have heaps of letters from people with B.A. and B.L. degrees, which are full of anger, bitterness, venom and abuses, besides superstition.

RAJAJI : This looks like a misalliance between legal expertise and a low class master. (Laughter)

BAPU : My present feeling is that the possibility of the fast is not very far away.

How can I say when the fast will come up? When I started my fast in Bombay in 1921, I abruptly woke up Mathuradas who was sleeping by my side and told him : 'Don't argue with me, this is my resolution.' The same was the case with my 21-day fast—Hakimji, Mohammed Ali all were dazed. But will anyone on that account say that the fast was wrong? I for one think that the fast did achieve its object then, it will prove useful even after 5000 years.

Mathuradas then asked what a worker should do who felt bound to offer civil disobedience but was tired.

BAPU : It is difficult to tell. But why shouldn't such a person do Harijan work? Of course there will be one condition, that he must declare that he is tired and that therefore instead of going to jail he wants to do Harijan work. He cannot do Harijan work by concealing this fact. Rather than doing Harijan work while concealing the truth he had better sit at home doing nothing. There is courage in humbly confessing the truth. Those who want to rest should declare it and say that they want to improve their health and

till then they will do Harijan work. The point is that one should not practise deceit. Deceit will benefit neither Congress work, nor the work of civil disobedience nor untouchability work.

[From Gujarati]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. III, pp. 100-6

APPENDIX IX

LETTER FROM GOVERNMENT OF INDIA[1]

[Before *February 17, 1933*]

The Governor-General-in-Council has carefully considered the points urged by Mr. Gandhi in his letter of the 1st February 1933, addressed to the Private Secretary to the Viceroy, in which he requests that, for the reasons stated therein, the Government of India should facilitate the progress and passage of the Bills regarding temple-entry, which will be introduced in the Assembly by Mr. Ranga Iyer and others. He is unable to accept the arguments developed by Mr. Gandhi relating to the Poona Pact, and notes that the Resolution he has quoted did not form part of the Pact as communicated to the Government of India. In the matter of the Pact, Government were concerned merely to accept a modification of the representation in the Legislatures which had been provided in the Communal Award by His Majesty's Government. But quite apart from the Pact, the Government for many years have taken an active interest in the improvement of the conditions under which the depressed classes live. That interest has been directed to the matters referred to in the Resolution which he quotes, such as education and the provision of the normal facilities of life, which were placed in the forefront of the Resolution but appear not to be regarded by him as the vital part of it. The Government have naturally taken no initiative in matters which specifically affect religious practice. In regard to that, they have nothing to add to the statement issued to the Press on 23rd January. They must reiterate that in their opinion it is essential that the consideration of a measure, which so closely affects the religious customs and usages of the Hindu community, should not proceed unless the proposals are subjected to the fullest examination in all their aspects, not merely in the Legislatures, but also outside it, by all who will be affected by them. This purpose can only be satisfied if the Bill is circulated in the widest manner for the purpose of eliciting public opinion, and if adequate time is given to enable all classes of Hindus to form and express their considered views.

Gandhi-Government of India Correspondence. Courtesy : National Library, Calcutta

[1] This was received on February 17. *Vide* pp. 204, 320 and 350.

APPENDIX X

DISCUSSION WITH B. R. AMBEDKAR[1]

February 4, 1933

Discussing the propriety or otherwise of Ranga Iyer's two Bills [Ambedkar] said: The one-paragraph Bill is a very simple one. Its fair point lies in admitting that this custom is immoral. There is no such admission in the second Bill.

BAPU : No, it is there in its preamble.

A. But it is not clear. . . . I also think that the two Bills do not go together. . . .

BAPU : The one-paragraph Bill is certainly superior to the other. But the other lengthier Bill was brought forward because the first one could not be introduced in the Provincial Legislature. There is no contradiction in the two Bills. In one Bill untouchability ceases to be a disability and the law refuses to accept the argument based on untouchability. As a result of the second Bill, temple authorities are obliged to take steps under certain circumstances. If we can get both the Bills passed the trustees will not be able to put up any kind of obstacle. I take it upon myself to have all the temples opened within one month if we could get both the Bills passed. The sanatanists would prefer the second Bill. But speaking as a sincere sanatanist I would prefer the first Bill.

A. . . . Now the Government will have to issue orders against the sanatanists under Section 144 because they would be regarded as interfering with untouchables' rights.

BAPU : However, I want you now to emphatically proclaim your ideas in very clear words.

A. . . . As far as we are concerned we have no immediate concern other than securing political power . . . and that alone is the solution of our problem.

. . . We want our social status raised in the eyes of the *savarna* Hindus.

There is another point of view also. The object of this effort could be that you want the depressed classes to be retained in the Hindu religion, in which case I am inclined to believe that it is not sufficient in the present awakened state of the depressed classes. . . . If I call myself a Hindu I am obliged to accept that by birth I belong to a low caste. Hence I think I must ask the Hindus to show me some sacred authority which would rule out

[1] *Vide* p. 259.

this feeling of lowliness. If it cannot be I should say goodbye to Hinduism. . . . I am not going to be satisfied with measures which would merely bring some relief. . . . I don't want to be crushed by your charity.

