

1.CARDING OR ARCHERY

The word pinjan¹ has become disagreeable in our language. Even in figurative language, it is a term implying censure. When a person keeps on pointlessly repeating the same thing, we say of him that he is doing pinjan. This usage of the word has become so established that we do not like the word 'pinjanshastra'² or 'pinjanvidya'³. A new form of the tool used in carding, which is known as the "Bardoli Bow", is made of a bow-shaped bamboo, and looks like a bow too. Hence I have made bold to use a word which has become endeared in the terminology of the Kshatriyas, i.e., 'dhanurvidya'⁴ instead of the word 'pinjanshastra'. I apologize to the intellectual class for doing this. If other lovers of the language also get enraged at me for taking such liberties with a word with such an established usage, I beg their forgiveness too.

I feel, however, that at a time when our language is developing, when new ideas are being brought into it, new discoveries are being made, when the scope for courage, etc., is being enlarged, we should be accommodating in the usage of those words.

The reader is not unfamiliar with the liberties I have been taking with words for many years. I have given a new definition of the word Kshatriya. The latter is not a person who knows how to kill others but rather one who acquires the art of sacrificing his own life so that others may live. A Kshatriya is one who has well mastered the mantra of never retreating in the battle between gods and demons which is raging in this world. A Kshatriya is one who is the very embodiment of compassion. What knowledge of archery should such a Kshatriya possess? While reflecting on this problem, just as a carpenter invariably thinks of a babul tree, is it any wonder if my mind turns towards carding? If we learn the craft of carding, if the young people acquire mastery over it, they would by daily devoting some time to it, serve hundreds of thousands of women. Those who have mastered the science of spinning repeatedly declare that, if carding is properly done, if the strands in a sliver are separated and

¹ Carding

² Science of carding

³ Knowledge of carding

⁴ Knowledge of archery

symmetrically arranged, the resulting yarn will easily be good, even strong and fine. If someone makes slivers free of charge, that will be rendering great service to those of our women who do not card today and are not likely to do so. And if this is done, it will go a long way towards helping make khadi cheap. The activity of spinning is progressing at snail's pace. The same is not true of carding or what we may now call 'dhanurvidya'. Moreover, this vidya presupposes both physical and spiritual strength. Let anyone who wishes, have a look at a carder's chest. Every carder's chest is something that would make another envious. It is round, expanded and beautiful. The muscles of his arms too are likewise well developed. If one carder is earnest, he can surely serve at least twenty women because he cards at least ten pounds [of cotton] in ten hours. This amount of cotton is more than what is required by twenty women working ten hours, who spin yarn of ten to twelve counts. From this it is clear that anyone who acquires this skill can find work to his satisfaction.

Moreover, the activity of spinning has been carried on as an independent trade from ancient times, and has been able to compete with other trades. Today a carder demands and gets thirty rupees a month. In the beginning the Ashram had engaged a carder on a wage of seventy rupees a month. Even an ordinary carder can make eight annas a day today. One has to have a book in order to acquire easily a knowledge of such a beautiful form of archery. This has been included in Maganlal Gandhi's book entitled "The Science of Weaving". However, that contains only the basic principles. Again, this vidya has taken great strides since then. The Gujarat Vidyapith has given a proper place to this great science, which is a prop of the nation and sustainer of millions of men and women. It has laid down the examinations to be held and is realizing and increasing its importance day by day. Hence the necessity has been felt for having a textbook on this subject. In order to see to it that the text is a very useful one, a questionnaire has been issued by the Principal to those who have mastered the art. The questions go into minute detail and occupy a fair amount of space and as only a particular section of readers would be interested in it, I do not publish them here. However, those who are interested in this subject should write to the Principal, Gujarat Vidyapith, Ahmedabad, and obtain a copy of the questionnaire. His office will find it convenient if the words 'Regarding dhanurvidya' are written on the left-hand side of the address.

Perhaps, it is necessary to add that the term has been accepted by the Vidyapith. I have coined it for the very first time for this article. I alone am responsible for its use. Kakasaheb or the other office-bearers can reject it. The reader who does not like this use of the word may suggest any other sonorous word instead. A carder is also known as a tanti. Since a tanti¹ is the principal factor involved in carding, the term 'tantvidya' or 'tantshastra' may also be employed. But I must admit that I like the word 'dhanurvidya'.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 1-9-1929

2. MY NOTE

SHRI HIRALAL'S SCHEME

Three experienced persons have independently pointed out the same defect in Shri Hiralal's scheme published in *Young India* and *Navajivan* for a new type of spinning-wheel. Since others who are giving thought to this scheme also find this and other defects in it, I publish below one letter from among the many that I have here with me:²

Let Shri Hiralal and others interested in innovations give thought to this. Even if Shri Hiralal's scheme is regarded as faulty and considered useless, his efforts will still be dear to me. Such efforts are very necessary. Although the farmer's heirs did not discover in his field the golden egg mentioned in his will, they got by digging it up untainted wealth in the form of a golden harvest which proved even more valuable than the golden egg and the heirs learned the importance of body labour.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 1-9-1929

¹ A thread

² The letter is not translated here. Hiralal had suggested the use of a hollow spindle. The correspondent contended that it would result in untwisting the yarn, and making it weak and fragile.

3. FIT FOR ALL TO READ

The Navajivan Prakashan mandir has just published Shri Mahadev Desai's "History of Bardoli Satyagraha"¹. As it has been written by Shri Mahadev Desai, it is indeed authoritative and the reader can rest assured about the authenticity of each event mentioned in it. At a time when the fragrance of a gigantic satyagraha has filled the air and people are eagerly looking forward to the coming year, everyone who desires to secure swaraj should know what kind of weapon satyagraha is, what its limits are, how Bardoli, the Sardar and the people of Bardoli employed it, what kind of triumph they achieved thereby, what fine after-effects flowed from it and how far-reaching they have been. Hence this history is very opportune. Everyone should make a detailed study of it. Considering its subject-matter, it is neither too long nor too short and it occupies 389 demy octavo pages. It contains six illustrations the most useful of which is the one giving a map of Bardoli, showing all its principal villages. The inquiry committee had visited 47 villages, which are indicated with the help of numbers. Other useful details are also given. Among other useful illustrations, that of a women's meeting attracts special attention. This history has been priced at only twelve annas.² I hope that all will get a copy of this book, read it carefully, reflect upon it, and derive some inspiration from it regarding the kind of sacrifice they may in their turn be able to make at the altar of swaraj.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 1-9-1929

¹ *Bardoli Satyagrahano Itihas*

² The source has a footnote advising those ordering the book by post to send three annas extra for postage.

4. SCHEME OF SELF-RELIANCE

Of course, I did publish Shri Shivabhai's article¹ but I have received three articles contradicting it. The last one is from Shri Jethalal. It is not easy to oppose him because he writes from his experience and adheres firmly to his views. His rejoinder² runs as follows.

All lovers of khadi who have made a study of its science should consider this reply carefully. If those who do not know this science master the arithmetic behind it, they will find it interesting and enjoyable. Having said this, I may add that I cannot deviate from my basic statement. I still feel that, in the widespread propaganda for khadi, the principle that those who spin should also weave cannot work. That certainly is not the ideal situation. At the very basis of this scheme lies lack of faith in human beings. As weaving is a complete and independent activity, it cannot be carried on in every house and in attempting to do so, one would run counter to the prevailing principle of division of labour. Man is as independent as he is dependent. And he must be so in order that he may be able to preserve his humility. If he can be visualized as a totally independent being, he will cease to be social animal and if, in turn, he ceases to be that, he will cease to be non-violent and will be unable to achieve a sense of unity with all living beings.

It has been said that, if all those who spin do not weave, they will not turn out good yarn. This amounts to maligning the human race. If those textile mills which only produce yarn can make fine yarn, why should not persons who merely spin on the spinning-wheel do likewise? Love will make them spin fine yarn. The reader should bear in mind that it is a different matter that, in order to have a complete knowledge of spinning, it is necessary to have a knowledge of weaving also. There should certainly be no need for every spinner to weave for himself in order to improve the quality of the yarn spun by him. I am becoming increasingly convinced day by day of the need to make an independent effort to improve the quality of yarn. The spinner

¹ "If Spinners also Weave?", 18-8-1929 published in *Navajivan*, 18-8-1929.

² Not translated here. Taking into account the cost of cotton and wages for ginning, carding and spinning, the correspondent had shown that khadi produced thus would cost nearly three rupees a yard of 10 count yarn and 30 inches width.

stands to gain by such improvement. Let us take full advantage of this and bring about an improvement in the quality of yarn. We shall never be able to make innumerable women take to weaving. Even at present we have been able, with some effort, to make the women produce better yarn. The improvement that has taken place in yarn in the course of the last seven years is a hopeful sign.

Moreover, there are hundreds of thousands of expert weavers in the country and it is our duty to make use of their skill. They too form a section of the people. We have yet to win them over with love. We have still to convince them that in the reform of their trade lies the welfare of the country. And it is through such mutual trust and dependence alone that we are going to march ahead.

I regard the question of competing with cloth made in textile mills...whether foreign or Indian...as a temporary and futile one. When farmers store their own cotton, carry on all the activities up to that of spinning in their own homes, they will certainly get their own khadi made by paying the proper wage to the weaver and not touch mill-made cloth. The economics of khadi is unique. It has soul whereas the economics of textile mills is soulless. Hence the two differ in kind. Just as the waters of the ocean and those of the Ganges being qualitatively different cannot be compared to each other, similarly there can be no comparison between cloth produced in textile mills and hand-made cloth produced in villages.

However, no one should interpret my article to imply that, where the farmer is well-to-do and has a large family, he should not introduce weaving into his house; he certainly should do so. My emphasis is on keeping the activity of spinning separate; there is a danger of suffocating it by combining it with weaving or of slackening the pace of the widespread use of the spinning-wheel. For the purpose of propaganda for the spinning-wheel, it is necessary to realize and demonstrate the limits of weaving. Whereas crores have to spin, only lakhs have to weave; while spinning will always remain primarily a subsidiary occupation, weaving will always remain chiefly an independent one. On the revival of spinning depends the economic and, consequently, the moral upliftment of crores of people and in order to make the activity successful, it is necessary to bring about development in all sections of society such as weavers, business men and others. Spinning is an activity which awakens religious sentiment and purifies the soul.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 1-9-1929

5. LETTER TO ABBAS TYABJI

[September 1, 1929]¹

DEAR BHUR-R-R²,

The check is being duly acknowledged. What does it matter what others think of it so long as your conscience and your doctor tell you, you dare not go far from home? But you must soon be a young man of seventeen and not an old mare of seventy.

Yours,
BHURRR

[PS.]

I shall tell Raihana your message when she comes.

M. K. G.

ABBAS TYABJI, ESQ.
CAMP, BARODA

From a photostat: S.N. 9567

6. LETTER TO RAMPRASAD VYAS

SABARMATI,
September 1, 1929

BHAI RAMPRASAD,

I have your letter. Herewith the acknowledgment. Both the items of work are good. That relating to *Daridranarayana* is wider in scope. Whatever others may do, you cannot offer a bribe. I would see nothing wrong in entering in the accounts such expenditure as is incurred purely in connection with the business.

The problem of those with large families is not one to be discussed in *Navajivan*. It raises many other questions. It is of no importance compared to the great misfortune of India's slavery.

From a copy of the Gujarati: Kusumbehn Desai's Diary. S.N. 32577/145

¹ From the postmark

² This was a form of greeting used between Gandhiji and the addressee.

7. LETTER TO SAM HIGGINBOTTOM

SABARMATI,

September 2, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

Your frank and free letter does my soul good. But I had expected nothing less from you. My rule always is never to criticize even strangers about anything said or done by them without first verifying facts through them whenever they are within reach.

As for the girl she is the most difficult problem we have. The attention of our best men and women is given to her. We are trying the method of no corporal punishment regarding her, though the temptation is often great. But we have not lost hope. I have personally tested the method for over 20 years with growing confidence. Of course it does not apply to infants though even in their case, punishment is rare.

Don't you think the quotation from *Hebrews* is irrelevant? May we copy God Who is infallible in His judgments and Who creates if He also destroys?

Yours, etc.,

SAM HIGGINBOTTOM

From a copy: Kusumbehn Desai's Diary. S.N. 32577/147

8. LETTER TO THAKORESAHEB OF GONDAL

SABARMATI,

September 2, 1929

MEHERBAN THAKORESAHEB,

I learn from Chandulal that after many years you have released the political prisoners. I congratulate you on that. I feel it would have been more becoming if you had released them without making them tender apology.¹ Saints have sung that the adornment of a king lies not in forcing his subjects into submission but in forgiving them.

I also like your efforts towards bringing out an encyclopaedia. But I must confess that I was greatly pained by what I heard

¹ Vide also "Letter to Chhaganlal Joshi", 17-6-1929

about you from trusted friends. I tried to seek a meeting with you about what I had heard, but I failed and received a negative reply.

I believe myself a friend of the native States, and am therefore constantly on the look-out for rulers whose rule may, in some measure at least, approximate to the ideal of Ramarajya. When I find such a ruler I feel happy; when I do not, I am distressed. I had expected that quality in you, and so when I was studying in England and you also were studying there I had tried to meet you. I had built hopes on you even when I met you in Gondal. I still hope that your administration is faultless or will become so, and that you yourself will be and remain free of any stigma.

Your well-wisher,

From a copy of the Gujarati: Kusumbehn Desai's Diary. S.N. 32577/146

9. LETTER TO BEHRAMJI KHAMBHATTA

SABARMATI,
September 2, 1929

BHAI BHAMBHATTA,

I have your letter. I expect to reach Revashankerbhai's place at two in the afternoon of the 7th. I shall get down at Dadar by the first morning train reaching there and then go to Vile Parle. From there I shall reach Bombay at 2 p.m. The programme you have drawn up is all right. It would be good if you can begin at 5.30 and still better if at 6 o'clock. Being forbidden by doctors to speak much, I shall speak for a few minutes only. Can you not manage to go through the programme in an hour and a half? Of course I do not wish to put you to inconvenience. You need not do anything else for me. Arrange to take me to the place. If you wish, you may see me at Dadar.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6595

10. TELEGRAM TO THAKURDAS BHARGAVA¹

SABARMATI,

[On or after *September 2, 1929*]

MY OPINION EIGHTEEN YEARS GIRLS TWENTY-FIVE BOYS.

From a photostat: S.N. 15523

11. TELEGRAM TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

SABARMATI,

September 4, 1929

MATHURADAS

TARA HOUSE

ALMORA

SORRY. NO DANGER WHEN NURSING EFFICIENT. FOOD
ONLY FRUIT JUICE. KEEP INFORMED.² LEAVING TOUR
SIXTH.³

BAPU

From the original: Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

12. APPEAL TO TEMPLE TRUSTEES

Sjt. Jamnalalji in his capacity as Hon. Secretary, Anti-untouchability committee of the Indian National Congress, has addressed the following forcible appeal⁴ to the trustees of public Hindu temples:

You are probably aware that the Indian National Congress has appointed a separate Committee this year for making special efforts for the removal of untouchability. The work has obviously to be done through the Hindus, and the Congress resolution is explicit on the point. In these days of terrific

¹ In reply to his telegram dated September 2, which read: "Sarda Bill fixing fourteen for girls. Wire your opinion minimum marriage age for girls and boys."

² Taramati, addressee's wife, had fallen ill.

³ For Gandhiji's article on his forthcoming U. P. tour, *vide* "Forthcoming U. P. Tour", 5-9-1929

⁴ Only excerpts are reproduced here.

advance in material science while the world is shrinking fast, India has constantly to be weighed in the scale of nations as a single indivisible unit, and when an evil within the fold of a community apart from its inherent injustice becomes a nuisance to its neighbours and a reproach to the entire nation, it is only appropriate, you will agree, that the premier national institution such as the Congress should interest itself in it, and help the community concerned to achieve its speedy elimination. . . .

. . . The barest justice requires us to let them draw from the village well drinking water, to let their children have the same benefit of learning the three R's at the village school as our own, and to fling open for them the temples of God that we open to the rest of the Hindus. . . .

I shall be thankful if you will let me know what action you propose taking in response to my appeal to you.

Let us hope that the appeal will not fall on deaf ears. Wardha has led the way. In this connection it is pleasurable to note what a correspondent writes. He says:

Of late there has set in a healthy tide of thoughtful and sympathetic consideration of this question among class Hindus throughout Maharashtra. The recent opening of the temple at Elichpur has added further stimulation. Two or three more temples have been thrown open to untouchables quietly. Sjt. Bhopatkar, as President of the local Asprishyata Nivarak Mandal has issued through the Kesari a reasoned appeal to all the trustees of Hindu temples in Maharashtra, inviting them to throw open the temples under their charge to untouchables. He has also issued a special appeal to the trustees of the famous Parvati Temple of Poona built by the Peshwas. It is managed by trustees who are known to be public-spirited. This appeal has been ably reinforced by Rao Bahadur Prof. Sahasrabuddhe of Poona. The Rao Bahadur makes a passionate appeal to the local Mahasabha, Youth League, Brahman Sabha, Students' Brotherhood, the pundits and all the general public to strengthen the hands of the trustees by publicly supporting the latter emphatically and unequivocally.

It is to be hoped that the Hindu public will support these appeals by calling meetings and otherwise. Perhaps the most effective way is to organize local meetings in places where there are important temples and take deputations to the trustees. After all they are not owners, but agents of the public, and if the public demand freedom of entry for the 'untouchables' into a particular temple, the trustees concerned have to carry out their desire irrespective of their own opinions.

Young India, 5-9-1929

13. CONGRESS ORGANIZATION

Sjt. Jairamdas reports that out of 172 possible District Congress Committees only 27 have been sending reports of work done in connection with the foreign-cloth boycott movement inaugurated by the Congress, which is really the most important part of the Congress work in the sense that it affects the whole nation and it is a programme in which everyone can take part. It is moreover a programme whose successful working cannot but produce a tremendous impression both on ourselves and the rulers. Sjt. Jairamdas further states that repeated reminders fail to bring even acknowledgements. Some Provincial Congress Committees have ignored his appeals altogether. Thus there is nothing from seven provinces, viz., Delhi, C.P. Hindustani, Burma, Assam, Andhra, Ajmer and North Western Frontier. Out of a total of 2,230 reports bespoken only 86 have been received, i.e., 4 per cent! The districts are distributed as follows:

Berar	6	Punjab	15
Maharashtra	11	Utkal	6
Bihar	16	Kerala	[3]
Tamil Nad	9	Sind	8
U.P.	37	Bombay	7
C. P. Marathi	4	Karnataka	11
Gujarat	4	Bengal	32
			<hr/> 169

There are more than 250 districts in British India. Thus only two-thirds of the total number of districts are covered nominally by the Congress organization. This is not a bright outlook. The Congress is the one organization that appeals to the nation. It is the one organization which, if efficiently worked, can without doubt secure freedom for the nation. But it cannot do so if its component parts do not respond with the quickest dispatch to instructions from the central office, or if it does not cover every district and taluk, let alone every village. Foreign-cloth boycott is a matter largely of organization. There are no two opinions about its desirability and even necessity. But the ablest secretary will fail, if those who have to be organized are lazy or indifferent. It is time for responsible workers throughout the provinces to ponder over the painful facts narrated by me, and to

remedy an evil which is so easily avoidable. The Secretaries of District and Taluk Committees should know that failure to carry out instructions from headquarters brings them under the disciplinary resolution passed by the A.I.C.C. meeting at Bomaby. Personally I should prefer to have only 16 swift-moving, co-operating committees instead of 169 indifferent, irresponsive and irresponsible committees. The 16 real committees can show some work. The 169 inactive, sleeping committees can only be a dead weight. What shall we be?

Young India, 5-9-1929

14. FORTHCOMING U.P. TOUR

Local organization have asked me for instructions regarding the forthcoming tour in the United Provinces. I had thought that what I had said about the Andhra tour¹ would suffice, but I observe that the paragraphs then written escaped the attention of workers in the other provinces, as they were not then directly concerned.

To come then to the U.P. tour, organizers will please remember that I have just risen from a sick bed to which I was driven by my own ignorance and premature trustfulness. Medical and other friends have therefore reconciled themselves to the tour on my promise that I would take as much rest as possible during the day, refrain from making long speeches or from undertaking much other exertion. Therefore the organizers will beware of multiplying functions or expecting long speeches from me. Nor must I be called upon to walk or mount huge platforms.

Even apart from medical instructions consequent on my convalescence, from the strict business point of view...and this tour is to be purely a business and businesslike tour...it is necessary to save time and expense.

I have a horror of touching-the-feet devotion. It is wholly unnecessary as a mark of affection, it may easily be degrading. It interferes with free and easy movement, and I have been hurt by the nails of the devotees cutting into the flesh. The performance has often taken more than fifteen minutes to pass through a crowd to a platform only a few yards from the farthest end.

¹ *Vide* "Forthcoming Andhra Tour", 7-3-1929

The platform is comparatively a costly affair, and sometimes when unskilfully constructed, a dangerous contrivance. It is therefore better to take my motor to the centre of the meeting and use it as a platform. this proved a most effective and expeditious method in Andhra. Reception Committees should on no account cut through the purses for the purpose of defraying decoration or feeding expenses. There should be a separate collection where required. All decoration should therefore be avoided. Even where some decoration is resorted to, foreign cloth, foreign paper and the like should be altogether excluded.

Noises at the meetings should be avoided. This can only be done by some leading men going to the meetings in advance, and coaching the audience to observe silence, not to press, not to shout, not to smoke, not to attempt to advance towards me for touching the feet etc.

Strictest economy should be observed about housing and feeding me and my company. The companions should have the plainest fare, no spices, no sweets. Local fruit if obtainable may be given. Expensive fruit must not be ordered from Bomaby, Calcutta or Delhi. I carry a supply of dried fruit with me, and I should be thankful for it to be locally replenished wherever obtainable. Lemons are a necessary article of food. Unfortunately for me, I have been obliged to revert to goat's milk. It will be therefore necessary to procure for me about 4 lb. of goat's milk, and where possible, curds made from goat's milk, in whose manufacture no other curds are mixed for fermentation. A few drops of lemon added to boiled and cooled goat's milk curdles it in twelve hours.

My lodgings should be so selected as to afford me quiet and privacy. We carry enough cloth to make our own beddings. but where anything in this direction is supplied, it should be entirely of khadi. It hhas been a torture to me at times to be placed in luxuriously fitted rooms where everything is foreign, cloth included.

Work should not commence before 7 a.m. and should not take more than two hours. In every case it should stop at 10 a.m., and not reocmmence before 5.30 p.m. and should not go beyond 8 p.m. From 10 to 3, I should have the whole time to myself for rest and my editorial and other work. Between 3 and 4, I should spin and see workers. Workers' meetings I hold to be necessary in every place, big or small.

Spectacular functions should be strictly avoided, except where they are meant to serve an educational purpose.

Organizers should remember that this is a khadi tour undertaken on behalf of the All-India Spinners' Association. It is the largest national organization run on business lines for the sole purpose of bringing the message of the wheel to the homes of the seven hundred thousand villages of this vast country. On its successful working depends the relief of the growing and grinding economic distress of the semi-starved millions. I want every pie I can get for this work. One rupee in the chest of the A.I.S.A. means a day's drink or a day's drink cigar or a day's sweets bringing diseases in their train.

Moneys collected from the populace should on no account be diverted for any other purpose. The masses give trustingly. The safest way to use their donations is for the propagation of the wheel. Donations so used return to their kind charged with double interest. In these collections, all should take part irrespective of party or status. Even judges have paid me for khadi.

But I want to do other Congress work also. I want to learn about and help in the organization of the Congress. The addresses where presented should therefore be full of information:

- (a) The population with its component parts in the area covered by the address;
- (b) national schools with attendance;
- (c) number of wheels and looms working, monthly production of yarn and khadi in quantity and value;
- (d) monthly sale locally and outside of khadi produced;
- (e) number of self-spinners;
- (f) number of volunteers and the nature of their work;
- (g) number of members, men and women, according to religious denominations;
- (h) state of Congress finance;
- (i) quantity of work done for boycott of foreign cloth, liquor and untouchability, and state of Hindu-Muslim relations.

This is merely a sample of the information I should like to be supplied to me. I should like a map drawn to scale of each taluk visited with the villages shown where Congress activity is carried on.

Those who are interested in cow welfare and pure milk supply will give me the information about the condition of the cattle in their respective areas.

Lastly, I should of course love to see students, not to address them but to meet them so as to enter into their hearts and to share their sorrows and difficulties. Women's meetings I always expect everywhere with their jewellery and well-spun yarn.

Young India, 5-9-1929

15. NOTES

AFFLICTED SIND

The pen refuses to move to record the tale of Sind's woe. Day after day, I follow the harrowing accounts in the daily Press, and realize our helplessness. But we may not therefore sit idle. Every rupee received will relieve some distress. We have simply to do the little we can. The widows's mite coming from a pure heart goes much faster than millions given grudgingly. All the contributions received will be spent through the very careful and tried agency of Professor Narayandas Malkani. Let the donors not delay their contributions.

A NATIONAL INSULT

The insulting and impossible (for a self-respecting man) conditions imposed by the Union government on the Ali Brothers in respect of their contemplated visit to South Africa demonstrate once more the truth of the proverb: "The leopard cannot change his spots." One had thought that after the friendly agreement arrived at the historic round table conference, after the wonderful work done by the Rt. Hon'ble Sastri in South Africa, the insult offered to the Ali Brothers and through them to the nation by the Union Government was impossible. In view of the undertaking voluntarily given by the Brothers, the Union Government could have felt sure that they would never deliver political speeches. With reference to notabilities the convention is to assume correct contritions. And even when in such cases there is any doubt about such conduct, the convention is to ensure safety through diplomatic and courteous channels. For instance, in this very case the Union Government, instead of conveying the restrictions to the Ali Brothers, could have secured their purpose through the Government of India...in so far as it was legitimate. In no case could they exact pecuniary security or impose a

ridiculous time-limit as the Union Government have sought to do. It is to be hoped that the government of India will see that this palpable wrong is righted, the restrictions wholly withdrawn and the Brothers permitted to proceed to South Africa without hurting their self-respect and without undue restrictions, direct or indirect, tacit or implied.

PURE CHEAP LITERATURE

I have not much faith in the efficacy of cheap literature, however pure it may be, when it is pitted against dirty literature. I believe in the contact of pure conduct. But on the principle that something is better than nothing and that the spread of pure literature can do no harm even where it fails to do good, I welcome the enterprise of Sjt. Mahavirprasad Poddar and his band of purist friends in publishing good, pure, healthy literature. These publications are very cheap, very handy and all in Hindi. It consists of abridgments from *Navajivan*, Young India and other publications, Eastern and European. Much consists of khadi literature. I recommend this for stocking in all khadi bhandars. Full information may be had from Shuddha Khadi Bhandar, 132 Harrison Road, Calcutta.

THE CHARKHA SUPPLEMENT

I very nearly promised¹ the reader the plan that Sjt. Hiralal had accompanied his specification. He has now very kindly supplied me with the block and letter press. The reader will see both² in the supplement to this issue. It is perhaps only proper that I should tell him that three Gujarati correspondents have independently of one another raised identical objections³ to Sjt. Hiralal's conception, objections which they hold to be radical and fatal to its success. I have published one of the letters in *Navajivan*. Shortly, the objection is that the hollow spindle will not wind the yarn if it is to work at both ends. The twist received at one end will be undone at the other end⁴. This is as far as a layman can describe a technical objection. I have brought this to Sjt. Hiralal's notice, and suggested to him that he should now translate his theory into practice, and have a model made of his plan and work at it regularly, till he can make the next announcement not of a well-reasoned specification, but of a complete charkha constructed according to his specification.

¹ Vide "Towards a Proper Wheel", 22-8-1929

² Not reproduced here

³ Vide "My Note" sub-title Shri Hiralal's Scheme", 1-9-1929

⁴ The source has "hand."

At any rate the labour spent by Sjt. Hiralal Shah is its own reward. He has endeavoured to stimulate and provoke the inventive faculty of khadi lovers. Whether he can now follow up his specification with concrete action or not, it is for others to take up the thread of their conception where Sjt. Hiralal has left it. The plan now presented to the reader should help him in that direction.

Young India, 5-9-1929

16. INDIAN CULTURE

When I was touring in U.P. in 1924 a peasant called out to me near Ayodhya and threw a sheet of paper in my car. I picked up that sheet and found that he had written on it many precious quatrains and couplets from Tulsidas's Ramacharitamanasa. This made me very happy and enhanced my reverence for Indian culture. I preserved this sheet in my file hoping to publish it some day.

I would take it up every week and put it aside. For, at the time I got it, I was not writing anything for Hindi *Navajivan* and I did not feel that it would be so useful for the Gujarati *Navajivan*. Part of what he had written on it was published in both the Gujarati and Hindi editions in 1927.¹

As these days I am regularly writing something every week for Hindi *Navajivan* and also as my tour of U.P. is to begin shortly, I am publishing below the remaining part:²

I have left out the words of praise. This peasant brother has a neat hand and he has formed his letters with care.

Historians have testified that nowhere in the world are the peasants as civilized as in India. This sheet of paper is proof of it. Tulsidas has played a leading part in the preservation of Indian culture. Without the awakening influence of Ramacharitamanasa of Tulsidas, the life of the peasants would become dull and dry. One cannot say how it happened but it is unquestionably true that the life-giving force in Tulsidas's language is not found in other writers. Ramacharitamanasa is a storehouse of gems of thought. The above couplets and quatrains give us some idea of its value. I firmly believe

¹ Vide "Our Culture" sub-title Gift from a Peasant", 8-9-1927

² Not translated here

that the peasant writer did not have to put in much effort in the selection of quotations. He has supplied them from his repertory.

We need not despair as to our morality, when we hear from a peasant's mouth saying like, "Can an adulterer find salvation?", "Can a kingdom stand without a knowledge of statecraft?", "Is there any vice to match backbiting or any virtue to match compassion?"¹ and so on.

It is said these days that the peasants are living in darkness, that in our country *tamas* is predominant and that it must move on into *rajas*. First of all I do not believe that *tamas*, *rajas* and *sattva* can be divided into such watertight compartments. I feel that everyone has within him all the three *gunas* in some measure or other. The difference is only of degree. I firmly believe that in our country it is not *tamas* which rules supreme but *sattva*. This sheet of paper is a proof of this. If this had been an exception, it would not have served as a proof of the predominance of *sattva* in India. But when we know that millions of peasants know by heart the quatrains and couplets of Tulsidas and that they also understand them, then we can say with a measure of certainty that people who have such ideas have a *sattvik* civilization and that these quatrains and couplets are a proof of it.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 5-9-1929

17. NOTE TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

[Before September 6, 1929]²

Lest I forget, I shall note down just now:

1. Whatever the pressure of work, do not entrust any responsible work to the new person.
2. Giving Bhagawanji account work just now will mean his fall and ours.
3. Be firm and do what you think best about Jaisukhlal.

¹ From *Ramacharitamansa*, 'Uttarakanda'

² According to the source, this was written sometime in September or October before the addressee left the Ashram for Lahore. Evidently, the note was written when both the addressee and Gandhiji were at the Ashram. On September 6, prior to his U.P. tour, Gandhiji left the Ashram for Bombay from where he went to Bhopal and Agra. This may be read after "Indian Culture", 5-9-1929.

4. I will have a talk with Kasumba and explain the position to her. I have had one with Umiya.

5. I have refused to agree to his appointment as an agent. I have agreed to his appointment as a secretary, but there is a great difference between the two.

6. Have a talk with me about the cow-protection work. Kanti indeed works hard, but there is discontent below the surface. I have pacified the people, but that is not right. If we want the dairy to shine, Kanti will have to exercise restraint over his outside activities. If he does not, he will never get trained up and you may be sure that the work done so far will come to nothing. What would happen if Somabhai went to every place as an observer? Apply his example to the case of the dairy.

If Somabhai looks after farming and acquits himself well in the task, he also exercises restraint on himself; that is why the agriculture work is safe in his hands. Parnerkar flies in the air and that is why the dairy is not safe in his hands and no justice is done to students.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro—7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, pp. 176-7

18. LETTER TO G.V. MAVALANKAR

September 6, 1929

BHAISHRI MAVALANKAR,

I wonder what I should say to you. You have many things to attend to, and there must be several mendicants like me waiting at your door. However, as compared to the other, the fee-paying, clients, the beggars have either a prior right or none at all. This by way of introduction.

The Trust Deed relating to the *Navajivan* Karyalaya has been lying with you, and it has now got to be registered without delay. One can never know what will happen when. Before anything happens, you, I and all others concerned must [take this step and] run the risk of incurring humiliation. Please, therefore, have done with the job in a week's time. As two years have already passed, it may be necessary to make some changes. Please consider this.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1226

19. LETTER TO DR. GOPICHAND BHARGAVA

SABARMATI,

September 7, 1929

DEAR DR. GOPICHAND,

I have seen your letter to Sjt. Shankarlal Banker about the forthcoming Exhibition¹. What I have said in my previous communication abides. Unless, therefore, there is a clear official declaration that the A.I.S.A. should have a predominant [say] in the technique of arrangement and the choice of goods to be admitted, I am afraid the Association cannot undertake any work or be represented.

The profits if any from this Exhibition may all go to the Reception Committee. It is not the profits that worry me. I do not want repetition of Madras², much less, Calcutta³.

Yours,

From a copy: Kusumbehn Desai's Diary. S.N. 32577/149

20. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

*[September 7, 1929]*⁴

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I am writing these few lines in the midst of much work and surrounded by a number of people.

1. Sharma will arrive there on Monday. I shall enclose his telegram with this if I can find it. He is an expert on the consumption of uncooked grain. He has even written several books on the subject. Those who eat such grain, and Lakshmidas, should have a discussion with him. If, after that, he wishes to come to Agra, he may do so. Tell him that, if he wishes, he can stay there for two and a half months. Look after him. I feel sorry that he will be coming from such a long

¹ Congress Exhibition at Lahore

² Khadi exhibition held at the Congress session at Madras in December 1927; *vide* "the National Congress" sub-title Irresponsibility.

³ Khadi exhibition at the Congress session held at Calcutta in December 1928

⁴ *Vide* "Letter to Chhaganlal Joshi", 8-9-1929; also the following item.

distance and his visit will be fruitless. I had written to him and told him that he could come, if he wished.

2. I was alarmed to read about the mistakes in our account books. You know my faith in Narandas in this matter. I should like you to take his full help for this work and be guided by him. Lakshmidas, too, knows this job well. There should be neither a moment's delay about this nor any slackness.

3. The water in the well must have been cleaned.

4. Think and decide soon whether the house occupied by Bhansali should be used for women's work.

5. What happened about Zaverbhai's wife?

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro —7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, pp. 122-3

21. LETTER TO DR. HIRALAL SHARMA

September 7, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

You will be at the Ashram on Monday to find me away. I am sorry. But I am glad you have come. Please discuss the food question with those who were trying unfired food. You can stay as long as you wish at the Ashram. And if you will follow me you can come to Agra. I shall be there till 20th. We can discuss my failure. I should love to resume the experiment if I get proper guidance. Thanks, I had your book. The two principal volumes I have brought with me.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 5429

22. NOTE ON DISPUTE BETWEEN MILL-OWNERS AND WORKERS¹

BOMBAY

September 7, 1929

There are approximately more than 55,000 labourers employed in the textile mills of Ahmedabad. In 1923, the mills were not in the same happy position in which they were in 1920-21; mill-owners, therefore, cut the workers' wages by 15-1/2 per cent. This reduction was not made through the medium of the panch in accordance with the agreement between the mill-owners and the workers. The latter resorted to a prolonged strike in which they were not successful. For the last eight months or so, the labourers have been demanding that this cut should be restored. Finally, this issue was entrusted to the panch, which includes Sheth Mangaldas Girdhardas and myself. I regret to say that we could not reach unanimity about our decision. The mill-owners have raised the objection that the cut made in 1923 was effected with the consent of both the parties. It was also argued that the cut was introduced through the panch and that, in whatever way the cut might have been effected, the workers had no right now to ask for its annulment. Moreover, the owners maintain that the financial condition of the mills does not permit this and finally that the wages which the workers get at present are in excess of their needs.

As against this, the labourers say that

1. no verdict was given by the panch in 1923;
2. the labourers had not accepted the wage-cut willingly but because of their inability to prolong the strike;
3. whatever the facts of the case, the wages received by the workers in 1923 were barely sufficient to meet their needs. They have had to bear greater loss because of the cut.

From the evidence presented before the panch I have come to the conclusion that all the three points put forward by the labourers are valid. I am of opinion that in matters regarding wages, etc.,

¹ This note, intended for submission to an umpire, was on the fresh issue raised by the Labour Union viz., that the cut in the workers' wages effected in 1923 was not justified. *Vide* "Letter to Gordhanbhai I. Patel", 8-8-1929

decisions given at any particular time do not hold good for ever. Hence, whenever such cases are put forward by the workers or the mill-owners, the panch is bound to examine the pros and cons and then give its verdict.

Two official publications were presented before the panch.

1. *Report on an Inquiry into the Wages and Hours of Labour in the Cotton Mill Industry, 1923*

2. *Report on an Inquiry into Working-class Family Budgets of Ahmedabad, 1923*

The actual average wage of an Ahmedabad mill-worker amounts to Rs. 27-7-0 and, provided he is not absent even for a single day, it can go up to Rs. 33-7-6 (vide the first publication, pp. 11-2).

The figures of expenditure presented from the side of labour indicate that the monthly expenditure of a family amounts to Rs.49-13-6 (see Appendix A). These figures relate to a Hindu family. The expenditure of a Muslim family is even more. Hence, on the whole, the labourers do suffer a loss. The expenditure figure accepted in the second publication mentioned above is Rs. 39-5-8 (vide p. 37).

The reason for this discrepancy is that, as proved by that document, it does not take into account item No. 22 (interest) and No. 24 (social expenses), and the figures for item No. 8 (milk) and No. 14 (fuel) are lower. In my opinion, this expense is necessary and reasonable. The amount which has to be paid by way of interest is partly unavoidable and partly avoidable. Interest which has to be paid on grocery which is bought on credit as the wages are low is unavoidable, whereas the expense on liquor and such things which is incurred by borrowing money can be avoided. Hence the interest that is actually paid is not taken into account, but rather that which would have to be paid. Social expenses are also inevitable. Labourers, or for that matter anyone else, may starve but will see to it that social obligations of his family and caste are met. Hence, even after hearing all that was said on the side of the mill-owners, I find no reason to reduce the figures of expenditure presented by the labourers.

The various classes of textile workers deserve to be noted:

(a) Those numbering 13,482 who earn wage of Rs. 30 to Rs. 40.

Persons working in the weaving department mainly constitute this class. It is made up exclusively of men...there are no women in it.

(b) Those numbering 32,828 who earn a wage of Rs. 6 to Rs. 30.

This includes people working in the following sections of the textile industry: carding, blow-room, frame, spinning, reeling, binding, engineering, etc. Besides men, women as well as children are employed in these sections. Their numbers are as follows:

1. Men workers	17,381
2. Women workers	6,602
3. Children (from 14 to 18 years of age)	2,263
4. Children (who work for half a day and under 14 years of age)	

(NOTE: The figures given in b (2) include the 1,976 women who are employed in the winding department. Their income, unlike that of the women working in other sections, does not add up to the income of the men working in this section.)

These figures indicate that even in class (b), there remains a large section in which, as in class (a), only men are employed.

The wage-earning class in section (b) earns only around Rs. 33. This is testified by the second publication mentioned above (*vide* table 1, p.11).

The families of workers belonging to class (a) do not generally work.

There are about 2,300 labourers whose income exceeds Rs. 40. In addition, there are 1,670 jobbers, 1,651 clerks, 1,171 watchmen and others. There had, however, been no cut in their wages in 1923.

NOTE: These figures have been extracted from publication No.1 in which detailed information has been given regarding all workers employed in the textile mills of Ahmedabad in August 1923. The total number in that year has been shown as 52,038 but since then there has been an increase in this number.

In publication No. 2, the average income of all labourers in Ahmedabad has been calculated as Rs. 44-8-0. In publication No. 1, the maximum amount has been given as Rs. 33-7-6. In the latter, labourers working in places other than textile mills have not been included. Also it does not include income earned outside of that occupation. But it does give the average income of all labourers employed in textile mills. In publication No. 2, the income from all sources and the entire labour force have been taken into account but

the principal distinction in No. 2 is that the inquiry is restricted to only 872 families, whereas in No. 1, the wages of all labourers employed in textile mills have been taken into account. In publication No. 2, the inquiry covers the following wage-earners:

INCOMEWISE NUMBER OF FAMILIES

NUMBER OF INCOME GROUP	TOTAL FAMILIES	PERCENTAGE
Under Rs. 20	17	1.15
Between Rs.20 and Rs. 30	146	16.74
” Rs.30 and Rs. 40	182	20.87
” Rs.40 and Rs. 50	220	25.23
” Rs.50 and Rs. 60	157	18.01
” Rs.60 and Rs. 70	73	8.37
” Rs.70 and Rs. 80	45	5.16
” Rs.80 and Rs. 90	32	3.67
	872	100(p.c.)

In other words, the income of 527 families is over Rs. 40. Whereas, as indicated by me above, the larger part of the class of labourers who are demanding the withdrawal of the cut has an income below Rs. 40 and of this too the majority has an income of under Rs. 30. Hence any kind of inquiry proves that the majority of workers earn less than they spend.

An argument advanced by the mill-owners is that even today the mills are running at a loss. I regard the evidence given in support of this as rather weak. It is possible that a few mills are running at a loss; but the majority of them would not incur losses. If the shareholders were given a smaller dividend or if the percentage in respect of depreciation were not deducted before declaring the dividend and if nothing can be taken to the Reserve Fund, I would not place these as losses as against the wages of labourers.

I must mention one point here. Labour had put forward two arguments in support of its demand. I have already discussed one of them. The second was that mills were at present making such profits

that they should withdraw the wage-cut. Labour, on its part, could not prove this and on this the panch has given a unanimous verdict.¹

It is my opinion that the other point has been proved by labour. There is an understanding between my colleague and myself that the papers put before the panch should be sent by both these parties to a Sarpanch².

I have to write out my verdict first; after seeing it my colleague should write out his³; after seeing the latter, I should offer my comments.

If the Sarpanch wishes to consult the panch, they should meet at a time and place convenient to all three.

If the *Sarpanch* feels that any further proof is necessary, he has the right to ask for it.

Besides the papers which have already been presented, if any of the parties wish to present any more facts relating to the point in question before the Sarpanch, they can do so after showing it to each other.

Finally since unrest is spreading among the labourers as a result of the delay in the decision, the Sarpanch is requested to give his decision as early as possible.

I have to tour the U.P. till the 24th of November, but if the Sarpanch wants to ask me anything, he should write to me care of the Satyagraha Ashram, whence the letter will be forwarded to me wherever I am and I shall send the Sarpanch whatever replies I may have to after consulting my colleague.

MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 14974

¹ *Vide* "Arbitrators Award" 14-8-1929

² Umpire

³ For the note by Sheth Mangaldas, *vide* S.N. 14975.

23. "IF SPINNERS ALSO WEAVE?"

I have received one or two similar articles. I have published this one¹ as I felt that it was the best. The others deal with the same subject but the treatment is not so good.