BAPU : I have nothing to say if you have come with a final decision that you are not going to move your little finger to have this Bill passed.

A. We have not made any decision. However, I have shown you how my mind is working.

BAPU : I told you that I could have nothing to say if you have already taken a decision.

A. We cannot ask the *savarna* Hindus to decide for themselves whether or not we are a part of them. You ought to demonstrate your determination by getting these Bills passed. . . .

BAPU : I am not asking you to do anything. I never wanted the depressed people to go on their knees to the *savarna* Hindus and ask them to get these Bills passed. Unfortunately, the solution of this problem is in the hands of a third power which is in a position to mend or worsen the situation.

A. I can set right the thing.

BAPU : That is right. Of course I agree with you that it does not behove your dignity to approach the Hindus. I take the position—you might remember since I made the speech at the Round Table Conference—that we should atone for this. If you repudiate us and go away I would think that we only deserved it.

A. The Bill mentions temple-entry but it makes no mention of entry into the sanctum sanctorum. Will they let a member of the depressed community place flowers on the idol, or will they let him offer a tray containing oblations? Malaviyaji has already declared that question of offering *puja* does not arise.

BAPU : Temple-entry is meant for *puja* if anything. But if the language of the Bill is not right it can be amended and we can say 'entry for the purpose of *puja*'. It seems there has been some misunderstanding somewhere in the case of Malaviyaji. He would not say what you attribute to him. Flowers, sweets or any other offerings from Harijans will surely be accepted. So we two agree on this point that there is no question of your imploring the *savarna* Hindus. When some *savarna* Hindus tell me that Harijans do not want to enter the temples I ask them to throw open the temple doors for the Harijans whether or not they wish to come in. They ought to have the satisfaction that they have done their duty. They ought to discharge the debt which they owe whether the creditor keeps it or throws it into the gutter. But I must say that you ought not to say that you are not a Hindu. In accepting the Poona Pact you accept the position that you are Hindus.

A. I have accepted only the political aspect of it.

BAPU : You cannot escape the situation that you are Hindus in spite of your statement to the contrary.

A. We ask of you that our silence should not be misconstrued. After that I accept your point.

BAPU : I go one step further. You will not be able to go ahead a single step unless you maintain your position absolutely correct. I regard temple-entry as a spiritual matter through which everything else will bear fruit.

A. The Hindu mind does not work in a rational way. They have no objection to the untouchables touching them on the railway and other public places. Why do they object to it only in the case of temples?

BAPU : We are well caught on this point. I take up the question of temple-entry first of all because these people want to cling to untouchability in the temples. Many sanatanist Hindus say that they would admit Harijans in schools and public places but not in temples. I ask them to grant the Harijans equal status before God. It will raise their status.

A. Supposing we are lucky in the case of temple-entry, will they let us fetch water from the wells?

BAPU : Sure. This is bound to follow it. And it is also very easy.

[From Gujarati]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. III, pp. 117-22

APPENDIX XI

A TALK[1]

February 13, 1933

Like Angada and Krishna who had gone with the message of truce, we approach these legislators and the Government. Justice can be demanded from any source and that, too, forcefully. We fail in dharma if we do not demand justice. What does the pledge taken at Bombay imply? [It implies that] as far as possible we will abolish untouchability by law before the attainment of swaraj. We do not want to accomplish anything by force. I do not want to achieve it by undertaking a fast—God will make me undertake one [sooner or later]—for it is likely that I might be deluded into describing it as inspired by God. Kelappan had said to me that the temple would be thrown open within a couple of days. Yet I told him that though it might help throw open the temple immediately how could we continue a fast that was initiated on unjust grounds.

Now remains the question of the law. I for one want no laws. I am an anarchist. But I want to act within the limits of the law. In this case we want a law enacted in order to undo another. At present the decision of the law-courts has become as good as the *shruti* (Revelation) and the Govern-

[1] On Madan Mohan Malaviya's objection to the Bills; *vide* p. 287.

ment is the God who reveals it. Therefore we ask the Government to repeal it. Let us take the first Bill. The Invisible Power will punish breach of a religious commandment, a ruler does not have this authority. The wholly Hindu State might acquire this authority. But in the present case it is the Government which inflicts punishment for breach of a religious injunction. This is gross injustice. We must have it removed and thus follow our dharma. How long can we keep it pending? Whether it is a mixed legislature or even a Muslim Government, we should have it passed by them. Today we cannot follow our dharma. Even where the trustees are willing to throw open the temple the law forbids them from doing so. Now have I any other course open? Hence the Bill. With the passage of this Bill no one believing in untouchability will be compelled to give it up. I am this day prepared to give in writing that unless the sanatanists are willing to throw open the temples they will not be forced to do so.

By fighting we can get justice even from anti-national Government—rather it becomes our dharma. Malaviyaji is a Yudhishthira. He is always in doubt. In his perpetual anxiety to follow the dictates of dharma, he often fails to follow it at all. Vyasa had such wonderful power. He depicts Yudhishthira as a rather weak person; yet he is Dharmaraja. In the same sense Malaviyaji also is a Dharmaraja. We can never give him up. He has boundless love for me and whenever he loses in an argument he thinks that there must be some truth in what I say.

[From Gujarati]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. III, pp. 140-1

APPENDIX XII

TELEGRAM FROM MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA[1]

February 15, 1933

THANKS TELEGRAM. MUCH AS I DESIRE, REGRET HEALTH DOES NOT PERMIT JOURNEY (TO) POONA AT PRESENT. (I) REGRET (I) DON'T AGREE (THAT) RANGA IYER'S BILLS (ARE) NECESSARY EVEN IN TERMS (OF THE) BOMBAY PLEDGE. PART ONE (OF THE) RESOLUTION PLEDGES US (TO) SUPPORT LEGISLATION TO ENSURE THAT THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN HITHERTO REGARDED AS UNTOUCHABLE WILL HAVE THE SAME RIGHTS AS OTHER HINDUS REGARDING (THE) USE (OF) PUBLIC WELLS, PUBLIC SCHOOLS, PUBLIC ROADS, AND ALL OTHER PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS. THESE MEANT DHARMASALAS, BURNING GROUNDS, ETC. REMOVAL DISABILITY (OF) DEPRESSED CLASSES IN RESPECT (OF) ADMISSION (TO) TEMPLES (IS) DEALT WITH SEPARATELY IN SECOND PART. UNDER IT, (IT IS) THE DUTY (OF) HINDU LEADERS WHO (ARE) PAR-

[1] *Vide* pp. 298, 354, 373, 387 and 424.

TY (TO) RESOLUTION OR ACCEPTED IT TO SECURE BY EVERY LEGITIMATE (AND) PEACEFUL MEANS EARLY REMOVAL (OF) ALL SOCIAL DISABILITIES NOW IMPOSED UPON (THE) DEPRESSED CLASSES INCLUDING (THE) BAR IN RESPECT (OF) ADMISSION (TO) TEMPLES. BY CONTRAST WITH FIRST PART EVIDENTLY SECOND PART DID NOT CONTEMPLATE LEGISLATION IN THIS CONNECTION. PLEASE ALSO NOTE PROVISO RESOLUTION PASSED (AT THE) PUBLIC MEETING, BOMBAY, 30TH SEPTEMBER. PYARELAL'S "EPIC FAST" (PAGE) 195, WHICH SAYS, "PROVIDED NO COMPULSION OR FORCE SHALL BE USED WITH REGARD EITHER (TO) OPENING WELLS, ETC., OR TEMPLES, BUT PEACEFUL PERSUASION WILL BE ADOPTED AS THE ONLY MEANS. RANGA IYER'S FIRST BILL REQUIRES CAREFUL EXAMINATION. (IT IS) ONLY FAIR (THAT IT) SHOULD BE CIRCULATED. HIS BILL RELATING (TO) TEMPLE-ENTRY SHOULD BE WITHDRAWN. AM OPPOSED ON PRINCIPLE TO EVEN INDIRECT INTERFERENCE BY LEGISLATURE IN MANAGEMENT (OF) OUR TEMPLES. AM ALSO OPPOSED TO BILL BECAUSE OF VERY WRONG PRINCIPLE IT LAYS DOWN THAT (THE) QUESTION (OF) THROWING OPEN TEMPLES TO ANY CASTE WHICH HAS HITHERTO BEEN EXCLUDED FROM IT SHALL BE DECIDED BY VOTES OF (A) MAJORITY OF HINDU VOTERS OF THE AREA IN WHICH IT IS SITUATED AND THAT THEIR OPINION SHALL BE BINDING ON TRUSTEES OF THE TEMPLE AND ALL WORSHIPPERS THEREIN. I CONSIDER IT ABSOLUTELY WRONG AND UNJUST TO DECIDE A QUESTION WHICH IS ONE OF RELIGION AND CONSCIENCE BY VOTE OF MAJORITY. THIS WILL BE NOTHING BUT COMPULSION. WE MUST SOLVE THIS QUESTION BY WAY OF RELIGION (I.E.,) BY PEACEFUL PERSUASION ONLY. I AM CERTAIN WE SHALL SUCCEED BY THIS METHOD. AM EQUALLY CERTAIN (THAT THE) METHOD OF LEGISLATION WILL BE STRONGLY OPPOSED TO (THE) LAST AND WILL DELAY FULFILMENT OF OBJECT WE HAVE IN VIEW. IN VIEW (OF) TOTALITY (OF) CIRCUMSTANCES CONSIDER YOUR RELEASING MY LETTER AND THIS WIRE FOR PUBLICATION DESIRABLE. IF YOU THINK IT FIT, YOU MAY SUPPORT PROPOSAL FOR CIRCULATION IN VIEW OF (THE) FEELINGS AROUSED AND (OF THE) JUSTICE OF PROCEEDING WITH GOODWILL (AMONG) ALL SECTIONS (OF THE) COMMUNITY.