Shivabhai's calculations appear to be effective.² However, we should overlook this and understand the underlying principle. Very often it has been the case that, whereas the results calculated by us or our conjectures are correct, the arguments or figures adduced in support thereof are either weak or incorrect. What I feel basically is the fact that spinners can never become weavers on a large scale. Hence, it cannot become an indivisible part of the scheme of self-reliance, and no attempt should be made to do so. The other pole of this scheme should be voluntarily accepted dependence on others. In this case, it is futile to cite the examples of Bijolia and Bardoli. The circumstances in both those places were of an unusual nature. In ordinary circumstances, it is the case that everyone has moments of leisure when he must spin and get the yarn spun by him woven in his own village. Not only is there no objection here to spinners learning to weave, but rather it is our duty to provide facilities for them to do so. However, there is no need to carry on any propaganda for this.

Let me put this in another way. If a brahmachari who lives by himself or a widow who has no means of support spins, cards, and weaves, that will be regarded as doing business at a loss. Such a person will by weaving alone earn six to eight times as much as one who merely spins; and, he or she should indeed do so or find out some such independent occupation. However, where there is a large family, one person can become a weaver. It is my idea that we should enlarge the concept of our members. Our ideal is not a Robinson Crusoe living on a desolate island, but a family which extends over the entire world. In order to reach it, it is but a natural step forward to turn over village into a single family. Man is a social animal. His country is this small planet...the world. In it everyone will carry on an all-pervasive activity. What extends over the family will be done by the family and the same applies, in its turn, to the town and the country as a whole. However, this will be done not with a view to destroying one another,

¹ This article by Sitaram Purushottam Patwardhan is not translated here.

² *Vide* footnote 2, "Scheme of Self-Reliance", 1-9-1929

but rather to sustain one another. In my view, the spinning-wheel is a universal thing, while the loom is confined to either the family or the village. The cooking-fire and the spinning-wheel are to be found in every home but the same cannot be said of the loom. It can be clearly shown that this involves an economic disadvantage. Whatever is basically harmful on economic grounds is also certainly harmful from the religious point of view. Untainted wealth can never be opposed to religion.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 8-9-1929

24. MESSAGE TO KATHIAWAR YOUTH CONFERENCE¹

Youths, listen to everyone, but decide your own course of action; do not be carried away by speeches. Concentrate on work and learn to be quiet. Your speech being your work, you will be worthy of being heard after you have rendered substantial service to the people.

[From Gujarati]

Prajabandhu, 8-9-1929

25. MY NOTES

NATURE'S WRATH

The fury that Nature has let loose on Sind is indescribable. The thought of it stuns me and it reveals the might of Nature on the one side and our littleness on the other. But man's dharma is compassion above everything else. When he is under its influence, he is led to do his utmost, aware of his own limitations. We sympathize with a man or a family, if we can. We get some satisfaction by sharing our food with anyone who is hungry. Our humanity consists in giving away everything and still not feeling satisfied about it. To give away everything is a noble human quality and there is no room for pride in something which is one's inborn quality. A Gujarati should not consider himself different from a Sindhi when patriotic fervour is in the air. Just as family members though having different names do not consider themselves different, so also we are all one though belonging to different States. That is why we should share each

¹ Held under the presidentship of Jawaharlal Nehru and attended by 1,400 delegates

other's sorrow. Gujarat has the ability to give much and keep accounts properly. All those who feel sorry for Sind should donate generously. They should send their names if they sincerely want to go and serve there. All the money will be sent to Professor Malkaniji who has shouldered the responsibility of this work. Sardar Vallabhabhai has already sent Rs. 15,000 out of Gujarat Flood Relief Fund. But what is Rs. 15,000 when the disaster is much greater than Gujarat's?

THE MEANING OF YAJNA

A reader writes:¹

It is a fact based on actual experience that violence is involved in lighting a fire. The Shastras have not said that the yajnas of the past did not involve violence. However, they regarded as innocent the violence practised in the course of a yajna, just as we salve or cheat our conscience by regarding as innocent a diet of vegetables although we are aware that it involves violence.

If the *rishis*² and *munis*³ of the past had sacrificed animals, it is my firm belief that at that time, the need for such sacrifice was felt; however, today there is no need for doing so; it is a savage and cruel practice. I regard such acts of offering animals as sacrifices as not only not religious in this age, but as irreligious acts, and hence wish to see them stopped for good. That the concept of yajna in the Gita has a universal and altruistic implication may be construed from the verses preceding and following that verse and from the central argument itself of the Gita. Hence the meaning of yajna approved by the Gita is: It is an act which is performed solely for the sake of service or from a purely altruistic standpoint. And here a narrow interpretation of the term has been wished or done to any living creature.

SELF-PURIFICATION

In many parts of the country, the yajna for self-purification begun in 1920 is still going on unperceived. A fresh proof of this is the purification that is going on among our Antyaja brethren. A weaver, Ramji Gopal, has handed me a letter. It contains the names of 53 persons from 13 towns in Kathiawar who have taken a pledge to give up liquor and such other things. All of them have given up drinking; some have given up smoking and opium, and some others have given up even meat. Shri Ramji has given me their

¹ The letter is not translated here.

² Seers

³ Ascetics

names after they had kept their pledge for a year. There is no doubt that such activity is going on at many places. And its distinctive feature is that there is no artificiality in it or in other words there is no element of compulsion in it, and also that it is not being carried on by persons who do not belong to that society, but rather voluntarily by reformers thrown up by that very society. I offer congratulations to such invisible, silent workers. Let them accept my best wishes and let there be widespread emulation of these persons.

A BHANGI BROTHER FROM BULSAR

Shri Chhotubhai Shah writes from Bulsar:¹

I hope that the necessary reforms will be carried out now without further delay.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 8-9-1929

26. REBIRTH OF THE SPINNING-WHEEL

I do feel some hesitation in publishing this letter² as, both Kakasaheb and Balkrishna, who understand the structure of machines and to some extent know how to construct them, feel that the basic defect is such that it cannot be remedied. I also keep receiving other letters which testify to the basic defect. Then again, a gentleman writes.³

Despite this, I felt it was proper to publish the above letter, as what I wrote⁴ while publishing the original scheme holds good even today. Whether his scheme succeeds or fails, Shri Hiralal's efforts are praiseworthy. His own faith in the scheme is equally praiseworthy. He does not believe that it is perfect. All that he wishes to say is that a new type of powerful spinning-wheel is a possibility and that it can be produced at a very low cost, and he has put before the public, in as

¹ The letter is not translated here. The addressee had written that the rains had delayed the work of digging wells and putting up roofs for the Bhangis of Bulsar. He promised to relieve them of their debts.

² The letter by Hiralal Amritlal Shah is not translated here. It described an improved type of spinning-wheel devised by him.

³ The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had contended that if yarn was subjected to twisting at a later stage, as in the case of the hollow spindle, it became weak.

⁴ *Vide* "My Note" sub-title Shri Hiralal's Scheme, 1-9-1929

systematic a manner as he could, whatever ideas occurred to him in this regard. I now wish to make a suggestion to Shri Hiralal and other innovators like him. They should not merely discuss the merits or demerits of their schemes, but those like Shri Hiralal who regard improvement as a possibility should have spinning-wheels made according to their designs and, after testing them, put the results before the public. I regard it as futile waste of time and energy merely to discuss a scheme which can be readily tested by putting it into practice. Shri Hiralal claims that the basic defect which has been pointed out does not exist. I hope this is the case and if so, it is something which can be easily proved. And the greatest achievement is his who has an unflinching faith. Hence my advice to Shri Hiralal is that, rather than enter into controversies in newspapers, etc., he should devote some time every day to putting his scheme into practice. The diagram accompanying Shri Hiralal's scheme and an explanation regarding it are being published as a supplement¹ to this issue of *Navajivan*.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 8-9-1929

27. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA

[ON THE TRAIN,]

September 8, 1929

CHI. GANGABEHN,

I know that you have a heavy responsibility. But as you have faith in God, everything will surely be all right. Withdraw your resignation. Regard both respect and disrespect alike.

Never forget the smallest thing; if you have an orderly mind you will forget nothing at all.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 8728. Courtesy: Gangabehn Vaidya

¹ Not translated here

28. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

September 8, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

We reach in a few minutes. I am keeping good health. You must have got the letter¹ I wrote yesterday. Kishorelal keeps indifferent health. He had a little fever yesterday.

Tell Surendra that I met Nathji. He will come there in a few days to meet Marathe.

I may get some news about Gopalrao today in Bhopal. But the probability is slight.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5430

29. LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI

Sunday, September 8, 1929

CHI. MANILAL AND SUSHILA,

I got the letters of you both. Sushila may certainly come when she wants to. I shall arrange to keep everything ready for her to return immediately if she so desires. I am dictating this letter at Bhopal. Kanti is taking it down and I am spinning at the wheel. Today is Sunday. It is already evening. My silence period is about to begin. Among the others accompanying me are Kusumbehn and Jamnalalji, too, will remain with us at least till we leave this place. The scenery around here is very pleasant. Sanchi, the place known for Buddhist art, is near here. We shall visit it on Tuesday. The lake here also is famous all over India. The surrounding scenery is beautiful and stretches some six or seven miles.

Silence Day

You have put me a question regarding the continuation of Indian Opinion. It is useless for me to write anything on the matter from here. You may do there whatever seems possible. If you finally

¹ Vide "Letter to Chhaganlal Joshi", 7-9-1929

decide to close it down, you should certainly consult the Trustees there before doing so. Take the advice of Umar Sheth also.

It is surprising that you should have raised the question of marriage with a member of the Marwari community. I think I once told you that, if the proposal for Sushila had not been received, I had nearly decided to betroth you to a Bengali girl. What I had said was that I was not prepared to go so far as to approve of marriage with anyone outside one's community...though of course there is no sin even in such a marriage. But it has been my considered opinion that inter-provincial marriages are a very good thing.

Others would have nothing to say against us for not being vaccinated as long as we remain in a given place while the epidemic rages there. However, why should I involve either of you in that botheration? Do what your conscience tells you and what is within your capacity. You need not now be guided by me on this subject. The proper course for you is to read the literature on the subject and form your own views independently, and then action them. The majority of people get vaccinated. Only a few like me do not.

Nimu will have her delivery shortly. She is at Lakhtar. I cannot say why Ramdas does not write. I have written to him. As for Nimu, she is lazy.

Devdas has gone to Almora as Mathuradas's wife has fallen ill. Otherwise he would have seen me at Agra the day after tomorrow.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4759

30. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

BHOPAL,

September 8, 1929

CHI. MATHURADAS,

I have reached Bhopal today. I kept thinking on the way about Taramati. You will have received my letter. Devdas will have reached there too. And Taramati will have been freed from anxiety. If that is the case and if Devdas can be relieved, please relieve him. I

hope that Taramati's illness has not caused you worry. My health is fine. You will get more news from my letter to Devdas.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

31. APPEAL TO MILL-WORKERS

September 9, 1929¹

Mahatma Gandhi and Sheth Mangaldas to whom the question of restoration of the cut in the wages was referred with a view to arbitration by the labour Union and the Mill-owners' association have now announced that owing to difference of opinion between them, the question will be referred to an umpire for final decision and that they have selected as umpire Dewan Bahadur Krishnalal Mohanlal Zaveri, retired judge, Bomaby High Court. Mahatma Gandhi has issued an appeal to the workmen to have patience and preserve peace. He says that he is aware that there is some restlessness among them owing to the delay in the announcement of the arbitrators' decision. He assures them that he will try to obtain the decision of the umpire as soon as possible. He will do what he can for them during his tour in the United Provinces and get information regarding their welfare.

The Bomaby Chronicle, 10-9-1929

32. LETTER TO SECRETARY, A.I.S.A.

BHOPAL,

September 9, 1929

TO

THE SECRETARY

ALL INDIA SPINNERS' ASSOCIATIONS

BHAISHRI,

I have had a talk with Shri Jivanlal in Bombay regarding the khadi work at Amreli. Its substance is that if there is a deficit of up to Rs. 1,200/- in the next year's budget he will provide the money to make it up. If the deficit is larger, Shri Jivanlal will make it up to the tune of Rs. 2,000/- every year. There is in Amreli a sum of Rs. 5,000/-

¹ Released on this date by the Associated Press from Ahmedabad

given by him as loan for khadi work and while the Charkha Sangh is carrying on khadi work in Amreli and the nearby villages, he will let that sum remain with them without charging any interest. If, however the Charkha Sangh discontinues the work it should pay back the amount to Shri Jivanlal.

From a copy of the Gujarati: Kusumbehn Desai's Diary. S.N. 32577/148

33. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

September 9, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I got your letter and the pile of other mail sent by you. I will write to Jagjivandas. I think it best to send him your letter. Truth may be bitter like poison in the beginning, but in the end it proves to be as sweet as amrit¹. We should not, therefore, feel worried. We have got into the wrong habit of saying nice things to one another, and we must overcome it.

You should indulge in self-depreciation less often now. Hold firmly to the thought that the man of faith always succeeds and offer up your very thoughts in the yajna of duty. Self-examination is good, but there are limits to the utility of self-depreciation.

We must become perfect in making the bread on which depends the health of so many. The person in charge of the job should not therefore, be changed.

I approve of the changes you have made in regard to keeping of accounts. We should become perfect in this sphere too. The truth is that a secretary should have a thousand eyes and a thousand hands. He should be attentive to the smallest detail.

I suppose I told you about Perrins of Jamshedpur. Sitting in his room, he used to be in contact with all departments with the help of the telephone, get reports from them day and night and give whatever instructions he wanted to give. This was vigilance of a demoniac character. We do not go to the length of installing a telephone but our vigilance should be greater even than that of Perrins. If the disinterested attitude really develops in us, though occupied with our daily work we would be enjoying infinite peace and also would not

¹ Nectar

appear worn out in body. The inert machine wears out through use, whereas the *atman* shines the brighter through the exercise of its powers and seems to grow ever new, and, therefore, the body which is its habitation also seems ever fresh. I have written about the ideal state. I know that I myself am far away from that state, and I have, therefore, little right to write about it.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5431; also Bapuna Patro...7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, pp. 124-5

34. *LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT*

September 9, 1929

CHI. VASUMATI,

I have been of course a little anxious on your account, and that is because you do not at present seem to be quite yourself. Do only what you can and never worry. That is what you need. You must not worry simply because you cannot fulfill the high expectations that I might have of you. It is my duty to have such expectations, but a son or daughter can only do his or her best. If they try to do more, they would break down or become quite unnatural in behaviour and their lives would be wasted. Take care of your health. The climate here at Bhopal is excellent. The natural scenery also is beautiful. We shall reach Agra the day after tomorrow. Perhaps Jamnalalji will part company with us here.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9265; also C.W. 512. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

35. *LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK*

Silence Day, September 9, 1929

CHI. PREMA,

I understand your suffering, and still more, your love. I very much like your devotion to duty. Never have any doubt that now it is only by following the path you are doing that you will be able to achieve self-purification, enjoy peace and do service to the country. If

you have learnt something from your stay at the Ashram, be determined not to leave it so that you may bring credit to yourself, to the Ashram and to me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10213; also C.W. 6661. Courtesy: Premabehn Kantak

36. *LETTER TO ASHRAM WOMEN*

September 9, 1929

SISTERS,

Today I have to do the work for the Gujarati *Navajivan*, the *Hindi Navajivan* and Young India and have little time. Please, therefore, excuse me if I am brief and be as pleased as if this were a long letter. Though I am here, think of me as in your midst. All of you should be one in heart, help one another and bring credit to yourselves and to the Mandir.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3700

37. *LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI*

[September 9, 1929]¹

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

Hand over the enclosed letter to Raghunath. Hope you and Kashi have stopped worrying over Prabhudas. I would like both of you to stop being possessive over him. All the youngmen who come in contact with you, are your sons. And you do get everything in the service you are able to render there. Your son is now self-reliant and there are many to worry about him. Therefore your worries are meaningless.

Both of you should look after your health. Please see to it that there are no spices in the food for those who arrive there from the Ashram. Raghunath has asked a subtle question but you will see my

¹ From Gandhiji's itinerary mentioned in the last para; he left Bhopal for Agra on September 10, 1929 and visited the Sanchi Stupa the same day.

reply to him. He has not written anything about spices. What he has written is about rice, *ghee*, buffalo's milk etc. Recently I have persuaded many to give up rice.

The air here is good and cool. This too, is like a sanatorium. There is scenic beauty too. Sanchi's sculpture is nearby. We will be taken there tomorrow. We leave the place tomorrow night and reach Agra on the 11th.

Jamnallalji is with me. Jamnabehn too has come.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: S.N. 32897

38. A LETTER

On Tour

SABARMATI,¹

September 9, 1929

THE SECRETARY

A.I.C.C.

HEWETT ROAD

ALLAHABAD

DEAR SIR,

I send you herewith the information which at last I have been able to secure from the Utkal Provincial Congress Committee.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

Enclosure

A.I.C.C. File No. 151, 1929. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

39. A LETTER

September 9, 1929

There is a Sanskrit verse which says that a man who does not love music is like an animal unless he is a yogi. Even a *yogi* cannot do without music. His music emanates from the *veena* of his heart, and

¹ Permanent Address

that is why we are not able to hear it. A *yogi* worships God in his heart. We worship Him vocally and hear with our ears others so worshipping Him. Doing so we may learn to hear the music continually going on in our hearts.

From a copy of the Gujarati: Kusumbehn Desai's Diary. S.N. 32578/1

40. A NOTE

September 9, 1929

I think the time has come for us to save ourselves from the nuisance of the handwritten monthly. He who is convinced that his intellect is going to develop only through action will write only what is relevant to action. This is worth pondering by us who live in the Udyog Mandir.

From a copy of the Gujarati: Kusumbehn Desai's Diary. S N. 32578/2

41. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

*[September 10, 1929]*¹

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

you must have received the mail sent yesterday. I completely forgot to include the letter to Bhansali.² I remembered about it late at night at 11 when retiring to bed and immediately rushed Pyarelal in a car to post it after affixing a late fee stamp. It was duly posted. I hope you got it.

Credit the amount received from New York in the Relief Fund. I have just returned from a visit to Sanchi. I have not yet seen the post. I will write if there is anything important.

How many attend the prayers? Is anyone enthusiastic about committing a chapter of the *Gita* to memory?

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro—7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, p. 171

¹ In the source the letter has been placed between the letters of October 19 and October 21, 1929. From the reference to Gandhiji's visit to Sanchi, however, it is evident that the letter was written on September 10, 1929. This may be read after "A Letter", 9-9-1929.

² This letter is not traceable. The source, however, in a footnote here quotes a letter to Bhansali dated October 20, 1929, which is included in Vol. XLII in its chronological order.

42. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, BHOPAL¹

September 10, 1929

I confess that when yielding to the loving insistence of His Highness² and Dr. Ansari I accepted the invitation to visit Bhopal, I was prepared to find here the same regal splendour, the same wasteful blaze of luxury as one comes across in our other present-day Indian States. But to my agreeable surprise, I found His Highness living in a 'palace' which could be called as such only by courtesy, and which in fact would not stand comparison even with the lovely palatial residence of Dr. Ansari who was after all medical adviser to His Highness....

Gandhiji reiterated his belief that the existence of the Indian Princes' rule was in no way inconsistent with the evolution of true democracy. He was therefore no enemy of Indian States, and he entertained every hope of their reaching his ideal of democratic swaraj which he often interpreted as Ramarajya. Using the word 'Ramarajya' in a Mussalman state and for an audience which had a very large number of Mussalmans in it, he immediately said:

I warn my Mussalman friends against misunderstanding me in my use of the word 'Ramarajya'. By 'Ramarajya' I do not mean Hindu Raj. I mean by 'Ramarajya' Divine Raj, the Kingdom of God. For me Rama and Rahim are one and the same deity. I acknowledge no other god but the one god of Truth and righteousness. Whether the Rama of my imagination ever lived or not on this earth, the ancient ideal of Ramarajya is undoubtedly one of true democracy in which the meanest citizen could be sure of swift justice without an elaborate and costly procedure. Even the dog is described by the poet to have received justice under *Ramarajya*.

In alluding to his belief in Hindu-Muslim unity he recalled his friendship with the late Hakim Saheb Ajmal Khan and asked for contributions to the Ajmal Jamia college and in so doing mentioned the heroic sacrifice of Dr. Zakir Husain and his colleagues who had reduced their honorariums to what might be termed a starvation point. He asked the Hindus to give up untouchability if they would save Hinduism, and he reminded both Hindus and Mussalmans, that if they would identify themselves with the poorest in the land they were bound to exclude from their wardrobes all

¹ This appeared under the title "The U.P. Tour."

² The ruler of Bhopal

foreign cloth and take to khadi and encourage the spread of the spinning-wheel. In response to his appeal for contributions for the Ajmal Jamia fund, a committee was formed at once to make house-to-house collections.

Young India, 19-9-1929

43. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

[Before September 11, 1929]¹

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

I have your letter. I see that things have gone well there. Do everything as steadfastly as you can and God will see you through. Explain to others also the importance of the morning prayer; teach them the benefit of body labour, and insist on doing some labour yourself. With gentleness and firmness you will succeed in everything.

Do not worry in the least. There is no cause at all for worry. To one who has studied the *Gita* all conditions should be the same. Since one has to mind only one's duty, why worry? Wherever we go we should make ourselves as useful as we can. Practise writing English. Send something written in English to me here. Translate it. I will send it back after getting it corrected. This is also a way of learning.

My health is steadily improving.

Blessings form

BAPU

[PS.]

Below is part of my programme. The rest afterwards.

Agra	11
Mainpuri, etc.	13
Kanauj	14
Kanpur	15-16
Unav	17
Nawabganj	18
Lucknow	20
Faizabad	21
Akbarpur	22
Banaras	23

From a photostat or the Gujarati: G.N. 3355

¹ From Gandhiji's tour programme supplied at the end of the letter

44. RESOLUTION ON AJMAL JAMIA FUND¹

[September 11, 1929]

Whereas it is necessary to maintain the Jamia Millia, Delhi, as a memorial to the late Hakim Ajmal Khan Saheb, this meeting of the Trustees of the Ajmal Jamia Fund hereby resolves that out of the sums so far collected a sum of Rs. 1000/- be retained with the treasurer and the balance be transferred to the Jamia to constitute a reserve fund for permanent investments and meeting the deficit between the current income and expenditure and in future all sums received be handed over to the Jamia for the same purpose.

All sums received prior to the date and not passed through the hands of the Treasurer shall be accounted to him and this meeting authorizes the Treasurer to legalize the expenditure of that money by the Jamia authorities under the sanction of the President. The Treasurer be authorized to appoint a duly certified auditor for the auditing of the accounts of the Fund.

From a microfilm: S. N. 15580

45. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

AGRA,

September 11, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I send with this a copy of the letter I have written to Jagjivandas. You must have received the letters which were posted yesterday at Bhopal. Prabhavati arrived here yesterday. Sharma too has come. I am very happy indeed. We are not likely to learn much even from him. I have told him that he may go home from here. Devedas has gone to Almora. Whenever you write to me, give me news about Bhansali. Gopalrao must have recovered, and come back to the Mandir.

¹ In a letter to Gandhiji dated December 11, 1929, Dr. Zakir Husain wrote: "I beg to enclose herewith copy for your file of the resolution passed by the trustees of the Ajmal Jamia Fund on the 11th September, 1929, at Bhopal." The source contains the names of Gandhiji, Zakir Hussain, Dr. M.A. Ansari and Jannalal Bajaj as signatories.

Let me know what was done about my suggestion to shift the women's work centre to the house occupied by Bhansali. I hear from Manilal that it is already fixed that Dr. Mehta will come in October. We should, therefore, make our arrangements soon. What happened about Zaverbhai's wife?

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I have not revised this.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5432; also Bapuna patro...7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, pp. 125-6

46. LETTER TO JAGJIVANDAS

AGRA,
September 11, 1929

BHAISHRI JAGJIVANDAS,

I enclose Bhai Chhaganlal Joshi's letter on the subject of the temple at Lathi. You will see that his criticism is severe; if it is well founded, he deserves to be thanked for it. If his criticism does you injustice in any way, you should not get angry, considering that the criticism proceeded from a pure motive. If the criticism is justified, you should acknowledge the great mistake you have made and, in future, think many times before shouldering such a responsibility. You will see from Bhai Chhaganlal's letter that an effort is being made to obtain money for the expenditure already incurred. As for the work that remains to be done, get necessary help from some source and finish it. Please return Chhaganlal's letter.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 15422

47. A LETTER

AGRA,

September 11, 1929

I have written to Surajbhan advising him that if they, husband and wife, wish to live a life free of lust they must avoid being alone together. And if they are disturbed by passion even when they meet publicly they must stop accepting personal services from each other.

From a copy of the Gujarati: Kusumbehn Desai's Diary. S.N. 32578/4

48. A LETTER

September 11, 1929

I am dictating this letter in Agra. If in an adverse situation we can preserve our calm while fighting against the situation and can continue to love the person responsible for it, we shall then gradually overcome the situation. Do not ever lose heart.

From a copy of the Gujarati: Kusumbehn Desai's Diary. S.N. 32578/5

49. A LETTER

AGRA,

September 11, 1929

I have your letter. I would rather buy pure swadeshi than buy from a firm that combines foreign and indigenous.

It would be very difficult for me to distinguish between a wholly foreign firm and one with mixed stock. I would venture to give an opinion only after examining the particulars of each case. The best course in such matters is for each person to follow his own judgment.

From a copy of the Gujarati: Kusumbehn Desai's Diary. S.N. 32578/6

50. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, AGRA¹

September 11, 1929

Gandhiji whilst thanking them² on their collection³ and the admirable restraint which they had shown in presenting all their addresses at a single function declined to accept their plea in the Agra citizens' address that hard times justified the limited size of their purse.

I know that the moneyed citizens of Agra could have made the purse bigger if they had wished. Hard times cannot serve as a justification for them, for it is a notorious fact that famine conditions present opportunities for profiteering to the middlemen class of which they are not slow to take advantage. Hard times instead of putting a curb on your generosity ought to serve as a stimulant in the present case, because khadi work for which the various purses are being raised is just the activity par excellence which is calculated to alleviate the distress caused by famine conditions.

He asked the audience to give substantially to the volunteers as soon as they approached them. He had made it clear in his Andhra speeches that he did not want addresses framed, for he had no place to keep them and every rupee spent in framing meant the loss of one woman's subsistence for 16 days. He said he meant no disrespect if he wanted to auction them. He had done so before and one address in Andhra fetched Rs. 10,000.⁴

I am here to redeclare my faith in the potency of non-co-operation. You have all got to prepare for January 1930 from now. The A.I.C.C. has already laid down the conditions by fulfilling which alone, in its opinion, swaraj by non-violent means can be attained. It is the triple constructive programme, viz., the boycott of foreign cloth through khadi, the suppression of the drink and drug evil and the elimination of untouchability by the Hindus. And since all this work can be effectively done through a proper Congress organization, the reorganization of the Congress by the enrolment of Congress members is a necessity. Let me warn you solemnly that if we do

¹ This appeared under the title "The U.P. Tour."

² District Congress Committee, District Board, Municipal Board and Agra Youth League.

³ A Joint collection of Rs. 8,000 out of which Rs. 4,000 represented Agra citizens' purse.

⁴ This paragraph is from *The Leader*, 15-9-1929.

nothing now, swaraj or independence is not going to drop down from heaven by a mere declaration by the Congress in December. I will go further and say, that unless in the mean time we shall have forged an effective sanction to back our declaration which we want to make, if the Government should refuse to accept by the midnight of December 31, 1929 the national demand, our declaration will remain a dead letter and we shall be unable to do anything effective during 1930.

Young India, 19-9-1929

51. MY LIMITATIONS

It is not without grief and great hesitation that I have been instrumental in a meeting of the A.I.C.C. being called for the purpose of electing the president for the forthcoming session of the Congress. Friends have been sending me urgent wires and writing to me not to precipitate a crisis, to reconsider my decision and avoid the convening of the A.I.C.C. meeting. I have been reluctantly obliged to disappoint them. The only consolation I can give them is that their grief over my decision cannot be greater than mine. I believe in waiting on God for guidance. I have no light from within. Confidence does not come to me.

I have a lively sense of what must be regarded as my limitations. I have no faith in the council programme. I have no faith in Government schools and colleges. I have still less in the so-called courts of justice where when justice is obtained it is found to be too dear, and where it is almost unobtainable when the question for decision is as between the ruling race and the subject race on a vital point. I have no faith in spectacular demonstrations. Whilst I want power for labour and its progressive welfare, I do not believe in its exploitation for a mere political end. I believe in unadulterated non-violence, I do not believe in the possibility of India (whatever other countries might have attained) attaining swaraj in terms of the millions by violent means. I believe that unity between Hindus, Mussalmans, Sikhs, Parsis, Jews, Christians and others is essential for the attainment of swaraj. I believe the removal of untouchability to be equally essential for our purpose. Indeed I have no desire to obtain swaraj, even if it was possible, at the sacrifice of a single legitimate interest of a single minority. I do not believe the Mussalman to be the natural enemy of the Hindu nor the Englishman of the Indian. I want for my

compassing my end the co-operation of both the Mussalman and the Englishman. My non-co-operation though it is part of my creed is a prelude to co-operation. My non-co-operation is with methods and systems, never with men. I may not harbour ill will even against a Dyer. I regard ill will as beneath the dignity of man. The reader should now have no difficulty, if he had been patient with me so far, in bearing with me for saying that I am no enemy of capital nor of Indian States. I believe the one to be consistent with the highest status attainable by labour and the other with the highest status attainable by the people. Need I repeat my growing faith in the life-giving wheel and khadi?

I feel that among Congressmen there can only be a microscopic minority going with me in this long recital of credos. With most one or the other of the credos must be a veritable stumbling block. Is it any wonder, if I feel that as president of the Congress I should be a round man in a square hole? The president of the Congress must be a man, not one commanding respect from a safe distance, but one who represents in every fibre of his being the sum total of what the nation stands for. I dare not submit myself for that test.

But I know that if I am allowed to work in detachment, in spite of my limitations I can render useful service to the nation. My advice therefore to the members of the A.I.C.C. and those who can influence them is not to press me to accept an office for which I seem to myself to be so ill-fitted. They will recognize that it is not want of will, it is the want of capacity, that deters me. An incapable president is surely worse than useless.

Young India, 12-9-1929

52. FOUR FUNCTIONS

During my day's stay in Bombay on my way to Bhopal I had four interesting functions to attend to. The first was the opening of a crafts block in connection with the national school in Vile Parle. It is an institution to which several young men have dedicated their lives. It should be the pride of the men and women of Bombay to support it. An ill-equipped national school is any day preferable to the best-equipped school run under the aegis of an anti-national authority, even as a humble, dilapidated hut is any day preferable to a palatial jail with all creature comforts anticipated. The distinguishing feature

of the two varieties is, that in the national school the first lesson of the boys and girls is loyalty to one's country without limitations, in the second even this indispensable thing is subject to loyalty to a foreign rule.

The second function was the laying of the foundation stone of a building which is to serve as a nucleus for the service of India's women. It is a creation of the energy and devotion of Sjt. Karsandas Chitalia of the Servants of India Society. He has set himself apart for mute service of the woman's cause. Though in my opinion the erection of the building is premature till he has found a steady, selfless, sober, tired woman who would devote herself to the cause and a few girls at least who would follow her, I have yielded to his superior faith and devotion, and not only laid the foundation but devoted a large part of the purse of nearly Rs. 25,000 presented to me ten years ago through his and Shrimati Jaiji Petit's labours. True service of any cause is rendered by raising of stout hearts than buildings. Brick and mortar have no power to attract true hearts. But they come into being whenever they are needed by true and stout hearts. At any rate it is my prayer and hope that this building will fulfil the noble aspirations of Karasandas Chitalia. I know that he would not have been happy without it.

The third function took place at Vanita Vishram for helping the blind. I must again make the confession as in the case of Karsandas Chitalia, that it was not the demonstrable strength of the cause as the faith and devotion of Sjt. H. D. Chhatrapati, and Sjt. B. Khambhatta that induced me to preside at the function. I had the privilege of knowing the blind brother of Sjt. H. D. Chhatrapati, i.e., Dr. Nilkanthrai Chhatrapati. But being wholly immersed in the cause of the starving millions who are worse than the physically blind, I have not been able to take any active interest in the latter. It required the magnetic touch of these two friends to draw me. There is at Tardeo the Happy Home for the Blind. It was for this institution that the meeting was called. How happy that Home is the curious and philanthropically minded reader must find out for himself or herself. The conductors invite scrutiny, but they also invite all

- (a) to furnish the Home with funds,
- (b) to send the blind they can get hold of, and
- (c) to induce Municipalities and the like to do likewise.

It is stated that there are 15,00,000 of totally blind people in India and that nearly 70 per cent of these are curable if treated in time. They state also that the number of partially blind is 2 times as much as that of the totally blind. Sjt. Chhatrapati also mentioned the interesting but painful fact, that the blind beggars in Bomaby received from 4 to 5 rupees daily and that the money mostly went into the pockets of the conductors whom the blind beggars employed. If therefore instead of our charity being blind, as it undoubtedly is today in many cases, it became enlightened, and if then we refused to pay anything to the beggars but took the trouble of sending them to the home or homes designed for them and helped the homes, we should save the nation's money and in the bargain make the blind fit for earning their livelihood as they can be made without much difficulty.

The fourth function was a visit to the new and more commodious abode of the A.I.S.A. Khadi Bhandar at 396, Kalbadevi. During its seven years' existence it has sold nineteen lakhs rupees worth of khadi. It employs today 31 salesmen, 18 tailors and a varying but large number of washermen, dyers and printers. For tailoring it pays yearly over Rs. 15,000, for washing over Rs. 9,500 and for dyeing, etc., Rs. 8,800. Khadi is stocked today in 1,660 separate items. The slow yet marvellous evolution that khadi has undergone during the short period of its revival is stimulating and encouraging. A visit only should be enough to convert the sceptic who would go there with an open mind.

Young India, 12-9-1929

53. A TRUE HERO

Sheth Jamnalalji has just told me of the heroic death of a brave Sind worker. He was working in Larkhana and was known for his bravery and sacrifice. The reader knows that cholera has broken out in many parts of Sind, including Larkhana. Sjt. Lahori...for that is the name of this worker...was at that time working there. He sent away his people, but himself he would not move in spite of the expostulations of friends. The goddess of cholera being no respecter of persons caught Lahori also in her trap, and he is now gone leaving Larkhana and all those who knew him wailing after him. For him here as well as up above there is nothing but shouts of 'Well done, Lahori!' I do not send my condolences to the bereaved family. To them I tender my

congratulations as also to the people of Larkhana for having given to India such a noble example of unadulterated heroism. To the young men and young women of India in general and Sind in particular I commend the example of Lahori for emulation. Let us learn to shed all fear of death in the face of calamity, and let us also learn the spirit of sacrifice which actuated Lahori to hold fast on to the post of duty.

Young India, 12-9-1929

54. NOTES

KENYA INDIANS

The deputation from Kenya is to be congratulated on taking a firm stand about the fundamentals, not that justice will be done to them on that account. The Kenya Europeans have so entrenched themselves as to dictate terms to the authorities in Downing Street. Justice therefore can only be expected if they could develop the spirit of civil resistance or we in India could assert ourselves. But whether our countrymen overseas could show resistance or not or whether we in India could clothe them with protection or not, we may not voluntarily surrender the principle of equality. The franchise must be common to all and there should be equal property rights.

ANNA AGAINST IDLENESS

Replying to the criticism that spinning brings a poor return, Sjt. C. Rajagopalachari said at the opening of the Khadi Exhibition at the Tamilnad Conference at Vidyaranya:¹

We offer spinning as a nationwide remedy for present conditions. The relief may be insignificant, but it is certain and immediate, and does not base its efficacy on depopulation or expropriation. If anyone is able not merely to decry and ridicule but to discover a better remedy and organizes a better, new supplementary occupation for the masses, spinning may be withdrawn in favour of it.

Destructive criticism without any positive contribution tends but to kill the spirit of human effort. Khadi puts the spirit of industry in place of the deadly darkness of idleness. ... We all want our millions to earn not merely one anna more but one rupee more per working day. ... but until the rupee is found let no one despise the extra anna. ...

Young India, 12-9-1929

¹ Only excerpts are reproduced here.

55. COMMUNICATIONS WITH SPIRITS

Several correspondents have been inquiring whether I receive communications from the spirits of the dead, and whether I do or not, whether I believe in the possibility of, and if yes, approve of, such communications. The latest inquirer writes as follows:¹

... I have had the occasion to know a bit of the Indian Spiritualist Society of Bombay. ... Recently a boy was drowned in the Tilak tank, Deccan Gymkhana, Poona, and the parents of the boy have sought communication with his spirit through this Society. I am informed the boy-spirit has spoken to them. In his book *Subhadra or Life after Death* Mr. V.D. Rishi, the organizer of the I.S. Society; writes that during his experiences at the seance the spirit of his wife as also other spirits have communicated to him that they take much pleasure and feel a sort of relief to talk to their relatives and friends on this earth. They have thanked him often and often for the good he has done to them by the spread of the science of spirit communication. Mr. Rishi believes that scientists have not done proper justice to this branch of science . . . to know exactly what is life after death.

.. . Could you not ... for the benefit of so many who are seeking and those who might yet seek intercourse with the spirits as also for my own benefit ...very kindly express your views (publicly if you so please) on this matter, advancing some convincing arguments against what has been mentioned above

My answers must be categorical. I never receive communications from the spirits of the dead. I have no evidence warranting a disbelief in the possibility of such communications. But I do strongly disapprove of the practice of holding or attempting to hold such communications. They are often deceptive and are products of imagination. The practice is harmful both to the medium and the spirits, assuming the possibility of such communications. It attracts and ties to the earth the spirit so invoked, whereas its effort should be to detach itself from the earth and rise higher. A spirit is not necessarily purer because it is disembodied. It takes with it most of the frailties to which it was liable when on earth. Information or advice therefore given by it need not be true or sound. That the spirit likes communications with those on earth is no matter for pleasure. On the

¹ Only excerpts are reproduced here.

contrary it should be weaned from such unlawful attachment. So much for the harm done to the spirits.

As for the medium, it is a matter of positive knowledge with me that all those within my experience have been deranged or weak-brained and disabled for practical work whilst they were holding or thought they were holding such communications. I can recall no friend of mine who having held such communication had benefited in any way.

Young India, 12-9-1929

56. DISTRESS IN SIND —AN APPEAL¹

This is a calamitous year for Sind . . . Sind is a dry tract and the average annual rainfall is hardly 5". But the total rainfall this year varies between 25" and 50". All this has fallen within a period of less than 3 weeks . . . Not one district has escaped the disaster. . . . The central parts of Sind have suffered most.

.. . A few days back it rose to 73" The Punjab rivers are in full flood . . . This tremendous volume of water is expected to reach Sind within 24 hours . . . Government has . . . kept special trains ready for an emergency

The People's Flood Relief Committee, which did some useful work during the floods of 1927, has been revived. It started with a generous donation of Rs. 10,000 from the Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee and has since collected a sum of about Rs. 15,000 in Sind. But misfortunes never come single, and rains, pests and pestilence have disorganized the trade of Karachi and Hyderabad. The zamindars are unable to pay because of the losses of crops, and the merchants are hard hit by cholera in Upper Sind and floods in the Punjab. We are therefore obliged to appeal for funds outside our province. There was a noble response from Bombay during the floods of 1927, when the People's flood Relief Committee received nearly 2 lakhs of rupees from the Bombay Central Relief Fund. The distress is much more acute now, and my Committee is confident that its appeal for funds will not be made in vain.

3-9-1929

HYDERABAD

N. R. MALKANI

SECRETARY

This was received early last week, and was written, as the reader will notice, on 3rd instant. At the time of its publication in *Young India* therefore the final fate will have been decided. Whatever the fate

¹ Only excerpts are reproduced here.

may be, the distress depicted in the appeal cannot be lessened. If God so wills it, the further calamity feared might have been avoided. In every case the appeal ought to find a generous response.

Young India, 12-9-1929

57. SELF-INTEREST V. SUPREME GOOD

Shri Mahavir Prasad Poddar writes:¹

I have no doubt at all that if the profit motive is introduced into the sale of khadi, it can never become popular. It has been the policy of the Charkha Sangha that the administrative expenses on the production and sale of khadi should not be more than 6 per cent of the actual cost. If the expenses are more, they should not be recovered from the buyers, rather we should beg for donations to make them up. The proposal is that if possible the expenses should be less than 6 per cent. The ideal thing would be for us not to charge more than what is spent on production up to weaving, etc. If it is found necessary a little profit can be charged on the sales. When khadi becomes as popular as ghee it will begin to sell among the millions and then the profit should not be more than 3 per cent. Secondly, we should also hope that the millions of peasant of our country following what has come to be called the self-reliance system in khadi will be able to spin for themselves and have enough khadi woven for their needs. If they can produce more khadi they will sell it themselves. Whether this golden time ever comes or not, the idea of making money by sale of khadi should be shunned. Khadi is certainly a powerful means of finding livelihood for the poor. But it cannot be a means of making money. Every industrious person has a right to a livelihood. But no one has a right to amass wealth. To be sure, amassing wealth is theft. He who takes more money than he needs for his living whether knowingly or unknowingly others of their living. Artha, i.e., good, is of two kinds...swartha or individual good and paramartha² or the higher good. The latter is what one should seek; it is not opposed to dharma. Individual good which is opposed to dharma should be shunned. Khadi shastra is the shastra of paramartha and therefore it is true

¹ The letter is not translated here. It dealt with the question of profits in Khadi.

² Literally, supreme good; here it means higher good or altruism as a means to the supreme good.

economics. No one should therefore charge excessive price for khadi.

Those who burden khadi with the cost of other activities do aninjustice to khadi. Khadi today is in need of help from other constructive activities. To burden khadi with the cost of other activities is like killing a buffalo for shoes.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 12-9-1929

58. EVIL CUSTOMS IN U.P.

September 12, 1929

Seeing that my tour of the United Provinces is about to start an experienced and well-educated friend writes:¹

If get the chance I shall certainly study these questions and write about them. It is indeed a pity if, as the correspondent states, the students in U.P. are more keen on marriage than the students elsewhere and a lot of money is wasted on the marriage ceremonies.

But there is no need in this matter to compare U.P. with any other province. What does it matter if such evil customs are more or less in U.P. than in other provinces? It is the duty of every sensible man to try and do away with evil customs as such. It is improper and against religion to entangle students in the web of marriage. Our religion teaches us that one who does not observe brahmacharya as a student, does not have the right to enter life as a householder. Likewise one who cannot run a household should not enter into matrimony. The grihasthaashram is not meant for indulgence and the gratification of the senses. A householder can have intercourse with his own wife with proper restraints if he desires an issue. Intercourse for its own sake has been condemned not only in Hinduism but in all religions.

If it is true that a great number of students in U.P. are married, then I have discovered the cause of an unhappy experience of mine. Propagation of Hindi throughout India is a special duty of U.P. When I mentioned teaching Hindi in the South I had hoped that many unmarried young men of good character, capable of sacrifice and well versed in the national language would be coming forward for this

¹ The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had referred to early marriages, the extravagant ceremonies and the custom of *Purdah*.

work. But readers will be sorry to know that U.P. was not much of a help in this work. Due to the scarcity of workers, the work of teaching the national language in other provinces, such as Bengal, Sind, Utkal, etc., had not progressed much. The reason for this is not lack of funds but lack of good workers.