MALAVIYA

Harijan, 18-2-1933

APPENDIX XIII

B. R. AMBEDKAR'S STATEMENT[1]

Although the controversy regarding the question of temple-entry is confined to the sanatanists and Mahatma Gandhi, the Depressed Classes have undoubtedly a very important part to play in it, in so far as their position is bound to weigh the scale one way or the other, when the issue comes for a final settlement. It is, therefore, necessary that their viewpoint should be defined and stated so as to leave no ambiguity about it.

To the Temple-entry Bill of Mr. Ranga Iyer as now drafted, the Depressed Classes cannot possibly give their support. The principle of the Bill is that if a majority of municipal and local board voters in the vicinity of any particular temple on a referendum decide by a majority that the Depressed Classes shall be allowed to enter the temple, the trustees or the manager of the temple shall give effect to that decision. The principle is an ordinary principle of majority rule, and there is nothing radical or revolutionary about the Bill, and if the sanatanists were a wise lot they would accept it without demur.

The reasons why the Depressed Classes cannot support a Bill based upon this principle are two. One reason is that the Bill cannot hasten the day of temple-entry for the Depressed Classes any nearer than otherwise would be the case. It is true that under the Bill, the minority will not have the right to obtain an injunction against the trustee, or the manager who throws open the temple to the Depressed Classes in accordance with the decision of the majority. But before one can draw any satisfaction from this clause and congratulate the author of the Bill, one must first of all feel assured that when the question is put to the vote, there will be a majority in favour of temple-entry. If one is not suffering from illusions of any kind, one must accept that the hope of a majority voting in favour of temple-entry will be very rarely realized if at all. Without doubt, the majority is definitely opposed today—a fact which is conceded by the author of the Bill himself in his correspondence with the Shankaracharya.

What is there in the situation as created after the passing of the Bill, which can lead one to hope that the majority will act differently? I find nothing. I shall, no doubt, be reminded of the results of the referendum with regard to the Guruvayur Temple. But I refuse to accept a referendum, so overweighted as it was by the life of Mahatma Gandhi, as the normal result. In any such calculations, the life of the Mahatma must necessarily be deducted.

[1] *Vide* pp. 305 and 373.

If Hindu religion is to be a religion of social equality, then an amendment of its code to provide temple-entry is not enough. What is required is to purge it of the doctrine of *chaturvarnya*.

The Bombay Chronicle, 13-2-1933

APPENDIX XIV

LETTER FROM JAWAHARLAL NEHRU[1]

DEHRA DUN JAIL,
January 5, 1933

MY DEAR BAPU,

Your letter is always a tonic, and when it comes after a long interval, it brings a thrill with it and its effect is all the more exhilarating. I recognized Mahadev's handwriting on the envelope. Yours did not seem as of old. Perhaps your left hand was functioning and I am not so familiar with it.

I am following of course with great interest your campaign against untouchability, as far as I can from *The Statesman* and the *Pioneer*. Anything that you may do is bound to interest and fascinate. The subject itself has tremendous possibilities. Not being a man of religion, my interest is largely confined to the social aspect and to the wider issues involved.

Of course Sarup should do untouchability work if she feels like it. My suggestion about a short holiday in Ceylon was made chiefly in the interest of Krishna. I am a little worried about her. After a year in prison, with our home practically broken up, she feels rather at a loose end and does not know what to do. Ever since her childhood the poor girl has been deprived of real home life and proper education because of our preoccupations and repeated visits to prison. She grew up a rather lonely girl not having as much friendship and sympathy as she was entitled to.

Father's death shook her up a great deal. I tried to soothe her and win her confidence and I am glad to say that I succeeded to some extent. But 1931 was for all of us a year full of work and worry and anxiety. Then came a long spell of prison for her, and for a young girl this was a far greater ordeal than it could be for most of us. As her release drew near I sensed how she must be feeling and how life in Anand Bhawan as it is today would be no joy to her. She would feel out of joint. She would want to do something and yet not know what to do, and this would rob her of peace of mind. I was myself not clear what to suggest to her. Latterly she has begun to look upon me almost as a kind of refuge in a friendless world. If I had been out I might have been of help to her but I could do little from Dehra Dun Jail.

[1] *Vide* p. 309.

I felt that a short holiday in neutral surroundings would ease her mind and remove the tension. Hence my proposal about Ceylon. Three weeks in Ceylon would not have solved any problem but she would have freshened up and returned with a brighter outlook on life. These were my reasons. I was thinking more of mental health than of physical health. But the proposal seems to have fallen through as nobody seems to be keen on it. In the present, therefore, Ceylon is off.

Perhaps Krishna will go to Poona to see you and you might be able to advise her about her work. I might see her also. It is easy enough to suggest odd bits of work but this must appeal to the person concerned.

As for my interviews, it is now nearly seven months since I had one. I have missed them greatly but the U. P. Govt. had been very discourteous to Mother and Kamala and I felt that I had no alternative; besides I have not yet got rid of my obstinacy—a hereditary failing in me of which you cannot be unaware. The Government made some partial amends and the Home Member, the Nawab of Chhatari, came and expressed his concern. All this was more or less beside the point and the graceful thing and the right thing was not done, but then the right thing is seldom done. I wrote again to Government. Still I decided in my mind that should special necessity arise I would withdraw my prohibition and consent to an interview. So matters have stood for the last few weeks. I did not suggest an early interview as there was some talk of my transfer back to Naini Prison.

Now that you have also written about it, what can I do but immediately to capitulate to you? So henceforth, and unless something untoward intervenes, I shall take my usual interviews. Kamala may not be able to see me for several weeks still. She [is] in Calcutta under Bidhan's treatment. But I shall see Mother and Indu and Sarup and Krishna or such of them as can find me.

The stopping of interviews has made me retire a little more into myself. But I have had pleasing and a friendly neighbour—the Himalayas. The sight of their outline against the sky, and now their summits and sides covered with fresh snow, have meant a great deal to me. They seem to rouse in me ancient memories of the long ago when perhaps my ancestors wandered about the mountains of Kashmir and played in their snow and glaciers. I have had companions here but largely I have been left to myself, and I have grown a little contemplative, in defiance of heredity and family tradition and personal habit! But that is a thin veneer which I am afraid will rub off at little provocation. How can the Ethiopian change his skin?

I have read a lot, and if wisdom could be had in books I would be wise. But wisdom eludes me, and big question-marks confront me wherever I look. Sometimes I think of Prince Siddhartha's old question and no answer comes:

> How can it be that Brahma
> Would make a world and keep it miserable,
> Since, if all-powerful He leaves it so,

He is not good, and if not powerful,
He is not God?

From all accounts in the papers you are as ever the slave of industry and are over-working yourself even in prison. The new industrial system of the West is often criticized and blamed because it makes man a machine for ceaseless work and robs him of all leisure. You are supposed to be no lover of this system. And yet, you seem to personify to me often this very industrial system!

I am intrigued at your remark that eye-witnesses have told you that I am keeping fit. The information is correct but who could these eye-witnesses be who have managed to reach you? I have had no interviews for a long while and, except for a colleague who was discharged a month ago, I can think of no other likely recent eye-witness. It is true that I am poorer by four teeth. I have sacrificed them at the altar of modern science to appease the goddess of physical health.

This is a long letter for gaol. But this I am writing to you after over a year and I have not seen you for over sixteen months. My last glimpse of you was when you were sailing away to the far West and your figure grew smaller and smaller as the ship bore you away and left us, feeling rather lonely and forlorn, on the pier.

With my love to all the happy family of yours in Yeravda.

Yours affectionately,
J.

Gandhi–Nehru Papers, 1933. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

APPENDIX XV

TALK WITH MATHURADAS[1]

February 18, 1933

[BAPU] : It is true that according to the Vedas the Shudras have no privileges; mainly they speak of only three varnas. However, the Vedas which are available to us are not the only ones. Of the thousands of books only a few have come down to us. There is religion as well as history in the Vedas. And history is not religion. The part dealing with religion is timeless and eternal whereas the one dealing with history describes the circumstances then prevailing. Who knows how long I have to live? But if I had no other task to demand my attention, I would certainly wish to take up the work of varnashramadharma. But the establishment of varnadharma needs the foundation of ashramadharma without which the whole structure would necessarily be weak. There is content-

[1] *Vide* p. 337.

ment at the root of varnashramadharma. It implies willing acceptance of one's dharma and karma. Therefore varnashramadharma is a divine way of life whereas all the others are demoniac ones. Varnashramadharma has nobility as its predominant quality whereas the others are dominated by calculated selfishness.

Once this law is understood many other things will follow. If we know how to drink water but do not know the science behind it, then it is of no use. If we know the various forms of water such as snow, vapour and hydro-electricity, then we can be said to have understood the science of water. Similar is the case with varnashrama. This is a principle applicable in all cases.

[M.D.] : In other words, as Muslims claim that Islam means peace, and that it is the universal law meant for the whole world, you say that varnashramadharma is the universal law.

BAPU : Yes, it is in the same sense. Every religion has some eternal principles and the followers of a particular religion follow their dharma in that measure. The rest of their religion is related to the circumstances of time and place.

I would give up varnashramadharma this very day, were it not connected with birth. What would otherwise be left in it? I would maintain that the correct thing would be that the son of a carpenter should be a carpenter and not a blacksmith. If as a result there are to be hundreds of castes, let there be. So long as there is inter-dining and intermarrying among them let there be any number of castes. The restrictions about dining and marriage have turned the whole thing into a wretched affair.