The extravagant expenditure incurred during marriage is also a matter of regret. Everywhere those who have money spend lavishly, in an attempt to make a show of their wealth, and misled the poor. In this matter also the students should pledge themselves not to let their parents spend too much money on weddings. I have met the friend who has written the letter. He reminds me of Jamnalalji's example and asked me to put the same before the students and their parents. On the occasion of his daughter Kamala's wedding Jamnalalji spent hardly Rs.500. He gave no community dinner. He just invited a few friends to bless the couple. The ceremony was limited to the performance of the religious rites. There was absolutely no ostentation. Both the bride and bridegroom wore simple khadi dresses. It is the duty of every rich man to curb his vanity on such occasions and save the society from harm.

The third question is about the purdah. I have already written a lot about this evil custom. It causes harm in every way. It has been proved by experience that instead of protecting the women, the purdah causes them great mental and physical harm.

What can I write about the landlords? I do not think anyone of that class reads *Hindi Navajivan*. But since I believe that our human nature impels us towards nobility I hope the landlords will follow the example of the samurai of Japan and living a life of simplicity and dedication, work for public welfare. But this is a mere hope. It cannot be realized by my simply mentioning it in *Hindi Navajivan*.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 12-9-1929

59. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

AGRA,
September 12, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

Your letter of the 9th I got today, the 12th. Counting the days, I think I should have got it yesterday. The fact that I got it on the 12th means that what generally happens with the letters written to people in Kathiawar is happening also with letters written to me in Agra, that is, that letters are not carried to Ahmedabad on the day on which they are posted. Send someone to the Post Office and inquire about this. For the delay in the arrival of the letters means that, though we post them in time, they remain unattended to for twenty-four hours or are held up somewhere between Sabarmati and Ahmedabad.

Surajbehn's case is somewhat difficult. You must of course have sent for the doctor. If she wishes to leave, let her. I am writing a letter to her. Please hand it over to her.

As the work becomes more systematic, the burden will become lighter. My experience is that one feels the burden not of work but of worry. A person with a well-ordered mind knows easily how much he can carry and takes up a task within the limits of his capacity, but in the eyes of others it seems much heavier than it is.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I have not revised this.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4533; also Bapuna Patro-7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, pp.126-7

60. DISCUSSION WITH WORKERS, AGRA'

September 13, 1929

Workers from Agra and the districts who were over 31 in number, met Gandhiji at his residence in an informal gathering..."It is so late in the day and we have so few trained workers for khadi work; what can we do?"they bitterly complained to Gandhiji. Gandhiji, as he proceeded to lay bare his grief to them sharply retorted:

¹ This appeared under the title "The U.P. Tour II".

Whose fault? By the sheer strength of its size and numbers the U.P. can dictate terms to the whole of India. What is then the meaning of this helplessness which I see before me? A Kripalani from Sind can today come and create in your midst a splendred field for khadi work. Round about you is the spectre of starvation and want. Look how people are dying on all sides without anyone to give them even a decent cremation. You have an unlimited opporutnity for khadi work before you, if only you knew how to use it. If you believe that the cure for starvation lies in khadi, you will not mind whether you are many or whether you are few. You will forge ahead with your work in the fulness of faith without flagging or looking back. In things like this it is the quality of work that tells in the long run.

After reciting his South African experiences he proceeded:

You say you have the workers, but I make you a sporting offer. I am prepared to place all my present companions at your disposal. They know carding and spinning. I shall shift for myself without their services, if you think that you need them for teaching you spinning and carding....

“If we send all our best workers into khadi work,”they objected, “it would either mean a complete paralysis of our political activity, or if with the khadi work they carry on their political activity, the latter will jeopardize the former, as in the event of their arrest their khadi work would come to a standstill and the public would lose confidence in the movement.”

That shows that you have not yet learnt the A.B.C. of the soldier's art. A soldier never worries as to what shall happen to his work after him, but thinks only of the immediate duty in front of him. Garibaldi never thought about his crops, when he left his farm and his plough in response to the call of duty. General Smuts never paused tothink of his splendid practice at the bar or of his still more precious farm when he joined the fight. Botha had a flock of 40 thousand sheep. They did not worry him when he plunged into the life-and-death struggle. Neither of these great generals doubted that if their property was seized by the enemy, as in fact it was, it would only be for the time being, and was bound to be ultimately restored to them or their descendants when the fighting was over. Even so ought to be the case with khadi workers. As for the public viewing with distrust an enterprise whose conductors were liable to be marched off to jail for its cause, what is likely to happen is just the reverse. When public opinion is sufficiently roused, far from condemning the jail-going

worker, it would be the shirker who would find it morally impossible to stay outside the jail.

The last question asked by the workers was as to how they could utilize the services of their womenfolk for the movement. "By freeing them from the incubus of purdah," replied Gandhiji and proceeded to describe vividly how the backward condition of the women in the U.P. was due to her subjection by man and how she would respond the moment her disabilities in this respect were removed.

Young India, 26-9-1929

61. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

AGRA

September 13, 1929

CHI. BRIJKRISHNA,

How is it that there has been no letter from you so far? How are you keeping? Who are the persons staying at Vijapur these days? Do write to me about everything. Since the above was written I have your letter.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2364

62. SPEECH TO STUDENTS, AGRA¹

[September 13, 1929]²

Before beginning his address Gandhiji asked such students as were already married to raise their hands....A similar query about the number of khadi-wearers elicited the fact that hardly a dozen from that vast audience wore khadi...

I am not prepared to hear this confession of incapacity from students.³ All your scholarship, all your study of Shakespeare and Wordsworth would be vain if at the same time you do not build your character, and attain mastery over your thoughts and actions. When you have attained self-mastery and learnt to control your passions you will not utter notes of despair. You cannot give your hearts and

¹ To students of Agra College and St. John's college at Neston Hall, Agra College. This appeared under the title "The U.P.Tour".

² From *The Leader*, 16-9-1929

³ The students of one of the colleges had confessed, in their address, their inability to put into practice Gandhiji's ideals although they believed in them.

profess poverty of action. To give one's heart is to give all. You must, to start with, have hearts to give. And this you can do if you will cultivate them.

But what is it instead that we find today? The students in the U.P. today get married, not under compulsion from the parents, I am told, but out of their own insistent desire. During student days you are expected not to dissipate energy but to conserve it. I observe that over 50 per cent of you are married; If your will make the best of a bad job, you will in spite of your marriage put a severe restraint upon your passions and lead whilst you are prosecuting your studies a life of pure brahmacharya. And you will find that at the end of your studies you are all the better for that restraint, physically, mentally and spiritually. Do not by any means consider that I am presenting to you something that is utterly impossible of execution. The cult of those who, though they may be married, are exercising perfect self-restraint on themselves, is increasing with much profit to themselves and to the general benefit of mankind. To those who are unmarried I would appeal to resist temptation. After all we are a slave nation struggling to break asunder the fetters that keep us in that condition. Surely you at least should realize the sinfulness of bringing slave children into the world. Many young men from various colleges, not excluding your own, write to me pathetic letters asking me to tell them how they can get rid of their mental weakness. I have suggested to them the age-old prescription. They will no longer feel helpless if they will seek the help of God through all their weakness. The same friend that told me about the marriage evil also complained to me that students were guilty of involving their parents in extravagant expenditure on marriage ceremonies. Surely, marriage, you ought to know, is a sacrament and ought not to carry any expenditure with it. If those who have money will not curb the desire to spend it on feasting and revelry, the poor people will want to copy them and incur debts in so doing. You will, if you are brave, rise in revolt against any extravagant expenditure when you are ready to be married.

Coming to the subject of khadi Gandhiji said he was not ashamed to be called khadi-mad, and those who invited him to address them must be prepared to listen to his message of madness. As he was coming over he was shown from a distance the hostels which they were occupying. They looked like palaces to him. If the students were not selfish they would wish every son and daughter of India to live even as they were living. But they knew full well that such a thing was impossible of fulfilment for

many a generation yet to come, in a country which was known to have atleast ten crores of its population going without a full meal per day. If they believed in this statement which they could verify for themselves, if they explored the village conditions of India, they would one and all identify themselves somewhat with their starving countrymen by adopting khadi.

Young India, 19-9-1929

63. LETTER TO ALLEN MELTON¹

CAMP AGRA,
September 14, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. My message to the Christians would be to cultivate humility instead of arrogating to themselves the exclusive possession of absolute truth.

The only way I know of bringing about better understanding between different peoples is to treat all as of ourselves.

Yours sincerely,

ALLEN MELTON, ESQ.

PRESIDENT, WORLD FELLOWSHIP COUNCIL, DALLAS, TEXAS

From a photostat: S.N. 15239

64. LETTER TO A. K. BHAGWAT

CAMP AGRA,
September 14, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your full letter. If unfired food requires the extraordinary precautions that you suggest it is surely worse than cooked food for in practice nobody can guarantee absolute prevention of contamination. What I have hitherto understood was that uncooked food did not become contaminated so rapidly as cooked food. However I value the hints that you have given me. They would be serviceable in future experiments I may make.

Yours sincerely,

DR. A. K. BHAGWAT

C/O SHRIMATI PANT PRATINIDHI, OUNDH STATE, DT. SATARA

From a photostat: S.N. 15522

¹ In reply to his letter dated July 30, 1928, asking for a “heart-felt message to the people who call themselves Christians”, and to offer “suggestions to bring about a better understanding between people of foreign birth and those who are natives”.

65. *LETTER TO BALKRISHNA SHUKLA*

CAMP AGRA,
September 14, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I have no notion of the date of my arrival in Unao nor do I know that Unao is included in the programme. Will you please correspond with the Secretary of the Reception Committee?

Yours sincerely,

SHRI BALKRISHNA SHUKLA
CHAIRMAN, DISTRICT BOARD, UNAO

From a microfilm: S.N. 15525.

66. *LETTER TO A. A. PAUL*

CAMP AGRA,
September 14, 1929

MY DEAR RAJAN,

I was glad to hear from you after such a long time. I see you are making steady progress. I am afraid that I have not been able to give you the thing I thought I might be able to give you.

Yours sincerely,

A. A. PAUL, ESQ.
FEDERATION OF INTERNATIONAL FELLOWSHIPS
"MAITRI", KILPAUK
MADRAS

From a photostat: S.N. 15526

67. *LETTER TO KEDAR*

CAMP AGRA,
September 14, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. You were certainly right in bringing Prof. Higginbottom's statement to my notice. Nothing now remains to be done.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI KEDAR
AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE
ALLAHABAD

From a photostat: S.N. 15533

68. *LETTER TO T. R. SANJIVI*

CAMP AGRA,
September 14, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter of the 7th instant. Also a copy of the Kalpaka¹. As you know I rarely mention any books in the columns of Young India except those dealing with the things I am working for.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI T. R. SANJIVI
PRESIDENT, THE LATENT LIGHT CULTURE
TINNEVELY (S. INDIA)

From a microfilm: S.N. 15535

¹ An English monthly published by the addressee

69. LETTER TO JAGANNATH AGGARWAL

CAMP AGRA,
September 14, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

You can see me on thursday next at 3 p.m.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI JAGANNATH AGGARWAL
HEAD MASTER, R. K. HIGH SCHOOL
JAGRAON

From a microfilm: S.N. 15539

70. LETTER TO SECRETARY, G.I.P. RAILWAY UNION

CAMP AGRA,
September 14, 1929

THE SECRETARY
G.I.P. RLY. UNION, BHOPAL

DEAR FRIEND,

I have read your address. It was impossible for me to do anything during my brief sojourn at Bhopal. I suggest your adopting the usual method of writing to the Central Union and asking its guidance.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 15552

71. LETTER TO NIRANJAN PATNAIK

CAMP AGRA,
September 14, 1929

MY DEAR NIRANJAN BABU,

I have your letter. I cannot now recall the exact words I used. All I know is that I had nothing unflattering to say about Satis Babu that I could not mention to him. My advice for future guidance is never to repeat the words of another person without having them confirmed by him when those words are likely to be in the nature of an adverse criticism of any person who is not present at such conversation.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI NIRANJAN PATNAIK
BERHANPORE, B.N. RLY.
(DIST. GANJAM)

From a photostat: S.N. 15553

72. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA MUKHERJEE

CAMP AGRA,
September 14, 1929

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I expected a letter from you after your telegram but I have nothing so far. But I have heard today from Rajendra Babu that Krishandas has not received my letter which I wrote to him immediately on receipt of his. Fortunately Pyarelal kept a copy of that letter. I therefore send it to you as I have no other address before me for Krishnadas. Rajendra Babu also says that Ram Binod has not

received my letter but I had a telegram from him yesterday saying that he had my letter. Your telegram I may mention was, owing to the stupid blunders at the receiving station, almost indecipherable but I could gather the meaning.

I hope you are keeping well. Jawaharlal has left for me shorthand assistance of which I am taking advantage and giving my hand and body a little more rest which I am supposed to be taking here in Agra for seven days before proceeding further. Not that there is now anything wrong with me except weakness.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI SATIS CHANDRA MUKHERJEE
C/O SHRI SATIS CHANDRA GUHA
DARBHANGA

From a microfilm: S.N. 15554

73. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

AGRA,

September 14, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I could not dictate a reply to your letter yesterday, for I had to leave at 3 o'clock to go to a village 25 miles away.

Disputes like the one over the exhibition will arise frequently. As you bear them in patience, you will become seasoned. Do not lose heart and, so long as you have not lost heart, do not give up the captainship. When you lose self-confidence, do not hesitate to give it up. Always bear in mind the distinction between the mind's imperfection or unsteadiness and its impurity. Against the latter, you should even force yourself to employ non-co-operation; the former, however, will remain with us for ever. Even the greatest sages have not been able to overcome them; who are we, then? Bhai Madhavlal has written about this case. Since he has requested a personal reply, I have

sealed the cover and enclosed it with this. But I hope that he will show the letter to all. Even if he does not, I have nothing to write to you about. You should go on working patiently as circumstances require. There is God above to protect us and to shape the result; why then should we worry?

I have written to Karsandas about Surajbehn. You should also write to me from time to time and convey to me the impression which you form. I have sent to him your earlier letter and also Gangabehn's. It is our duty as friends to inform Karsandas about the result of our test of Surajbehn.

Have you carried out the measures which I had suggested for cleaning up the goshala? Is there any change in the quality of the water after the cleaning of the well? Do they now make the bread of the right quality?

Krishnadas arrived yesterday. I have sent a wire today saying that Chhotelal should be sent here. When he arrives, I will send both to Almora. It seems advisable for the present to put both of them in Uttamchand's place. The difficulty from that side will then disappear. I do not see much change on Krishnadas's face, and he tells me that Chhotelal's health is not at all good.

Mahadevprasad had written some criticism about the goshala; it is with Surendra. We should think over it. Introduce immediately as many reforms as possible.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5434; also Bapuna Patro—7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, pp. 127-8

74. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

AGRA,
September 14, 1929

CHI. NARANDAS,

May you prosper in the new year which you are entering. May your firmness of mind increase and your spirit of self-sacrifice become stronger.

If the women in the women's ward keep attending a day will also come when they will pay attention. We may try to impart to them the best we can and remain content with the effort.

I write to Bhansali from time to time, as you suggest. If you think it necessary for someone to go to Rajkot, do remember Santok's name.

Jamnadas seems to have neglected his eczema. It is the easiest thing to cure. That it has developed into a boil is a sign of utter carelessness.

What is Purushottam's weight these days? Has the tongue become clear? Has the constipation disappeared? What food does he eat?

Ba sends her blessings.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro —9: *Shri Narandas Gandhine*, Pt. I, pp. 54-5

75. A LETTER

September 14, 1929

Let us not give up all hopes of our Muslim sisters. If we try to reason with them whenever occasion arises, some at least will respond. Everything can be done with love. . . .¹ The expenditure there should be managed in the same way as in the Ashram. That is the only ethical course. So long as a public worker has any money of his own, it will not be ethical for him to take a single pie from a philanthropic fund.

From a copy of the Gujarati: Kusumbehn Desai's Diary. S.N. 32578|12

¹ Omission as in the source

76. A LETTER

AGRA,

September 14, 1929

I cannot give a satisfactory reply to your letter from this distance. I must know many more details. But some points can be clarified. A wrong should never be concealed. If there has been a lapse, it should be immediately made public. This applies particularly to a trustee. It is quite easy thus to lay down a principle. But so long as the erring person who is expected to confess is not able to see his error, the difficulties of such a problem multiply no end. Nobody can be forced to repent his error. Nobody will, or should, till he sincerely sees his error. Take, for instance, my attitude in the case of the calf. People could have lovingly tried to show me my error. But what was the use of attacking me? If it failed to make me see my error, may not the same be true in this case? But I must be fully acquainted with all the facts to know whether it is so. However, where do I have the time for that? And how can it be done through correspondence? I therefore wish to show another and easier way. The duty of ahimsa arose from the imperfections of man. Ahimsa means forgiveness, which in turn means generosity. We should try to be generous to the guilty. This is very necessary in the management of institutions. Where there is generosity there will be patience.

From a copy of the Gujarati: Kusumbehn Desai's Diary S.N. 32578/11

77. LETTER TO RANCHHODLAL

AGRA,

September 14, 1929

CHI. RANCHHODLAL,

The desire for more and more of everything is not confined to the labourers but has spread in the whole society. The labourers have only been infected by the example of those considered affluent. The argument that labourers should be given higher wages only if they reform their lives and use the increase in wages for improving themselves is like the condition that we can get swaraj only if we reform ourselves. The only relevant consideration for deciding whether the labourers should get more is whether what they are

getting at present is enough for their subsistence. If it is not, they must get more. It is for their servants, that is, the Majoor Mahajan, to see that the increased wages are used well by the labourers. I may not have told you, but I am trying to do something exactly like that. If the arbitrators recommend building of houses for labourers in lieu of cash increase in wages, personally I would sign the award.¹ I know that this would lead to many complications. The house assigned to a worker should in the end become his own property. But once the mill-owners become servants of the workers, all complications will automatically be resolved.

Now for an ideal mill:

It will take ages for our workers to be able to run an ideal mill. Why do you think it a futile hope that an unselfish capitalist may set up an ideal mill? Cadbury has opened an ideal factory. Lever Brothers have built an ideal settlement for their workers. Some such effort has also been definitely made by Narottamdas at Sholapur. Tata certainly laid the foundation of such a settlement at Jamshedpur. It is unfortunate that the person who laid that foundation is no more.

Your own effort, even if it be on the very smallest scale is in the same direction. If the mill-owners and the workers are not to be permanent enemies of each other, ideal capitalists have got to arise. I think it to be quite easily practicable. The beginning may be gradual. We can discuss this further when we meet.

From a copy of the Gujarati: Kusumbehn Desai's Diary. S.N. 32578/13

78. *LETTER TO PRABHUDAS GANDHI*

AGRA,
September 14, 1929

CHI. PRABHUDAS,

There can be no comparison between Godhra and Tadikhet. Mama's² complaint is meaningless, but I understand Kakasaheb's inability to find a Principal. Krishnadas arrived yesterday. I have

¹ Gandhiji and Sheth Mangaldas had been appointed arbitrators in the dispute between the Labour Union and the Mill-owners' Associations; *vide* "Letter to Gordhanbhai I. Patel", 8-8-1929 and "Note on Dispute Between Mill-Owners and Workers", 7-9-1929

² V.L. Phadke, who ran an Ashram in Godhra for the aboriginal tribes of the Panchmahal District

wired Chhotelal today to come over. I am thinking of putting both of them there and thereby release Uttamchand. If the Kashi Vidyapeeth can send over a Principal, I would immediately free myself, but that seems to be beyond its capacity for the present.

Your weight must increase and it will, if you are not worrying. But you must in no case let your health deteriorate in the attempt to increase your weight. Moreover, it has been our experience that our health does not necessarily improve with increase in weight.

Blessings from

BAPU

SHRI PRABHUDAS GANDHI

GUJARAT VIDYAPEETH

AHMEDABAD

B.B. & C. I. RLY.

From the Gujarati Original: S.N. 33001

79. NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

A national school, judged from the point of view of size and influence, may be likened to a she-goat while the Government schools are like a lion. A lion is far far stronger than the goat; one lion may make short work of a multitude of goats. Is it not then rank folly to talk of national schools or to hope that they can withstand all competition and grow? Only those who are devoid of the capacity to think or can think only superficially will speak like that. But the lovers of national education should not, on that account, feel defeated or dismayed.

There can be no comparison between a national school and a Government school. There can be no proper appreciation of the importance of a national school until the spirit of nationalism is fully developed...thus leading to an understanding of its merits. It is necessary to understand the distinctive characteristic of a national school. It is this: In the national school the first lesson is that of love and service of the motherland; of sacrificing oneself for the sake of the country. In the Government school, love for the country is subordinate to loyalty to the foreign rule. Who does not know that when there is a conflict between the two, the Government school teaches its students to align themselves on the side of the protection of

the foreign regime? Therefore, those who have in their heart the love of the country will prefer the cottage of the national school to the palace of the Government school. Is there a man who will give preference to the slavery of a prison-house even though it may provide all physical comforts and have the appearance of a big palace...over the freedom of his dilapidated cottage? Had we not forgotten this decisive difference between the two, blinded by our selfishness and attachment to false glitter, the national schools, far from suffering from want of an adequate number of students in them, would have been full, and the rich would have vied with one another in setting up good buildings for these institutions. Be that as it may, even though the national school has to meet underneath a tree, even though it has only a handful of boys, our teachers should never lose their faith.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 15-9-1929

80. THE BLIND IN INDIA

In Tardeo, Bombay, there is a home for the blind. Shri Hariprasad Chhatrapati is in charge of it and the osteopath Mr. Behramji Khambhatta and his wife take interest in it. We are all more or less familiar with three categories of blind persons. The first category suffer from the blindness of ignorance. No one has been able to ascertain their number. We may perhaps not be able to recognize this type of blindness; however, it is much worse than physical blindness. The second category of blind people are those who suffer from the pangs of hunger. Their number can be ascertained. It has been set down as not less than one hundred million. Although they can see, they are blind as their eyes have lost all lustre. Eyes set in a wax model can be mechanically operated, but they do not see. Similarly, although the pupils of the eyes of these hundred million people do function, they have lost their vision. As I am all the time absorbed in serving these blind persons, I have been indifferent to those others who are physically blind.

Shri Khambhatta's love, however, dragged me to Bombay to serve for a short while this last category of persons in whatever small way I could. The third function that I had to attend on the 7th was to

preside over a meeting held at the Vanita Vishram in aid of the above-mentioned Home.¹

The sum and substance of the literature published by this institution and the speech delivered by Shri Chhatrapati is that there are 15,00,000 blind persons in India. Of course, about 70% would recover their sight if they received treatment in time. This is the figure for those who are blind in both eyes. The number of those who are blind of one eye amounts to 21/2 times the above number. It appears that every blind person living in Bombay receives on an average Rs. 5 per day from kind-hearted but indiscreet people living in that city. However, the whole of this amount does not reach the blind persons. Their hired servants who guide them along take away the major share of it.

Those who run this institution are making an attempt to improve this unfortunate situation. There are blind people everywhere in the world. The benevolent people and researchers of the West have done much work in this matter. In the United States of America one finds the maximum propaganda of this sort of compassion. The recent attempts that are being made in India are a feeble imitation of this. In that country, there are many schools for the blind, trained teachers and a famous, well educated woman like Helen Keller has been able to come up whose books are read with affection by the people. That is to say, the blind there, instead of becoming a burden on others, ultimately get engaged in various kinds of trades and earn their living.

The blind people who had been trained at Tardeo were brought to the meeting. They sang songs. One of them played on the harmonium, another played on the drums, while yet another read out from a book written in Braille. Others demonstrated their ability to write. One person threaded a needle. The canework done by them was also exhibited.

The demands of this institution are as follows:

1. The rich should contribute funds for running it.
2. None should give alms to the blind; instead, if the money is sent to the above institution, they will be looked after and treatment given to them, if possible, to restore their sight.

¹ *Vide* "Four Functions", 12-9-1929

3. The whole or part of the amount thus saved by not giving alms should be paid by generous people to the above institution.

4. Those who have no money to spare but feel concern for such handicapped persons should reason patiently with them and send them to this institution where they will be examined.

If genuine sentiment for swaraj has been generated in us, even the blind would start deriving some solace from it. It is not necessary to wait for swaraj in order to remove their miseries. Even before the sun of swaraj has risen fully, its light and its comfort will surely spread all round. No time or energy is wasted in putting my suggestions into practice. The sentiment for swaraj implies the same enthusiasm for the liberation of all the blind, crippled, dumb, half-starved persons, orphans and all those who are miserable in this country as one has for oneself. Anyone who has suffered such a change of heart will not miss a single opportunity of serving those who suffer.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 15-9-1929

81. MARRIAGE AND ITS RITES

I had carried on correspondence with a dear friend on this subject and of these letters, I had carefully set aside one. I present to the reader today its main part:¹

This is not a letter, but an article worth reflecting upon. I agree with the larger portion of it. There may be a difference of opinion regarding two ideas. I use the words “may be” as very often when there is agreement, people appear to differ owing to a difference in the points of view.

I do not feel that the sentiment about bringing forth children should necessarily be there in marriage. I have today before me instances in which a man and a woman have been united in wedlock

¹ This extract is not translated here. The correspondent had suggested that certain additions be made to the marriage vow of the Hindus as the Shastras had declared that if a man did not have a son he would not enter heaven. He also pleaded that the *saptapadi* should not be interpreted merely spiritually. *Saptapadi* are the seven steps a Hindu bride and bridegroom walk together, making at the same time promises of mutual fidelity and devotion, after which the marriage becomes legally complete.

despite the absence of any sexual desire or the desire to bring forth children. Olive Shreiner had such a relationship; there is a couple¹ in Austria whose relationship today is of such a kind and was also like that from the very outset. There is another couple which was not guided at all by this sentiment when it entered into this relationship, but later on, as a result of this relationship, they did have children. They did not regard this result as an auspicious one. They put this result to good use after it had already materialized. They took the warning and, insisting upon leading a life of self-control, restricted themselves to having only two children. I know of such Indian women who have got married merely in order to avoid being censured by the world or feeling helpless and seeking the protection offered by men. There are many widowers who look for a companion only in order to run their household and look after their children by the previous marriage. At present the course of the lives of those who practise self-control contradicts the belief that marriage and begetting of children are one and the same thing. There is no need to conclude hastily that begetting children is indeed there at the root of the union of the two sexes. Why cannot the purity of conjugal love imply the supreme striving towards the unity of all living beings? Cannot that which appears to be an impossibility today become possible tomorrow? Can there be any limits to self-control? Let us not set any restriction to higher states to which a human being can reach, by looking at the example of creatures other than human beings.

If it is desirable to put an end to the sexual relationship between man and woman after five years, will it not be desirable to eliminate this relationship from the very beginning? If thereby there will be fewer marriages, it does not matter; even if there will be fewer marriages of that type it does not matter either. To show the practicability of my idea even a single example of purity is sufficient. Although Jaya and Jayant may be living in the poet Nanalal's imagination today, why may they not become realities tomorrow?

However, the important thing that fills my mind right now relates to something else. The sentiment about begetting children should certainly not find a place in the vows of *saptapadi*. Why should there be a vow for something which is going to take place if no

¹ Frederic and Francisca Standenath, *vide* "Letter to C. F. Andrews", 12-10-1928

attempt is made against it? Although we may not regard the begetting of children as our duty, it is something that is bound to continue to happen. Hence if there is a vow relating to it, it should run somewhat as follows: 'Even if we enjoy sexual pleasures, they will not be an end in themselves, but only to beget children if we are fit to bring them up.' The reader will see that this vow and the one taken for the sake of begetting children are poles apart, as the north is from the south. Is there anyone who is ignorant of the harmful practices that are being daily carried on because of the desire for a son in Hindu society as a result of the vow concerning the begetting of children?

We can readily visualize an age when people will find it necessary to regard the begetting of children as the primary object of marriage. Such an age prevails in France today. There in order to gratify freely their sexual desire, the people have artificial methods of preventing conception. Hence the number of deaths now exceeds that of births. Therefore the dharma of begetting children is now being taught there! When in times of war, the men on both sides are slain, not only does the dharma of begetting children become essential, but it is also regarded as the dharma of each man to marry more than one wife. It is obvious that the roots of both these examples are corrupt. In the first case, there was an excess of indulgence in sexual pleasure, while in the second instance, human violence had reached its zenith. The result that followed from this was inevitable. Hence despite the fact that it was irreligious in that particular age, it came to be known as something religious. Dharma is and always was as follows: 'You shall now be destroyed as you have over-indulged yourselves in sexual pleasures; you have proved to be worse than beasts, you have slain one another, let those who survive be destroyed now.' The welfare of the world lies in the destruction of such peoples as it involves a direct reaping of the fruit of one's own actions. The *Bhagavad Gita* asserts the same thing. The author of the *Mahabharata* has also depicted the destruction of the handful of persons who survived at the end.

Now that we find that there are many good uses to which marriage can be put, let us accept them as our objectives and let the begetting of children depend upon our natural inclinations. This is what I find to be desirable and essential. What people should resolve on is service, it is only through helplessness that they should gratify their sexual desires.

Now to turn to the meaning of the ceremony. I have no hesitation in declaring that an interpretation which has been arrived at by doing violence to truth is to be wholly shunned. However, in a case where after considering the context a new but desirable interpretation can be construed, it is right to do so. And it is our duty to do so. People will continue to put right or wrong interpretations in cases where the meaning has not been previously determined. Together with the moral elevation of the people, there is bound to be an improvement of their means of communication. As language is the most important vehicle of their mutual relationship, it will continue to develop. And this will take place in two ways ... by the formation of new words and new sentences and by giving new interpretation to them. It is a matter of discretion to decide what is proper at a particular time and under what circumstances it is possible to accept it. No principle is involved in this. Meanings that have been deduced with discrimination are bound to appear beautiful. There is only one stipulation; truth must not be sacrificed at any point.

I have not considered here where and what kind of changes should be instituted in the *mantras* of *saptapadi*. This is because it will be easy to take a decision regarding the ceremony once we clarify in our minds the two basic issues.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 15-9-1929

82. MY NOTES

SERVICE TO WOMEN

Whenever I happen to go to Bomaby, the men and women of Bomaby refuse to leave me alone. A large gathering of men and women always assembles at Mani Bhuvan. However, on this occasion, on the 7th, when I passed through Bombay on my way to Bhopal, four functions were arranged. Two of these were held at Vile Parle and the other two in the heart of the city itself. The first of these was the laying of the foundation-stone of an Ashram for the benefit of women.

Shri Karsandas Chitalia has been the guiding spirit behind this. He had been dreaming of such an Ashram every day. He has always had his eyes fixed on Surajbehn and other women. Unfortunately, the former has become a widow. One way to make her forget her

widowhood was to get her fully occupied in the task of serving women and make her forget her own sorrow. Shrimati Ramabai Ranade and such other distinguished women have kept this ideal alive. Shri Karsandas has a unique faith in Surajbehn. Although she has had no education, she has a very soft heart and has always been enthusiastic about serving women. However, I believe that she has yet to train herself. Shri Karsandas is of opinion that regardless of whether she has received any training or not, if once a small building is built for her, she will train herself as she is kind-hearted and will be at peace with herself if she throws herself whole-heartedly into the work. Other women too will do likewise. I see haste and impatience in this. I feel that as soon as women become ready, a building will surely be ready for them. It is necessary to prepare the temple of one's heart before preparing structure of brick and mortar. Once the former is achieved, the rest will certainly follow. If this is not done, other things even if present, are useless, and very often difficulties crop up in the way of getting them or fraudulent practices have to be resorted to for that purpose. Today there are buildings in which only crows live. There are others which put the name 'Ashram' to shame, where self-interest rather than the ideal of welfare, immortality rather than morality reigns.

However, I am a humble creature who is a slave of love. I am bewitched by Shri Karsandas's simple-minded devotion. Ten years ago, due to his and Shrimati Jaiji Petit's efforts I had received a purse of Rs. 25,000 on behalf of the Bhagini Samaj. Ever since then I was determined to make use of that amount for the service of women alone and in using it to seek the advice of this lady and this gentleman. Shri Karsandas had collected some funds for this Ashram, while a portion of the amount was donated by Surajbehn. That was not sufficient to start an Ashram. Hence, at the suggestion of Shri Karsandas, I decided to make use of that sum in order to make up the needed amount. Not resting satisfied with this, Shri Karsandas insisted upon my laying the foundation-stone of the building. Hence yielding to his insistence, I have performed this ceremony. Now I hope and pray that those women on whom Shri Karsandas is relying will justify his faith in them. A trust is being formed and a constitution is being drafted for the Ashram. Hence all precautions dictated by practical common sense are being and will be taken in order to safeguard its objectives.

As a matter of fact, service to women can be rendered only by other women coming forward to serve. Women ought to learn to live together, to work together, to tolerate one another's temperamental differences, to think independently and to put these thoughts into action with courage and determination and to put up with hardships. Women have a far greater capacity for renunciation than men. However, the women of India have not developed a viewpoint that enables them to look beyond the narrow limits of the family. One of the aims of this Ashram is certainly to remedy this drawback.

NATIONAL SCHOOLS

After having performed the ceremony of laying the foundation-stone of Stri-seva Ashram, I had to perform the inauguration ceremony of the Udyoga Mandir and the khadi exhibition of the national school in Vile Parle which has been recognized by the Vidyapith. This school continues to survive amidst many adversities, because of the determination and steadfast devotion of Shri Gokulbhai and other workers. It has been brought over to Vile Parle in order to reduce expenses and at present Shri Kishorelal Mashruwala is the guiding spirit behind it. Attempts are being made in this school to give crafts a primary place in actual practice and the spinning-wheel and khadi have the place of prime importance among these crafts. It is in this connection that a hall was required. It is now ready and a small khadi exhibition has been arranged in it.

How can one compare this lamb to the tiger-like government schools? Considering the law in accordance with which a single tiger devours several lambs, large as well small, is there no limit to the stupidity of those who are fascinated by the idea of running national schools? Perhaps a person who lacks discretion and thinks superficially may say so. There is no reason for the protagonists of national education to feel defeated or scared because of this.

There can be no comparison at all between national schools and government schools. There cannot be full appreciation of the former so long as the spirit of nationalism is not fully felt and so long as its merits are not fully understood. But why should, for that reason, those who understand nationalism doubt their own conviction? It is necessary to understand the distinctive feature of a national school. It is this: the first and last lesson in it is one of patriotism, national service and sacrifice for the sake of the country. In a government school, patriotism comes after loyalty to foreign rule. Who does not

know that when a conflict arises between the two, the lesson of loyalty to the foreign government is taught? Hence those who are devoted nationalists will prefer the hut of a national school to the palace of a government school. Who would prefer subservience in a gorgeous, comfortable prison to freedom in one's own leaking and dilapidated hut? If, as a result of our craze and our inherent selfishness, we had not wiped out this decisive distinction between government schools and national schools today, the latter would have been overflowing with pupils instead of having a handful of them, and wealthy people would have been vying with one another to build beautiful buildings for these. However, although national schools may have to be run under the shade of a banyan tree, although only a handful of children may attend them, let nationalist teachers never lose their faith. I believe that the school in Vile Parle is of this type and hence I regarded myself as fortunate in having visited it.

NEW BUILDING FOR KHADI BHANDAR

The Khadi Bhandar of the All-India Spinners' Association in Bombay is a symbol of the progress of khadi and a measure of Shri Vithaldas Jerajani's love for it. From the standpoint of swaraj the progress made by this Bhandar may well appear to be very slight. However, viewing it as a store, its progress may be regarded as good. From a small building it moved to a somewhat large one and when even this was found to be inadequate, it has been shifted to a new and still larger building at No. 396 Kalbadevi. A visit to this new place was the fourth function on the 7th.¹ What a contrast between the coarse variety of khadi produced at its inception... to persons crazy about khadi like myself that would appear to be beautiful even today... and the 1660 varieties and textures being produced today! What a contrast between the swaraj flag made then and the woolen khadi flag made today with permanent dyes! But let me give below the account of this progress which was written down in a beautiful hand and read by Shri Jerajani:²

The original bhandar was opened in January 1920 in the Morarji Gokuldas Market. The sales during six months in that year amounted to Rs. 28,276. Last year, they amounted to Rs. 3,97,282. The total sales for seven years amount to Rs. 19,60,072. However, this

¹ *Vide* "Four Functions", 12-9-1929

² This is not translated here. It stated that about 50 persons worked in the store. 18 sections were to be opened in order to provide facilities to buyers of khadi.

is an insignificant figure considering the boycott, even the store at Kalbadevi is of no significance. This Bhandar should have its own building. If the idea of boycott really catches on, if the love of khadi runs in the blood of every Indian child, there will be a khadi bhandar in each locality in Bombay, not merely the one we have at present. The only way to generate such widespread love is for those who love khadi at the moment to continue to do so, to help this and such other bhandars, and for workers not to let their faith diminish even in the least. This Bhandar will confirm the faith of those who have it and create faith in those who do not have it.

BEGGARS FOR ANTAYAJA SERVICE

The Kathiawar Antyaja Committee has sent Shri Ramji Jutha Hirani and Shri Ramnarayan Nagardas Pathak to East Africa and other places to collect funds for their work. Shri Ramji is a worker in Vartej Antyaja Ashram and Shri Ramnarayan, a worker in the Chhaya Antyaja Ashram. The ideal thing is that the burden of such expenditure in Kathiawar should be borne by the people living in Kathiawar itself. However, today we are facing tasks with regard to which public opinion has not been sufficiently educated. There are some who regard untouchability as their dharma. In these circumstances, people who love the *Antyajas* and would serve them should hold out their hands and beg for their sake. It is in keeping with this practice that these two workers have been sent to East Africa. I hope that the Indian residents of East Africa, and especially the Gujaratis, will give them as much as they consider proper and to the best of their capacity. At present the Antyaja Committee is running three ashrams and ten schools. Approximately, 800 boys and girls are taking advantage of these. Is there any compassionate person who will not help them? I had told these gentlemen that I would notice their begging mission in the issue of the very week when they would leave. However, owing to heavy pressure of work I could not keep my promise. Had Shri Mulchand Parekh, the Secretary of the Committee, not reminded me of it, I might still have forgotten about it. I have not written this in order to justify my error but in order to confess it. We should beware of making promises to anyone, but when we do, we should promptly carry them out. As I could not do so in this instance, I beg forgiveness of these two friends and of the Antyaja Committee.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 15-9-1929

83. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

AGRA,
September 15, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

Has anything been done about Kathor? Hasmukhrai should write to me and keep me informed about Bhansali. Has his weight increased? Can he walk now without help? What does he eat? I ought to know all this. How does Marathe keep? Nathji was to go there to meet him and plead with him. It was proposed to frame rules about personal cleanliness; have they been framed? Have the roads been named at last? If they have, I have not seen the list.

I wish to remind you of a suggestion which I had made some months ago. It was that we should get the Khadi Vidyalyaya recognized by the Vidyapith and that those who pass its examination should be awarded degrees or diplomas by the latter. We have given no further thought to this matter. I think we should do so now. Discuss the matter with Shankerlal and Kaka and give effect to the suggestion. Perhaps you remember that I had gone to the extent of suggesting that even those who had passed the examination in previous years should, if they desired, be given certificates after going through a special procedure, and that the names of all such persons should be entered on our register and that of the Vidyapith. There are two or three similar matters which sometimes occur to me, but I do not recollect them at the moment.

Doctor Hariprasad must have now started the nursing class. Tell Shivabhai that in consultation with Jethlal and Appasaheb he should fully reconcile the discrepancies in the accounts to which they have drawn attention. I think that Narandas, too, does not accept Shivabhai's figures. Shivabhai should resolve the differences with all the three either through correspondence or by personal discussion. Mirabeau told me that a new method of estimating the quality of yarn had been recently introduced in the Ashram. If this is true, it should be explained both in *Navajivan* and *Young India*.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5435; also *Bapuna Patro*-7: *Shri Chhaganlal Joshine*, pp. 128-9

84. LETTER TO BANARASIDAS CHATURVEDI

AGRA,

September 15, 1929

BHAISHRI BANARASIDAS,

I have received both your letters. I shall visit Dayalbagh¹. At Firozabad I do hope to meet your father, your son and others. If Ramnarayan has already met me he did not introduce himself. I hope to meet Chiranjilal also. I trust that the loss in *Vishal Bharat*² will be made up soon enough. How is the Hindi-propagation work progressing in Bengal?

Yours,

MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2522

85. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA

September 16, 1929

CHI. GANGABEHN SENIOR,

I have your letter. Do not mind if you cannot help saying unpleasant things at the Managing Committee meetings; if you remain on it, you will get experience. One cannot learn to control anger and other weaknesses by keeping idle at home. One can do so only by trying while discharging the responsibilities one has undertaken. To run away from responsibility because one is apt to lose temper is a form of cowardice and, moreover, one will not then know whether one has learnt to control anger.

Write to me if Lakshmi has been giving trouble. I will then write to Dudabhai and he will take her away. I am happy to learn that the Dehra Dun girls have shown their merit. Surajbehn of course will take time to learn things.

Do not mind if you have started taking coffee again. You have tried your very best to give it up, but you have not succeeded. There is a limit beyond which one cannot fight one's body. Take care of your

¹ An industrial colony established at Agra by a religious sect

² A Hindi monthly edited by the addressee

health. Have no hesitation at all in taking as much milk as you think necessary.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro—6: G.S. Gangabehnne, p. 26

86. *LETTER TO ASHRAM WOMEN*

Silence Day, September 16, 1929

SISTERS,

Do not expect long letters from me for the present. I get very little time on Monday, since I have to finish the work for both *Navajivans* on that day. I must wait and see what happens as the tour progress. Though we are here only for a few days, Mirabehn has started a class for spinning and carding. Jamnabehn has brought from Bombay garments made by the women there and sells them. She is helped in this by Prabhavati, Kusum is always occupied in her work. I may be said to be in fairly good health, but I get very much annoyed if any person in our circle makes a mistake. From that I see that my body has still not become what from the body that it can control the latter whatever its physical condition might be.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3701

87. *LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI*

September 16, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I got today the mail sent by you, but I find in it no letter from you. You need not worry if occasionally you cannot write for want of time. I want you to recover your composure as early as possible. What way can I suggest to you for this? The truth is that composure is not acquired by following anyone's advice; it springs from within.

I myself am fighting with the demon of Anger these days. The moment anyone in our circle makes a mistake, this adversary Angerrides on my back. This betokens weakness of both body and mind. If the mind has become completely indifferent, in what way

can the body's weakness affect it? The reason knows this, but the heart has not felt this knowledge. One day, however, this anger is bound to leave me. My harshest attacks are on Pyarelal and Kusum. As I must win God's grace by my own effort, so also must you. Do not imagine that there is any difference between you and me...both of us have the same *atman*, and both of us have an element of the brute in us. The latter will disappear if the darkness of ignorance vanishes.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5436; also *Bapuna Patro-7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine*, p. 130

88. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

Silence Day, September 16, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL

Narandas's letter and yours were caught between other letters and so I did not see them when replying to the other letters today.¹ After the mail had been dispatched, I started reading the letters which I had read incompletely and, as I removed the clip, I saw the two letters. I was glad. I wish that your reconciliation should endure. I shall certainly be convenient if the women's work can be located in the enclosed courtyard. Gangabehn ought to have obtained my permission for starting a fast. It does not matter if she is fasting only for a day or two. I propose to send a wire about this tomorrow.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5437; also *Bapuna Patro-7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine*, pp. 130-1

89. LETTER TO ASHRAM CHILDREN

AGRA,

September 16, 1929

BIRDS OF THE BAL MANDIR,

If you do not dictate any letters to me, why should I go on writing to you? You should dictate to respected Gangabehn whatever kind of letter you may like for me. There are beautiful buildings here

¹ *Vide* the preceeding item

in Agra. I remember you when I look at those buildings. Learn from your teacher where Agra is and all about its history.

From a copy of Gujarati: Kusumbehn Desai's Diary. S.N. 32578/16

90. TELEGRAM TO UDYOGA MANDIR, SABARMATI

September 17, 1929

WIRE RESULT GANGABEHN'S FAST HER HEALTH.

BAPU

From a microfilm: S.N. 15822

91. TELEGRAM TO KHADI SHOP, SRINAGAR ¹

September 17, 1929

WIRE RECEIVED. KEEP CHHOTELAL FOR PRESENT. WHEN CAN YOU RELIEVE EARLIEST? DO YOU NOW RECEIVE LETTERS?

BAPU

From a microfilm: S.N. 15556

92. MESSAGE TO BOMBAY CHILDREN ²

AGRA

September 17, 1929

The children who live and study in Bombay ought to know that they are but a drop in the ocean of the crores of children in India. Also they must realize that a large number of these crores of Indian children are only living skeletons. If the Bombay children look upon them as their own brothers and sisters, what are they going to do for them?

With blessings of

BAPU

The Bombay Chronicle, 2-10-1929

¹ In reply to addressee's telegram dated September 16, which read: "Relieving Chhotelalji soon will disturb work considerably. Please wire" (S.N. 15555).

² Received preparatory to celebration of Gandhiji's birthday by them

93. *LETTER TO CHAIRMAN, MUNICIPAL BOARD, LUCKNOW*

CAMP AGRA,
September 17, 1929

THE CHAIRMAN
MUNICIPAL BOARD
LUCKNOW
DEAR SIR,

I have your letter. With reference to the hoisting ceremony of the national flag I take it that you have fixed the time in consultation with the Reception Committee for I am not my own master when I undertake these tours. The Reception Committees in each place regulate my movements.

Yours faithfully,

From a microfilm: S.N. 15560

94. *LETTER TO SWAMI GOVINDANAND*

CAMP AGRA,
September 17, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have just heard that you are conducting, in the name of the Congress, a khadi bhandar uncertified by the All-India Spinners' Association at which spurious khadi is sold. I have received also the specimen of a handkerchief which obviously contains mill yarn. I would like you to tell me how far there is truth in the statement brought to my notice.

Yours sincerely,

SWAMI GOVINDANAND
PRESIDENT, SIND P.C.C.
KESARI OFFICE, KARACHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 15547-a

95. *LETTER TO SECRETARY, A.I.S.A., AHMEDABAD*

CAMP AGRA,
September 17, 1929

THE SECRETARY ALL-INDIA SPINNERS' ASSOCIATION
MIRZAPUR, AHMEDABAD

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter¹ about the Khadi Bhandar run by Swami Govindanand. I have written² to him directly of which a copy is sent herewith.

Yours sincerely,

Enclosures:

From a microfilm: S.N. 15547

96. *LETTER TO ZIAUDDIN AHMAD*³

CAMP AGRA,
September 17, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter for which I thank you. I have received advice from Sabarmati that the book mentioned by you has been received there. I have a long tour in front of me and I am not likely to be at the Ashram for a long time to come. I am afraid therefore that I shall not be able to look at your book before next year.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 15530

¹ This read: "Swami Govindanand's Bhandar is not one certified by the A.I.S.A. Still it is feared that as it is run by the President, Congress Committee, difficulties may arise. . ." (S.N. 15546).

² *Vide* the preceding item.

³ In reply to his letter requesting Gandhiji to write a few words about his book, *Systems of Education* (S.N. 15529).

97. LETTER TO D. VENKATESWARLU

CAMP AGRA,
September 17, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. When you have finished your course if you are still intent on coming to the Ashram there would be no difficulty about your admission. But you will write again after next June if you are still so minded. I would, however, recommend your living the Ashram life where you are by way of preparation. And it would be advisable for you to come at first alone and after you are acclimatized and satisfied that you can lead the Ashram life, your wife can follow. I would also suggest your both learning Hindi. I presume you have a copy of the constitution of the Udyoga Mandir. If you have not you should send for one from Sabarmati.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. D. VENKATESWARLU
FINAL YEAR, GOVERNMENT TEXTILE INSTITUTE
WASHERMENPET, MADRAS

From a microfilm: S.N. 15537

98. LETTER TO K. GANESAN

CAMP AGRA,
September 17, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter and I have advice from Sabarmati that your mother's yarn¹ was safely received. Please thank her on my behalf for the value of it.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. K. GANESAN
C/O SJT. K. KUPPUSWAMI IYER, B.A., B.L.
HIGH COURT VAKIL, DINDIGUL

From a microfilm: S.N. 15543

¹ Thirty thousand yards sent as gift on Gandhiji's birthday

99. *LETTER TO M. S. ADHIKARI*

CAMP AGRA,
September 17, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter¹. I suggest your showing your scheme to someone better qualified to examine it and having more leisure for it.

Yours sincerely,

M. S. ADHIKARI
C/O MODERN HINDU HOTEL
FORT, BOMBAY

From a microfilm: S.N. 15545

100. *LETTER TO KANNOOMAL*

CAMP AGRA,
September 17, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I am sorry I could not see you when you called as I was just closing my eyes. I have now got your books for which I thank you. I do not find the price of the books of which you have sent me a list nor do I find it in the books themselves, for instance, *Sayings of Kabir* in Hindi which I have been just glancing through.

Yours sincerely,

LALA KANNOOMAL
DHOLPUR (RAJPUTANA)

From a microfilm: S.N. 15551

¹ Dated September 9, which read: "I have herewith enclosed a copy of the Rules and Regulations of a certain company in Bombay which professes to grant loans on co-operative basis at 1 per annum. . . . If the scheme can alleviate and better the present economic condition of the country, I think it is worth the trial. . . ." (S.N. 15544)

101. LETTER TO V.V. DIKSHIT

CAMP AGRA,
September 17, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter enclosing Sjt. Seshagiri Rao's letter. I suggest by way of preliminary that his machine be shown to Sjt. Narayana Raju of Ellore who knows something of spinning-wheels. If he is absolutely sure of his invention he can send it to Sabarmati for examination. If the machine is at all promising every facility will be given to him to perfect his conception. He will have to bear the cost of sending the machine and of returning it if he wants its return in the event of its being found unsatisfactory. His board and lodging will be found for him by the Udyoga Mandir in the event of his coming to Sabarmati. I am not writing separately to Sjt. Rao. Let this serve as an acknowledgment of his letter also.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. V.V. DIKSHIT

ELLORE, WEST GODAVARI DISTRICT

From a microfilm: S.N. 1558

102. LETTER TO JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM

CAMP AGRA
September 17, 1929

MY DEAR JAIRAMDAS,

I have your letter. I am sending today to Purushottamdas Tandon the covering letter. You will see in *Young India* the use I have made of some figures quoted by you in the Mysore Bulletin¹. There should be more work along this line. The very figures you have given can be still further worked out and they will show startling results. For instance the average income of 1 anna 7 pies means that the income of 11 crores who have four months in the year at least lying absolutely idle on their hands is much less than 1 anna 7 pies because the average includes the incomes of big zamindars and the fat salaries of highly placed officials as also the equally fat fees of

¹ Vide "Soe Telling Figures", 19-9-1929

doctors and lawyers. It should not be difficult for someone to work out these figures and find the average income of the 11 crores. It must be nearer 1 pie than seven. Surely, 66 crores for foreign yarn and foreign piece-goods is a wrong figure for the imports from England alone of piece-goods excluding yarn amount to nearly 60 crores. If you add to this imports of yarn from England and imports of yarn and piece-goods from Japan and Italy they are likely to be 100 crores, but this requires checking. Who has prepared these figures? Here is a copy of my itinerary revised to date.

Yours sincerely,

Enclosure 1

SJT. JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM
SECRETARY, FOREIGN-CLOTH BOYCOTT COMMITTEE
CONGRESS HOUSE
414 GIRGAUM BACK ROAD, BOMBAY

From a photostat: S.N. 15559

103. LETTER TO DESH RAJ

CAMP AGRA,
September 17, 1929

MY DEAR DESH RAJ,

Though your report on Mr. Brayne's rural work is unquestionably late I welcome it as I have been anxiously waiting for it. I am now devouring it. May I make public use of it? If you can absolutely vouch for every statement made by you it is a valuable document. It would not do to have a single statement successfully contradicted. Attempts at contradiction probably there would be but you must have chapter and verse in support of what you have said. You realize that some of your statements are most damaging. If therefore you want to revise any portion you may do so. There are some obvious slips at page 6. You say "they have got an agricultural farm of about 40 yds". I suppose you mean acres. At page 14 you say "from the last year Government sanction an annual grant of Rs.2,50,000 for the village guides". This seems to be surely an error but I cannot guess the correct figure unless it is Rs.250 or Rs.2,500. Please let me know the correct figure. But in view of these slips I would like you to revise the report and make it absolutely accurate in connection with every single detail. And I need hardly ask you to

be prompt in your reply. Please let me have your reply if possible at Lucknow where I expect to be from 27th to 30th.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 15561

104. LETTER TO JAGANNATH

CAMP AGRA,
september 17, 1929

MY DEAR JAGANNATH,

Better late than never. I have been boiling with indignation against you for being so late with the report. After your last visit to the Ashram with Tandonji I thought that I would get the report at once but you know what time it took before you could send it to me. However there is some compensation in that the report is exhaustive. I am now studying it carefully. You will find my letter¹ herewith to Desh Raj. Please send it to him. I am keeping my health as well as possible.

Yours sincerely,

Enclosure: Tour Programme²

SJT. JAGANNATH

From a microfilm: S.N. 15541

105. LETTER TO EVELYN GEDGE

CAMP AGRA,
September 17, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I am writing at once to Cornelius and I hope that the result of my correspondance will prove happy though his letter to Mr. Vergese fills me with doubt. During our conversation you wanted me not to mention your name but I think that it would be wrong not to mention your name. Cornelius ought to know the source of my information and it is better not to leave him to guess it. I hope therefore I am right in using your name. I did not gather at our

¹ *Vide* the preceding item

² Not available

conversation that you intended absolute prohibition. I return the two letters sent by you.

Yours sincerely,

Enclosures: 2

MISS EVELYN GEDGE
UNIVERSITY SETTLEMENT
VACCHANGANDHI ROAD
GAMDEVI, BOMBAY

From a microfilm: S.N. 15562

106. LETTER TO N.S. HARDIKAR¹

CAMP AGRA,
September 17, 1929

DEAR DR. HARDIKAR,

I have your letter about the flag. I am already attending to it. Your suggestion is quite good and workable. It may take a little time before the thing is in working order. I note what you say about the size. I had similar complaints from one or two other workers. I note also what you say about the fastness of colours.

Yours sincerely,

DR. N.S. HARDIKAR
HINDUSTAN SEVA DAL, HUBLI

From a photostat: S.N. 15528

107. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

CAMP AGRA,
September 17, 1929

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I have your letter about the doings of Congressmen there. What you say is too true. I am simply sitting still. I enclose Dr. Hardikar's letter. What he says about the size of the flag is, I think, quite true.

¹ In reply to his letter dated September 6, which read: ". . .as per resolution of the Calcutta Conference of the Dal in December 1928, a good number of places have been observing the monthly flag salutation function regularly at 8 a.m. on the last Sunday of every month. . . .We have been getting orders for national flags from distant places both in India and outside. . . .I shall feel highly obliged if the A.I.S.A. arranges that its provincial branches at least keep national flags of different sizes ready for sale (with the charkha on them) . . ." (S.N. 15527)

Can you prepare these flags to the standard size required by Dr. Hardikar and supply all the stores? I would like you to consult Jerajani in this matter. He has also been making experiments in flag making. He has been fairly successful. The colour must undoubtedly be fast. Jerajani has used hand-spun woollen stuff for making good flags. We might have both woollen and cotton varieties but you know best.

Herewith is Niranjana Babu's letter. In so far as his narrative means the slightest reflection upon you it is a bad narrative. There is nothing wilful in it but it shows how cautious a man has to be especially in talking to one who is nervous under a shock delivered to him. I have sent Niranjana Babu a prescription¹ for future use which you will see from the copy of the letter herewith enclosed. I have had nothing yet from Krishnadas nor from his Guruji to whom I had to write about the incident owing to a letter received from him. He sent me a long telegram apologizing for Krishandas but of course it is not the apology I need. I want an absolute clearance. Hemprabhaddevi is absolutely silent nowadays. I wonder if her silence is also due to the recent disturbances. Have you regained your weight and are you quite well now? One thing seems to me to be clear from the dietetic literature that has come under my notice, namely, that polished rice is unfit for consumption and a grain which requires so much delicate handling as rice need hardly be taken when other cereals are at hand. Wheat, milk or curds, uncooked green vegetables and fruits seem to be just now a workable proposition. That the plant world does hold an absolute substitute for milk I have no doubt but the secret is still to be found. American friends as also English friends have suggested the Soya Bean milk. I am trying to secure the Soya Bean.

Yours sincerely,

BAPU

Encls. Letter of Sjt. Niranjana Patnaik and reply

SJT. SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

KHADI PRATISHTHAN, SODEPUR

NEAR CALCUTTA

From a photostat: G.N. 1609

¹ Vide "Letter to Niranjana Patnaik", 14-9-1929

108. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

AGRA,
September 17, 1929

CHI. VASUMATI,

Once again I have had no letter from you for some time. I must get one regularly. I have sent to Chhaganlal the programme of my tour. Read that letter. I keep good health. I have not yet started eating bread, nor do I feel the need for it.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I have not revised this.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9266

109. LETTER TO G. V. MAVALANKAR

September 17, 1929

BHAISHRI MAVALANKAR,

I got your letter.

I am writing this reply in great haste. I am under the impression that the printing press valued at Rs. 20,000 was also donated. Bhai Shankerlal knows the true position. Please show the Deed to him.

Swami's name will continue. Isn't our position merely that of the parties making the Trust?

I think it necessary to continue all the new Trustees. There is of course a reason for keeping each name. I can explain it when we meet or in a letter when I get sufficient time for that.

I think I have omitted no point in this reply.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1225

110. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

AGRA,

September 17, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

If you get some time from your miscellaneous administrative work, you or Panditji or Narandas should go to Gangabehn's help. Without someone to help her, she cannot manage the women who are misbehaving. It has been proved that ... behn¹ steals. I have always felt that ...² had this defect. Everyone knows what trouble ...³ gives. ...⁴ is a careless, thoughtless and bad-mannered girl.

I think one of you should take [A]⁵ into confidence and tell him about [B]⁶. If her bad nature cannot be reformed, [A] should take her out of the Udyoga Mandir and reform her with love. He ought not to be angry with her and abandon her. In the Udyoga Mandir, however, she will not improve. Those who live in the Mandir ought to have certain virtues. If they lack them, they are likely to grow worse instead of improving there, for they will abuse the freedom which prevails in the Udyoga Mandir and, in the absence of the restrictions which exist in the outside world, they would slacken even those restraints which they used to exercise before joining the Mandir. It is also likely that [A] does not see the defects of [B] which we see. I have known few husbands who can see the shortcomings of their wives. If every husband can do this, conjugal life would probably be impossible. I would not, therefore, blame [A] if he cannot see [B's] defects. But it is clear to me as daylight that, if that is so, both of them should leave the Udyoga Mandir, for so long as he does not see her defects she will have a powerful shield in him. It is but natural that he should be partial to her so long as he does not see her defects. And so long as this goes on, [B's] interests will suffer.

In admitting married women, we do assume that we shall get the fullest co-operation from the husband and that, when we confess our

¹ The names are omitted in the source

² *ibid*

³ *ibid*

⁴ *ibid*

⁵ *ibid*

helplessness in regard to the wife, both will leave the Mandir. What applies to [B] and [A] also applies to [C]¹ and [D]².

If Lakshmi does not behave properly, Dudabhai should again take her away. This should be done every time it is necessary; in course of time, then, if it is our and her good fortune, she will learn to behave better.

I have written all this for consideration by you. Carry out as much from it as is practicable.

How is Krishnamaiyadevi behaving?

It was a narrow escape for Fulchand. But we should not always trust to similar good fortune. It is desirable to keep ready facilities of ropes, etc., near the place where children go for swimming. In any case, we should caution them from time to time.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I have not revised this.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5438; also *Bapuna Patro...* 7: *Shri Chhaganlal Joshine*, pp. 130-2

111. LETTER TO JAYANTI PAREKH

AGRA,
Septembcr 17, 1929

CHI. JAYANTI,

The time for your joining me is drawing near. I keep thinking how best to utilize the services of pupils who come from the Ashram. I am not able yet to utilize Kanti's services as fully as I would wish. One thing, however, is going on well, or, say, fairly well, and that is prayer. Kanti knows all the chapters [of the *Bhagavad Gita*] by heart. He knows by heart many *bhajans* too. And so this is going on well. Prepare yourself for the same as well as you can in the time left to you. I take it for granted that you will be able to teach spinning, carding, etc., well.

From a copy of the Gujarati: Kusumbehn Desai's Diary. S.N. 32578/19

¹ The names are omitted in the source

² *ibid*

112. LETTER TO N. R. MALKANI

CAMP AGRA,
September 18, 1929

MY DEAR MALKANI,

I have your letter. The news you give me has deeply grieved me. Swami Govindanand wrote to me asking me to bless some Congress Relief Committee he had formed. I told him I could not do so as all the moneys I could collect were to be distributed through you and you only. I see now what a fix you have found yourself in. You must now keep intact the balance of the moneys sent to you from Gujarat. If you are again free to work out relief measures independently of official interference or control, the Gujarat money will be set free. Otherwise you will return it to me. When you find that you are being exploited instead of being able to serve the people, you will wash your hands clean of the present Committee and if you cannot do relief work quietly and without stirring up dirt you will realize that the fates are against you and that they do not require your services. We hold ourselves ready to serve where our service is needed. We do not need to thrust ourselves anywhere. It is enough that we are willing. Have I made myself quite plain and understandable?

Now for Choithram¹. Jairamdas and I had a long talk about him. He is sinfully wasting his body. Why can he not, whilst there is time, give himself one whole month's rest or more if necessary and recuperate himself, and become thereby a fitter instrument for service? I think you who surround him should declare a strike and satyagraha against him and compel him to take rest. Please show this letter to him and tell me how far you have succeeded.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

PROF. NARAINDAS MALKANI
DISTRICT CONGRESS COMMITTEE OFFICE
HYDERABAD (SIND)

From a photostat: G.N. 895

¹ Dr. Choithram Gidwani

113. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

AGRA,

September 18, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I got your letter. Raojibhai's fever seems to have continued for quite a long time, but it must have gone now. I wrote to you about Narandas the day before yesterday.

Today all of us went and paid a visit to the institutions run in Dayalbagh.¹ We met their head, Sahebji Maharaj. No work on raw hides is done in these institutions. They make footwear, buying leather from elsewhere. I saw nothing in the goshala from which we could learn. the expenditure on it is very high. the institution maintains connection with the Government. It runs a college, etc., and accepts grants from the Government for the purpose. There is great cleanliness in the place. The buildings are palatial, and the roads metalled. The institution has its own guards. It employs water-pumps and has electric lights. I would not regard this as an institution of the poor and for the poor. It is certainly one which would do and bring credit to the rich. It is extremely well managed. The residents have great love for the Saheb Maharaj. Women enjoy freedom. Not only are there no caste restrictions, but their observance is actually prohibited. Marriages are deliberately arranged outside caste circles. The marriage ceremony is absolutely simple. Women are always clad in white. Except bangles and a small neckalce, all other ornaments are banned. Even those which they wear are made in Dayalbagh, and it is a rule that they must be made in Dayalbagh. The women's dress imitates the Parsi dress. They even tie a white kerchief round the head. Attendance at morning and evening prayers is compulsory, and the prayer lasts one hour in the morning and two in the evening. Sahebji Maharaj is full of enthusiasm and takes interest in all activities. Everything is done under his supervision. His aim in life is self-realization. The *satsangis* are forbidden to take part in politics. I send with this a copy of the pamphlet giving a description of the institution. More about this when we meet.

¹ A description of this appeared in *Young India*, 26-9-1929, under the title, "U. P. Tour".

There is a gentleman here named Pratapnarayan Vatal. He has had experience in the tannery of the Rewa State. He has promised to help us through correspondence in running our tannery. If he immediately initiates correspondence and writes to you, explain the position to Surendra and ask him to keep up the correspondence. I was told that he has had twenty years' experience.

If I meet Premraj's guru in Farrukhabad I will try to get acquainted with him.

Gopalrao's wound seems to have taken a rather long time to heal. But he must have returned now.

You need not do anything now about [the delay in] the post. I think the time it takes to arrive here is correct. I see that I made a mistake in counting the number of days. For a letter posted on the 13th can leave Ahmedabad earliest on the 14th. It will reach Agra on the evening of the 15th and will be delivered on the 16th. I got your letter of the 15th on the right day according to their reckoning.¹

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

Chaman Kavi writes to me and tells me that you promised to write to him daily about me but did not write and did not even reply to his letter.

Narandas had merely asked my permission in his letter. Harjivan will not let Chhotelal go away just now.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5439; also *Bapuna Patro...7: Shri Chhanganlal Joshine*, pp. 132-3

114. LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL

AGRA,

September 18, 1929

I have your letter. It is a good thing that Yashoda² is now in Ahmedabad. Her illness causes anxiety, but it is possible that she will recover with careful nursing.

If Father has arrived, tell him I expect to meet him in Lucknow on the 27th.

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Chhanganlal Joshi", 12-9-1929

² Wife of the addressee's brother

I know about [the death of] Bhai Indulal's wife. For her this is a release from pain. I am a little surprised about . . .¹ bhai. But where is the need for surprise when such things are in the air?

I enjoy good health, and live at present on milk, curds and fruit.

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro—4: Manibehn Patelne, p. 68

115. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

AGRA,

September 18, 1929

BHAI GHANSHYAMDASJI,

I got your letter of September 2. My impression is that I wrote to you during the Andhra tour to arrange for the auditing of the Bengal Congress Committee accounts.² I was hoping your auditors would agree to do the job free of charge. You may write to the Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee. I shall write to him today.³

I have had enough rest in Agra. My health is better. I am only taking goat's milk, curds and fruits. I could eat *roti* but I have not tried it. If we get some opportunity to sit down together at leisure as we had in Wardha, I would like to know your views regarding food. Because of weakness or inability, one may not be able to adopt an ideal diet and yet one may have well-considered views about it.

The sages had arrived at fairly well-founded views regarding this matter of an ideal diet but my mind does not accept that they had reached a solution which must hold good for all time to come. But as I have been unsuccessful for the time being in my experiment this subject is no longer of immediate interest.

I trust you are keeping good health. Mahadevlalji had written to me in July a letter which contained some charges against you. I drew his attention to the impropriety of it and asked his permission to pass

¹ The name is omitted in the source.

² *Vide* also "Letter to G. D. Birla", 26-8-1929

³ The letter was, however, written on September 19; *vide* "Letter to Abbas Tyabji", 1-9-1929

on the letter to you. the impropriety consisted in his not mentioning the matter to you first. In his reply he gave me permission to forward his letter to you. the letter, however, was not despatched perhaps because I was on tour or for some other reason. Meanwhile, Mahadevlal came to the Ashram. At present he is touring with Jamnalalji. He does not seem to have any selfish motive. I am sending his letter to you now. Read it t leisure and take your own time in sending the reply. And return his letter with your reply.

Yours,

MOHAN DAS

From Hindi: C.W. 6177. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

116. JUDGE'S INDICTMENT

I condense the following from a newspaper report:

It is extremely common for advocates for the defence in criminal cases to argue that the prosecution story is an entire concoction by the police, and in the vast majority of cases no evidence whatever, whether elucidated in cross-examination or offered in examination-in-chief, is ever produced in support of this argument. Now either the contention is raised on directinstructions of the client, or it is deliberately raised by counsel without any instructions from the client. In the former case the accused has aggravated the heinousness of the offence with which he is charged. In a clear case of this kind the tribunal trying the case should take this into account as a circumstance warranting an increase in the sentence. In the latter case where the legal practitioner has acted without reasonable cause he is guilty of the grossest professional misconduct. Cross examination on these lines is often grossly abused, and it is the duty of the trying judge, if he has any suspicion when an advocate begins an attack upon the prosecutor or a witness, to demand from the advocate an assurance that he has good grounds for making the suggestion. If such is not forthcoming, cross-examination on these lines should be promptly stopped. If an assurance is given, but if it appears on the termination of the trial that no such grounds had existed, the tribunal should bring the conduct of the advocate to the notice of the High

Court. I make these observations in order that a check may be placed on a growing and serious evil.

These are the remarks of the Chief Justice of the Patna High Court.

I have said enough in these columns to show that justice is practically unobtainable in the so-called courts of justice in India. But I was unprepared for a Chief Justice (assuming that he is correctly reported) becoming the framer of a gratuitous indictment against lawyers and their clients. These remarks of the Chief Justice of the Patna High Court, in my opinion, amount to a threat to the accused persons and their counsel.

If the fear of an increase in sentence or being disbarred hangs like Damocles' sword on the accused person or his counsel as the case may be, it would be impossible for either to impugn the conduct of the police. Whatever the learned Chief Justice's experience may be, the experience of the man in the street is, that in a vast number of cases the police story *is* manufactured, and the growing evil is *not* in the accused or his counsel, but it is in the police who therefore need to be checked in their excessive zeal to fasten a particular crime upon someone. The ordinary policeman is in mortal fear of degradation or dismissal, if he cannot secure convictions. It becomes therefore his interest to manufacture a case in the absence of reliable evidence. The judge therefore whose duty is to presume the innocence of every accused person coming before him would think twenty times before he puts a single obstacle in his way. Where is the lawyer who has not often felt the truth of the statement which he makes but which he is unable to prove? And even a Charles Russel will be hard put to it to demonstrate the truth that he feels within himself if for fear of being disbarred in case he fails to prove his charge, he is hampered in the course of his cross-examination or examination-in-chief? The Piggot forgeries would never have been proved but for his fiery cross-examination. A lawyer who believes in the innocence of his client, whether he is prompted by him or no, is bound, in order to discover the truth, to impugn by way of cross-examination or otherwise the prosecution story. This however is common sense and common law, but both are at a discount in India's courts of justice. When it is a question of the prestige of the Government which in its turn depends upon the prestige of the police, the judges consider it their duty to protect that prestige by turning prosecutors themselves. It is sad, but it

is true. The Chief Justice of the Patna High Court is to be congratulated upon his boldness in emphasizing the fact.

Young India, 19-9-1929

117. NOTES

ARBITRATION V. BRUTE FORCE

The Working Committee of the Congress being invited to express its opinion on the Golmuri Tinplate Workers's strike instructed the Secretary to correspond with the employers and put the correspondence before its next meeting so as to enable it to understand both sides of the question and to form an opinion. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru immediately entered into correspondence with the employers and has now prepared an elaborate note. I must not go into the merits of the strike. From the correspondence and the note I see that there are vital differences of opinion even on facts between the employers and those who represent the strikers. One thing however stands out prominently that this is a strike on the part of workers in a concern which is heavily protected at national expense. The Congress members supported the protective tariff in the full belief that the industry was a national industry, that the workers were well treated and that the industry deserved support on merits. The Congress therefore is bound to interest itself in the doings of a concern of this description. The main demands are:

1. that there should be an impartial committee of enquiry into all the grievances;
2. that there should be no victimization;
3. that the case pending in the courts against strikers for picketing, etc., be withdrawn.

Hitherto the employers appear to have ridden the high horse. They are represented by the powerful Burmah Oil Co. and Messrs Shaw Wallace and Co. They can afford to lose money to any extent. The correspondence before me shows that they are unwilling to go to arbitration, and they are relying upon the force which money and prestige can give them. The public need not worry over the intricacies of the case which is becoming complicated by the intervention of the Pathans and many other things that have happened in the course of this unusual strike. The employers seek to hide themselves behind the plea that the strike was premature. Surely at best it is but a technical

defence. Public opinion therefore should concentrate upon the reasonable demands that the men have made. They do not say that their case should be accepted by the public as such, but they ask for the public opinion in favour of the appointment of an impartial committee of enquiry into their grievances with the usual conditions as to restoration of the pre-strike position. On this there can be no two opinions. The strongest combination of employers must accept the principle of arbitration if capital and labour are even to live in peace.

WHAT IS UTOPIAN?

I have before me a report of the speech recently delivered by Acharya Kripalani before a meeting convened to protest against the resolution of the Meerut College Board regarding participation by the students and professors of the College in political meetings. Speaking on the non-co-operation programme he is reported to have said:

It has become the fashion in our days to consider the non-co-operation programme to be Utopian, but I ask you what can be more Utopian than to suppose that this country can content itself with political liberty without asserting its economic independence? What can be more Utopian than to think that we can be free without even the limited swadeshim implied in the boycott of foreign cloth and the manufacture of our own? What can be more Utopian than to expect real national workers out of those who live and move and have their being in Government schools and colleges which are in every way soulless foreign institutions? If national life means anything, there must surely be a scheme of national education wholly under national guidance and control, in tune with the past, responsive to the present and fully conscious of the country's destiny in the future. I ask again what can be more Utopian than to expect swaraj from the activities of the imitation Parliaments at Delhi and Simla and their provincial off-shoots. Were they designed for enabling India to realize her full height? They could only fulfil this purpose by destroying themselves and giving place to institutions natural to the soil and created by our own strength and initiative, not descending as doubtful gifts from our foreign masters. Take again the law-courts. I say that to expect justice from them as they are constituted today is all moonshine. Lastly, to believe that the din and noise created by a few toy-bombs and pistol shots can overthrow the organized and mailed despotism that passes muster under the name of Government is mid-summer madness that can appeal only to immature and over-emotional brains, rightly impatient of thralldom but still lacking in the exact calculation involved in solving the great national problem.

I hope that these words went home to the Acharya's audience. The students will never be able to give a good account of themselves in the struggle for freedom unless they become silent, effective, stout-hearted, self-sacrificing workers.

Young India, 19-9-1929

118. SOME TELLING FIGURES

The Foreign-Cloth Boycott Committee has collected the following facts and figures:

Foreign yarn and cloth imported	Rs. 66 crores
Total cloth consumed per head	13 yards
Villages population	29 crores
Persons dependent on agriculture	23 crores
Persons employed for part of the year	11 crores
Agricultural indebtedness of India	700 crores
Average daily income per head	1 anna 7 p.
Average daily income from spinning	1 anna
Total employees in mills, factories, workshops and industries	15 lakhs
Capital invested in textile mills	Rs. 51 crores
Persons employed in textile mills	3 4/5 lakhs
Capital invested in Khadi by A.I.S.A.	Rs. 21 lakhs
Persons employed by A.I.S.A.	1 lakhs
Cost per head of giving employment through mills	Rs. 1,328
Cost per head of giving employment through	Rs. 21
Proportion of wages for labour to cost of mill cloth	25%
Proportion of wages for labour to cost of khadi	73%

I am almost sure that the import figures given by the calculator in the Foreign-Cloth Boycott Committee's office are considerably below the total.¹ I know that that office always errs on the right side. Let us therefore take the 66 crores as the correct figure. It means a tax we are paying per head of over Rs.2 per year and it is a tax which we pay for our idleness. If the 66 crores of rupees could be kept in the country and circulated among the 11 crores who are unemployed for four months, they will then have Rs.6 added to their incomes for

¹ Vide "Letter to V. V. Dikshit", 17-9-1929

part employment during the year, a by no means insignificant addition. The service rendered by indigenous mills compared to that rendered by khadi appears too insignificant to be of any account. They can never cope with the problem of the terrible unemployment of millions of men and women and even the few labourers for whom they can find employment get only 25% of the cost of textile manufacture whereas the labourers for khadi get 73% for work done in their own cottages and without the demoralizing atmosphere that surrounds factory labour.

Young India, 19-9-1929

119. REASON v. FAITH

I said in my article “Image Worship”¹ that faith begins where reason fails. That is to say, faith is beyond reason. Many readers argued from this that if faith is beyond reason, it can only be blind. My view is just the opposite of this. That which is blind cannot be faith. If someone asserts with full conviction there are flowers in the sky the assertion cannot be considered valid. For the experience of the vast masses of people contradicts it. Belief in the existence of flowers in the sky is not faith; it is crass ignorance. Whether there are flowers in the sky is something that is amenable to rational inquiry and such an inquiry will prove the falsity of the assertion. On the contrary, when we say, “God is”, no one can prove that the proposition is false. However hard we might try through reason to disprove the existence of God, some doubt would still remain in the mind of everyone. On the other hand the experience of millions proves the existence of God. In every matter, faith must be supported by empirical knowledge. For ultimately experience is the basis of faith and everyone who has faith must at some time pass through experience. He who has faith, however, does not desire experience for true faith does not admit of doubt. This does not mean that one having faith becomes dull-witted. He whose faith is pure always has a sharp wit. His reason tells him that faith is higher than experience, that it transcends experience, that it reaches where reason cannot. The seat or reason is the mind, that of faith is the heart. It has been the uniform experience of man that the heart is a thousand times more

¹ Vide “Image Workshop”, 28-8-1929

potent than the mind. Faith makes ships sail; faith makes men do great deeds...even move mountains. None can vanquish one who has faith. The wise are always afraid of defeat. The child Prahlad was perhaps to some extent lacking in intellect but his faith was unshakable as the Meru¹ Faith does not admit of argumentation. Therefore the faith of one man is of no use to another man. One man with faith will ford a river, while another who blindly follows him will surely be drowned. That is why Krishna says in chapter XVII of the *Gita*: A man is what his faith makes him.

The faith of Tulsidas was unsurpassed. It was his faith that presented to the Hindu world a treasure like *Ramayana*. The *Ramayana* is a work filled with learning, but the effect of its learning is nothing compared to the effect of its *bhakti*. Faith and reason belong to two different spheres. Faith helps us to cultivate inner knowledge, self-knowledge, and thus leads to inner purity. Intellect helps us to acquire external knowledge, worldly knowledge, but it has no causal connection with inner purity. Men of great intellect are also sometimes the most depraved in character. But it is impossible to associate moral depravity with faith. Readers can understand from this how a child may reach the highest point in faith and yet retain intellectual balance. How to find that faith? The *Gita* and the *Ramacharitmanasa* provide the answer. It can be had through devotion, through cultivating the company of the good. Those who have had the benefit of *satsang* will have realized the truth of the saying: “What good will not *satsang* do to men?”

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 19-9-1929

120. TESTIMONIAL TO MUNSHI AJMERI

AGRA,

September 19, 1929

While in Agra I had the privilege, in an abundant measure, of enjoying the music of Bhai Ajmeriji. His melodious voice and his knowledge of Hindi and Sanskrit gave me immense joy.

MOHANDAS GANDHI

[From Hindi]

Jyotsna, Munshi Ajmeri Commemorative Issue, 1969

¹ Name of a mountain

*121. LETTER TO SECRETARY, BENGAL CONGRESS
COMMITTEE*

CAMP AGRA,
September 19, 1929

THE SECRETARY
BENGAL PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE
116 BOW BAZAR STREET
CALCUTTA
DEAR FRIEND,

As you know I have yet to report to the Working Committee about the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee. The office has been worrying to choose an auditor and send the auditor's report. I have asked Sjt. Ghanshyamdas Birla to select an auditor and send him. If he does, please give the auditor he may send the facilities he may require for auditing.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 15565

122. LETTER TO B. NARASIMHAM

CAMP AGRA,
September 19, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I would love to give you a certificate for your ink. I have invariably used it whenever it has been possible. My own experience is that it is an ink that is at least useful but the others who make use of fountain pens much more than I do tell me that it is not as serviceable as the standard foreign ink we get. I do not think that it matters that your ink might not be equal to the best so long as your ink gets the minimum use that might be required of any ink for the purpose for which it might be intended. But when it comes to a matter of issuing a certificate I have the greatest hesitation. I do not want to exaggerate and mislead the public. I therefore advise you to stand on your own merits just now. Let me use your ink freely in the Ashram for some time and when I have got universal testimony from all those who might use your ink in the Ashram I will be more free to give you a certificate than I am now. You will therefore send me a

moderate quantity from time to time of the ink that you may issue for the market and I shall see that you get reports from time to time and when I am ready to give the certificate you shall have it.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. B. NARASIMHAM
SECRETARY, GUNTUR MANDALA JATHIYA VIDYA PARISHAD
TENALI

From a micro film: S.N. 15549

123. LETTER TO L. BANARASIDAS

CAMP AGRA,
September 19, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. It is difficult for me to believe that the Servants of the People Society would not give you a hearing. I am forwarding your letter to them.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. L. BANARASIDAS, B.A.,LL.B.
MANAGER, RADHA KISHAN HIGH SCHOOL
JAGRAON

From a microfilm: S.N. 15563

124. LETTER TO BHANU PRASAD

CAMP AGRA,
September 19, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. It would certainly be much more convenient for me to see you personally before I give you any advice. I therefore accept your suggestion that you should see me when I am in Fyzabad or you may anticipate the date and try to see me at Banaras or Lucknow. I hope you are better.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. BHANU PRASAD
RAKAGUNJ
FYZABAD (AUDH)

From a microfilm: S.N. 15564

125. LETTER TO RADHA GANDHI

AGRA,

September 19, 1929

CHI. RADHA,

Nowadays I have to carry on my work mostly by dictating letters, because, if I must take rest and also attend to business, I have to dictate letters while taking meals or while spinning. How did you happen to have an attack of fever? It does not matter if Manu has left. When Santok comes, tell her to write to me in details.

I wish to solve the problem of Umiya as early as possible. It would be very good if she improves her Gujarati a little more. Write to her about it from time to time. How is Rukmini's health? Whenever you two sisters get an opportunity for service, you should acquit yourselves well and cultivate the utmost humility.

Blessings from

BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 8676. Courtesy: Radhabehn Chaudhri

126. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

AGRA,

September 19, 1929

CHI. PREMA,

I have your¹ letter. In using the singular I have yielded to my trust in you. Your lengthy reply was welcome. Sons and daughters should be satisfied if the father, busy with his work, writes only a line, but they on their part ought to pour out their hearts when writing to him.

It is of course quite true that I wish to catch anyone that walks into my net. One may be completely ruined if caught in somebody else's net. But I do not know of any person that was ruined by being caught in mine. Your request for money to pay the fare to Bomaby is right and I was happy that you made it. I have written to Chhaganbhai Joshi about it.

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro—5: Kum. Premabehn Kantakne, p. 5

¹ Gandhiji has used the pronoun in the singular.

127. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

AGRA,

September 19, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I got your letter. Read the letters on Gangabehn before passing them on, so that you may know my view. Manji has given her a real fright, whereas he ought to have offered his sympathy to her. Personally I am convinced that . . .¹ has committed theft. You know, do you not, that she had committed some thefts even in the past?

The doubt which I had expressed in a previous letter about [A]² has proved correct for the present at any rate. If he can cultivate the ability to see his wife's defects, she will cease to be a wife to him and become one among his countless sisters. This case of [A] proves to me for the thousandth time that a husband is a wonderful creature. I have said what I wished to. You may now do what you think best.

I should like you to believe firmly that your mind is not impure. You should fulfil only one condition to be entitled to hold this belief, and that is that you should not nurse impure thoughts even for a moment but fight them every time they invade your mind. The mind will always be running in all directions; our manhood and our duty lie in taming and controlling it. A person who believes that his mind is impure sometimes nurses his impurity or becomes weak. Hence, so long as we are continually battling against impurity, we should never admit that we are impure. This is worship of the truth in its purest form.

It is good indeed if Marathe now admits the failure of his experiment. In that case, however, it is necessary that he should make his experiments in the presence of all and given whatever he has to the pupils learning carpentry, that is, become a teacher. If you can politely explain this to him, try to do so. Or put it before Nathji.

You need not send money to Sind just now, for the work there is being mismanaged and Malkani's services cannot be utilized fully. He has been, much against his will, drawn into a Government Committee. I have, therefore, written to him and told him that he

¹ The names are omitted in the source.

² *ibid*

should not spend the money sent to him in the past through that committee.

You should also keep with you for the present the money received for the Assam Flood Relief Fund.

In this season of fever, everyone should drink boiled water. It would be better still if they keep the bowels light with the help of purgatives or enema, and reduce the quantity of food. If anyone has the slightest fear that he is getting fever, he should take 3 grains of quinine and 15 grains of soda bicarb in lime juice.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I have not revised this.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5440; also *Bapuna Patro...7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine*, pp. 134-6

128. LETTER TO MADHAVJI THAKKAR

AGRA,
September 19, 1929

CHI. MADHAVJI,

I had to keep aside your letter for some days. As for continuing the present diet, I think it necessary that you should get yourself examined for an assessment of the results. There is no doubt that you will regain strength. Eat only as much as you can digest. Be in no hurry about putting on weight. Certainly, it is an ideal thing to leave off business and devote yourself entirely to public work in a spirit of service to others, but this cannot be done in a hurry. You may retire from business only when you feel certain in your mind that it is quite impossible for you to stay on in business. It is absolutely necessary not to take a hasty step and have to repent later. My advice to many has been that they should begin by regarding themselves as trustees of their business, and that, while they ran it in this spirit, they should make their personal life plain and simple, maintaining themselves at the least possible expense. If a person can do this, he will feel no pain on having to give up the business altogether just as the trustee feels none on relinquishing his trust, and will find it easy and natural to

devote himself to public service. I hope you will try to carry your wife with you in your plans.

I am enclosing the programme of my tour.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6792

129. LETTER TO SURAJBEHN

September 19, 1929

CHI. SURAJBEHN,

I have your letter. You should now improve your handwriting. Surely you are not going to turn round and tell me that you cannot improve your handwriting at your age? Whatever the age, nothing is difficult for one who has determination.

From a copy of the Gujarati: Kusumbehn Desai's Diary. S.N. 32578/23

130. LETTER TO RAMDAS GANDHI¹

September 19, 1929

CHI. . . .

I had not given up hope of hearing from you. I now have your letter. I would not exactly call it a letter, but never mind the world knows from experience that when parents do not get letters from their grown-up sons, it is a sign that the latter are happy and contented. Therefore, when parents receive no letters from their children, they should feel happy rather than distressed. That is what I had assumed in your case.