I would certainly say that Dronacharya had fallen from dharma. What I mean is not that a member of one varna may never follow the profession of another varna, but that it is not proper. This varnashramadharma as I propound it is for everybody to follow not blindly but after due deliberation. Like Hindus, Muslims also may follow it. It was in this sense that I described it as 'Hinduism's greatest gift to mankind'. With the observance of this dharma the entire community will be saved and it will become invincible.

[From Gujarati]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. III, pp. 152-3

APPENDIX XVI

THE CLEANSER[1]

(A free rendering, from the Bengali, of Satyendranath Datta's "Scavenger")

Why do they shun your touch, my friend, and call you unclean?

Whom cleanliness follows at every step, making the earth and air sweet for our dwelling, and ever luring us back from return to the wild?

You help us, like a mother her child, into freshness, and uphold the truth, that disgust is never for man.

The holy stream of your ministry carries pollutions away and ever remains pure.

Once Lord Siva had saved the world from a deluge of poison by taking it himself.

And you save it every day from filth with the same divine sufferance.

Come friend, come my hero, give us courage to serve man, even while bearing the brand of infamy from him.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

Harijan, 11-2-1933

[1] *Vide* pp. 363 and 405.

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CWMG - LUU

CHRONOLOGY

(*January 11, 1933—March 5, 1933*)

January 11 : Gandhiji continued to be in Yeravda Central Prison. Gave interview to Associated Press.

January 12 : Deonayakacharya, Secretary, All-India Varnashram Swarajya Sangh, and others came for discussion with Gandhiji but returned without meeting him.

January 13 : Gandhiji met Sadashivrao and Shinde.

January 14 : Gave interview to S. Salivati, *The Hindu* correspondent; discussed compromise proposal with K. Kelappan.

January 16 : Telegraphed to M. G. Hallett inquiring about Government's decision on conservancy work in prisons.
Met Sir Lallubhai Samaldas.
Gave interview to Associated Press.

January 17 : Met Lady Thackersey; had discussion with Dharmadev.

January 18 : Telegraphed to *The Hindu* and its correspondent contradicting distorted report of interview.
Gave interview to Associated Press.
Madan Mohan Malaviya issued statement concerning conference of sanatanists at Allahabad.

January 20 : Gandhiji met, among others, Haribhau Phatak, Smt. Bhatt, Nargisbehn and Shankarrao Thakkar.
Had talks with Talegaonkar, Jedhe and others.

January 21 : Met Purushottamdas Trikamdas, Vaze, Devdhar and Patwardhan.

January 22 : Gave interview to Associated Press.

January 23 : Viceroy gave sanction to introduction of Untouchability Abolition Bill by Ranga Iyer in Central Assembly but refused sanction to introduction of Subbaroyan's Temple-entry Bill in Madras Council.

Gandhiji discussed Madan Mohan Malaviya's proposal with Lakshmanshastri Joshi.

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Met Macrae, Gopalan and girls from Seva Sadan.

January 24 : Issued statement on Viceregal decision.
Met Smt. Gadgil, Lilavati Munshi's daughter, Purushottam and Macrae.

January 25 : Gave interview to Associated Press.

January 26 : Wrote to T. B. Sapru inquiring about his views on Untouchability Abolition and Temple-entry Bills.

January 27 : In interview to Associated Press, advised sanatanists "to join Servants of Untouchables Society and . . . work its programme for temporal uplift".

January 28 : Met S. Salivati, Kaka, Paramananda and some Gujarati students.

January 30 : Discussed with C. Rajagopalachari, G. D. Birla and Devdas steps to be taken after Viceregal sanction.

January 31 : Continued discussion with C. Rajagopalachari and G. D. Birla.

M. R. Jayakar visited Gandhiji.

February 1 : Gandhiji wrote to Viceroy seeking Government's co-operation in expediting consideration of Bills. Had talks with C. Rajagopalachari and G. D. Birla.

February 2 : Gave interview to Associated Press.
Met Velankar, Gohil, some students and Ramachandra Shastri.

February 3 : Met Hiralal Shah and Lilavati Munshi.

February 4 : Discussed with Ambedkar two Bills and temple-entry issue. Gave interview to Stanley Jones.

February 5 : Sent message to Harijan Conference, Kolaba.

Before *February 6* : Issued statement on *Harijan.*

February 6 : Met Macrae.

February 7 : In interview to Associated Press, commented on Puri Shankaracharya's letter to Ranga Iyer and latter's reply.

February 9 : Wrote to E. E. Doyle on Appasaheb Patwardhan's partial fast. Gave interview to Press.

February 11 : First issue of *Harijan* published. Gandhiji wrote to Government regarding Appasaheb Patwardhan's fast.
Sent message to members of Legislative Assembly urging them

to "join in facilitating consideration of the measures" in current session.

Met Kodandarao, Janakibai, Shantabai and Gomatibehn.
Lakshmanshastri Joshi delivered Madan Mohan Malaviya's letter.