From a copy of the Gujarati: Kusumbehn Desai's Diary. S.N. 32578/27

¹ The source does not mention the addressee. However, from the contents it would appear that this was addressed to Ramdas Gandhi; *vide* also "Letter to Manilal And Sushila Gandhi", 8-9-1929

131. A LETTER

September 19, 1929

I wish the marriage to take place when I arrive there in November. Do not be agitated because I dictate such a thing in an open letter. We have to give up this false sense of shame. Why should we feel ashamed of talking or writing about a thing which we are going to do with the world as witness? We lose our reason through a false sense of shame as a result of which often unhappy consequences follow.

From a copy of the Gujarati: Kusumbehn Desai's Diary. S.N. 32578/24

132. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

MAINPURI,

September 20, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I had expected to get your letters today here in Mainpuri, but did not get any. I, therefore, expect to receive them in Kanpur the day after tomorrow. Today my mind is engrossed in *Young India* and, besides, visitors are waiting to see me. I, therefore, dictate nothing further.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

Tell Bal that I have had no time to write to him. I shall write now.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5441; also *Bapuna Patro*...7: *Shri Chhaganlal Joshine*, p. 136

133. A LETTER

MAINPURI,

September 20, 1929

What you have written about the Indian states is all right. I have revised the English at places. I see no harm in publishing it after incorporating the revisions. I am returning the Hindi and the English drafts. I have sent a copy of the English to manilal Kothari. In my opinion, we should wait a little longer before publishing this. You may get together in my present or absence, and consider it further. It seems advisable to consult Vallabhbbhai also. You may ask the ruler also if you wish. I consider it necessary to have consultations with Abhyankar and the others. It will do not harm if you discuss the matter with Amritlal¹ also. And whatever small body you may in the end set up with Motilalji, it will be better to discuss the matter with everybody in it. You will not, therefore, be able to use this statement during your present travelling. If you wish to expedite the matter, it would be advisable for you to come to Lucknow, because there you will be able to meet many of the persons I have mentioned. I think it desirable to meet Amritlal also. There has been no reply from Bhopal. I had sent a copy their immediately. Perhaps there may be no reply. The *hundi* from Bhopal was received. I have already sent it to the Bombay firm.

From a copy of the Gujarati: Kusumbehn Desai's Diary. S.N. 32578/30

134. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

FARRUKHABAD,

September 21, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

We are in Farrukhabad today. I did not get the post even here. I believe I shall have a pile tomorrow in Kanpur.

Gopalrao must have returned now. I should know what effect the operation has had on him.

Narandas must have taken up the work now. You had asked me about the expenditure incurred by Ratilal. I never told him that he

¹ Amritlal Sheth

could spend as much as he liked, though I certainly told him that he need not obtain permission for every pie he spent. that is, as is the case with a bank account, when he has finished his 150 rupees, anything he draws in excess of that figure will be an overdraft, and, when that happens, we should inform him. All this requires tact. It would even be good if you gave him one book. He would then know immediately how much he had drawn. it will be necessary for him to know this whenever he wishes to draw a large sum. We should treat him with love and save as much as we can.

Waman Pataki conducts the Hindi class well enough. I met Premraj's guru today. He had come to bring me to Farrukhabad. He is President of the Congress Committee. He has, therefore, not two children but more. I have told him that, if Premraj settles down and agrees to look after the children, there will be no difficulty in taking charge of them. Most probably I shall get an opportunity to see those children today.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I have not revised this.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5442; also *Bapuna Patro*—7: *Shri Chhaganlal Joshine*, pp. 136-7

135. DOES A VILLAGE MEAN A DUNGHILL?

Mr. Curtis who toured India in 1918 and who played some role in framing the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms has in the course of an article about our villages, said that compared to villages in other countries, Indian villages seemed to be raised on dunghills! It is understandable that we do not find this criticism palatable, but no one can deny the truth in it. If we approach any village, the very first thing we encounter in the dunghill and this is usually placed on raised ground. On entering the village, we find little difference between the approach and what is within the village. Here too there is dirt on the roads. At any time, children may be found defecating on the streets and in by-lanes. As for making water, even adults will be found doing it anywhere. If a traveller who is unfamiliar with these parts comes across this state of affairs, he will not be able to differentiate between

the dunghill and the residential part. As a matter of fact, there is not much of a difference between the two.

However ancient this habit may be, it is, nevertheless, a bad habit and should be eradicated. The *Manusmriti* and other Hindu religious scriptures, the Koran, the Bible, and the injunctions of Zoroaster...all give detailed suggestions regarding maintaining the cleanliness of roads, courtyards, homes, rivers and wells. However, today we are simply disregarding this so much so that there is a good deal of filth to be found even in our places of pilgrimage. Perhaps one could say that there is more of it in these places.

I have seen thousands of men and women dirtying the banks of the Ganga at Hardwar. Pilgrims defecate at the very spot where people sit, wash their faces, etc., in the Ganga and then again fill their pots at the very same spot. I have come across pilgrims defiling lakes in the same manner at places of pilgrimage. In doing this we destroy the dharma of compassion and disregard our duty to society.

Such recklessness leads to pollution of air and water. Is it surprising then that cholera, typhoid and other infectious diseases follow as a result of this? It is dirty water which is the very source of cholera. The same can be largely said of typhoid too. It is no exaggeration to say that almost 75 per cent of diseases are caused by our insanitary habits.

Hence the primary duty of a village worker is to educate villagers in sanitary habits. Speeches and leaflets occupy the lowest place in such education. This is so because these insanitary habits have taken such deep root that the villagers are not prepared to listen to the volunteers, and, even if they do so, show a singular lack of enthusiasm to act accordingly. If leaflets, etc., are distributed, they will surely not read them. Many will not even know how to read and, not being inquisitive, those who can read, will not read them out to the others.

Hence it is the dharma of the volunteers to give object-lessons. Only if they themselves perform the tasks that have to be performed by the villagers, will the latter follow their example; then doubtless they will positively do so. Even so, patience will certainly be required. There is no reason to conclude that people will start doing things on their own just because we have served them for a couple of days.

A volunteer should first of all collect the villagers together and explain their dharma to them. And at the same time, he should start cleaning operations, whether or no he can recruit volunteers from amongst the villagers. He should obtain from the very village a spade, a basket or a bucket, a broom and a pickaxe. If assured that these articles will be returned to them after use, the people will probably not refuse to lend them.

The volunteers should now inspect the roads and go round to all the places where there are any human excreta. They should collect all faeces in their baskets with the help of the spade and cover up those spots; wherever they find that people have urinated, they should collect the wet earth from those spots in those very baskets and throw over it clean earth from the surrounding area. If there is any other filth lying around, they should sweep it with the broom and make a heap in one corner and remove it in the same baskets after having disposed of the excreta.

Where to dump the excreta is an important question. It is a question both of cleanliness and of economics. If permitted to lie around, the thing emits a foul smell. Flies which sit on it and then sit on our bodies or our food spread infectious diseases all round. We would give up eating many sweets and other items of food if we examined them with the help of a microscope.

To the cultivator the dirt is gold. If put in the fields, it becomes fine manure and increases the yield. The Chinese are experts in this matter and it is said that they save crores of rupees by preserving excreta like gold and, at the same time, avoid the incidence of many diseases.

Hence the volunteer should explain this matter to cultivators and, if permitted to do so, should bury it in their fields. If any farmer, through ignorance, disregard the sanitary methods suggested by the volunteer, the latter should find a spot in the dunghill and bury the excreta there. Having completed this task, the volunteers should now approach the garbage heap.

Garbage is of two types. The first is that which is suitable material for manure ... such as peels and skins of vegetables, grain, grass, etc. The other type includes bits of wood, stones, sheets of iron or tin, etc. Of these, the first type should be kept in fields or at places where manure from it can be collected, and the second should be carried and buried at places where pot-holes, etc., need to be filled in.

As a result of this, the village will remain clean and people who walk bare-footed will be able to do so fearlessly. After a few days' labour, the people will surely realize the value of it. And once this realization dawns on them, they will start helping and finally start doing things on their own. Every farmer will utilize in his own fields the excreta of his own family, so that no one will find anyone else being a burden to him and everyone will go on enriching his own crop.

We should never get into the habit of defecating on the road. It is uncivilized to do so in the open in public and to make even little children do so. We are aware of the uncivilized nature of this act, for we avert our eyes if anyone happens to pass at that moment. Hence every village should have the most inexpensive water-closets built at one place. The spot at which the dunghill is located can itself be used for this purpose. Farmers can share among themselves the manure accumulated in this manner. And so long as they do not start making such arrangements, volunteers should clean dunghills in the same way as they clean streets. Every morning after the villagers have performed this function, they should go to the dunghill at an appointed hour, clean up all the filth and dispose of it in the manner mentioned above. If no field is available, one should mark out the place where the excreta may be buried. If this is done, it will facilitate the task everyday and when the farmers get convinced of the matter, they can make use of the manure that is collected there.

This excreta should not be buried very deep in the ground, as innumerable germs which usefully serve us live within nine inches of the surface of the earth. Their task is to turn everything within that layer into manure and purify all filth. The sun's rays too render great service and act as the messengers of Rama. Anyone who wishes to test this may do so through experience. Some of the excreta should be buried nine inches below the earth's surface and the ground dug up after a week in order to take note of what happens to it. Another portion of the very same excreta should be buried three to four feet below the surface of the ground and then what happens to it should be examined. One would, thereby, learn through experience. Although the excreta should not be buried deep in the earth, it must be well covered with mud, so that dogs cannot dig it up and foul odour is not emitted. It would be advisable to place a thorny hedge around the spot in order to prevent dogs from digging it up.

When I speak of burying excreta we should understand that there should be a large square or rectangular pit for it. For, no further excreta is to be put on that already buried and the pit is also not to be opened up soon. Hence the following day there would be ready another small square pit near where the excreta was buried the previous day. The earth removed from it would have been kept on one side. All that would have to be done the next day would be to bury the excreta, cover it up with the earth, level it properly and go away. Garbage consisting of peels of vegetables, etc., should be turned into manure on a spot near the above. This is so because human excreta and peels of vegetables, etc., should be turned into manure on a spot near the above. This is so because human excreta and peels of vegetables, etc., cannot be turned into manure by burying them together. Worms do not operate on the two in the same manner. It must now have been clear to volunteers that the place at which they bury excreta will always remain clean, will have an even surface, and look like a newly ploughed field.

Now remains the heap that is not fit for making manure. The rubbish accumulated in it should be buried in a deep hole at a single spot or wherever holes have to be filled up around the village. It too must be buried every day, should be pressed down from above and kept clean.

If this activity is carried on for a month, villages will cease to be dunghills and become instead clean and beautiful. The reader must have realized that no expense is involved in this. This neither requires any help from the Government nor any great scientific power. All that is required is a volunteer with zeal.

It is not necessary to add that what applies to human excreta also applies to the excreta of animals. However, we shall consider this in the next chapter.¹

[From Gujarati]

Shikshan ane Sahitya, 22-9-1929

¹ Vide "Cowdung Cakes or Manure", 17-11-1929.

136. OX v. BULLOCK

A young man wants to know why although a bull does not fetch as good a price as a bullock, it is regarded a sin to castrate the bull.

This question has already been discussed in *Navajivan*. However, many people may not recall it. It is a question that arises readily. One cannot say that there is no harm involved in castration. The Shastras have taught us both our ideal dharma and our practical dharma. The latter not only permits castration but enjoins it. This is a very ancient custom, as old as the custom of drinking cow's milk. The reader must also be aware that horses and such other domesticated animals are castrated when this is found necessary.

The facts are as follows. All undertakings (or volunatry actions) are tainted, and from this standpoint, castration too is tainted since the calf subjected to it does suffer, however slightly it may be. It is tainted again, as the calf has no knowledge of what is done and would prevent it if it could.

However, we do not seek solutions to such problems by regarding them as matters of absolute dharma. Relative dharma does not proceed on a straight path like a railway track. It has, on the contrary, to make its way through a dense forest where there is not even a sense of direction. Hence in this case, even one step is sufficient. Many circumstances have to be considered before the second step is taken and, if the first step is towards the north, the second may have to be taken towards the east. In this manner, although the path may appear crooked, since it is the only one which is correct, it can also be regarded as the straight one. Nature does not imitate geometry. Although natural forms are very beautiful, they do not fit in with geometrical patterns.

If it is desirable for us to drink cow's milk and use the bullock for ploughing, it is our dharma to castrate the calf; not doing so would amount to an irreligious act. In this manner, something which when regarded independently is the very opposite of dharma, becomes dharma when considered with reference to a given situation. If we do not subject calves to castration, do not run dairies, do not conduct tanneries, do not put the bones, hides and intestines, etc., of the cow to practical use and still wish to drink cow's milk, we shall become beef-eaters like the Westerners or, in the alternative, our cattle-wealth will be destroyed. This latter is taking place today. Experienced people are

aware that the cow which decreased the burden of the earth, or in other words, yielded more milk than the quantity of fodder that it consumed, that very cow has become a burden to India. In other words, it yields much less in proportion to what it consumes. Hence, many persons, through ignorance and carelessness, have started keeping buffaloes and drinking their milk. Myriads of cows are sent to Australia for being slaughtered. Innumerable cows are slaughtered in India and their beef is exported to Burma. Countless others die a premature death. No one has the figures of cows which perish in this manner. Those that still survive live as if on sufferance. They are not given sufficient fodder as they do not yield sufficient milk.

If we had not become apathetic to our dharma, if we had not been indifferent to it, we would have studied the science of cattle-breeding in the same way we study the other sciences and would relinquish those ancient superstitions or ancient practices which have lost their utility or become harmful today.

For many years now, I have in effect come to the conclusion and have tried to persuade others that it is the dharma of everyone wishing to serve the cow to see to it that those calves which do not belong to the best pedigrees and are therefore not fit to beget cows are castrated while still very young and reared as bullocks. It is a sin to disregard the necessary dharma which is in keeping with the times under the pretext of following an imaginary but ideal dharma which is not practicable.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 22-9-1929

137. LETTER TO MATHURADAS PURUSHOTTAM

September 22, 1929

CHI. MATHURADAS,

You have taken a difficult vow. But it is good that you have done so. May God help you. To control one's anger is not easy, and very often one is not even conscious that one has become angry. However, one can succeed in every aspiration through persistent effort. Our duty is to make such effort.

I hope you keep good health.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3731

138. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

KANPUR

[September 22, 1929]¹

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

We arrived in Kanpur at half past eleven. Here the post leaves early. If I wish to catch today's post, and I must, I should be brief. Ramniklal has come here to see me. He is in excellent health. We have observed that it does good to send out people from the Ashram by turns.

The worries of running the Ashram will waste away the health of anyone with a sense of duty. So long as we have not cultivated non-attachment, this is bound to happen.

I once again find that the packets of letters I get from you are secured carelessly. You should tie the string round the packet so tight that not a single letter can fall out. The string round this packet was for show, as it were. The cover was torn, so that any letter could slip out of it. Look into this. The person who ties up the packets should be properly trained. I am writing to Gangabehn. More by tomorrow's post.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, pp. 137-8

139. SPEECH AT KANPUR²

September 22, 1929

Gandhiji, in his reply, referring to the first, told them that experience had shown that there were three definite conditions which must be fulfilled to make the introduction of spinning in schools and colleges a success. The first essential condition was to have a spinning expert to do the teaching and organizing work. This could be done by inducing the teachers already employed to master the art by promise

¹ As in the source

² In a joint reply to addresses by District Board and Municipal Board. This appeared under the title "The U. P. Tour...III". The District Board address stated that they had introduced compulsory spinning in schools and had spent Rs. 35,000 to solve the milk problem.

of a small increment in salary. The second condition was to adopt *takli* instead of the charkha for teaching spinning in schools. The third condition was to have arrangements for getting the yarn spun by the students into cloth. Referring to the problem of milk supply he emphasized the need of expert guidance. The reason why the milk problem was daily becoming acute in India was that dairying had been criminally neglected. There was cow slaughter in India today because the killing of cows today was economically profitable. If they wanted to save the cow and to solve the milk problem of India, tanneries must go hand in hand with dairies. They must improve the breed of the existing cattle so as to render their slaughter ultimately an uneconomic proposition.

Young India, 3-10-1929

140. SPEECH AT PIECE-GOODS MERCHANTS' MEETING, KANPUR¹

September 22, 1929

Gandhiji, while thanking them for the purses and the addresses they had presented, said:

You could have easily excused yourselves from contributing anything to the khadi fund on the ground that you could not help a programme which, if successful, was bound to ruin your business. But to your credit be it said, you have chosen a better way. You know that the movement of boycott relies upon conversion, not on compulsion. And you know that if the people want khadi instead of foreign cloth, you will find your trade in the production and sale of khadi. You know that foreign cloth business has spelt economic ruin to millions from whom it has taken away the only supplementary occupation which could enable them to keep their heads above water. It is as their representative that I have come to you with my beggar's bowl. If I could persuade you, I would make you close up your business, and turn all your talent and business acumen to the service of khadi. But I know that you are not yet ripe for it. I would, therefore, ask you to give liberally by way of penance and not patronage.

Young India, 3-10-1929

¹ In a joint reply to addresses by piece-goods merchants and their employees. This appeared under the title "The U. P. Tour...III".

141. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

September 22, 1929

CHI. MAHADEV,

I get your letters. During this tour I have not been able to write to you at all. I remained content with writing what was unavoidable, and thus saved much time. However, I have sat down to write out this. My silence has commenced. It is now 9 p.m.

You have sent a good number of cuttings. I had read none except one. As yet I cannot write anything about Jatin. I am not surprised that what may be called our own circle fails to understand me. Personally, I have not the least doubt regarding the correctness of my view. I see no good in this agitation. I have been obliged to keep silent because what I would say might be misused. But people seem to have understood my position. No one has asked for my opinion. In saying this, I do not take into account questions by Press correspondents.

What you write about Vallabhbhai does not seem proper to me. To make him President now would be like swallowing a hair. However, we shall think about the matter further when we meet, since all of you are coming to Lucknow. I give no thought to the matter now. At the proper time, God will help us. No one has been pestering me either.

At Madras Vallabhbhai rose to the occasion and did an excellent job. As for Karnatak and other places, I am looking forward to your account when we meet. I liked those of your contributions to *Navajivan* and *Young India* which I have read.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11455

142. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

9.30 p.m., September 22, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

Your letter of the 20th I got on the 22nd in Kanpur. In Agra I would have got it on the 23rd. This seems strange to me.

We should take care of the cows sent from Morvi, use them for our purpose and return them in improved condition.

I suppose you know what I meant by my suggestion to get the weaving school recognized. The certificates should be awarded by the Vidyapith and the examination, too, should be held by it. The same about the dairy...when we have made sufficient progress to enable students to appear at an examination.

It is better still that Lakshmi goes to teach [spinning to] Lady Chinubhai.

I have been taking interest in Budhabhai's quarrels with his wife for many years. This time I met the wife too. I have always thought that she was to blame. If the women talk about this among themselves, they should inform us too. I do not write more to you for want of time. If, however, you want to know the facts, see Budhabhai.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

How did it happen that the door of the goshala was not closed? Whose fault was it? There will be no harm if the people who have come from Lahore are arrested. Such things may happen. Some persons may even come to us seeking refuge with us. It should be enough if we do not get involved in their affairs.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N.5443; also *Bapuna Patro*-7: *Shri Chhaganlal Joshine*, pp. 138-9

143. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

KANPUR,

September 23, 1929

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I was glad to have your letter. Why was my reference to you “the unkindest cut”? On the contrary have I not expressed the hope that you had not seen the letter? And now that I see that you werewholly unaware of it, it gives me very considerable relief. I have every hope of Krishnadas some day seeing the gross error into which his partiality has betrayed him.⁵ I quite see the propriety of your not having said anything to him about the incident. Very often silent prayer is the only remedy.

What makes you feel restless and anxious? I hope not Krishnadas’s behaviour. He will be all right in the end. He is not wilfully corrupt-minded. He does not even know that he has erred.

I now understand your wire. Hope you will keep good health. I am keeping quite well. Now that Krishnadas has ceased to write to me, you must keep me informed of your health.

From a copy: Kusumbehn Desai’s Diary. S.N. 32578/34

144. LETTER TO RATANLAL TARA

KANPUR,

September 23, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter.

If you have enough courage, the remedy is incredibly simple. Your sister should ignore the so-called marriage and take a suitable person for husband or if she has no carnal desire, she should lead a life of pure service. When a girl is given in marriage without her knowing the person, that . . .¹ is no marriage according to law.

RATANLAL TARA

PLEADER

KAFOW STREET

GUJRANWALA

From a copy: Kusumbehn Desai’s Diary. S.N. 32577/35

145. LETTER TO ASHRAM WOMEN

KANPUR

Silence Day, September 23, 1929

SISTERS,

I got the letter written by Gangabehn on your behalf. I am very happy that Valjibhai has been doing my work. See that all of you take full advantage of his learning. I cannot give what he can. While, therefore, he is in a position to give more time, take the utmost advantage of his store of knowledge.

Lakshmibehn must have arrived there by now. I can understand why Ramabehn and Dahibehn cannot attend at prayer-time. Devotion to duty is itself prayer. We come together for prayer in order that we may be fit for physical service of others. When, however, one is required to do a physical duty, the doing of that duty becomes a prayer. If any woman absorbed in meditation hears the cry of someone stung by a scorpion, she is bound to get up from her meditation and run to the help of that person. Meditation finds its fulfilment in the service of the distressed.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3702

146. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

Silence Day, September 23, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL (JOSHI),

I enclose with this Chi. Chhaganlal's letter. You will see from it that he continues to feel a little hurt. Is he a member of the Managing Committee? If he is, it seems he was not informed. There may be nothing behind such things, but the fruits can be bitter. You should ask in clear terms the information which you want. The framework of the budget should be prepared, as the Spinners' Association has done. That is, you should keep ready the heads for which you require detailed information, so that you will know the position as soon as it is received.

What Chhaganlal writes about management expenses is not correct. Where, however, extra assistants are also employed, the price

of khadi which is arrived at by adding 6 per cent to cost as management expenses may be accepted for comparison.

But the main thing is the resentment which Chhaganlal seems inwardly to feel. Try to discover its cause. Ignore what cannot be helped and try to remedy what can be remedied.

On a spring balance yesterday my weight came to 98 [lb.]; on our balance, therefore, it must be not less than 94.

Note what Chhaganlal says in his letter about Raghunath's carding. It shows that our work is below standard. Those who card should be able to do so for eight hours. The fact that Raghunath gets tired shows that his hand has not set and the muscles have not become trained. We may not expect him to acquire the capacity of a professional carder, but certainly he should not get tired. This applies to all processes. Everyone should become an expert in every process.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5444; also *Bapuna Patro-7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine*, pp. 139-40

147. A LETTER

KANPUR,

September 23, 1929

I have your question. There is on the whole an element of violence in all means. But that is unavoidable at present, because the method of punitive law has been practised since ages. In trying to reform it at present, we make the principle of means into a fetter. When though conforming to many violent customs we are still able to advance dharma a step further, we would certainly say that in spite of the means being faulty the action was on the whole non-violent. The principle that all undertakings are morally impure applies here. It is morally wrong to keep oneself alive by drinking milk, but people have been doing that. Hence, if by keeping oneself alive in that way one is able to render real service, the action will count as non-violence. That is why our forefathers treated the violence of actions performed as part of *yajna* as non-violence. Today we clearly see the sin of killing animals and do not regard that act as non-violent. When society has advanced a step further and eliminated punishment from

law, anyone who gives a place to punishment even in law will be considered guilty of violence. Ask me if you have still not followed the point.

From a copy of the Gujarati: Kusumbehn Desai's Diary. S.N. 32578/33

148. A LETTER¹

September 23. 1929

I am convinced that we must not open a school for the sake of running an Ashram at Godhra. If the Ashram cannot go on under its own impetus, if it cannot develop the power to attract people, it may as well close down. It surprises and pains me that Mama² is not able to understand so simple a thing.

I should be happy if the Ashram passes under the management of Thakkar Bapa. If Mama places himself under his discipline, it will be to his good. But if, having done that, he is asked by Thakkar Bapa to leave, he should be ready quietly to submit. Such a contingency is not impossible. Mama has many other fields of service. Amalgamating the Ashram with Antyaja Seva Mandal should not be taken to mean that the ownership of the land or the buildings should be passed to the latter. If the Ashram is handed over, the Antyaja Seva Mandal can only be given a lease of the buildings at nominal rent.

Show this letter to Mama. . . .

Dedication to duty is prayer. We attend prayer in order to qualify ourselves for concrete service. Prayer passes into the background in the face of concrete duty. A woman sitting in meditation must rush to help if she hears the scream of a person stung by a scorpion. The fulfilment of meditation lies in serving people in distress. . . .

I expect hundred per cent performance in dedication to duty from all of you. If anyone remains absent without cause even for a day from the duty of cleaning the latrines and no substitute takes his place, we will be doomed, to filth and sickness. Supposing the person in charge of cooking out of lethargy absents herself from work at her whim? Most of our work is of this nature. No one, big or small, should ever be negligent in his duty. This is true of all activities of *yajna*. The

¹ Omissions in the letter are as in the source.

² V. L. Phadke

consequences of remissness in the yajna of service are not directly visible, nor are the beneficial results of ceaseless vigilance in such work. But if we have faith in beneficial results following we should also believe in the harmful consequences of indolence. The harmful or beneficial effects of indolence or vigilance in the performance of *yajna* have a great bearing on the good of the soul and we regard it as a speciality of the Ashram life that we expect the inmates to be very particular in this regard. Girdhari is here today. I was very pleased to hear his melodious *bhajan* last evening.

From a copy of the Gujarati: Kushmbehn Desai's Diary. S.N. 32578/32

149. A LETTER¹

September 23, 1929

CHI. . . .

I wish to advise you that you should adopt a strict regimen if you can and pull yourself together.

. . . Even a twelve-year-old constipation can be cured by effort. I am firm in my view that achieving health of the body by spiritually pure means is a *yajna* and therefore a duty.

From a copy of the Gujarati: Kusumbehn Desai's Diary. S.N. 32578/36

150. LETTER TO ISHWARLAL

KANPUR,

September 23, 1929

BHAISHRI ISHWARBHAI,

The performance of *shraddha* can be made a purely religious practice. Feasting has no place in it. *Shraddha* means remembering the dead, dwelling upon and extolling their good qualities and emulating them. This includes everything that the scriptures may have considered beneficial.

I do not believe that wearing a particular metal can either increase or decrease bodily strength. Even if such were the case I would not encourage such possession.

The events narrated in the *Ramayana* are not history. The poet has included in it whatever he thought instructive. The episode of the

¹ Omissions in the letter are as in the source.

deer-skin could be intended to show that even a woman like Sita could succumb to temptation. The deer has often been used as a symbol of craving. And it should not be difficult to imagine what can follow once a person yields to temptation. That the poet's description may not conform to our present ideas of morality is another matter. The *Ramayana* cannot be judged by picking out isolated incidents and condemning them. It can be judged only by the effect it has had and still has on the people.

One should remember that man is happy or unhappy as a consequence of his previous actions. But this law is not meant to make men callous. Just as man reaps the fruits of his previous actions, his present actions will also bear fruit. Hence, a process of addition, subtraction, multiplication and division is continuously going on. The process is influenced by the actions of others as much as by one's own. This is the divine attribute of the *atman* and only by recognizing it can one realize in experience the oneness of all life. I would advise you not to be a prey to superstition about good and bad omens.

From a copy of the Gujarati: Kusumbehn Desai's Diary. S.N. 32578/38

151. LETTER TO MOHANLAL M. BHATT

KANPUR,

September 23, 1929

DEAR MOHANLAL,

I have your letter. Legally Swami's name will be necessary as one of the founders of the Trust¹. Having your name would not be legal. It is my impression that there is or was some property in Swami's name also. Hence his name should be there. Swami or Shankerlal or I can be entered as the founders of the Trust because we three had assumed the original responsibility. Shankerlal was there before we two. His name has not been included as one of the founders of the Trust because he had subsequently withdrawn. The question in this is only one of law and policy.

Now regarding the trustees. There is substance in your argument. Rajaji's name can be omitted if you wish. Even if it is, his advice will always be available. Valji's name is not included because

¹i.e., The Navajivan Trust. For the Trust Deed, *vide* "Declaration of Trust", 26-11-1929

he does not wish to spend his intellectual energy in administrative work. He wants to do only writing work. Personally I would certainly like to have his name. Vallabhbhai's name should be kept, for he is in a position to take interest whenever you trouble him for advice. He was a great support to Swami. I have always felt that Shankerlal should be there. His devotion is wonderful. His intelligence is sharp and he takes great interest in such activities. I have kept him in reserve because by temperament he is not able to mix with everyone. If you wish, however, his name may be kept out. Your name should definitely be there. Since Swami insisted on withdrawing I was helpless. Ultimately, you are going to run the press. You have succeeded to Swami's chair, such as it was, and are definitely bringing credit to it. I cannot imagine the Trust without you. Who in this world is wholly free from failings?

We must insist on your name being included. As for the other names, your view will be mine. Show this letter to Kaka. If you arrive at a decision only after consulting him, I shall abide by it. Mahadev takes interest in this matter, and if you wish, you may trouble him also.

Kaka has not yet sent me the *Gita*.

From a copy of the Gujarati: Kusumbehn Desai's Diary. S.N. 32578/31

152. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

[After September 23, 1929]¹

CHI. CHHAGANLAL (JOSHI),

I have your letter.

Your weight has gone down very much indeed. You seem to worry too much about things. You should go somewhere and live for a few months in a place like Almora and build a strong body. You ought not to have allowed your health to decline so much.

If someone feels hurt without any cause, you need not worry on that account. You had every right to ask Chhaganlal for estimates.

Munnalal, it seems to me, will not stay for long. Madhavlal is riding on the waves of imagination.

I was surprised to know that Narandas had changed his mind. Try and know the reason.

¹ From the reference to asking Chhaganlal Gandhi for estimates; *vide* the preceding item.

I believe that Ramniklal will arrive there after the Diwali.

I do believe that we shall have to send someone to the Lahore Exhibition.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5474; also *Bapuna Patro-7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine*, p. 175

153. LETTER TO DUDHABHAI

KANPUR,

September 24, 1929

BHAI DUDHABHAI,

Recently I have been again having unfavourable reports about Lakshmi. But I do not despair. We shall be able to discipline her only by keeping her alternately at Sayla and at Sabarmati. Her pranks are once again on the increase. At Sabarmati she cannot keep her mind under control for a long time. Gangabehn has showered the utmost love on her. She even spent some of her own money on Lakshmi, but she is still not mature enough to understand such love. Take her away, educate and send her back. These days she does not even write to me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 15823

154. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

KANPUR,

September 24, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I got your letter. Jagjivandas has not felt hurt at all by your or my letter; this is a very good sign.

I have written to Mulchandbhai about the money. You, too, should write from there.

It is not necessary to discuss further the mistakes regarding the Mandir. In any case Ramji should not be involved in the affair.

I had another letter from Madhavlal. I do not worry about the matter. Such disputes will arise and end.

If Lakshmi cannot stay with Gangabehn in any circumstances, write to Dudhabhai and tell him that he should take her away for sometime; he may send her back when she agrees to return. If this is done every time it is necessary, she will become wiser in course of time. I enclose with this a letter to Dudhabhai; you may use it if you wish.

I have had a letter from Galiara on the lines I had expected. It would be good if we could now start as early as possible.

I enclose with this the letter from that Englishman. Note down the particulars of his ship. Find from the newspapers on which Friday it will arrive in Bombay. You will get the information easily from *The Times*.

I am sorry that I shall not be there, but you should look after him. Do for him what I did for Mirabehn. That is, see that he uses a mosquito net, drinks only boiled water, does not eat pulses, consumes as much milk as he can, and eats butter instead of ghee. If necessary, supply him the fruits to which he is used ... you may even consult him about this. When he moves in sunlight, he must wear his hat. He should go out very little in sunlight. There is a letter on this from Mr. Alexander who had stayed with us for one or two weeks. Perhaps you have seen it. I will send it for you to read.

You need not send anything to Malkani just now. I have already written to you about this.¹

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I have not revised this.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5445; also *Bapuna Patro*-7: *Shri Chhaganlal Joshine*, pp. 141-2

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Chhaganlal Joshi", 19-9-1929

155. *SPEECH TO STUDENTS, KANPUR*¹

September 24, 1929

MAHATMAJI, REPLYING, SAID:

The words in which you have indicated your affection would be most welcome only if all the students that are present here have room in their hearts. But I am afraid this is only the spirit of the speakers and, if that is true, then those words have not the same value. All religions have preached self-control as the first step towards progress.

Pointing to the students, he said they were self-willed, but had no purity. After roaming amongst thousands of students, he had come to the conclusion that unless they had real purity and simplicity of heart, all institutions like the Young League, etc., would be of no use. His 45 years' experience told him that without it people were useless. The students had desire, but that alone did not help in the matter.

Further, Mahatmaji compared the students to a person addicted to drugs, who under their influence spoke in plenty and showed various activities, but, when back to the normal state, did not amount to anything. Mahatmaji made a reference to the absence of the students of the Agriculture College, whom he called cowards because they allowed themselves to be confined even when they did not like the orders, but got ready to obey them because fear dominated their hearts, lest they might lose some job of Rs. 50 after finishing their studies.

Pointing to the students present, he said: "You must have done the same if your Principal gave a similar order." He begged to be excused for being plain and asked, if he was not plain to them, to whom would he be so? He further pointed out that with a spirit like that neither they nor the country could gain anything.

Mahatmaji further made reference to Swami Shraddhanand who never went to any meeting where he did not make a reference to *brahmacharya* and did not give it up even in his Gurukul. Likewise, Mahatmaji pleaded for control of the senses and told the audience that western books coming to this country never taught any control of the senses.

¹ At D.A.V. College; Chatterji and Diwan Chand, the Principals, welcomed Gandhiji.

You ask me as to what I would have you to do in 1930. Well, I would expect you in 1930 smilingly to face death if need be. But it must not be the death of a felon. God accepts the sacrifice of the pure in heart. You therefore must purify yourselves before you can become fit instruments for the service of the country even unto death. Unless you cultivate a snow-white purity of character first, you may rest assured that you will not be able to do anything in 1930.¹

Continuing, he said that simply to change the Government would mean nothing. As was seen, the present Indian officials were no better than Europeans. What was needed was a change in the system of government. He had everything to take but nothing to give when January came. They could have blessings from the poor women for the money given to him, but in January they would not get even this much. Mahatmaji made a vigorous appeal to prepare for the occasion during the three coming months and to show some signs as before sunrise the dawn was visible. Nothing was to be achieved unless they prepared during these months. Freedom could be achieved only after making a sacrifice with clean hearts. No swaraj was possible without purification of the heart. This was the first thing to be done and then came the working of the Congress creed.

The Leader, 27-9-1929

156. LETTER TO GULZARILAL NANDA

BANARAS,

September 25, 1929

DEAR GULZARILAL,

I have your letter. I am enclosing copies of the letters I have written. Let me know the developments now.

After I had dictated the above I got your letter dated the 22nd. The file containing the papers of the case should be returned. I think I have mentioned this also in my statement². My award cannot be published in the *Majoor Sandesh* just yet. The workers know that there is a difference of opinion. That is sufficient. They can get the reply drafted by a lawyer if they wish; but we should see that they do

¹ This paragraph is from *Young India*, 10-10-1929.

² Regarding the Ahmedabad labour dispute; *vide* "Note on Dispute Between Mill-Owners and Workers", 7-9-1929.

not take too long to do so. I hope that my letter to the Umpire¹ will ensure that Shankerlal should continue to meet Mangaldas Sheth.

From a copy of the Gujarati: Kushumbehn Desai's Diary. S.N. 32578/39

157. *SPEECH AT BANARAS*

Wednesday, September 25, 1929

Addressing the untouchables Mahatma Gandhi asked them to have patience. He said that though much work had been done for their betterment, it could not at all be considered satisfactory. As far as he could see, there was no such thing as untouchability in Hindu dharma; on the contrary it was built on the foundation of touchability. Just as one cast off a garment when it got dirty and put on a better one, Hindu dharma could be discarded only if one could find a better dharma.

He would not mind if anyone addressed him as a Bhangi or a Chamar. One was called thus because of one's occupation. And the occupation of a Bhangi or a Chamar was not a bad one. A doctor also performs similar work, there is no difference between their work and his, but a doctor's occupation cannot be called bad. Doctors charge more for their services, whereas Bhangis take just enough for their sustenance. They should pray to God that those who were oppressing them would purify their hearts.

Referring to some undesirable practices prevailing among the untouchables, he said: No one eats carrion except some of the untouchables. Achhutoddhar Mandal should be thanked for trying to wean them from this undesirable habit and they also deserve thanks for giving it up. But it is equally bad to drink alcohol. They could argue that even the doctors and Sahibs drink. But those who are well off escape reproach. Therefore they should not imitate the example of the doctors in this respect. One should not imitate the bad actions of others. These days Malaviyaji is going about purifying them.² But the real purification has to be achieved through their own efforts. The awakening amongst their people should not be used for any

¹ Krishnalal Jhaveri, who acted as umpire in the dispute between the Mill-owners' Association and the Ahmedabad Labour Union; *vide* "Apeal to Ahmedabad Labourers", 7-12-1929

² The reference is to Madan Mohan Malaviya initiating the untouchables in a purificatory *mantra*.

wrong purpose. One should not accept what is bad nor feel hate or something of the kind for others. They must always try to remove their own imperfections. Once the people find that the fault lies with them and not with the untouchables, they will worship them.

It was his wish that they too should make a sacrifice. He was asking for something small and simple. They were not dying of starvation and were also able to earn enough for their needs. But there existed crores in the country who were starving to death but who did not wish to leave their villages as they owned some land. How could they leave it and go elsewhere? If people wanted to share the troubles of such men, they should wear khadi.

[From Hindi]

Aaj, 26-9-1929

158. SPEECH AT HINDU UNIVERSITY, BANARAS

Wednesday, September 25, 1929

ACHARYA, STUDENTS, TEACHERS, BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

This is not the first time I am visiting this University. I have been here before. On one occasion you gave me money for the khadi fund and for *Daridranarayana*. You have given me just now a purse of Rs. 1,286-14-2 and perhaps, you will give some more. I am grateful to you for whatever contributions you have given so far and are likely to give. I say this as a matter of courtesy. But if you were to ask me whether I am satisfied with the amount I have received, then I would like to say 'no'. I regularly get news about you. Respected Malaviyaji keeps sending me news about you. Whatever I have been told gives me the impression that your capacity is much greater.

Shri Jamnalal Bajaj visited this place. He told me of the work you have been doing regarding khadi. At that time I became hopeful. But from whatever I am seeing now and from whatever I have been told it seems that the message of khadi has not touched your heart. It is not a surprising thing, but it saddens me all the same.

The Hindu University is the biggest creation of Malaviyaji. He has been serving the nation continuously for the past 40 years. We all know how great his services have been. The Hindu University is the epitome of his life-work. Respected Malaviyaji and I have our differences of opinion. But the differences do not stop me from paying tribute to him for his services. The success of this University

will be the measure of his success, and the success of this University can be judged by the way the students have moulded their characters, how far they have contributed towards the progress of the country and how much religion they have imbibed.

What are you doing to deserve the monumental service of the great son of India? He expects you to become not literary giants but defenders of Hinduism and the country through expressing true religion in your own lives. . . . Remember that this, the greatest creation of Malaviyaji's, will be judged not by the magnificence of the buildings or the 1,300 acres that they cover, but by what you become. . . . If you will express the requisite purity of character in action, you cannot do it better than through the spinning-wheel. Of all the myriads of names of God, *Daridranarayana* is the most sacred inasmuch as it represents the untold millions of poor people as distinguished from the few rich people. The easiest and the best way of identifying yourselves somewhat with these starving millions is to spread the message of the spinning-wheel in the three-fold manner suggested by me. You can spread it by becoming expert spinners, by wearing khadi, and by pecuniary contributions. Remember that millions will never have access to the facilities that Malaviyaji has provided for you. What return will you make to these your brothers and sisters? You may be sure that, when he conceived the plan of this University, he had the question in mind, and he embarked upon the mission in the hope that you would so conduct yourselves as to deserve the training given to you.¹

The charkha is a small instrument but in my eyes a very important one. You may or may not agree with me about the charkha. But my faith in the charkha is ever increasing. You have a very big building here, and you can get all kinds of facilities you wish to have. Some of the students here do not have to pay any fees. There are some to whom Malaviyaji even grants some scholarships. He is doing all that a great man can do for the students...men or women.

Such is your condition here. And on the other hand there are crores of human beings in our country who do not get any thing except dry *roti* and dirty salt once in a day. In Jagannathji², people are dying of starvation. There is no lustre in their eyes. I could count

¹ Taken from the report in *Young India*, 10-10-1929, which appeared under the title "The U. P. Tour...IV".

² Puri in Orissa.

every single bone in their bodies, and this did not happen long ago, it is happening now. In some places people get full meals, they over-eat so that they require the services of doctors and physicians, elsewhere there are people dying of starvation. I would like to know what you are doing for these dying men. Do you have no sympathy for these skeletons?

Daridranarayana is the aptest name for God. So long as a single such person is denied the *darshan* of Vishwanath, God cannot dwell there. The untouchables are not allowed to enter the place. If any untouchable does go to Vishwanath temple, it is only when “God” is specially kind that his bones remain intact. If you wish to meet God, then serve the *Daridranarayana*. You have given me Rs. 1,286. It is better than giving me nothing. But if you do not use khadi for the sake of *Daridranarayana* then what’s the use of giving this money?

If you wear khadi you are being thrifty. You need clothes. If you wear khadi worth one rupee, 13 annas will be paid out of that to the poor people. But if you were to buy foreign cloth that money would go out of the country. The poverty witnessed in this country is not to be found elsewhere in the world, and if you wish to remove it, you should wear khadi.

I am aware that amongst those who wear khadi many men may be hypocrites, impostors, frauds and scoundrels. But those are common faults. Even those who do not wear khadi can have them. Even those who do not use khadi can be impostors or scoundrels. So if such a man is an impostor or a fraud at least one good thing about him would be that he does wear khadi. I came across a prostitute who wears khadi. She said to me: ‘Pray to God so that fallen women like me are absolved of our sins.’

You should purify your hearts and whatever sacrifices you choose to make, make them with the purest intentions ... whether it is going to jail or the gallows. You must cleanse your heart first. Degrees can be had from any college. But there should be something special about your University. You can give something more now, if you wish to as you have not given according to your ability. Malaviyaji pins people down for contributions. He should demonstrate his ability now.

[From Hindi]

Aaj, 30-9-1929

*159. CONVOCATION ADDRESS AT KASHI VIDYAPITH,
BANARAS*¹

September 25, 1929

Acharya Narendradeva, who is the soul of the Vidyapith, had arranged a Vedic ceremonial which every *snatak* had to go through before he could be declared qualified to receive his diploma and the blessings from the Kulpati Dr. Bhagavandas When Gandhiji entered the *pandal* that was specially erected for the function, he was made to wear the yellow robe which the Kulapati and the officials of the University had to

This solemn ceremony being over Gandhiji had to deliver his address.... It was delivered in his own simple Hindi He began by saying that his faith in national education was daily growing and that he fully expected students discharged from national institutions to give a good account of themselves and find themselves in the forefront in the fight for freedom.