February 13 : Gandhiji gave interview on receiving news of Appasaheb Patwardhan breaking his fast.

February 14 : Telegraphed to Madan Mohan Malaviya on necessity of Bills "in terms of the Bombay pledge" and urging him to come for discussion.

Had discussion with Kelkar.
Gave interview on Ambedkar's statement.

February 16 : In interview, commenting on *News Chronicle*'s statement, clarified reformers' position.
Received wire from Madan Mohan Malaviya insisting on circulation of Bills and suggesting release of correspondence for publication.

February 17 : Received Viceroy's letter insisting upon circulation of Bills.

February 18 : In article "When Is It Possible?" warned reformers against exploiting possibility of another fast by him for abolishing untouchability.

February 19 : Wrote to M. G. Hallett.

February 20 : Met fellow-prisoner Jamnalal.

February 23 : First issue of *Harijan Sevak* published.

February 24 : Ramdas, Jamiatsingh, Nargisbehn, Perinbehn, Kamalabehn and Mathuradas met Gandhiji.

In letter to Madan Mohan Malaviya, Gandhiji wrote pledge given in Bombay Resolution could not be honoured without legislation.

February 27 : Met Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya.

March 2 : Gave interview to Associated Press.

March 4 : In article "Confusing the Issue", stated essence of varnadharma and emphasized untouchability had no connection with varnashrama.