He said:

You are doomed to disappointment if you compare your schools or colleges with Government schools and colleges. The two are different in kind. You cannot command the palatial buildings nor a multiplicity of highly paid and learned professors and teachers that Government institutions which live upon the people can command. You will not have them even if you had pecuniary resources at your disposal. The aim of Government institutions is pre-eminently to turn out clerks and others who would assist the alien Government to carry on its rule. The aim of national institutions is just the opposite. It is to turn out not clerks and the like but men determined to end the alien rule, cost what it may and that at the earliest possible opportunity. Government institutions naturally must be loyal to the alien Government. National institutions can be loyal only to the country. Government institutions promise a lucrative career. National institutions promise instead only the barest maintenance for full service. You have just taken an oath² to discharge a triple debt. Truly,

¹ This appeared under the title "The U.P. Tour...IV".

² This was in Sanskrit. It read:

"Q. What is your duty towards ancestors?

A. To banish injustice, helplessness and indigence from among mankind and substitute brotherliness, self-respect and truth in its palce.

as Max Muller reminded us, life with us is duty. Duty well done undoubtedly carries rights with it, but a man who discharges his obligations with an eye upon privileges generally discharges them indifferently and often fails to attain the rights he might have expected, or when he succeeds in gaining them they turn out to be burdens. Yours therefore is the privilege of service only. There can be no rest for you till you have played your part in gaining freedom for the country. If you will assimilate this fundamental distinction between Government educational institutions and your own, you will never regret your choice. But I know that your fewness worries you often, and some of you doubt the wisdom of having given up your old institutions and secretly cherish a desire to return to them. I suggest to you that in every great cause it is not the number of fighters that counts but it is the quality of which they are made that becomes the deciding factor. The greatest men of the world have always stood alone. Take the great prophets, Zoroaster, Buddha, Jesus, Mohammad...they all stood alone like many others whom I can name. But they had living faith in themselves and their God, and believing as they did that God was on their side, they never felt lonely. You may recall the occasion when pursued by a numerous enemy Abu Bakr, who was accompanying the prophet in his flight, trembled to think of their fate and said, 'Look at the number of the enemies that is overtaking us. What shall we two do against these heavy odds?' Without a moment's reflection the Prophet rebuked his faithful companion by saying, 'No, Abu Bakr, we are three for God is with us.'¹

What kind of faith do we require? Not the kind Ravana had when he considered none his equal. We should have the faith of a

Q. What is your duty towards *rishis*?

A. To propagate enlightenment in the place of ignorance, righteousness in the place of unrighteousness, altruism and true culture in the place of selfishness and to make spirituality the basis of individual and corporate life.

Q. What is your duty towards the gods?

A. To propagate righteousness among mankind, to conserve the forces of nature and to utilize them for the service of man and to dedicate *charamashram* to the devotion of God.

Q. Will you fulfil these duties?

A. With the Effulgence of God as witness, I promise that I shall strive my best to fulfil these duties. May my effort be fruitful through your blessings and God's grace".

¹ What follows is from *Aaj*.

Vibhishan or a Prahlad. They had the faith that, even though alone, they had God with them and so their power was infinite. You have joined the Vidyapith to find such faith.

A gentleman told me this story in Agra. A Brahmin did not have any knowledge of God, but on being questioned by a simple and trustful man, advised him to throw himself headlong into a well if he wished to meet God. The man believed him and acted accordingly, and he found God. It was the Brahmin who went to perdition. Similarly if the teachers have no faith but you have it and you wish to win freedom, then be firm in your faith, remember God and make an effort in that direction. You will be successful. The students of the Vidyapith should not, like the other students of Government institutions, make the mistake of thinking that to secure a job is the ultimate aim of their education.

I have defined swaraj many times. Swaraj can only be obtained through peaceful and civil means. Swaraj means Dharmaraj; without dharma it would mean nothing to me. The students of national institutions do not have the power to attain the other kind of swaraj. I am fully aware of my responsibilities when I say this. Do not be under any delusion nor delude others. I say so because I feel it to be true. Those who forget their duty towards their country and their religion, are sinners and unworthy men. It is the duty of the students to become truly brave soldiers in this struggle for swaraj.

Young India, 10-10-1929, and *Aaj*, 27-9-1929

160. TWO VALUES OF A RUPEE

It is remarkable but true how the value of a coin varies in accordance with the way in which it is used. If you spend a rupee in buying a death-dealing instrument for murdering someone, that rupee is dipped in blood, worthy only to be thrown away, whereas if you spend that same rupee for buying food for a starving man it may mean life to him. The rupee so spent is thus charged with life-giving properties. The one has earned hell for the user, the other has brought heaven nearer to its user. Similarly every rupee spent in purchasing khadi according to the calculations carefully worked out by the Foreign-Cloth Boycott Committee brings relief to the starving. It is distributed as follows:

	Rs.a.p.
Cotton grower	0 3 9
Ginner	0 0 6
Carder	0 1 9
Spinner	0 3 9
Weaver	0 4 9
Washer	0 0 6
Salesman	0 1 0
	<hr/>
Total	1 0 0

Thus not a fraction of the rupee leaves the country if it is invested in khadi, and the whole of it goes to the deserving poor, the workers in the fields or in the cottages of India, whereas a rupee given for foreign cloth may mean with the exception of 1 anna for the salesman, that it is sent out of the country at the expense of its own starving people, and if the cotton of which this foreign cloth is made is grown in India, 3 a. p. might find their place out of the rupee into the pockets of the cotton-grower. But even there the speculator divides the 3 a. 9 p. with the grower. But for the huge export of cotton from India we should not have the ruinous gamble in the shape of cotton speculation which goes on every day in Calcutta and Bombay. Will the patriots understand this simple national arithmetic and shun foreign cloth for ever?

Young India, 26-9-1929

161. SIMPLIFYING MARRIAGE

A correspondent sends me an account of a marriage ceremony performed in Karachi. At the time of the marriage of a girl 16 years old, the daughter of a moneyed man Sheth Lalchand, the father is reported to have curtailed the expenditure to a minimum and given the marriage ceremonial a religious and dignified form. The report before me shows that the whole ceremony did not take more than two hours, whereas generally it involves a wasteful expenditure spread over many days. The religious ceremony was performed by a learned Brahmin who explained to the bride and the bridegroom the meaning of what they were called upon to recite. I congratulate Sheth Lalchand and his wife who actively supported her husband upon initiating this belated reform, and hope that it will be copied largely

by other moneyed men. Khadi lovers will be glad to know that Sheth Lalchand and his wife are thorough believers in khadi, and that both the bride and the bridegroom were clothed in khadi and are themselves convinced khadi wearers. This marriage ceremony calls to my mind the scene I witnessed at the Agra students' meeting.¹ They confirmed the information that was given to me by a friend, that in the United Provinces young men studying in the colleges and schools were themselves eager to be married early, and expected their parents to go in for a lavish expenditure involving costly gifts, and equally costly and sometimes even more costly entertainments. My informant told me that even highly educated parents were not free from the pride of possession, and that so far as expenses went they beat the Comparatively uneducated wealthy merchants. To all such the recent example of Sheth Lalchand and the less recent example of Sheth Jamnalal Bajaj should serve as a stimulus in cutting down expenditure. But more than the parents it is the duty of young men firmly to resist premature marriage, more especially marriage during student life, and at all cost to resist all expenditure. Indeed not more than Rs. 10 should be required for the performance of the religious ceremonial, and nothing beyond the ceremonial should be considered a necessary part of marriage rites. In this age of democracy, when the distinction between the rich and the poor, the high and the low, is sought to be abolished, it is for the rich to lead the poor to a contented life by exercising self-restraint in all their enjoyments and indulgences, and let them remember the verse in the *Bhagavad Gita*, "Whatever leaders of society do, the others will follow."² The truth of this statement we see daily verified in our experience, and nowhere more vividly than in marriage ceremonies and rites in connection with the dead. Thousands of poor people deprive themselves for this purpose of necessities of life, and burden themselves with debts carrying ruinous rates of interest. This waste of national resources can be easily stopped if the educated youths of the country, especially sons of rich parents, will resolutely set their faces against every form of wasteful expenditure on their account.

Young India, 26-9-1929

¹ Vide "Speech to Students, Agra", 13-9-1929

² III.21

162 REASON v. AUTHORITY

A correspondent has sent me the September number of *Prabuddha Bharata* in which the editor has answered my endeavour to reply to his recent articles on the cult of charkha and khadi. If that answer has satisfied the editor and satisfied the reader, I cannot carry my own arguments any further, and must leave the final answer to time and experience. But one thing in the editorial reply deserves notice. The editor questions the propriety of my remark that “the inferential invocation of the authority of the illustrious dead in a reasoned discussion should be regarded as a sacrilege”. The editor resents this, more specially because *Prabuddha Bharata* is an organ of Swami Vivekananda’s order. I must however adhere to my statement. I think that the duty of avoiding in a reasoned discussion inferences from the writings of the founder of an order devolves more specifically upon its members and its organ, for to sceptics the authority of the founder will be of no avail, even as the authority of Shri Krishna is of no use to one who is not his follower. And experience has shown that in every case where there is an appeal to reason, any inference drawn from the writings of a great person, however illustrious he may be, is irrelevant and calculated to confuse the issues at stake. I would like the editor and the reader to note also that I have not criticized the citing of the specific writings of great men, but I have suggested the impropriety of drawing deductions from their writings instead of leaving the reader to draw his own from such writings. Thus, for instance, have not the so-called Christians distorted the undiluted message of Jesus? Have not sceptics drawn opposite deductions from the identical sayings of Jesus? Similarly have not different *Vaishnavite* sections drawn different and often opposite deductions from the same texts in the *Bhagavad Gita*, and is not the *Bhagavad Gita* today quoted in support even of assassination? To me it is as plain as a pikestaff that where there is an appeal to reason pure and undefiled, there should be no appeal to authority however great it may be. Curiously the correspondent who has sent me the *Prabuddha Bharata* has also sent me two apposite quotations from Sister Nivedita’s writings. Here they are:

Like others, he (Vivekananda) had accepted without thought the assumption that machinery would be a boon to agriculture, but he could now see that while the American farmer, with his several square miles to farm, might be the better for

machines, they were likely to do little but harm on the tiny farmlands of the Indian peasantry. The problem was quite different in the two cases. Of that alone he was firmly convinced. In everything including the problem of distribution, he listened with suspicion to all arguments that would work for the elimination of small interests, appearing in this as in so many other things as the perfect, though unconscious, expression of the spirit of the old Indian civilization (*The Master as I Saw Him*, p.231)

His (Vivekananda's) American disciples were already familiar with his picture...that called to his own face a dreamy delight...of the Punjabi maiden at her spinning-wheel listening to its 'Shivoham Shivoham' (*Ibid*, p. 95)

Whether these extracts correctly represent the master or not is more than I can say.

Young India, 26-9-1929

163. NOTES

THE BAN ON THE ALI BROTHERS

The following cable, which I have extended, has been received by me from the Secretaries of the South African Indian Congress:

At an emergency Executive meeting held at Durban on the situation arising out of restrictions imposed upon the Ali Brothers' contemplated visit to the Union by the Union Government, the subject occupied the earnest consideration of the Committee and the following resolution was passed:

"South African Indian Congress Executive as representing the Indian community of South Africa deeply deplores conditions imposed by the Union Government upon the contemplated visit of the Ali Brothers to the Union, and hereby requests the Agent of the Government of India to take all the necessary steps for the removal of all such conditions."

We know now what the result of the Agent's intervention has been. the obstinate refusal of the Union Government to waive the restrictions, especially in view of the unsolicited and gentlemanly assurance of the Ali Brothers not to engage in any political controversy or discussion during their sojourn in South Africa, shows in what estimate even the Government of India is held by the Union Government. That estimate will persist so long as the Government of India is an irresponsible Government and therefore remains a body whose wishes can be flouted with impunity by any foreign Government, whether it may be one occupying the Dominion Status

or one wholly unconnected with Great Britain. I fear that we will have to submit to such humiliations so long as we, through our own disunion, dissensions and the like, remain impotent and powerless to help ourselves.

THEY KNOW

It has often been said that khadi propaganda means harm to the mill industry, and this has been said even by some Congressmen who should know better. Of course so far as I am concerned, khadi should hold the field even though it might ostensibly damage the mill industry; surely the vital welfare of the starving millions should have predominance over the material advancement of the few rich people. But as a matter of fact khadi propaganda has not only done no harm to the mill industry but it has resulted in demonstrable advantage to that great industry. The confirmation of this view comes from no less a source than Mr. J.A. Wadia who, when asked at shareholders' meeting, "whether khaddar propaganda had in any way affected the sale of Indian mill-made cloth", as chairman, promptly replied that 'he was absolutely in favour of khaddar'. He added that 'it was owing to khaddar that their consumption of locally made yarn had gone up considerably. Mahatma Gandhi was not against Indian mill-cloth. His propaganda was benefiting the mill industry.' I hope that this unsolicited testimony will dispel the suspicion working in the minds of many that khadi had damaged the indigenous mill industry. A little reflection will show that it can do no damage to the mill industry for the simple reason that against the crores of rupees worth of cloth that the mills produce annually the All-India Spinners' Association can show no more than 30 lakhs. But the khadi propaganda has produced in the people a love for swadeshi on a scale unknown before, and it has resulted in preference being given by the poor villagers to indigenous mill-cloth over foreign cloth. But the reader may note what many mills have done to khadi. They have unscrupulously and unfairly resorted to the manufacture of coarse cloth, and have not felt ashamed even to label it khadi with the pictures of the charkha printed upon that spurious stuff. This is the return some of them have made khadi for the swadeshi spirit it has been instrumental in infusing amongst the people.

LOOSE THINKING

A correspondent writes:

In the course of an article you have said at one place: "Where marriage is a sacrament, the union is not the union of bodies but the union of souls indissoluble even by the death of either party. Where there is a true union of souls, the remarriage of a widow or widower is unthinkable, improper and wrong."

At another place in the course of the same article you say: 'I consider remarriage of virgin widows not only desirable but the bounden duty of all parents who happen to have such widowed daughters.' How do you reconcile the two views?

I find no difficulty in reconciling the two views. In the giving away of a little girl by ignorant or heartless parents without considering the welfare of the child and without her knowledge and consent there is no marriage at all. Certainly it is not a sacrament and therefore remarriage of such a girl becomes a duty. As a matter of fact, the word 'remarriage' is a misnomer in such cases. The virgin was never married at all in the true sense, and therefore on the death of her supposed husband it would be the most natural thing, it will be a duty, for the parents to seek for her a suitable companion in life.

Young India, 26-9-1929

164. HOW LOVE ACTS

Richard Gregg whom the reader knows as the author of the *Economics of Khaddar* sends me the following French parable by the poet Richepin:

A widowed mother was living with her only son; they were the best of comrades, the most intimate of friends. But an adventuress got hold of the young man. She took away his money, his health, his position, his self-respect, and turned him into a vagabond. One day she told him that he must give her a supreme example of his devotion: he must murder his mother and bring to his mistress his mother's bleeding heart. Accordingly the young man went to his mother, killed her, cut the heart from her body, and holding it in his hand, hastened to the evil woman. In his haste he slipped on the pavement and fell headlong. The heart rolled out of his hand. Then the heart spoke and said, "Did you hurt yourself, my dear son?"

Let not the reader scoff at the parable as a figment of a diseased imagination. A loving heart does pity the erring loved one, and love even when it is itself wounded. It is not love that shines only in fair weather.

Young India, 26-9-1929

165. TO A CORRESPONDENT

TO "A CONFUSED BELIEVER, A TEACHER OF HISTORY"

I am sorry I may not notice your letter, somewhat important though it is. I do not encourage correspondents who have not the courage to give their names not for publication but for the assurance of the editor, whom they must trust to keep confidence where confidence is asked. If you are anxious about a reply to your doubts and to that end will disclose your name, please rewrite your arguments as your letter is destroyed.

Young India, 26-9-1929

166. TWO QUESTIONS

September 26, 1929

When I was in Agra a gentleman sent the following letter¹:

If anyone stopped this gentleman from seeing me, then it is a matter of shame and regret. It is true that the poor volunteers in their solicitude for my health were scrupulous about my time. They evinced their love in shielding me from my visitors while the love of those who wanted to see me and ask me questions would have them violate the time limit. The result was a constant tug of war. Visitors were put to some inconvenience, but everyone could come to attend the evening prayers. None was prevented from doing so. As the prayers were held in open grounds everyone could take part in them. One must understand that when so many people wish to meet one particular person restrictions of some kind become necessary.

Now to answer the first question:

I try to have an equal regard for everyone on this earth, as far as it is possible for a humble human being. Accordingly, I try to love

¹ No translated here

India and Gujarat no more than other parts of the world. This equal regard does not necessarily mean that I can and do serve everyone alike. My heart, being free from the bonds of time, place and circumstances, can love everyone to the same degree. But my body has limitations and, therefore, the service it can render is also limited. My intentions are not to blame for this. The fault is inherent in the way this service is rendered. The way being what it is, India will feel that I belong especially to her. Gujarat will feel it in an even greater degree and in Gujarat those staying at the Udyoga Mandir will feel most of all. In fact my services are made available to the whole world through the Udyoga Mandir, if only because my services to the Udyoga Mandir are not in any way opposed to my serving Gujarat, India or the rest of the world. And this is what I call pure patriotism. This indeed is how I can discharge my duty to all concerned. This indeed is at the root of that great saying “as with the individual so with the universe”.

Now to take up the second question:

In my humble opinion I have been truly able to understand India's condition. This is not because I have been travelling, but because of my intense desire to understand it. Many travellers from the West come here out of curiosity. They may travel more than I do, but they cannot know the country because they lack that intense desire to know it. My travelling undoubtedly helped me to know my country, but the root is my desire to do so. There is not and cannot be much difference between the conditions of one province and those of others. There can be some difference in degree. India is under foreign yoke and poverty-stricken. That is the greatest ill it is suffering from. To cure this would be to remove all other ills. Nothing can be achieved without doing this first. Anyone who would understand this plain, simple fact will have no trouble in understanding the remedies I have for the maladies that India is suffering from.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 26-9-1929

167. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

BANARAS,

September 26, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL (JOSHI),

Yesterday I got two letters of yours of different dates. The same thing had happened in Kanpur. There is something strange in this. I see in this nothing but the alertness or otherwise of the postal staff. When there are different routes for carrying the post to a particular place, the postal clerks dispatch the letters according to their whim. I think that Raghunath and others who have come there from Vijapur to join in the birthday celebrations or for other reasons have acted wrongly. For this I would blame the sense of irresponsibility which prevails in our atmosphere more than the persons concerned. I come to this conclusion especially from Raghunath's action. We are always short of slivers. Raghunath and Govindji, the two working together, could barely supply our needs. And now Raghunath has come away. This does not seem to be good. Chhaganlal too seems to have been unduly lenient. I am writing to him also about this. It was his duty to have detained those whose presence was necessary. It is possible that such persons would have gone nevertheless. We would then have known where we stand and learnt something even from that. I write all this so that people may reflect over our shortcomings and think how we should act in future. We have got to consider how to meet the needs of slivers in Vijapur. If we get hold of the remedy for this, which is devotion to duty, it would be easy enough to meet these needs. I think Raghunath should return to Vijapur. If those who know carding well make slivers even in the Udyoga Mandir and if these are sent to Vijapur every week, would not their shortage decrease? Think about this.

We must master bread-making without delay. From the women's section, Gangabehn should be spared for the required number of hours and our bread-making should be made perfect, or we should give up making bread altogether. If we do not do one of these two things, I foresee danger to our health.

I see much more meaning in acquiring the ability to do our daily work systematically and efficiently than in organizing functions like birthday celebrations which come once in a way.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5446; also *Bapuna Patro-7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine*, pp. 142-3

168. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

BANARAS,

September 26, 1929

CHI. BRIJKRISHNA,

I have your letter. I am glad to learn that you kept good health at Vijapur. That makes me think that it would be best for you to continue your stay at Vijapur for the present. You should gradually recover complete health.

You should learn to recite the *Gita* verses with correct pronunciation of the words. Can you read the Gujarati script? How did you feel at Vijapur? I keep good health at present. I take plenty of fruit, milk and curds. I have not yet resumed eating bread. Devdas arrived yesterday. He will be with me for the present.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2365

169. SPEECH AT WOMEN'S MEETING, BANARAS

September 26, 1929

MOTHERS AND SISTERS,

I would like to say a few words to you. We want swaraj for the country. We should therefore know what swaraj means. Swaraj means *Ramarajya*. Swaraj does not mean unrestrained freedom. But how can we bring about *Ramarajya* without first attaining *Sitarajya*? If you all become as pure as Sita, *Ramarajya* is sure to follow. Sita did not wear fine clothes, nor did she wear a lot of jewellery. She had compassion in her heart for those who were suffering. And what cannot one achieve who has compassion in one's heart? Women are

compassionate by nature. You will surely reflect how millions of women do not get food and do not get clothing. Their children do not get milk. By simply giving them money, bread or clothes, you will turn them into beggars. God has given them hands and feet and they are human beings like us. They must therefore work to earn their livelihood. We should enable them to earn their livelihood by spinning. We import cloth worth sixty crores of rupees from other countries. A large part of this foreign cloth is consumed by the women. You should all wear khadi so that this money remains in the country.

You should not marry off your children before they grow up. Girls under eighteen ought not to be married. Given them the right education. Do not even mention marriage in their presence; on the contrary relate to them the stories of Gargi, Maitreyi, etc.

Do not dispise the untouchables. They are also human beings like us. They too have been created by God. They do not become untouchable or despicable just because they remove night-soil. If we adopt that attitude our mothers also become untouchables as they perform similar functions for the children. But they command our respect, because if they did not do this work, human beings would not survive. You all give me money and jewellery with great love. Give me your blessings too, so that I may be able to fulfil my work. Now you may all give what you can.

[From Hindi]

Aaj, 27-9-1929

170. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, BANARAS

September 26, 1929

MR. PRESIDENT, BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

My voice cannot reach you all, I hope you will forgive me. I have not the strength that I had in 1920. I thank you for your address. I thank you also for your contributions. You must understand that you cannot appease the hunger of one who comes to you as a representative of *Daridranarayana*. The money you have donated is not enough for him. It has been rightly said that the amount your have given as your contribution is not large. Malaviyaji and others had signed an appeal for five lakhs of rupees. This amount has not yet been collected. It is a matter of shame for us. We

should have received more money from you. Even so I thank you for whatever you have voluntarily given.

I do not wish to take your time and I have not much time to spare either. I have nothing new to tell you. The Congress has chalked out the path we are to follow. It has asked us to boycott foreign cloth and if we cannot do so in Kashi where else can we do it? You should wear khadi. You have given money for khadi work and if you do not take to khadi, what is the use of your giving money?

The second point emphasized by the Congress is that Hindus, Muslims, Christians and Parsis should all purify their hearts and live in amity.

Please don't pay attention to what is happening outside.¹ You have come for the meeting. You should give all your attention to the meeting. I am not going to stir from here.

We do not want either Hindu Raj or Muslim Raj. The Raj that we want is one which will ensure equal status to the rich and the poor, the worker and the landlord. All will enjoy equality of status. So long as this does not happen we shall not have swaraj.

Thirdly, we must remove the blot of untouchability. There is nothing like untouchability in Hinduism which has books like the *Gita* and which preaches the doctrine of *advaita*². In the Hindu society we have four varnas: the Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras. But this does not mean that anyone of them is lower in status than any other. We must remove this blemish of untouchability and embrace the so-called untouchables. Schools and temples must be thrown open to them and they should be allowed to draw water from the wells.

Fourthly, I would request that those addicted to intoxicants like liquor, opium, etc., should give up their use. Those who are not addicted to them should gently persuade those that are to give up their use.

Fifthly, you should all become members of the Congress. Membership of the Congress means that you will undertake the vow to follow the Congress programme as explained above. You will then be bound to follow all such instructions issued by it as do not go against your religion. If you can fulfil these five tasks, then in the

¹ Owing to a disturbance outside the Town Hall, there was some shouting.

² Non-dualism

new year beginning on 1st of January 1930, you can stand up and act on your pledge. If we have the will, the perseverance and the strength, nothing can stop us from following this programme. It is such an easy programme that even an illiterate woman or a feeble old man can follow it. I pray to God to give us the strength to fulfil it and to grant us success.

[From Hindi]

Aaj, 28-9-1929

171. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

BANARAS,

September 26, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

You know that Parsuram who has stayed in the Ashram in the past, is at present working in the Banaras Hindu University. He will come there in a few days. At present he has holidays for a month and will spend the time there. Give him some work to do. He will certainly do such labour as sanitary work. But, in addition, those who are making special efforts to learn Hindi may avail themselves of his services.

There is also a student of Tilak Vidyalaya who is at present studying in the Hindu Vishvavidyalaya; he too is filled with the spirit of renunciation and now wishes to come and stay in the Ashram. I have asked him to write to you. If he remains firm in the decision which he announced to me today, he should be admitted. He seems to know Wamanrao Pataki quite well.

LUCKNOW,

September 27, 1929

I dictated the paragraph above in Kashi, and now I finish the letter in Lucknow. We get today the post which reaches here yesterday. Among others, I have your letter giving detailed information. You have given a good description of your difficulties. The fewer the women's classes conducted by Narandas that are broken up, the better. We had better not give up making bread in sheer helplessness. Those who fell ill did not become ill because of this work. There is nothing in it which should cause illness. There

can be only one reason for their illness. Those engaged in making bread may have eaten too many sample bits of bread. Was not this the case with that graduate?

We should be able to satisfy Lakshmi's desire to learn Gujarati better. If Valji's time can be spared, he has the necessary qualifications and he has satisfied others who learnt the subject from him.

I understand from your letter that the house occupied by Mahadev has not been made over to us. I am certainly ready to write to Santok whenever you want me to do so.

It was not my suggestion that Gangabehn should herself make the bread. I felt, however, that it would do if she could supervise the mixing of materials. Hasmukhrai, Pataki or perhaps Bhanushankar may be able to do the job.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I have not revised this.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5447; also *Bapuna Patro*—7: *Shri Chhaganlal Joshine*, pp. 143-4

172. LETTER TO JAMSHED MEHTA

BANARAS,
September 26, 1929

BHAISHRI JAMSHEDJI¹,

I have your letter. I never like to refuse any request of yours. But in regard to your present request I am helpless. I cannot transfer any money to an official committee². In all donations there is the unspoken condition of the donors that whatever money they send me must be used independently. I should also confess that your having drawn Malkani³ into it has made me unhappy. But I shall say no more

¹ Mayor of Karachi

² The People's Flood Relief Committee; *vide* "Letter to N. R. Malkani", 18-9-1929 and "Letter to Jairamdas Doulatram", 27-9-1929

³ N. R. Malkani

about that. You friends should decide whatever you think proper after considering the circumstances there. At this distance I feel that you will not now be able to utilize Malkani's abilities to the full. And the money which I have received will be blocked for the present. I may be wrong in my reasoning in what I have said, in which case please forgive me, knowing that I can do only what appears right to me.

From a copy of the Gujarati: Kusumbehn Desai's Diary. S.N. 32578/42

173. LETTER TO SECRETARY, A.I.S.A., MIRZAPUR

CAMP LUCKNOW,
September 27, 1929

THE SECRETARY, A.I.S.A.
MIRZAPUR
AHMEDABAD
DEAR SIR,

I have your letter of the 24th instant enquiring about the forthcoming Congress Exhibition. I have no reply to my letter to Dr. Gopi Chand from which I should deduce that the Association did not participate in the Exhibition. If there is any change I shall let you know, if necessary, by telegram.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 15610

174. LETTER TO JAGANNATH

CAMP LUCKNOW,
September 27, 1929

MY DEAR JAGANNATH,

Both you and Desh Raj have been very prompt this time and from what I have learnt about Mr. Brayne's activities, Desh Raj's report may prove a most valuable document, of course on the assumption that it is an absolutely accurate statement. I understand that Mr. Brayne has been vilifying us in London practically at our expense. I have seen Purushottamdasji regarding Lala Benarasidas and I now know the position. I shall await the further letter from Desh Raj before I do anything.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 15607

175. LETTER TO JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM

CAMP LUCKNOW,
September 27, 1929

MY DEAR JAIRAMDAS,

I have your several letters but just now I want to notice the one regarding Malkani. I quite agree with you that it would have been better if Malkani had not joined the semi-official committee or could have avoided it. I have told him as much and I have told him also that so long as he is working for that committee the money sent from Gujarat must be held over. It cannot be spent through an official committee. I wish that Jamshed¹ had spared Malkani. It is not just to the donors in Gujarat to have their money left unused. It would be still more unjust and unlawful if I allowed it to be used through semi-official channels. Jamshedji has written to me asking me to authorize Malkani to hand over the balance of Gujarat money to his Committee. I have written to him regretting my inability to comply with his request and regretting also that he should have drawn Malkani into the net and thus have lessened his capacity for service. Now you will do what you think is best. I hope you had a truthful and responsive atmosphere about you in Gujarat.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM
CONGRESS HOUSE, BOMBAY

From a microfilm: S.N. 15611

¹ Mehta Mayor of Karachi

176. LETTER TO RANI VIDYAVATI

ON TOUR,
*Bhadrapad Krishna 9 [September 27, 1929]*¹

DEAR SISTER,

Your letter came a long time ago, but being on tour I have not had time to reply to it. The money you have collected can be used only for cow-protection. It is good that you thought of devoting yourself to the service of the poor instead of coming to me. Is it difficult for you to persuade the elders of the need to give up the *purdah*? Women must resolve to discontinue a custom which only causes harm to the country. You are bound to succeed if you humbly but firmly make the effort.

Yours,
MOHANDAS GANDHI

From the Hindi original: Rani Vidyavati Papers. Courtesy: Gandhi National Museum and Library

177. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

LUCKNOW
September 28, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

Imamsaheb arrived here this morning. He is fine.

It is quite true that there cannot be real non-attachment without spiritual knowledge. Non-attachment does not include ingorance, cruelty and indifference. The work done by a person filled with the real spirit of non-attachment shines far more and succeeds better than that of a man who works with attachment. The latter may sometimes get upset and forget things because of worries; he may even feel ill will and in the result may spoil the work. The man of non-attachment is free from all these defects. I need not write and explain this to you. But, when a thing we know is brought to our notice by someone else

¹ From the reference to the addressee's efforts to abolish the *purdah* system, the letter appears to belong to the year 1929; *vide* "The U. P. Tour-VI" sub-title *Prejudices Die Hard*"

at the right time, it has an altogether different effect on us. I send to you from time to time useful thoughts like these which occur to me in order that you may not get nervous.

The correspondence which you carried on with the Vidyapith seems quite all right to me. As a trustee, you could have done nothing else. If your action gives rise to a misunderstanding, bear it in patience as temporary. For, so long as you yourself are certain that you have done a particular thing without ill will or without being carried away by emotion, you need not worry about the matter at all.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5448; also *Bapuna Patro*—7: *Shri Chhaganlal Joshine*, p. 145

178. SPEECH TO LUCKNOW UNIVERSITY STUDENTS, LUCKNOW

September 28, 1929

Mahatma Gandhi, replying to the address¹, regretted that the address was in English and not in Hindustani. Lucknow being a seat of Urdu culture, the address should have been in Devanagari and Urdu scripts which would have shown perfect amity and concord between the Hindu and Muslim boys of the University. He deprecated the attitude of those who neglected the mother-tongue and concentrated on learning a language which was foreign. He himself edited an English newspaper which decidedly proved that he was not against the English language as such. What he wanted was the proper thing in the proper place. He instanced the case of General Botha who, when summoned by the King, took an interpreter, although he understood English quite well, just to emphasize that he was Dutch in origin and valued the Dutch language above anything else. Mahatma Gandhi hoped that in future greater stress would be laid on the cultivation of the national language in the Lucknow University.

The Leader, 2-10-1929

¹ Presented by the Lucknow University Students' Union

179. SPEECH AT A.I.C.C. MEETING, LUCKNOW

September 28, 1929

I know my name was proposed and elected by a majority of votes, but I find myself quite unfit for such a heavy responsibility, though it is a great honour. I, therefore, utilize this opportunity to explain to you that it is my weakness indeed that I am shrinking from it and the same I have explained so many times through *Young India*.

What I felt most was for Pt. Malaviya who had no mind to come over here.

His mission in coming over to this place was only to persuade me, but I find that he is going back dejected.

While I do not want to undertake this responsibility, I do not mean that I shall keep myself aloof from the Congress programme. Suggestions have come from certain quarters that if I do not accept it, I shall commit another unprecedented mistake. Anyhow I could not be convinced, and my conscience does not permit me to shoulder the responsibility.

I assure you that in every programme adopted by you at the Lahore Congress, I would be with you.

I feel I can do more work by not becoming the President of this year's Congress and I assure the house that I am firm on my words of responsibility that I gave at Calcutta. This crown, though, the thorny crown of the Congress, is unacceptable to everyone. Why? Because it is a question of great responsibility. I would suggest to you to elect one forgiving all that has so far happened. I shall be very ready to assist him to my best capacity. I shall be prepared for the worst if the chance comes. I am not to run away from the coming battle on the 1st January, 1930. I shall willingly extend every help in formulating the programme and scheme for congress work. What I wish from you is to discard this futile mentality that if Gandhi is not on the chair or Motilal not in the front, the Congress would collapse. You should stand boldly on your conviction of heart and push the work ahead.¹

The Hindustan Times, 2-10-1929

¹ The meeting elected Jawaharlal Nehru as Congress President.

180. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

[After September 28, 1929]¹

CHI. CHHAGANLAL JOSHI,

I have your letter. There must be more money received through Kothari from Rangoon. So far as my memory goes, about Rs. 35,000 was received. Look into the Kathiawar Parishad's or some other account. It may even be that a part of the sum is lying in the Deshbandhu Khadi Fund, for the entire sum was not intended to be spent in Kathiawar. You will, therefore, get the necessary information about this by writing to inquire at Jamnalalji's or asking Kothari. the people in Rangoon want the account to be published.

I understand your reason for again postponing the change concerning the women's section. It would of course be fine if you could make the change permanent. But do not force things on them. We should take care and see that Gangabehn and Vasumati do not break down in the attempt to carry out the change. If their attempt is voluntary, we need not worry about their breaking down. When, however, such experiments are undertaken through love or regard for others, it is not right that those who make them should break in the attempt. This time Mahadev is there²

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro—7: *Shri Chhaganlal Joshine*, pp. 145-6

181. THREE QUESTIONS PUT BY A YOUTH

A young man has asked three questions. The first of these is as follows:³

Such horrible marriages are, in my opinion, not marriages but rather an exhibition of brute force. They are certainly contrary to religion whatever the legal opinion regarding them. I would certainly liberate a girl who has been sold in this manner and, if that were

¹ As in the source

² The letter is incomplete.

³ This is not translated here. It referred to the fact that some old men got secretly married to young girls. The caste leaders took them back into the fold on payment of a small fine.

possible, get her married to a deserving groom. Wherever such marriages take place, young men should give publicity to them, find out the whereabouts of the girl's parents and visit them and try and convince the old man who has got married to set the girl free. In order to carry out this task young men should be worthy of it, be respectable and polite. The bride should in fact be a child. There is no help if the bride, although young as compared to the bridegroom, is mature enough to understand the situation and has married him of her own free will. There are such young women who, being tempted by wealth, sell their virginity to old men and then commit misdeeds. Who can deal with them? Measures can be adopted only in cases where the bride is a child, not old enough to understand, and where the father or some other guardian has sold her solely for money. Old men will stop looking for child-brides where young men can prevent one or two such instances and the former can satisfy their desires by searching out mature widows.

The second question is as follows:¹

Speculation clearly constitutes gambling and does not benefit the public at all. There is no doubt that it adversely affects business. Wealth gained through speculation is like wealth obtained by theft. Public opinion should be cultivated in order to prohibit speculation. This is a very ancient corrupt practice and has become widespread today. It will continue in one form or another so long as the human race does not give up greed. Young men will be unable to cope with all the evils in the world, but much can be achieved if they themselves become pure.

Now the third question:²

A bridegrooms party of this kind is as fit to be abandoned as a caste-feast. It is a useless expense and is detrimental to the solemnity of the religious ceremony. Young men who are about to marry should oppose firmly both the feast and the marriage party consisting of the bridegroom's relatives.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 29-9-1929

¹ This is not translated here. It referred to the fact that educated young men took up jobs with speculators despite their dislike of this form of gambling, but later themselves engaged in private speculation.

² This is not translated here. It related to the propriety of holding wedding feasts and of large numbers joining the bridegroom's party.

182. MY NOTES

FASTING OR TRUE CONDUCT?

A reader writes to say:¹

It seems that this association has not examined the consequences of fasting and truthful conduct. Otherwise this question would not have arisen. Fasting has no independent power to control one's emotions. These are often found to have become enfeebled in an individual who is fasting. Those who fast on the *Ekadashi* and such other occasions, become so ill-tempered during these fasts that those around them shudder to approach them. Had there been any independent power in fasting which would lead one to restrain one's emotions, many persons who die of starvation would have been blessed long ago. It could indeed be claimed, however, that anyone who wishes to restrain his emotions would derive some ... however little ... help from fasting. Truthful conduct, however, is the best means of restraining one's emotions. It has unlimited power to control one's emotions and this power never fails to bring about results. Hence fasting cannot be compared to truth at all. Anyone who is not truthful cannot succeed in controlling his emotions, whereas anyone who is truthful can readily exercise control over his emotions. One cannot help doing so while practising truth.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 29-9-1929

183. NOTE TO JAYKRISHNA BHANSALI

September 29, 1929

Even the trees and plants converse with a person who is wholly devoted to God, for he sees Him and His sport even in these. We have not understood all this joy of *bhakti*. If we understand it, the beauty of *bhakti* would immediately be heightened for us.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, p.164

¹ The letter, not translated here, read: "There was a discussion in our club as to how to conquer one's emotions. We all came to the conclusion that this could be done through fasting or good conduct. We could not, however, come to a decision as to which of the two could be practised more easily".

184. SPEECH AT LUCKNOW

September 29, 1929

Mahatmaji performed the National Flag-hoisting ceremony this morning in the Municipal Hall. After the ceremony was over, Mahatmaji begged pardon of the public for the delay in his coming.

I am grateful for the honour you have done me in giving me this opportunity but I would ask you to understand the full significance of this tri-coloured flag. It is not merely a piece of khadi without any meaning. The red colour in the flag signifies sacrifice, the white, purity and the green, hope. The three colours stand for one ideal, that of unity. It is the duty of the citizens to see that when once it is unfurled, it should never be allowed to drop down.

The Bombay Chronicle, 30-9-1929

185. INTERVIEW TO FREE PRESS OF INDIA

September 29, 1929

In an interview given exclusively to the representative of the Free Press of India, Mahatma Gandhi, expressing his impression of the A.I.C.C. meeting's decision reached at Lucknow, said:

The proceedings at the A.I.C.C. meeting were marked with cool-headedness and no unnecessary excitement was witnessed after I had made my position clear as to why I do not accept the presidentship of the Lahore Congress. Yesterday's proceedings showed the wisdom of the A.I.C.C.

Questioned as to what programme would be adopted at Lahore for leading the country ahead, Mahatmaji said:

What the Lahore Congress would do is more than I can say.

The Hindustan Times, 2-10-1929

186. LETTER TO NAWAB OF BHOPAL

LUCKNOW,
September 30, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter.

I fear the alteration suggested by you is not likely to serve the purpose intended by you. For I know states which have preferred neither to consent nor to prohibit. They have simply tolerated the presence of quiet workers. Moreover, perhaps, you have not realized that it is not contemplated that those who may work under the scheme may not agitate in the Press or otherwise than through the state concerned in the event of prohibition order. However, if you still consider it necessary to make the alteration I am open to conviction. Of course it is possible to remove the clause altogether. It is a clause introduced as an earnest of the *bona fides* of the workers under the scheme. You will be interested to know that I have had several protests against my praise of the simplicity of your 'palace'.¹ You will set in the current issue of *Young India*² my reply to the critics. But a correspondent has sent some papers describing the supposed grievances of the people of Bhopal. I am sending them through Hayat. I would like your Highness, if you think it is worth while, to send me a reply to the charges for my private use only unless you will desire or not mind public use thereof.

I am,
Yours Sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Kusumbehn Desai's Diary. S.N. 32578/44

¹ *Vide* "Speech at Public Meeting, Bopal", 10-9-1929.

² *ibid*

187. LETTER TO ASHRAM WOMEN

LUCKNOW,

Silence Day, September 30, 1929

SISTERS,

Lucknow is the home of the *purdah* system. There are many Muslim women here. They have sent a message to me and asked me how their hardship may end. I can naturally give only one reply, that we forge our own bonds. Only yesterday we had a meeting of such women. They were not compelled to attend it in *purdah*, but they thought that they could not do otherwise. The Ashram exists to remove such hardships, and its success depends on you. *If you break the shackles, observe self-restraint, acquire knowledge and cultivate devotion to duty, you will automatically have set an example to other women.*

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3703

188. LETTER TO TARAMATI MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

LUCKNOW,

September 30, 1929

Devdas gave me the news about your father's death. I thought of writing to you immediately, but before I could do so the matter went out of my mind. I soon recover from the shock which death gives me, and console others so that they, too, may do the same. I see more clearly day by day that there is no difference at all between birth and death. The two are aspects of the same state and we keep on passing from one to the other. I have often watched mice playing such a game. In the prison cell I had to do the same thing myself. I used to walk from one walled side to the other and back again. So, then, which side did I leave and to which did I move? I have been talking philosophy, but it is full of truth and you should draw from it as much

consolation as you can. In any case, time is doing its work of erasing all memories. Were it not so, God knows in what plight we would have been.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuni Prasadi, pp. 96-7

189. LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI

LUCKNOW

September 30, 1929

CHI. MANILAL AND SUSHILA,

I got your letters. I am writing this from Lucknow. You will see from the newspapers that I have declined the Presidentship. I keep good health. The weight has improved fairly well and seems likely to go up still.

I am now waiting for Sushila to arrive.

My tour of this part (U.P.) will continue till the last week of November. I have no time to write more.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4760

190. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

LUCKNOW,

Silence Day [September 30, 1929]¹

CHI. NARANDAS,

I got your letter conveying your [birthday] greeting. You have frightened me at the same time. Chhaganlal is losing weight. He now weighs only 96 lb. Go to his help. Maybe your temperaments do not agree in some respects. You have not explained your reason for not going. All that he said in his letter was that you might have felt hurt. I think it necessary to let him have rest for a few weeks. This seems possible only if you shoulder his burden. If there are difficulties in your way, please let me know about them. Purushottam's weight remains very low. Does he have motions naturally, without using medicines? It would be good if you can arrange for him to stay in Hajira. I should advise him to spend some time there and see if that helps him.

Why is Jamnadas's eczema not cured? Does he write and give any reason?

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-9: Shri Narandas Gandhine, Part I, p.41

¹ Gandhiji was in Lucknow on Monday, September 30, 1929.

191. LETTER TO PRABHUDAS GANDHI

LUCKNOW,

Silence Day [September 30, 1929]¹

CHI. PRABHUDAS,

I got both your letters. Look upon your ailment as a trustee of your body and doing what you can about it, stop worrying. Give up your desire to get better in Gujarat itself. You have set up home in Almora. There, too, you are doing service. God will take service from wherever He wishes. It may be generally assumed that He does not want you to serve at a particular place if you do not keep well at that place. The rule that, despite illness, one should go on doing one's best at a place where it is one's special duty to serve, does not apply to you. It was so for Maganlal in regard to the Ashram. It was his dharma to die² serving the Ashram, which he fulfilled to perfection and I believe that, in that way, he in a large measure gave new life to the example of Bharat. If such a time comes for you, we will consider what you should do.

If you feel the slightest inclination to take an injection, you need not at all consider what I would desire. In such matters, one's own inclination is the only thing that matters.

If this does not cover answers to all your questions, ask me again.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: S.N. 33029

¹Gandhiji refers in the letter to Prabhudas having made Almora his home; Prabhudas was in Almora in the year 1929; *vide* pp. 97-8 and 100-101 In 1929, Gandhiji was at Lucknow between September 27 and 30 and Monday, Gandhiji's silence-day, was September 30.

² Maganlal Gandhi had died in Patna on April 23, 1928.

192. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

[End of September 1929]¹

CHI. CHHAGANLAL (JOSHI),

I have had no letter from you for two days. You should not understand from this that you must write every day even when there is nothing to write about.

I return the bill of the Khalishpur Ashram. The khadi which we have received from there was not ordered by us. If, however you thing that its cost is as shown in the bill, remit the amount. Write to me and let me know what the quality of the khadi and of the yarn is.

Has the elder Gangabehn calmed down? What happened about Yashodadevi?

See how things are with Krishnamaiyadevi. If you think it advisable to ask her to leave, let her go. If you can take Mahavir into confidence and find out why those people are frequently ill, try to know it.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro—7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, p. 146

193 LETTER TO FULCHAND K. SHAH

FAIZABAD,
October 1, 1929

BHAISHRI FULCHAND,

I have your letter. Why should not the Meghwal brethren of Vanathali obtain from the State the money needed for the building too? Did any of them apply for the purpose to the State? If you think they ought to be helped, why should the Antyaja Committee not help? Even if from other points of view it is thought proper to give the help, whether we should spend money in a State like Jamnagar needs to be carefully weighed. If there seems to be no objection to that, the Committee should address a formal letter to the State and ascertain why it is unwilling to put up the building.

¹ In the source, this letter is placed before the letter of 1-10-1929.

If it is considered necessary for the Wadhwan school for the *Antyajias* to have a plot of land of its own, the Committee ought to consider and decide that matter too.

In such matters the better thing, wherever the need for special help from me is felt, would be to approach me through the Committee.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 2858. Courtesy: Fulchand Shah

194. LETTER TO SHIVABHAI

FAIZABAD,
October 1, 1929

BHAI SHIVABHAI,

I have read your letter. I do not have the required knowledge to be able to judge the matter for myself. On the face of it, your argument seems to be correct, but you should communicate on the matter with Appasaheb and with Jethalal. In any case I am sending your letter to Appasaheb.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9493

195. LETTER TO MATHURADAS PURUSHOTTAM GANDHI

FAIZABAD,
October 1, 1929

CHI. MATHURADAS,

I have your letter. I am happy that you have taken up the work of running a spinning class. Attain, if you can, perfection in the task. For that purpose, you should build sound health. Take as much exercise as your body can bear. Take especially milk and preparations of wheat and green vegetables. The latter should form the main part of your diet. If you can digest, take a little of fresh vegetables uncooked. It is good that your sons are taking up work one after another. I hope Motibehn is now quite free from her fever.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3732

196. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

[October 1, 1929]¹

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I am in Akbarpur today. With me are Ba, Kripalaniji and Kanti. Abbas is with me by chance. He was travelling to this place. As there were no facilities for staying here, I have left the others behind in Lucknow. We are here only for a few hours.

In your letter received yesterday, you have written about winning my confidence. You have it in unlimited measure. Were it not so, we could not have worked together for so long. What worries me is the state of your health, your unsteadiness and your lack of self-confidence. If you have these, you will be able to manage other problems.

Do not attempt anything which you cannot manage. Even if you find it necessary to give up the responsibility which you have assumed, I will not stand in your way. You should not lose your strength, and whatever you do should be done well. Nothing should be done in impatience.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5479

197. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

Tuesday [October 1, 1929]²

CHI. VASUMATI,

I have your letters. I feel that you should stay on in Bijapur as long as you feel physically and mentally fit, so that some propaganda for khadi is done and Chhaganlal gets assistance. Help as much as you can in carding and making of slivers. Introduce, if possible, spinning in the children's school at Bijapur. Make friends, if you can, with the leading families there. But in the last resort you must do what appeals to you. You cannot teach carding now to those who do not spin. Once

¹ From the reference to Gandhiji's presence in

² From the reference to Gandhiji's U. P. tour; he left Lucknow on September 30, 1929 and the next day, i.e., October 1, 1929 was a Tuesday.

they have mastered the art of spinning there is no harm in teaching them what they like. The carding-bow cannot be given free to anyone. There is no harm in giving it at concessional rates.

We are today in a village. We have arrived here after leaving Mirabeen and others in Lucknow. We will all assemble tomorrow.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9377

198. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

JAUNPUR,

Wednesday [October 2, 1929]¹

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

The post addressed to faizabad was received yesterday.

I send with this a cheque for Rs. 300 received from Shirinbehn. Credit it in the miscellaneous account so that we can draw from the amount for khadi or *Antyaja* work or similar purposes whenever we are short of money.

Enclosed with this is a letter for Madhavlal. Pass it on to him after reading it. Discuss the matter with him if he opens the subject.

Give me an account of the cow-protection exhibition. How many attended the city exhibition and how many the cow-protection exhibition? Take care of your health. Your request to Maganbhai seems to me quite reasonable. all of us have not learnt to understand the spirit behind such frank dealings. Have I not told you about Mr. Ireland of Delhi? He is a great friend of Andrews. Once the latter used his bicycle, for which he charged two or three rupees, for he considered himself a trustee for the cycle. When going to simla, he refused to accept from me second-class fare and accepted only intermediate fare. Even the closest friends should have such perfectly truthful dealings with one another. We have before us the examples of Harishchandra, Taramati, Rohit, etc. You should have no fear.

Blessings from

BAPU

From photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5478

¹ Gandhiji was in Jaunpur on this date

199. *THE HINDU WIFE*

The following¹ is a summary of a long letter of a brother describing the miseries of his married sister:

Some time ago my sister was married to a man whose character was hidden from us. This man has been discovered to be a rake ... She remonstrated. The man could not brook this ... My sister is heart-broken. ... We are helpless. What would you advise her and us to do? This is one of the most shameful aspects of Hinduism, where woman is left entirely at the mercy of man and has no rights and privileges. ... Thousands of such women are groaning and weeping. As long as Hinduism is not purged of these and such-like evils, can there be any hope of progress?

The writer is an educated man. His is a much more graphic description than the summary is of his sister's distress. The correspondent has sent me his full name and address. His condemnation of Hinduism, though pardonable under intense irritation, is based on a hysterical generalization from an isolated instance. For millions of Hindu wives live in perfect peace and are queens in their own homes. They exercise an authority over their husbands which any woman would envy. It is an authority which love gives. The case of cruelty brought to light by the correspondent is an illustration not of the evil in Hinduism, but of the evil in human nature which has been known to express itself under all climes and among people professing different faiths of the world. The facility for divorce has proved no protection against a brutal husband for a plaint wife incapable of asserting and at times even unwilling to assert herself. It is therefore in the interest of reform for reformers to avoid hysterics and exaggerations.

Nevertheless the occurrence to which this article draws attention is not an altogether uncommon occurrence in Hindu society. Hindu culture has erred on the side of excessive subordination of the wife to the husband, and has insisted on the complete merging of the wife in the husband. This has resulted in the husband sometimes usurping and exercising authority that reduces him to the level of the brute.

¹ Only excerpts are reproduced here.

The remedy for such excesses therefore lies not through the law but through the true education of women as distinguished from unmarried girls, and through cultivating public opinion against unmanly conduct on the part of husbands. In the case in point the remedy is incredibly simple. Instead of the brother and other relatives feeling helpless and weeping with the distressed girl, they should clothe her with protection, educate her to believe that it is no part of her duty to placate a sinful husband or to seek his company. It is quite evident that the husband himself does not care for the wife. She may therefore without breaking the legal tie live apart from her husband's roof and feel as if she had never been married. Of course there are two legal remedies open even to a Hindu wife for whom a divorce is unobtainable, and that is to have the husband punished for common assault and to insist upon his supporting the wife. Experience tells me that this remedy is in most cases if not in all worse than useless, and it never brings any comfort to a virtuous woman and makes the question of husband's reform more difficult if not impossible which after all should be the aim of society, more so of every wife. In the present instance the girl's parents are well able to support her but where it is not possible, the number of institutions that would shelter to such ill-treated women is growing in the country. There still remains the question of the satisfaction of the sexual appetite on the part of young women thus leaving the inhospitable roofs of their husbands or being actually deserted by them when the relief given by divorce is unobtainable. But this is really not a serious grievance in point of numbers, for in a society in which custom has discountenanced divorce for ages, a woman whose marriage proves unhappy does not want to be remarried. When public opinion in any social group requires that particular form of relief, I have no doubt that it will be forthcoming. So far as I understand the correspondent's letter, the grievance is not that the wife cannot satisfy her sexual appetite. The grievance is not that the wife cannot satisfy her sexual appetite. The grievance the gross and defiant immorality on the part of the husband. For this, as I have said, the remedy lies in a revision of the mental attitude. The feeling of helplessness is imaginary as most of our ills are. A fresh outlook, a little original thinking, is enough to dispel the grief brought about by defective imagination. Nor should friends, and relatives in such cases be satisfied with the mere negative result of isolating the victim from the zone of tyranny. She should be induced to qualify herself for public service. This kind

of training would be more than enough compensation for the doubtful privilege of a husband's bed.

Young India, 3-10-1929

200. THE THOUSAND-HEADED MONSTER

The monster of untouchability shows his deadly fangs from his thousand mouths nowhere more persistently than in the South. Thus writes a correspondent from that quarter:

Whereas it has been apprehended in orthodox circles that the preachers of untouchability are apt to confound the issues and implications involved in the principle by an attempt to push it to an undue extent so as to create unnecessary friction, I wish to elicit from you a definite pronouncement as regards the scope and extent of untouchability, in the light of the undermentioned observations offered in the form of questions.

Though I do not think that the "preachers of untouchability" or rather of anti-untouchability have done anything so as to create any avoidable friction, it is best to deal with the questions that often arise even in the minds of men who are not in any way mischievously inclined, and who would, if they could, endorse the anti-untouchability movement but who are unknowingly to themselves obsessed by agelong prejudices.

The correspondent's first question is:

Do you think that the principles of varnashrama dharma are inconsistent with the formation of Indian nationality?

In the first place, varnashrama has nothing to do with untouchability or with castes as we know them today. In the second place, varnashrama, as I know it, is in no way inconsistent with the growth of Indian nationality. On the contrary if it has the meaning that I have given to it, it is calculated to promote a truly national spirit.

The second question is:

Do you think that sins of touch and sight are of Vedic origin?

Though I cannot speak with authority based on first-hand knowledge, I have full confidence in the purity of the Vedas, and therefore have no hesitation in asserting that the sins of touch and sight have no support in the Vedas, but scholars like Sjt. C.V. Vaidya and Pandit Satavalekar can speak with much greater authority than I can lay claim to. I would, however, add that no matter what is credited

with Vedic origin, if it is repugnant to the moral sense, it must be summarily rejected as contrary to the spirit of the Vedas, and perhaps what is more, as contrary to fundamental ethics.

The next four questions may be condensed as follows:

Don't you think that the *karmakanda* is based upon a knowledge of the laws of magnetism, and that the rules regarding touch and sight, birth pollution and death pollution are intended for the purification of the mind?

In so far as they are so intended, they have a certain relative value, but the Vedas, the Upanishads, the Puranas and all the other Shastras as also the other religion of the world proclaim in no uncertain terms that purification of the mind is an inward process, and that the magnetism produced by the inter-action of physical bodies is nothing compared to the other subtle magnetism of mind upon mind, and the outward purificatory rites become soul-destroying, when they result in making man arrogate to himself superiority over fellow-human beings and in making him treat them virtually as beasts or even less.

The seventh question is:

Do you think that the procedure adopted by *jivanmuktas*, that is those who have in the present body attained salvation, who are above rules of the do and don't, are conducive to the spiritual growth of ordinary folk?

I do not think that anybody, however highly evolved he may be, who lives on the earth and among earthly beings, can be himself above the obligations binding on common mortals, and therefore these rules have to appeal to reason and must never be allowed to crush the spirit within. The rules about untouchability have been demonstrated and can be demonstrated to be injurious to the growth of the spirit, and they are wholly contrary to all that is best and noblest in Hinduism.

Then the question is:

Do you not believe in varna dharma?

I do in the manner often explained in these pages. In my opinion varna dharma has nothing to do with untouchability or superiority of one division over another.

The next question is:

Exceptions to untouchability are contained in the following verse:

कल्याणे तीर्थयात्रायां राष्ट्रकोपे च संभ्रमे ।
देवोत्सवे च दारिद्रे स्पृष्टिदेशे न विद्यते ॥

“Auspicious occasions, pilgrimages, political agitations, occasions of fright or fear, festive occasions of deities, poverty.” These exceptions go to prove the rule. Will you please press this authority into your service and prescribe a limit to it?

The wise man who conceived this verse has taken in the broad sweep of his exceptions every conceivable occasion. I would, therefore, like the protagonists of untouchability to present the reader of *Young India* with occasions which will not be covered by fright or fear, poverty or auspicious occasions. And this correspondent has also not seen the terrible poverty of thought of those who hug untouchability in that in the various provinces sanction for untouchability merely rests upon tradition. No one has yet given an intelligent definition of ‘untouchable’, ‘unseeable’ and ‘unapproachable’.

The last question is:

In the attempt to spiritualize politics, what is the limit to which you want to relegate untouchability?

There is no limit. The very beginning of spiritualization of politics rests in the banishing, root and branch, of untouchability as it is practised today. Untouchability attaching to birth or a calling is an atrocious doctrine repugnant to the religious sense of man.

Young India, 3-10-1929

201. SPINNING SONG

Marjory Kennedy Fraser sends me all the way from America the following beautiful song rendered into English from the Gaelic:

Love gave I to thee, my lover,
Love that sister ne’er gave brother,
Love that sister ne’er gave brother,
To her lull’d one ne’er gave mother.
Thou the wheel and I the thread,
While fate spinning o’er our head.

Young India, 3-10-1929

202. 'YOU ARE BEING DRIVEN'

Before leaving America Dinabandhu C. F. Andrews sent me the following¹ from Reinhold Niebuhr's pen appearing in the May number of the *Christian Century*. The article is given in full together with the original headlines to the paragraphs. I reproduce the article, as it shows in a practical manner the fallacy of speed and over-production or rather production merely for the sake of gain. If we have our ills, the Westerners have theirs no less serious than ours. The moral that I would have the reader to draw from the narrative is that we may not deal with our ills by copying the doubtful methods of other peoples. We will have patiently first to understand the causes of our ills and then equally patiently to discover our own remedies and apply them with hope and resolution.

Young India, 3-10-1929

203. YOUTH ON TRIAL

It was a great and a wise step the All-India Congress Committee took at Lucknow on 29th ultimo in electing Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as the Congress helmsman for the coming year. No man however great, be he even a Mahatma, is indispensable for a nation conscious of itself and bent upon freedom. Even as the whole is always greater than its part, the Congress which claims to represent the nation is always greater than its greatest part. To be a living organization it must survive its most distinguished members. The All-India Congress Committee has by its decision demonstrated that it believes in the inherent vitality of the Congress.

Some fear in this transference of power from the old to the young, the doom of the Congress. I do not. The doom was to be feared from the sceptre being held by paralytic hands as mine are at present. I may take the reader into the secret that before recommending Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's name for the burden, I had ascertained from him whether he felt himself strong enough to bear the weight. "If it is thrust upon me, I hope I shall not wince," was the characteristic reply. In bravery he is not to be surpassed. Who can

¹ Not reproduced here

excel him in the love of the country? “He is rash and impetuous,” say some. This quality is an additional qualification at the present moment. And if he has the dash and the rashness of a warrior, he has also the prudence of a statesman. A love of discipline, he has shown himself to be capable of rigidly submitting to it even where it has seemed irksome. He is undoubtedly an extremist thinking far ahead of his surroundings. But he is humble and practical enough not to force the pace to the breaking point. He is a knight *sans peur sans reproche*. The nation is safe in his hands.

But the youth are on their trial. This has been a year for the youth’s awakening. Theirs undoubtedly was the largest contribution to the brilliant success of the Simon Commission boycott. They may take the election of Jawaharlal Nehru as a tribute to their service. But the youth may not rest on their laurels. They have to march many more stages before the nation comes to its own. Steam becomes a mighty power only when it allows itself to be imprisoned in a strong little reservoir and produces tremendous motion and carries huge weights by permitting itself a tiny and measured outlet. Even so have the youth of the country of their own free will to allow their inexhaustible energy to be imprisoned, controlled and set free in strictly measured and required quantities. This appointment of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as the captain is proof of the trust the nation reposes in its youth. Jawaharlal alone can do little. The youth of the country must be his arms and his eyes. Let them prove worthy of the trust.

Young India, 3-10-1929

204. NOTES

CREDIT WHERE DUE

Correspondents have taken me to task for giving the Chief of Bhopal a guarded compliment.¹ I would have been guilty of discourtesy and what is more suppression of truth if I had not paid it. Having accepted His Highness’s hospitality and having noticed the remarkable simplicity of his abode, miscalled palace, how could I claim to be true to my host and myself if I suppressed the fact when its mention had become relevant? I issued no general certificate of merit. I had no evidence before me to form an opinion about the

¹ *Vide* “Speech at Public Meeting, Bopal”, 10-9-1929

general administration of Bhopal. I had no time to study it even if I had wanted to. I therefore possessed no qualifications for pronouncing any opinion. One correspondent has sent me a copy of the note from among the notes prepared by the Indian States Conference. I am unable to base any opinion on that, nor would I be justified in publishing it without first submitting it to the States authorities and obtaining their version about the charges made in the note. But the paying of the reserved compliment and the declaration of my general belief about Indian States enable me to forward that note to His Highness in full confidence that it will be carefully read by him and even sympathetically considered.

NAGARI PRACHARINI SABHA

The General Secretary, Nagari Pracharini Sabha, sends the following notice for publication:

The Bharat Kala Parishad of Benaras has handed over its entire art collection of paintings, statues and other historical and literary exhibits to the Nagari Pracharini Sabha of Benaras. This valuable collection is valued at more than a lakh of rupees, and the whole of the second storey of the Sabha building erected at a cost of Rs. 25,000 has been given by the Sabha for this Museum. It is requested that the members of the Sabha and others interested in this work may help the Sabha by giving or procuring articles of artistic or historical interest for this Museum. Persons who wish to lay down any conditions, if any, will be duly observed. It is hoped that gentlemen interested in art, archaeology and literature will help this work.

Before receiving this notice for publication I had seen the commodious hall in which the Museum is to find an abiding place. And I saw also the promising collection already installed there. The appeal of the Sabha should receive a generous response from all lovers of art.

Young India, 3-10-1929

205. DUTY OF THE UNITED PROVINCES

The reins of the Congress this year are in the hands of a great U.P. leader. For the coming year too they will remain in the hands of his youthful son. The responsibility of U.P. towards India has therefore increased a great deal. I do not recollect any leader having ever succeeded another from the same province as President. Of course, this is not the first occasion where a son succeeds his father. It is certainly a matter of great pride for a province that a son is recognized during his father's lifetime as fit to succeed his father as the leader of a great nation in the very next year.

Secondly, U.P. is situated in the heart of India. A battle of the campaign for India's freedom has already been fought in U.P. It is the arena of *Pujya* Malaviyaji's services. It is in U.P. that the Hindus' most holy places are situated. And there are also numerous relics of the Muslim emperors in the form of monuments. If the people of such a province work hard and try their utmost there should be no difficulty in realizing India's ambition next year.

U.P. is the home of so many big landlords and *talukdars*; at the same time there is poverty too. Possibly the poverty in U.P. is not worse than that in Utkal. Many areas have had famines for three years consecutively. The people have neither work nor money. They are starving. It can be true swaraj for them only when they have regular work and can keep the wolf from the door. If the young men of U.P. so wish, they can provide for the people both work and wages by going to the villages and popularizing the charkha. At the same time they can help boycott foreign cloth. I have mentioned the charkha by way of example only. What I want is that we should somehow destroy unemployment and hunger among millions of our brethren and merge ourselves completely in their service. So long as we think of them from a distance only and do not go to them, and until we try to remove their troubles after understanding them, one must know that we shall have done little for them. Under these conditions swaraj will remain a mere dream.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 3-10-1929

206. LETTER TO M. HINDHEDE

CAMP AZAMGARH,
October 3, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter and your pamphlets.¹ I am sorry to have to inform you that my experiment having apparently proved a failure I had to suspend it for a more auspicious occasion when I could have more leisure. I must confess that I have not yet found the substitute for milk. I have been recommended soya bean milk which I have not yet tried, soya bean not easily procurable in India. I am trying, however, to procure it. There is no difficulty about living healthily without milk but there is considerable difficulty in becoming strong after having lost it by protracted illness. Over forty companions tried unfired food with me and the majority of them could not make it a success and had to leave it.

Yours sincerely,

M. HINDHEDE, ESQ.
ERNAERINGSUNDRSOGELSER
FREDERIKSBERG ALLE 28
KOBENHAVN V

From a photostat: S.N. 15197

207. LETTER TO FREDERICK B. FISHER

CAMP AZAMGARH,
October 3, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter of the 25th ultimo. In the papers forwarded to me from Sabarmati I do not find the letter from the Golden Rule Foundation² of New York referred to by you. But I can guess the purport of that letter from your letter. As I am dictating this, one thing does occur to me, namely, the scarcity of milk for Indian children. What American friends may do in giving constructive

¹ The addressee had sent a few English pamphlets on diet. He advocated eating vegetables and fruit but did not believe in taking milk.

² The Golden Rule Foundation which was being founded for child welfare throughout the world was the successor to Near East Relief Association.

help is not to send doles of charity but to send expert knowledge in dairying, experts who are not exploiters in the disguise of philanthropists but true philanthropists who will give knowledge for the sake of giving it and who will study the condition of India's cattle and show us the way of improving our cattle breed and the supply of milk from the existing cattle. This idea, if it is entertained in a proper spirit, can be considerably amplified.

Yours sincerely,

FREDERICK B. FISHER, ESQ.
BISHOP'S RESIDENCE
METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
3 MIDDLETON STREET, CALCUTTA

From a photostat: S.N. 15602

208. LETTER TO DR. H. W. B. MORENO

CAMP AZAMGARH,
October 3, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I do not know how to console you. You sent me a report and you did not want me to hide my thoughts. I could not serve you by so doing. Why is 'half-borns'¹ a most degrading epithet? It has a well-known meaning and I have seen it used in writings which are not intended to ridicule the Anglo-Indians. Should I be wrong in stoutly resisting any claim that may be put forth by anybody as by the ruling race? This must be so of course because the claims put forth by the ruling race are being resisted and are now in the melting pot. I know that your birth is not a matter of your choice but the attempt that is being made to conceal the birth is a matter for sorrow even as an attempt made by Indians living in the colonies or in Europe has appeared to me to be a matter for sorrow when they have vainly tried to conceal their birth. Perhaps I am in much closer touch with Anglo-Indians who do not even know the name Anglo-Indian and who only know that their male parent was a European who had deserted them and their mothers. Are you sure that the leaders are "now prepared to throw in their lot with the Indians"? I know that such is your own personal wish but such by no means is the opinion

¹ *Vide* "the Anglo-Indian", 29-8-1929

even of the majority of leaders. You ask me in the last paragraph of your letter to reproduce it in *Young India*. I shall gladly do so if you insist but I would dissuade you from so insisting. Your letter lends itself to much hostile criticism. The Anglo-Indian problem is far deeper than you seem to imagine and it cannot be dealt with by mere writing in the newspapers. It can be dealt with by enlightened Anglo-Indians realizing the gravity of the position and stooping to lift those who have neither a fair skin nor money to live up to the dangerously artificial life that the leaders are living. I must confess that I am not so much interested in the affairs of the microscopic well-to-do minority of Anglo-Indians as I am in the multitude that are living in a state of awful isolation neglected by their own and despised by those who consider themselves to be full-born.

Yours sincerely,

MR. MORENO, GENERAL PRESIDENT,
THE ANGLO-INDIAN LEAGUE
2 WELLESLEY SQUARE, CALCUTTA

From a photostat: S.N. 15631

209. LETTER TO AMINA QURESHI

AZAMGARH,
October 3, 1929

CHI. AMINA,

I was very glad to have your letter. The Gujarati is Qureshi's, but that does not matter. I hope you are keeping good health and that the young Begums are also in the best of spirits. Are you going on with Urdu studies? What have you been reading? Have you kept up the practice of writing regularly? If you have given it up, resume it.

Tell Imamsaheb that Maulana Suleman Nadvi who lives here, that is, at Azamgarh, took me to see Shibli Manzil. There are a number of Arabic and Urdu books in this Manzil which was established to commemorate the late Maulana Shibli.

Blessings to you both from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6655

210. LETTER TO BASANT KUMAR BIRLA

AZAMGARH,
October 3, 1929

CHI. BASANT KUMAR¹,

I was most delighted to receive your letter and the yarn. For you, the yarn is good enough. Here is my message: Having made a start you must continue to spin in the spirit of *yajna* and always remember *Daridranarayana*, i.e., our poverty-stricken brethren.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From Hindi: C.W. 6178. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

211. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

GAZIPUR,
October 3, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I have your letter. It is natural that you should feel worried about Prabhudas. But insted of letting the worry grow, try to overcome it. Prabhudas writes and tells me that he is more worried about my worrying on account of you both than about his fever. If it becomes clear that the plains will not suit him, we will let him remain in Almora. There is work there too, and he has already formed contacts there so that he will have no difficulty in staying on. It is likely, however, that by the time you get this letter, Prabhudas himself will be with you. I hope that he has no fever now.

I have written to Raghunath asking him to return there. I have written to Imiya, Kusum and Vasumatibehn too. The difficulty about slivers, therefore, will disappear. What have you been doing during their absence? I think that when you are short of slivers there you should even get them from the Ashram and supply them. The reputation of a person or thing becomes established when all people have the same experinece of that person or thing. I wish, therefore, that the work there may be reduced in scope as much as you like but should be systematized. At present you are getting work done with the

¹ Son of G.D. Birla

help of whoever is available to you. Instead of doing that, you should now think what the minimum number is that you require, and arrangements should be made accordingly.

This must be fixed as a rule, that we should get slivers made exclusively through the new volunteers who are being trained. We shall then know who are capable of being trained. What will it cost to send one maund of slivers from the Ashram? Calculate this. It is necessary to estimate the likely expenditure if the work in Vijapur is organised into an institution. We shall consider afterwards how much to add to the cost of the khadi produced there.

I have two things in view: one, to provide work to the really poor women there and, two, to run an ashram on an extremely small scale but well organized. You are, however, the centre in all this as Vinoba is in Wardha. Wardha has developed along its own lines as planned, and Vijapur along a different line. We went to Wardha of our own choice. To Vijapur we went by chance. The latter is a memorial to Gangabehn and Rustomji Sheth. As one of the oldest inmates of the Ashram, you seem to have settled down there in peace. I would, therefore, be happy if an independent weaving school could be run there as a branch of the Ashram and following the rules of the Ashram. Think about all this and write to me.

I have taken some time over this letter, and, therefore, I send a copy of it to Chhaganlal Joshi so that he too may know my views and make his suggestions. In any case remember that we wish to buy up the plot there whenever we can get it.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, pp.148-50

212. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

GAZIPUR,

October 3, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I send with this a copy of the letter¹ I have written to Chhaganlal. Write to me when you have the time, and let me know the thoughts which occur to you on reading it. Discuss the matter with others too.

There is nothing more to write about today. You do quite right in giving me news about the illness of Rukmini² and others. You ought to give me such news. I hope by now no sign of the illness is left. If the charts which were prepared are good, you should get them printed.

I return with this Govindbabu's letter. I have never been satisfied with his work. But he has gone through much, works to the best of his ability and is self-sacrificing. We should, therefore, continue to send him money for the maintenance of his wife. About other matters, you should write to him from time to time, in the hope that it will have some effect. You should call for reports, etc., so that there may be some control on him. He does not seem to have faith now in spinning but he goes on doing the work as a matter of duty. In saying this, however, I may be doing him an injustice.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5450

213. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO MUNNALAL

October 3, 1929

The distinction which you make between the Udyoga Mandir and the Satyagraha Ashram is not correct. The same men and women who lived in the Satyagraha Ashram now live in the Udyoga Mandir. But having realized their imperfection, they adopted a more fitting name. Work in a spirit of self-sacrifice by itself brings self-realization. The same is true about national uplift work. We are sincere

¹ *Vide* the preceding item

² Sir Raghavachari's daughter

workers in the cause of national uplift, we shall naturally be working for our spiritual uplift. “Servant of the country” is a more modest phrase than “workers in the cause of national uplift”. Have no doubt, therefore, that true service includes service of the country, of the *atman* and of God.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, p. 151

214. A LETTER

AZAMGARH,
October 3, 1929

CHI...¹

That you all have my blessings goes without saying.

But any special feelings I may have had about my birthday, etc., have been extinguished. I have received many telegrams, some of them very beautiful. I do not know why it is but they have made no impression on me. I do not feel either that my birthday is an important day in my life. Of course one thing happened which I mentally noted. I liked the coincidence that it was also a Monday,² the day of silence and the writing work went off fast and at a stretch and I felt no strain. From that time till October 2 I had to work much more than I wished or had expected. On October 2 I had actually to be up by 1 a.m. to catch the train for Jaunpur and the whole of yesterday was spent in travelling and addressing meetings. The car having broken down, I had to travel by a small bullock-cart. I liked all that because it suited my way of life. Today I have taken some rest.

From a copy of the Gujarati: Kusumbehn Desai's Diary. S.N. 32578/48

¹ The name is omitted in the source.

² Gandhiji's birthday according to the Gujarati calendar fell on September 30, 1929.

215. LETTER TO J. P. BHANSALI

AZAMGARH,
October 3, 1929

CHI. BHANSALI,

Nobody in this world remembers everything. Some have sharp memories, some weak. Your memory now has become weak. Why should you feel unhappy about it? You very well know the verse we recite in the morning. Does it not say that happiness is not happiness and misery is not misery, that the only misery is forgetting Vishnu, and the only happiness thinking of Narayana? You have that happiness because you have certainly not forgotten God. So one may say that you have all happiness.

From a copy of the Gujarati: Kushumbehn Desai's Diary. S.N. 32578/49

216. ANSWER TO "THE ENGLISHMAN"¹

[Before October 4, 1929]²

Any such conference to attract me will have to be, like Caesar's wife, above suspicion.

The Bombay Chronicle, 5-10-1929

¹ In reply to its "enquiry as to his attitude in the event of his being invited to the Round Table Conference in London."

² Released on this date by the Free Press of India from Calcutta

217. LETTER TO H.B. TEJUMAL¹

CAMP GORAKHPORE,
October 4, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

1. It is necessary to pray because prayer is food for the soul as food is for the body.

2. The body cannot live on prayer. For the body, honest labour is prayer.

3. It is a misuse of God's gift to use prayer for curing diseases. 4. It is a greater misuse to harness prayer for one's promotion of life or such material comforts.

5. Prayer is most helpful in spiritual progress and for subduing animal passions.

6. *Harinama* cannot be overpraised but *Harinama* in prayer has its limits.

7. If the prayer of one is more quickly answered than that of another it is a clear indication that the other lacks earnestness to that extent.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 15359

¹ In reply to his letter dated September 29, 1929, which read: "Kindly reply yourself for the satisfaction of my soul and each question may kindly be separately answered: (1) Is it necessary to pray and why? (2) Can a person live on prayer alone, doing no work whatsoever for his livelihood, etc.? (3) My son has recently got a corneal opacity of one eye as a result of small-pox. All surgeons and doctors opine that he will be permanently blind. Can it be corrected by prayer? (4) I am a doctor in Barrage on temporary list and there is no chance of becoming permanent. Can I, by prayer, become permanent, and rise in position, pay, comforts and happiness to my heart's satisfaction? (5) Is prayer helpful in spiritual progress and in subduing the animal passions.? (6) There is too much praise of *Harinama* in our religious scriptures, so much so that one who concentrates on *Harinama*, has no more to do for this world and the next. All that he needs, will he get by *Harinama*? What is your opinion? (7) Why the prayer of one soul is quickly answered and that of another not heard at all? What is the reason?" (S.N. 15358)

218. LETTER TO HARISH CHANDRA DAS

CAMP GORAKHPORE,,
October 4, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. You can certainly serve the country while studying and that is by doing constructive work and rendering other social service. You can spin for at least one hour daily with your whole heart in it in the name of the starving millions. You can also pass your vacation going to the villages and serving them by doing sanitary work. There are many other things that will suggest themselves to you.

Yours sincerely,

MASTER HARISH CHANDRA DAS
P.O. BARIDPADA
MAYURBHANJ STATE

From a microfilm: S.N. 15608

219. LETTER TO PRATAP S. PANDIT

CAMP GORAKHPORE,
October 4, 1929

DEAR PRATAP,

Giri Raj continues to write to me about his doings but I would like you to tell me about his progress either through your own observation or your foreman. You can hand the letter to Giri Raj for despatch or get my address from him.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 15616

220. LETTER TO GIRI RAJ¹

CAMP GORAKHPORE,
October 4, 1929

MY DEAR GIRI RAJ,

I have your letter. I am glad you have taken long boots to protect your legs. I hope you have now thoroughly recovered. You must keep your health.

Dead cattle hide is certainly enough for our wants. Have I told you that we are exporting nine crores worth of dead cattle hide out of India? You must remember that millions in India go barefooted. Sir Nalini Ranjan Sarkar told me that the reason why many tanneries have failed was because the leather want was limited in this country. Anyway I did not expect you to raise such an academic question because it is exactly on such academic questions that many of the evils in the world are sustained, as for instance meat-eaters justify meat eating on the plea that the earth will be overrun by the animals they ate if they became vegetarians. Birth-control people justify birth-control on the ground among others that there would be over-population if there was no artificial control. Even war has been justified on the ground that without it we should perish of pestilence and disease. Celibacy is condemned for one reason among the others that the earth will cease if all became celibates. Does it not strike you that it will be time enough to consider the question when we have absorbed nine crores worth of dead cattle hide? I am writing to Pratap Pandit and enclosing the letter with this. Your argument about machinery is not happily worded. Surely we can run a tannery both for the instruction of villagers and for supplying the wants of those who need foot-wear made out of dead-cattle hide. The main consideration about machinery is that it should not displace the labour of those who cannot otherwise be employed. You will find that this one argument answers all objections. We do not want to displace hand processes. We want to cultivate hand processes to perfection but where it is found to be absolutely necessary let us not hesitate to introduce machinery. Do you know that some of the most delicate life-saving appliances would have been impossible without the aid of some machinery? After all the simple charkha is also a machine. What we

¹ In reply to his Hindi letter (S.N. 15612) dated September 28, 1929

must dread is huge machinery run not by hand but by non-human power such as steam, electricity, etc. But even this need not be tabooed. If this is not still clear to you, you must continue to challenge my arguments.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. GIRI RAJ
SURAJ MAL ONKAR MAL'S CHAWL
MATUNGA

From a photostat: S.N. 15613

221. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA MUKHERJI

CAMP GORAKHPORE,
October 4, 1929

DEAR SATIS CHANDRA,

I enclose herewith for your information copy of a letter written to Satis Babu of Khadi Pratishthan. I thought that I ought not to withhold the contents of that letter from you although they might be painful to you but I would like you not to be pained but take a detached view.

Yours sincerely,

Enclosure 1

From a microfilm: S.N. 15630

222. LETTER TO MADHAVJI V. THAKKAR

GORAKHPORE,
October 4, 1929

CHI. MADHAVJI,

I have your letter. Before I can guide you in regard to your business, it is necessary for me to see you both at leisure. What have your brothers to say in the matter? If you have not resumed work for the present, how do you pass your time? I should like to ask you several such questions. As you cannot explain the position clearly in letters, nor can I understand it well if so explained, I should like you, if you are not in any hurry, to see me at some place where I may have leisure. According to the programme I am at Gorakhpur for four days; but barring Monday, on all other days I shall be touring places in the neighbourhood of Gorakhpur and return only to go to bed at

night. I would then feel exhausted, and be hardly disposed to take up other work and, moreover, there is bound to be some local problems demanding my attention. I have therefore decided not to call you to Gorakhpur, and hence I am sending you no telegram. I will decide where we shall meet after getting your reply to this letter, which should reach you on Sunday morning. Your present diet is all right. There should be no persistent coughing. I am not worried because of your bringing out sputum occasionally. If you put ten to twenty grains of soda bicarb into the butter-milk or curds before taking it, the acidity will have disappeared completely. I take curds daily, but I regularly mix soda bicarb with them. There will be effervescence when you stir the curds after mixing soda; you should know then that the acid has turned into carbon dioxide gas and that the acidity has completely disappeared. If you keep up your strength, be in no hurry to start solid food. You should not mind the expenditure on food.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6793

223. LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI

Gu.,
October 5, 1929¹

CHI. MANILAL AND SUSHILA,

I have your letters, as also Sita's photograph. It is a fine one. I hope you do not dress her in too many clothes and render her delicate.

I believe that the prevailing ill will between Hindus and Muslims is for the present unavoidable. Its remedy lies in patience and in passage of time. Go on doing whatever service you can and take offence at nothing. Bear with any opposition that people may offer. You should not lose heart or get tired because of persistent opposition. I certainly wish that you are not forced to run away from there in despair. But remember that the right course would be to judge your own strength and act accordingly, rather than bow to my wishes.

¹ Gandhiji undertook an extensive tour of U.P. in 1929. The single letter available in the photostat is "Gu" which obviously stands for some obscure place in U.P. Gandhiji was in Gorakhpore on October 5, 1929.

I am dictating this letter at a village in U.P. Probably I wrote to you earlier that Devdas had joined me at Kashi and is still with me.

So far I have been able to live on milk, curds and fruit. They seem to have agreed with me well enough. All are in good health.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4761

224. *LETTER TO KASHINATH*

ON WAY TO GORAKHPORE,

Saturday night, October 5, 1929

BHAI KASHINATH,

As most of the accompanying note had to be written in the train, I could write it only in pencil. It is based on the article on tea sent by you. Send me any questions which may arise in your mind after reading it, so that if I think it necessary I may write further. I have not still been able to read the article on butter. About that, next time.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5240

225. *TELEGRAM TO H. T. SILCOCK¹*

[After October 5, 1929]

C/O G. W. MAW

FRIENDS MISSION

ITARSI, C.P.

YOUR LETTER. TWENTY-SEVENTH OCTOBER FIRST NOVEMBER MEERUT DISTRICT SECOND DELHI THIRD BULANDSHAHR FOURTH FIFTH ALIGARH SIXTH MATHURA SEVENTH BRINDABAN. COULD YOU COME MUSSOORIE BETWEEN SEVENTEENTH TWENTY-FOURTH INSTANT?

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 15247

¹ In reply to his letter dated October 5, 1929

226. *ACADEMIC v. PRACTICAL*¹

A student writes:

Very often you give replies to your critics which are quite correct in the academic sense; they give a sort of temporary satisfaction to the mind but in actual practice leave the riddle as unsolved as ever. Take for instance your saying, "Only a coward fights on the strength of numbers." It is all right in the abstract. It does for the time being bring one a sort of mental reassurance, but of what avail is it in actual practice? You preach your gospel of soul-force to all and sundry. But do you think that there is any chance of your utopian advice being seriously taken by those who have not faith even in the spinning-wheel and khadi? Won't your preaching be, like pouring water over a duck's neck, utterly futile?"

I certainly hope that my advice about soul-force is not altogether wasted though it might seem unavailing for the time being. As an English proverb says, "Constant dropping will wear away a stone." And it is my faith that what seems utopian to the correspondent today will be regarded as practical tomorrow. History is replete with such instances. If the word 'soul-force' appears a meaningless term to our students today, it only shows to what an abject plight we are reduced. For is it not most tragic that things of the spirit, eternal verities, should be regarded as utopian by our youth, and transitory makeshifts alone appeal to them as practical?

We have an ocular demonstration of the futility of mere numbers before us every day. What stronger proof of the proposition can be needed than that a nation of three hundred million Indians is today being ruled by less than one lakh Englishmen? The very sight of a lion puts to flight a thousand sheep. The reason is plain. The sheep are aware of their weakness, the lion of its strength. And the consciousness of strength in the latter over-powers the numerical strength of the former. By analogy may we not deduce that 'soul-force' may not after all be a mere chimera or figment of imagination but a substantial reality?

I do not wish to disparage the strength of numbers. It has its use but only when it is backed by the latent spirit force. Millions of ants

¹ The Gujarati original of this appeared in *Navajivan*, 6-10-1929. This is a translation by Pyarelal.

can kill an elephant by together attacking it in a vulnerable place. Their sense of solidarity, consciousness of oneness of spirit in spite of the diversity of bodies, in other words, their spirit force, makes the ants irresistible. Even so that moment we develop a sense of mass unity like the ants, we too shall become irresistible and shall free ourselves from our chains.

It is my firm faith that the students of our national schools, a mere handful though they may be, if they are inspired by a real spirit of sacrifice and service and a living faith in their ideals, will stand the country in far greater stead than all the students in Government educational institutions put together. That quality is more than quantity is sound theory because it is true in practice. Indeed I hold that what cannot be proved in practice cannot be sound in theory.

When Galileo declared that the earth was round like a ball and turned on its axis, he was ridiculed as a visionary and a dreamer and was greeted with abuse. But today we know that Galileo was right, and it was his opponents, who believed the earth to be stationary and flat like a dish, that were living in the cloudland of their ignorance.

Modern education tends to turn our eyes away from the spirit. The possibilities of the spirit force therefore do no appeal to us, and our eyes are consequently riveted on the evanescent, transitory, material force. Surely this is the very limit of dull unimaginativeness.

But I live in hope and patience. I have an unshakable faith in the correctness of my proposition, a faith that is based on my and my companions' experience. And every student, if only he has got the faculty of patient, dispassionate research, can experimentally prove this for himself:

1. That mere numbers are useless.
2. That all force other than soul-force is transitory and vain.

It goes without saying, that if the above propositions are correct, it should be the constant endeavour of every student to arm himself with this matchless weapon of spirit force by dint of self-discipline and self-purification.

Young India, 6-10-1929

227. CONCERNING GOD

A friend writes:¹

This problem confronts many people; hence I should like to discuss it here a little. As the friend has observed, there may be weakness in my writing, but I am not aware of it. I have of course written what I have learnt from experience. But the experience is indescribable. I can give you only a glimpse of it and that can only be done in ordinary language. How can one compare divine intervention with human intervention? God and His laws are not disparate. Neither karma nor God spares anyone. Both are the same thing. One thought makes us cruel, another makes us humble. In this world an extraordinary sentient power is at work and we recognize it by whatever name we wish. But it does intervene daily in all our tasks. Every one of our thoughts is karma, which has its fruit. The fruit is subject to divine law. Hence either God or His law does intervene in all our actions whether or not we are conscious of it or acknowledge it.