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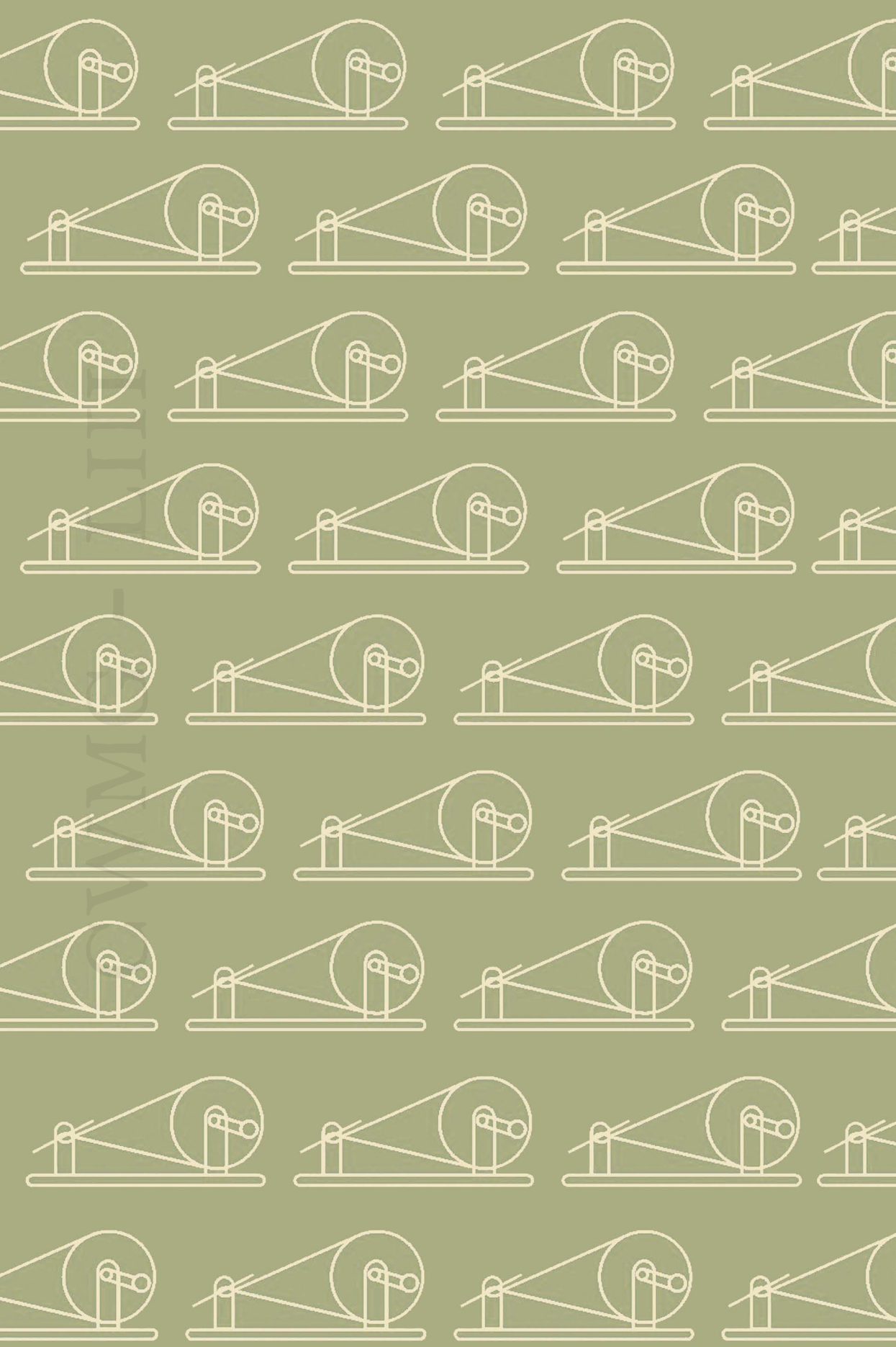
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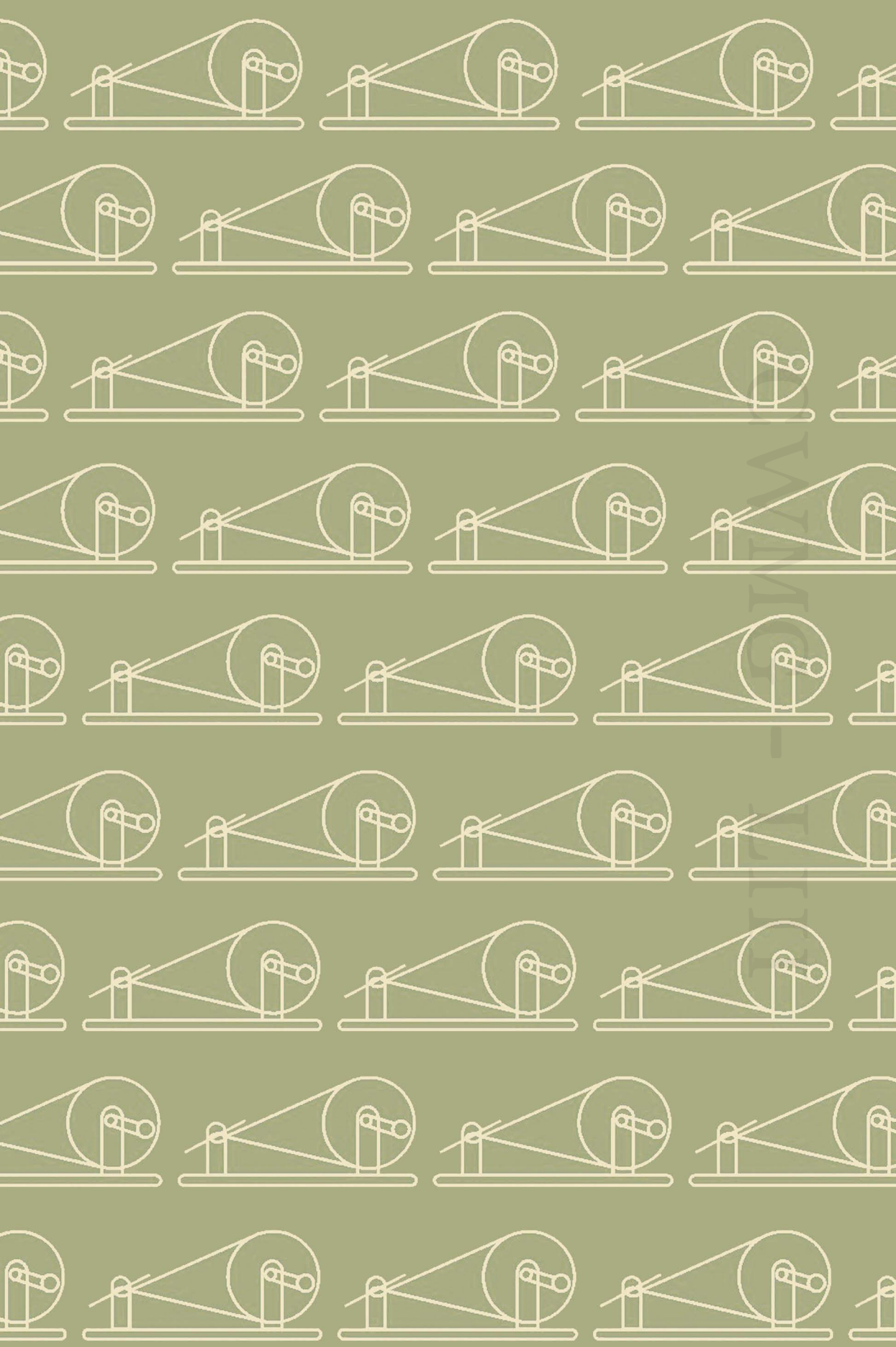
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PAGE		FOR	READ
171	*Line 8	disprove	prove
182	*Line 7	*mala fide*	*mala fides*
192	*Footnote 1, line 7	"Three Problems"	"Three Conundrums"
314	Item 418, date-line	*February 15, 1933*	*January 15, 1933*
321	*Footnote 1, line 2	who	also
347	*Footnote 1	practisings	practising
355	*Para 2, line 10	occular	ocular
409	*Item 542, title	*LETTER TO K. NATESAN*	*LETTER TO G. A. NATESAN*
428	Item 572, line 2	alphabets	letters

* Due correction made.

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