Nothing is accidental in this world. What happens is subject to law. Only our ignorance is so great that we are not aware of its working. How can I construe it as an accident if a snake passes by me and still does not bite me? Why should not I regard it as God's grace? Or why should I not look upon it as due to my religious merit? The sting of pride born of religious merit is more poisonous than a snake-bite. Pride melts away in the presence of divine grace.

As there is an article² about faith in this very issue, I do not repeat it here. I have no use for blind faith. I put my intelligence to work where I see a palpably wordly reason. But when the intelligence tires out, I push faith to the fore and attach little importance to accidents. But I cannot kindle faith in God by rational argument. I

¹ The letter is not translated here. It had referred to Gandhiji's following statement in *An Autobiography*, Pt. V. Ch. XXI:

"The rule of not killing venomous reptiles has been practised for the most part at phoenix, Tolstoy Farm and Sabarmati. At each of these places we had to settle on waste lands. We have had, however, no loss of life occasioned by snake-bite. I see, with the eye of faith, in this circumstance the hand of the God of Mercy. Let no one cavil at this, saying that God can never be partial, and that He has no time to meddle with the humdrum affairs of men."

² *Vide* "Reason v. Faith"

have tried here a little logic. It is good if there is someone to whom this argument appeals. I cannot impart to others faith in God through my writings. I must admit that my experience is of use only to me. A doubting heart must seek the company of the Good. Its quest constitutes an endeavour worthy of man... even though it might not succeed.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 6-10-1929

228. WHAT DOES KHADI MEAN?

A twelve-year-old boy writes:¹

There is nothing new in this use. Even if there is a coarse mill-made *dhoti* and one wants to put it to such use, that can be done. But the significance of the above statement is that mostly one gets such ideas only after donning khadi. Khadi sets us thinking about the poor people and thereby we use it carefully. Moreover, it is a matter of surprise that a youth of twelve years has imbibed such sense of thrift. Such fine results have been experienced by many families on account of khadi activity. May the other youths also emulate the example of this youngster. The reader should know that from the financial condition of this young man's family, there is no need for him to be thus economical. But when the whole of India is looked upon as a family, it is necessary even for a millionaire's son to be economical and to utilize the money thus saved for his poor brethren, the other children of Mother India.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 6-10-1929

¹ The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had used a *dhoti* for a year and then out of the torn garment he had made six handkerchiefs, one of which had been sent to an exhibition in order to show how worn and torn clothes could be turned to good use.

229. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

GORAKHPORE

October 6, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I have your letter. As I have not become the President, my responsibility for doing something in January—according to my nature and to the teaching of the *Gita*—has doubled now, in the same way that the responsibility of a voluntary worker is greater than that of a person who works for money. To put this in the language of the *Gita*, there is a possibility of attachment in work done with a crown on one's head, whereas work done without such a crown is more likely to be free from attachment.

And if my responsibility has increased, that of the inmates of the Ashram also increases. If the country is able to do nothing and if I see the fitness of the Ashram inmates, something can certainly be done through them. None of you, therefore, has any reason to despair or to be complacent. This, of course, does not mean that I have now a plan of action. That will come when God inspires it. My life is ruled by faith.

You can read this at prayer time. It may be read at the time of the morning prayer, not at the time of the evening prayer. About other matters, I shall see what I can write with all this pressure for time on me.

At 5.45

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5451

230. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

GORAKHPORE,

October 6, 1929

CHI. BRIJKRISHNA,

Your letter to hand. As your mother takes no service from you, I do not feel you have a duty to go to Delhi. I can understand that your duty might consist in staying on at the Ashram or Vijapur because by living at either of these places you can prepare yourself

for the future as also build up your health. But you must not go by what I feel. Follow the dictates of your conscience. If you cancel the trip to Delhi I would advise you to proceed to Vijapur which, as you have found, suits your health better. Therefore it is preferable to stay there for the time being. Raghunathji, Govindji and others are well versed in carding. They will certainly teach you something of it. The gaps in your training there can be filled up at the Ashram. Most of it you will learn by practice and as you gain strength you will gradually find it more interesting. I would not dare to introduce any changes from here.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Now you have learnt enough by experience to know what food you should take or avoid.

My health is good. The same diet is continuing. The frequency of meals and the quantity of milk have been reduced. Instead of four I am taking three lb. of milk and curds.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2366

231. LETTER TO ASHRAM BOYS AND GIRLS

Silence Day, October 7, 1929

BOYS AND GIRLS,

I have not letter from you. I sometimes wonder who from among you can accompany me on my tours. The only underlying idea is that boy and girl students should get better trained for service. From that point of view, some things appear essential to me:

1. According to his or her present idea, the candidate intends to dedicate his or her life to service.

2. He or she is an expert in spinning, can card, gin, spin as fine yarn as we want, can repair implements, recognize the varieties of cotton, test the quality of yarn and calculate its count, etc.

3. He or she has a good handwriting and can write fast.

4. He or she has learnt most of the *bhajans* by heart and can sing them.

5. He or she prefers and observes self-control in food and drink, and is ready to observe it at any place where he or she may go.

You can add other points besides these. You and the teachers should think over this matter.

I would be surprised if you were taken aback by these conditions. I know that we have not remained as vigilant as we should have. What I have put forward here should be a common thing for most of you. It should not be found that any boy or girl student between 12 and 15 does not know the *Gita* by heart. If he or she learns one verse every day, the whole of the *Gita* will have been learnt by heart in two years. Drop by drop fills the lake.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, pp. 152-3

232. LETTER TO ASHRAM WOMEN

GORAKHPORE,

[October 7, 1929],

SISTERS,

I am reminded of you on so many occasions. As I see women and observe their condition in the course of my tours, I think of the tasks before you and realize that real education is of the heart. If pure love springs in it, everything else will be added. The field of service is unlimited. Our capacity for service can also be made boundless, for there is no limit to the strength of the soul. If but the doors of one's heart have opened, it can contain everything. Even a little work done by such a person will shine out. On the contrary, he whose heart is sealed may do much work, but it will get little appreciation. This is the signficance of the story of Vidura's offering of *bhaji* and Duryodhana's of fruit.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3704

233. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

GORAKHPORE,

Silence Day, October 7, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I have your letter. I enclose with this Chhaganlal Gandhi's. The suggestion that if anyone from Mansa offers to come and learn [carding] he should be taken in, seems all right to me.

I return the telegrams sent by you. I have thrown into the waste-paper basket the heap of other telegrams which came here straight.

The locusts have done much damage here too. We shall know now what the result there has been.

My free time today is over, and so I shall write no more.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

Today's post arrived after this was written. I am surprised to read about the pain which Kaki suffered. How did it come on all of a sudden? I am also likely to hear from Kaka.

It cannot be said that your weight has increased. It would be good if you could go out. You should certainly not allow your health to waste away.

If Jayanti meets me in Hardwar, it will be all right. But you should now have the whole programme with you. He may see it and select any place from it which suits him. However, 14-15 at Hardwar seems convenient. Before that, I have to visit small villages.

I had a letter from Narandas. You should win over a man like him. I am simply in love with his straightforwardness, purity and frankness. We, that is, chiefly you, ought to be able to use his services fully. This, however, is my view and my wish. What matters is your view and your wish.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5466

234. LETTER TO KISHORELAL MASHRUWALA

GORAKHPUR,

Silence Day, October 7, 1929

CHI. KISHORELAL,

I do not remember to have written to you about your note on the *Gita*. I liked it. I am of the view that the Sanskrit text need not be printed along with the translation. This translation¹ is not intended for those who wish to read the Sanskrit. They will manage somehow. This attempt is meant for those who do not know Sanskrit or know so little of it that it cannot help them to follow the meaning. Nevertheless, we can make a pocket edition available to those who wish to go to the Sanskrit text after reading this translation. We should free ourselves from the slavery to Sanskrit. If the path of the *Gita* is for women, Vaishyas and even Shudras, it should be possible to explain it, and it should be as intelligible in any other language as in Sanskrit. Hence, in my view, one part should consist only of the Gujarati translation, the second of a concordance and the third of the Sanskrit text. Anyone who so wishes can buy all the three parts together or only one. Kaka has discussed this idea at some length with Mahadev and Swami. It is my impression that Kaka and Swami have fully understood my point of view. I believe that Mahadev has some reservations. Vallabhbhai also has taken some interest in this matter. He has opted for a separate Gujarati edition.

What is relevant is this: is the translation of it literary quality, simple and intelligible? If not, it should be consigned to the flames. I would not feel unhappy if it was. I had intended to attempt something like the present translation for my own amusement and better understanding. To add to it, Swami was after me that I should give a translation that would reflect my views and should only venture to put forward my explanation of the teaching of the *Gita*. I had no right [to talk on the subject] till I did that. I was convinced by this argument of his. My experience proved its correctness, and I have therefore reaped the fruit of my effort. It would now be an additional reward if we publish it for the people. If necessary, you may still consider the matter from this point of view also. Interest Nath also in the subject. Ask him to pay at least a flying visit to the Ashram when he has the

¹ *Anasaktiyoga*; vide “Anasktiyoga”

time. Mahadev has taken away your note with him. You may have known about it. He and Kaka together are vetting the translation.

How is your health and Gomati's? So, Surendra has stayed on there. Has he calmed down? You must be keeping an eye on Giriraj¹.

God keeps my cart trundling along. If you ask me how it does, I cannot answer. It is certainly not doing so through my strength. What wonder, therefore, that my faith in God daily grows stronger?

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati Original: C.W. 10711. Courtesy: Gomatibehn Mashruwala

235. TELEGRAM TO SHANKERLAL BANKER

[October 8, 1929]²

BANKER

MAJUR OFFICE

AHMEDABAD

MANGALDAS'S STATEMENT FOR UMPIRE RECEIVED. GET FROM HIM COPY AND WIRE IF ANYTHING DEMANDS SPECIAL REPLY. I DON'T THINK REQUIRES ELABORATE REFUTATION.

GANDHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 15516

236. TELEGRAM TO MANGALDAS GIRDHARDAS

[October 8, 1929]³

SHETH MANGALDAS GIRDHARDAS

AHMEDABAD

RECEIVED STATEMENT FOR UMPIRE. PLEASE GIVE COPY MAJUR OFFICE IF NOT ALREADY SENT. ENABLE ME GET THEIR STATEMENT IF ANY. HOPE YOU ARE WELL.

GANDHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 15516

¹ Girirajkishore

² As in the S.N. register

³ *ibid*

237. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

GORAKHPORE,

October 8, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I send with this Ayodhyaprasad's letter to me and a copy of my reply to him. Go through both. I do not follow what he wants to say. I do not understand what he says about Mathuradas either. Nor do I understand what his complaint is. Write to me and explain if you know what it is.

I have gone through Ranchhodbhai's speech. I found in it nothing worth reproducing. I went through Parnerkar's speech too. It does not give an account of the progress made by the goshala, but explains what needs to be done. It is not necessary to print the speech. A report of this kind should give figures of the increase in the yield of the cow's milk, the fodder consumed, the cow's weight, the percentage of fat in milk, the average price of the cows, the expenditure on maintaining crippled and infirm cattle and that on maintaining milch cows only, the profit earned from castrated bulls and the expenditure involved in not castrating the bulls, a comparison of the prison [*sic*] cows and the *kankareji* and other cows in Gujarat, a comparison of the cows in Gujarat with cows in Hissar, a comparison of cows with buffaloes, etc. A report containing such information would be of great value. We ought to have such a report with us, for we have now started a school and train students, and also intend to institute certificates in this field as we have in khadi work. We wish ultimately even to award degrees. We ought, therefore, to have a report of the kind I have set out. We see some reports of this kind which have been published as books and become famous. Ours is an unexplored field so that all our reports can be of that kind. I expect such reports from our workers. Show this letter to Parnerkar and Valji. Surendera, too, may read it.

Were necessary reforms carried out at the time of the Exhibition? Are the dung and urine of the cattle fully utilized? Has the uncleanness to which I had drawn attention been removed now?

I heard a startling thing in Agra. Whereas the hide of one of our cows weighs about 20 lb., that of a cow in Europe weighs about

80 lb. I believed till now that we supplied to the whole world hide for the soles and heels of shoes. I discovered in Agra that in Europe they always make the soles and heels from the hide of cows and bulls, and that their hide is stronger than even the hide of our buffaloes. There may be some exaggeration in this, but all this is interesting information.

I have not yet read Surendra's report fully. I shall also let you know the thoughts which occur to me after I have read it. I return with this Parnerkar's report.

I dictated the paragraphs above at half past five in the morning in Gorakhpur. I am dictating what follows in Basti. I got the post sent to this address.

We cannot give to Prabhashankar the bungalow reserved for the doctor, for the latter may now arrive any day. Moreover Ratilal and Prabhashankar are at present on extremely unhappy terms with each other. The latter harrassed even Dr. Mehta a good deal. He cannot, therefore, be lodged in the doctor's bungalow. If there were a vacant room in the Ashram, we would have certainly offered it to him. Write to him, therefore, and tell him that apart from Dr. Mehta's bungalow there is nothing else in the Ashram and that a part of the bungalow is occupied by Manilal Kothari, and the ground floor, which is vacant, was especially got vacated for Dr. Mehta; add further that all the rooms in the Ashram are occupied.

My certificate to Budhabhai is not to be treated as gospel truth. I can state only the impression which I have formed from a distance; if I imagined anything contrary to that impression or refused to state, when the occasion demanded, what my impression was, that would be a blot on my vow of truth. Hence, the certificate I gave was the only one I could give though in point of fact it might be understood. I think you should attach more weight to what Harihar and others, who have come into contact with him, may have to say. If, therefore, you meet Budhabhai, tell him only what you think right and feel no hesitation in doing so. You will thereby have done your duty as friend and served Budhabhai's true interests. If he has beaten his wife, he has of course committed a sin. He has no right at all to beat her. If he does not speak with her, that also is difficult to understand, though of course sometimes this can be a form of satyagraha.

I understand what you say about Madhavlal. I have no letter from him. Ordinarily, we can say that we cannot give him money for

his wife. Madhavlal is slow of understanding, and so we should take no offence at what he says. If we can tolerate his dullness, he may even become intelligent. Take him into confidence and have a talk with him when he is alone. Tell him all that you think. Having taken him in and let him stay for so long, we cannot abandon him. He seems to be sincere, and so he cannot but be of some use. We should find out in what way he can be used.

It is necessary to take the advice of an experienced engineer about how to change the course of the river. Such an engineer can suggest some practical means.

Fever seems to have claimed many victims and harassed them a good deal.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I have not revised this.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5452

238. *LETTER TO VALJI G. DESAI*

GORAKHPORE,
October 8, 1929

BHAISHRI VALJI,

I am enclosing Bhai Nagindas's letter and his article. He desires the article to be published as a Supplement to *Young India*. Though its basic idea is true and the figures, etc., given in it are valuable, the article has not been written so as to be readily understood by the man in the street. I believe it can be very much abridged. If you can find the necessary time, you may make out of it a new article, short and pointed. If that is not possible, for want of time or for any reason, you may return both.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I have not revised this.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7402. Courtesy: Valji G. Desai

239. LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAMDAS THAKURDAS

GORAKHPORE,
October 8, 1929

BHAISHRI,

You are aware of Bhai Jagjivandas's efforts in connection with milk supply to Bombay and about the B.B.C.I. rates for carrying milk and its containers. From what he writes it appears as if the officers are merely arrogant in not acceding to his request, but I hesitate to believe this. Bhai Jagjivandas says that you are aware of the problem and in a position to do something about it. If you can give me some news about it, please do so.

What about salt? I have not yet been able to write about it myself; but I have been revolving it in my mind. I have looked through the old speech of Pennigton. I got nothing out of it. Please send me better literature if you know of any. I shall be in Hardwar on the 14th and the 15th.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

[From Gujarati]

Purushottamas Thakurdas Papers, File No. 84/1929. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

240. LETTER TO BHUPENDRA NATH BANERJEE¹

CAMP BASTI,
October 8, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter for which I thank you. I have preferred to observe silence over the self-immolation of Jatindra Nath Das because I feel that by writing on it I would have done more harm to the country's cause than good. There are many things on this earth on which I hold decided opinions but I retain those opinions to myself when I think that expression of those opinions can serve no useful purpose.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. BHUPENDRA NATH BANERJEE
3-1 LANSDOWNE LANE
KALIGHAT, CALCUTTA

From a microfilm: S.N. 15598

¹ In reply to his letter (S.N. 1559) dated September 25, 1929

241. LETTER TO BHUPENDRA NATH GHOSH

CAMP BASTI

October 8, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. If you will look up the articles I have written in *Young India* about fasting and hunger-strikes you will discover that so far as my silence is required by anybody it is to be found there. I have preferred to be silent over Jatindra Nath Das's self-immolation because any expression of my opinion at this juncture is likely to do more harm than good to the country's cause.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. BHUPENDRA NATH GHOSH

9/1/A NANDARAM SEN STREET

P.O. HATKHOLA, CALCUTTA

From a microfilm: S.N. 15598-a

242. LETTER TO GIRI RAJ

CAMP BASTI,

October 8, 1929

MY DEAR GIRI RAJ,

I have your letter. I fear you may not go to the V.G. Institute. If Prof. Chhaya would give you private tuition and if you want it you may take it. But really speaking you ought to be able to do all this by self-study. This condition of helplessness that we find around us must be got over. You have had sufficient training to enable you to prosecute further studies in practically any branch without the help of any instructor. The use of a laboratory may be necessary. That can be easily arranged but I would like you not to be in a hurry. The first thing is to become a practical tanner. When you have done that you will find the theory to be much easier to grasp and a previous knowledge of practice would help you in checking wrong deductions from theory. I know of many who possess full theoretical knowledge of tanning, who cannot tan a single hide. I would, therefore, like you to concentrate your attention just now upon becoming a perfect practical tanner, even to hold his own against the village tanner. You will find this to be no light task and you will remember that village

tanners have no knowledge of chemistry. The modern system of education has made everything so difficult and therefore so inaccessible to the vast majority of people. Our business is to reverse the process.

From a microfilm: S.N. 15615

243. LETTER TO JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM

CAMP BASTI,
October 8, 1929

MY DEAR JAIRAMDAS,

Jamshedji Mehta has written to me two letters giving me chapter and verse that his Committee is in no way official except that it has an official nominally [as] its president who was elected at a public meeting and not officially imposed. He tells me also that the whole responsibility is entrusted to the Executive Committee. Kripalani who paid a flying visit to Hyderabad recently confirms this. I therefore propose to lift the embargo on the Gujarat money held by Malkani but I am awaiting his letter. If meanwhile you have to say anything to me please write or telegraph. Here is a copy of my programme. I can understand your difficulty about domestic affairs. You shall certainly attend to them but it is too early to say how things will shape themselves in December and January. We shall of course meet before then when we shall be able to discuss the programme for the next year. You will give me your impressions of your tour in Karnatak as also in Gujarat.

Yours sincerely,

Enclosure: Programme

SJT. JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM

CONGRESS HOUSE, 414, GIRGAUM BACK ROAD, BOMBAY

From a microfilm: S.N. 15637

244. LETTER TO O.B. DE SILVA¹

CAMP BASTI,
October 8, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter for which I thank you. You have an expert in Ceylon itself trained at the Ashram and in charge of spinning work. His name and address are as follows:

Jaivardhan Jairamdas
59 Wellam Pitya, Colombo

With reference to the Labour Conference any Asiatic organization can be represented at the Conference. I am sure you have only to apply. If there is any difficulty you will please let me know.

Yours sincerely,

MR. O.B. DE SILVA
“LAURISTON”
MUTWAL
COLOMBO (CEYON)

From a photostat: S.N. 15202

¹ In reply to his letter (S.N. 15201) dated September 20, 1929, which read: “You must be aware that the charkha has no vogue here. . . But unemployment and a financial breakdown have given a nasty shock to our habitual complacency. . . There is only one cotton-mill here, and the field for a charkha programme is ready to be worked. When we have arranged the finance could you give us for even one month a helper from your Ashram? There is further an Asiatic Labour Conference being held in Bombay. Ceylon is left put. Could you not use your influence to discover why?. . . I know you will help us.”

245. *LETTER TO GANGA NATH JHA*¹

CAMP BASTI,
October 8, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your invitation to address the students of your University during my forthcoming visit to Allahabad. I note that you will arrange the exact date and time with Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru.

Yours sincerely,

THE VICE-CHANCELLOR
ALLAHABAD UNIVERSITY
SENATE HOUSE, ALLAHABAD

From a photostat: S.N. 15627

246. *LETTER TO J.C. KUMARAPPA*

CAMP BASTI,
October 8, 1929

MY DEAR KUMARAPPA,

You will please forgive me for not acknowledging at once your very full, frank and exhaustive letter. Continuous travelling has prevented an earlier acknowledgment. What led you to infer that I had already formed an opinion? I consider your letter to be so good that I have taken the opportunity of sending it to Miss Evelyn Gedge and I have suggested to her that she should write to you directly. I appreciate all that you have said in your letter. I hope you are getting on well there and keeping good health.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. KUMARAPPA
VIDYAPITH, AHMEDABAD

From a photostat: S. N. 15636

¹ In reply to his letter (S.N. 15626) dated October 2, 1929; Gandhiji addressed the students on the morning of November 17, 1929.

247 LETTER TO K.A. FITTER ¹

CAMP BASTI,
October 8, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. The books² you mention have been received at the Ashram. I am not likely to reach the Ashram before the end of November. I am not therefore not sure when I shall get the time to see the books. I may, however, mention to you that *Navajivan* is not a review paper at all.

Yours sincerely,

K.A. FITTER, ESQ.
SECRETARY, THE IRAN LEAGUE
HORNBY ROAD, FORT, BOMBAY

From a microfilm: S.N. 15246

248. LETTER TO ASA SING ³

CAMP BASTI,
October 8, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

If you send your invention to the Secretary, Spinners' Association for inspection your invention would be secretly guarded from being copied. But it is open to you to patent your invention before showing it to anybody and if you will patent it. it does not matter who copies it because it cannot be used commercially by anybody else.

Yours sincerely,

ASA SINGH ESQ.
C/O THE COMMERCIAL BOOK CO.
BRANDRETH ROAD, LAHORE

From a microfilm: S.N. 15357

¹ In reply to his letter (S.N 15245) dated September 23, 1929

² A set of *Avestana Javahiro* written by F.K. Dadachanji. They were comparative studies in religions, throwing a new light on the Zoroastrian and other religions. The addressee wished to have them reviewed in *Navajivan*.

³ In reply to his letter dated September 24, 1929, which read: "According to your advertisement about a spinning-wheel that you may spin 16,000 yards per day of 8 hours, etc., I have designed one which is quite agreeable to the requirements desired. It will spin 6 times more than the present one which I understand spins from 2,500 to 3,000 yards per day of 8 hours. May I know the procedure I should adopt for keeping the invention secret in submitting it to the Spinners' Association? I am afraid of its being copied by someone if I apply for a patent" (S.N. 15356)

249. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

BASTI,
October 8, 1929

CHI. KAKA,

Mahadev has just informed me by wire about Kaki¹ having departed for her *swadhama*². Please see the wire I have sent to him. What a beautiful word *swadhama* is! Haven't men of knowledge imagined the world to be a caravanserai? One's true state is, and can only be, beyond life and death. Isn't that so? Nevertheless the idea that to die is to return to *swadhama* fascinates me. I have known the use of the word *swadhama* in this meaning; but as far as I remember, it is for the first time while writing this letter to you that I have used it with reference to Kaki. I learnt only yesterday that you had wished to keep her at Baroda. But it seems she was firm about accompanying you to the Ashram. I am glad that she succeeded in having her way. I am impatient to have a report of her last days³.

From a copy of the Gujarati: Kusumbehn Desai's Diary. S.N. 32578/55

250. LETTER TO JAMSHED MEHTA

BASTI,
October 8, 1929

BHAISHRI JAMSHEDJI,

I have both your letters.⁴ There is no limit to your plain-speaking. I own defeat before you. I do not need any witness to support what you say. Your statement is sufficient for me. You would not need any money just now, would you? I had already written to Malkani before your letters arrived. There is no reply from him. I am awaiting one.⁵ Where is Malkani at present and what is he doing? I

¹ Lakshmibai, addressee's wife, who died on October 7

² Literally, one's own home

³ *ide* also "Letter to Mahadev Desai", 21-10-1929

⁴ *Vide* "Letter to Jairamdas Doulatram", 8-10-1929

⁵ For Gandhiji's reply to N. R. Malkani's letter, *vide* "Letter to N. R. Malkani", 18-10-1929

should like to allocate the contributions received from Gujarat. Consult him and guide me as to how I should allocate them.

From a copy of the Gujarati: Kusumbehn Desai's Diary. S.N. 32578/54

251. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

BASTI

October 8, 1929

CHI. BRIJKRISHNA,

Your letter.

You should not have this recurring fever. I think you should go to Vijapur and help as much as you can but never at the cost of your health. There is no harm in taking *roti* if you can digest it. I hope to reach the Ashram on November 26. The remaining days I intend to share equally between the Ashram and Wardha.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2367

252. LETTER TO RAIHANA TYABJI

CAMP BASTI,

October 9, 1929

MY DEAR RAIHANA,

What sorrowful news you give me about Father? I know how helpless he becomes when he has any illness at all. Your letter was received only two days ago. It is now therefore more than three weeks after operation¹ and I hope that Father is as chirpy as ever before. Anyway you would give me fullest information and if necessary telegraph to me at Hardwar where I shall be about the 14th instant. I shall be in Mussoorie from the 17th to the 24th. I like your energetic plea for equal rights of inheritance for women. Evidently you do not read *Young India*² regularly, much less *Navajivan* although I see you can trace Gujarati letters. I did deal with the question of inheritance in *Young India*, but I shall carry out your desire and revert to the subject using a portion of your letter as my text. I do not need to be a girl to be wild about the disqualifications imposed by the man in power on woman.

¹ Of the nose

² Vide, "Position of Women", 17-10-1929.

Now about Jatin Das. I have been deliberately silent because I have not approved of the fast. But I have refrained from saying anything as my opinion would have been distorted by the officials and grossly misused.

Yours,
BAPU

MISS RAIHANA TYABJI
CAMP BARODA

From a photostat: S.N. 9611

253. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

BASTI,
October 9, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I dictated yesterday a long letter to you. I forgot to mention one thing, and that was your reference to confidence. I smiled as I thought what an imperfect means of communication language is. It was after your explanation that I could understand the meaning of your words “deserving the confidence”. But in the context in which you wrote the sentence, I understood it to mean that you were eager to make an effort to win my confidence. I could not see that you were referring to your effort to deserve the confidence which you already enjoyed. But now I understand. That effort, of course, you should always make. But worry should have no place in it at all.

The effort not to lose the confidence of a person after we have won it indicates attachment on our part. Man is so imperfect a creature that he may place confidence today and withdraw it the next day over a trifle. What difference does it make whether or not we enjoy the confidence of such a person? We should, however, aspire to be worthy of the confidence of the entire world, for if we are able to take a single breath, the reason is the whole world’s confidence in us. If that were not so, people would have killed one another long ago. Hence, being worthy of other people’s confidence is no more than devotion to duty and this we should practise without attachment.

What I ask from you, therefore, is a mind at peace with itself in the midst of any amount of work and an attitude of extreme generosity towards the environment. When you acquire these, you will find your work quite easy, for your words will then penetrate directly

to the heart like an arrow and neither Madhavlal on one side nor Narandas on the other will ever misunderstand your meaning.

I have made this letter short. If, therefore, you find it difficult to follow my meaning, return it along with your question and I will try to explain more clearly.

I expect to get details of the passing away of Kaki.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5453

254. LETTER TO JAMNADAS GANDHI

ON WAY TO MANAKPUR,

October 9, 1929

CHI. JAMNADAS,

As I am writing this letter in a running train, I can use only a pencil. I have read your School Report. It does not include what I require. At the end of the Report the demand should be stated clearly. Now let me know this in a letter or send a telegram. My programme is enclosed. What is the minimum amount you require, and in how many instalments? If you wire to me state only this. In the letter state also the maximum you would like to have. As it is, you feel the pinch of the rent for the school land. It will be good to buy the land outright. See the Thakore Saheb if you have not done so. What will it cost to buy it outright? How is it that your eczema is still not cured? What remedy are you applying?

Blessings from

BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 8699. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

255. MESSAGE TO SIKH LEAGUE

MANAKPUR,
[October 9, 1929]¹

Please convey my good wishes to the Sikh League meeting at Lyallpur. I hope the League will have the wisdom not to boycott the Congress and realize that the question is not closed but open for discussion and adjustment.

The Tribune, 12-10-1929

256. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA

MANAKPUR,
October 9, 1929

CHI. GANGABEHN (SENIOR),

I have had no letter from you for many days. Do write once a week at least.

I think you must have been by Kaki's side at the time of her death. If you were not, whoever was present should send me an account of her last moments.

What is your present weight? What is your diet? How does Lakshmi behave nowadays? How is Raiya's condition now? How much of your time do you have to give to making bread? And what is its quality now?

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro — 6: G.S. Gangabehnne, p. 27

¹ Gandhiji was in Manakpur on this date.

257. LETTER TO DAHIBEHN R. PATEL

*Tuesday, [About October 1929]*¹

CHI. DAHIBEHN²,

Why do you faint so often? Steady the mind. Ignore anything that disturbs your mind. Eat very simple food. Don't let the stomach get heavy. Sit naked in the sun; but take care that the head does not get heated. If you wish to do any work, do it sitting. Take a hip-bath and walk a little every day. Take someone as an escort, when you wish to go anywhere. Take blue-ray treatment. Purushottam will guide you. Take it on the face. Don't allow depression to weigh your heart down.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G. N. 9207

258. CONGRESS ORGANIZATION

These columns have repeatedly insisted that a perfect Congress organization almost means attainment of swaraj. This will not be true of every country. It is true of India because of its peculiar position. We are ruled by the hypnotic spell that the British rule has cast over us. But British rule means British organization more than its military strength. Military depotism on the part of a handful of foreigners alien in language, culture and habits can do very little if they had no organization to which the people were made by very subtle methods to respond. The moment that spell is broken, that moment the rule disappears. The British can then remain only as friends and servants of the nation at its will. The guarantee for the safety of their persons and legitimate interests will be the goodwill and honour of the nation, instead of the mounted forts which after all are a poor protection for a handful against an awakened nation counted in myriads.

The test of a perfect Congress organization is simple:

1. The Congress must be represented in every village.
2. Every member must know what the Congress means and must respond to the demands made upon him by the Congress.

¹ From the contents; *vide* "Letter to Raojibhai M. Patel", 27-10-1929

² Wife of Raojibhai M. Patel.

The Congress is the only truly national political organization in the country. It is the oldest of its kind. It has had the services of the most distinguished sons and daughters of the nation. It is admittedly the most powerful organization in the land. It ought not to be difficult for such a body to expand itself and find its flag flying in every village.

Let us with this end in view study the very interesting and instructive bulletin just issued by the Secretary. It contains an exhaustive analysis of the returns received from the provinces of their work regarding the enrolment of members in terms of the A.I.C.C. resolution passed at the Bombay meeting. Here is the consolidated table:

PROVINCE	QUOTA	MEMBERS
ENTROLLED		
1. Ajmer	1,120	14,594
2. Andhra	36,763	29,000
3. Assam	8,337	(?)
4. Bihar	72,588	78,107
5. Bengal	1,24,413	93,385
6. Berar	7,688	7,688(?)
7. Burma	2,000	1,904
8. C.P. Hindustani	20,505	28,827
9. C.P. Marathi	6,586	11,651
10. Bombay	17,000	11,889
11. Delhi	6,954	6,071
12. Gujarat	7,396	15,990
13. Karnatak	13,244	10,038
14. Kerala	7,747	3,265
15. Maharashtra	21,720	24,608
16. N.W.F.P.	2,000	2,000(?)
17. Punjab	51,784	27,490
18. Sind	8,200	2,615
19. Tamil Nad	51,784	4,500(?)
20. United Provinces	1,07,724	67,849
21. Utkal	<u>12,421</u>	<u>6,945</u>
TOTAL	5,87,908	4,48,16

The reader should not be satisfied with this table. He must procure the bulletin and study the analysis given for each province and each district wherever it was available. It will repay perusal, if he is at all patriotically inclined. Barring Ajmer whose membership is

under dispute, Gujarat tops the list with double its quota. Besides Gujarat, Bihar, C.P. Hindustani and Marathi and Maharashtra are the only provinces that have done more than their quota. Berar and N.W.F.P. have just done their quota. The rest have not been able to reach it. It will be remembered too that the requirement was one in every four hundred of the population, barring the Indian States population and barring Burma and N.W.F.P. This was low enough in all conscience. There was a penalty attached to non-fulfilment of the provision. A fair effort was undoubtedly made by the workers in general to reach the quota required from their respective provinces. At the Lucknow meeting the A.I.C.C. waived the penalty as it would have meant disqualifying most of the provinces. But this waiver should really mean redoubled effort by the defaulters to make good their debt.

There is however a deeper truth underlying the figures presented by the bulletin. We have not yet got enough workers nor have we penetrated the villages. Many districts supposed to be backward have not been touched. For Congress workers no district is backward, or if it is, it should command their greater ear and attention. The backward portions of Bardoli are showing the greatest constructive activity. The backward Champaran of yore has to its credit the highest number of marks. It has 15,000 members enrolled against its quota of 4,522. It is invariably the experience that where solid, honest and sustained work has been done, people considered the most backward have responded in a most surprising manner. Though, then, much has been done, infinitely more needs to be done for the attainment of our goal. We may not be satisfied with the negative result that we are numerically better than the other political organizations.

Indeed there should be no competition between the Congress and the other organizations. If we would be true to ourselves, the Congress would be admitted by all to be the only national organization to which the members of the other organizations, whilst retaining their own, would deem it a pride to belong. For this consummation Congressmen should show striking results in constructive effort and broadest toleration towards those holding opposite views, so long as they do not come in conflict with the avowed object of the national organization.

Nor may we be satisfied with mere nominal membership. The workers have to keep themselves in touch with the newly-entrolled members. They have to share their sorrows. The new members may be strangers to khadi when they are enrolled. The only requirement of membership is signing the creed and paying the trifling monetary or yarn subscription. But a member loses the privilege of voting at Congress elections and other meetings, if he does not habitually wear khadi. It is the duty of workers to explain this clause to the new members as also to give them the history of the Congress. The workers should share their sorrows and their troubles, so that it may be noised abroad that the Congress is an instrument never of oppression and ever of real service to everyone in distress. Given a reasonable fulfilment of these elementary conditions, there is no reason why the Congress should not become an irresistible organization.

Young India, 10-10-1929

259. NOTES

THANKS

My thanks are due to the numerous friends who were good enough to send me birthday congratulations. They will excuse me for not sending them individual acknowledgments.

A PROMISING EFFORT

Sjt. Satis Chandra Das Gupta Pratishthan, sends me the following table¹ showing progress of work during the months of July and August and in forwarding it, says:

The progress of work of the Rashtriya Sangha has been very slow on account of the season of sowing and transplantation of paddy covering the whole of July and August and some portion of September. The work has again begun, and it remains to be seen whether the first spell of enthusiasm will continue or not.

Though the actual work turned out will be considered by the reader to be little, it is not to be despised, for the beginnings of all constructive work have been known to be small, and where the workers have been true and the effort sustained, it has been known to have fructified a thousandfold in the fulness of time. Leaving aside the spinners for Bogra, for their return is not given in the table, there are 379 spinners who spun 102 seers in two months. This means 20 tolas roughly per head in two months, that is to say, 1/3 of a tola per

¹ Not reproduced here

day which again means not more than half an hour's work per day. For these villagers even half an hour's work per day throughout the year is not a small thing. Again 102 seers means nearly 75 saris of ordinary length under 10 counts. This is so much added wealth production without interference with any other lucrative occupation. It should be remembered that this was the work turned out during a season of exceptional activity in the fields in the shape of sowing and transplantation of paddy. The Rashtriya Sangha deserves every encouragement in its efforts. Its work bears the seeds of a majestic tree.

THE RIGHT WAY

One of the fine results of the new awakening is that young men are realizing more and more fully the dignity of labour and the dignity of callings that do not carry with them any breach of morals. Thus in Ghazipur I found a barber who was educated there. He was a schoolmaster in a primary school belonging to the Municipality of Ghazipur, but had not given up his hereditary calling and was adding to his meagre salary of Rs.17 nearly Rs.10 from his profession. He said he could easily earn much more as a barber if he gave the whole of his time to it. This barber schoolmaster is a convinced khadi wearer, and he told me that all his people spun during their leisure hours and they were all wearing khadi. A barber is now undergoing a khadi service course at the Udyoga Mandir though he has not abandoned his calling. I wish that these examples will prove far more contagious than they have hitherto done. It is not enough that stray lawyers and doctors spin and weave, or stray barbers and tailors do national service, but thousands of professional men, artisans and agriculturists should, whilst following their callings, render national service by qualifying themselves, the literary professions by realizing the dignity of labour and the labouring professions by realizing the dignity of literature, and all doing everything to uplift the nation and refraining from doing anything that would degrade it.

Young India, 10-10-1929

260. TULSIDAS¹

Several friends on various occasions have addressed to me criticisms regarding my attitude towards Tulsi *Ramayana*. The substance of their criticisms is as follows:

You have described the *Ramayana* as the best of books, but we have never been able to reconcile ourselves with your view. Do you not see how Tulsidas has disparaged womankind, defended Rama's unchivalrous ambush on Vali, Rama as an avatar in spite of his gross injustice to Sita? What the poetic beauty of the book compensates for everything else? If it is so then we venture to suggest that you have no qualifications for the task.

I admit that if we take the criticisms of every point individually they will be found difficult to refute and the whole of the *Ramayana* can, in this manner, be easily condemned. But that can be said of almost everything and everybody. There is a story related about a celebrated artist that in order to answer his critics he put his picture in a show window and invited visitors to indicate their opinion by marking the spot they did not like. The result was that there was hardly any portion that was not covered by the critics' marks. As a matter of fact, however, the picture was a masterpiece of art. Indeed even the Vedas, the Bible and the Koran have not been exempt from condemnation. But their lovers fail to discover those faults in them. In order to arrive at a proper estimate of a book it must be judged as a whole. So much for external criticism. The internal test of a book consists in finding out what effect it has produced on the majority of its readers. Judged by either method the position of the *Ramayana* as a book par excellence remains unassailable. This however does not mean that it is absolutely faultless. But it is claimed on behalf of the *Ramayana* that it has given peace to millions, has given faith to those who had it not, and is even today serving as a healing balm to thousands who are burnt by the fire of unbelief. Every page of it is overflowing with devotion. It is a veritable mine of spiritual experience.

¹ The Hindi original of this appeared in *Hindi Navajivan*, 10-10-1929. This is a translation by Pyarelal.

It is true that the *Ramayana* is sometimes used by evil-minded persons to support their evil practices. But that is no proof of evil in the *Ramayana*. I admit that Tulsidas has, unintentionally as I think, done justice to womankind. In this, as in several other respects also, he has failed to rise above the prevailing notions of his age. In other words Tulsidas was not a reformer; he was only a prince among devotees. The faults of the *Ramayana* are less a reflection on Tulsidas than a reflection on the age in which he lived.

What should be the attitude of the reformer regarding the position of women or towards Tulsidas under such circumstances? Can he derive no help whatever from Tulsidas? The reply is emphatically 'he can'. In spite of disparaging remarks about women in the *Ramayana* it should not be forgotten that in it Tulsidas has presented to the world his matchless picture of Sita. Where would be Rama without Sita? We find a host of other ennobling figures like Kausalya, Sumitra, etc, in the *Ramayana*. We bow our head in reverence before the faith and devotion of Shabri and Ahalya. Ravana was a monster but Mandodari was a *sati*. In my opinion these instances go to prove that Tulsidasji was no reviler of women by conviction. On the contrary, so far as his convictions went, he had only reverence for them. So much for Tulsidasji's attitude towards women.

In the matter of the killing of Vali, however, there is room for two opinions. In Vibhishana I can find no fault. Vibhishana offered satyagraha against his brother. His example teaches us that it is a travesty of patriotism to sympathize with or try to conceal the faults of one's rulers or country and to oppose them is the truest patriotism. By helping Rama, Vibhishana rendered the truest service to his country. The treatment of Sita by Rama does not denote heartlessness. It is a proof of a duel between kingly duty and a husband's love for wife.

To the sceptics who feel honest doubts in connection with the *Ramayana*, I would suggest that they should not accept anybody's interpretations mechanically. They should leave out such portions about which they feel doubtful. Nothing contrary to truth and ahimsa need be condoned. It would be sheer perversity to argue that because in our opinion Rama practised deception, we too may do likewise. The proper thing to do would be to believe that Rama was incapable of practising deception. As the *Gita* says, "There is nothing in the

world that is entirely free from fault.” Let us, therefore, like the fabled swan who rejects the water and takes only the cream, learn to treasure only the good and reject the evil in everything. Nothing and no one is perfect but God.

Young India, 31-10-1929

261. LETTER TO GANGABEHN ZAVERI

GONDA,

October 10, 1929

CHI. GANGABEHN,

As the President of the Stree Mandal you may be regarded as being a person with a sense of responsibility. You have discretion, wisdom and considerable experience of the world. You have seen both prosperity and adversity. You are B.s¹ neighbour. Hence I should like you to answer the following questions and guide me.

What do you know about B.’s wife? Does B. always do her injustice? I of course know the wrong he committed in beating her for stealing cotton. My question, however, is about B.’s general conduct. Do you believe the relations between B. and N.² to be in some way impure? If so, on what basis do you hold it so? It seems that the women talk a great deal about the two. Why is that so? Our rule is that no one should say anything against a person behind his or her back, that we should banish from our mind any doubt that may arise against a person and that, if the doubt is too strong to be banished, we ought to put it to the person concerned and listen to him or her patiently in the matter before any word on the subject escapes our lips anywhere else. If I had not observed this rule, I would have had to part company with a good many people. I often like writing to you, but restrain my wish and content myself with the general letter I may have written to the women.

How is Nanibehn Zaveri doing? She was to write to me about something, but she never did. Has Pannalal been keeping good health? Is agriculture prospering? Was any damage caused by the

¹ The names have been omitted.

² *ibid*

locusts? I hope Mahesh does not do as much mischief as he used to at the evening prayers.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3097

262. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

GONDA,
October 10, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I send with this B.'s letter for you to read. I enclose my reply; read it and pass it on to him. Talk with him plainly. I have found his letter quite frank. B. is certainly prone to anger, but he has given me the impression of being a truthful man.

I have always believed his relation with N.² to be pure. I came to know only recently that she is not his sister.

I see that B. had shown his letter to you. I need not, therefore, send it. Write to me and tell me what injustice he did.

We have known from experience that many false rumours are spread about the relations of other men and women. It is true that sometimes these relations have been discovered to be impure. But that is no reason for us to be shocked. Such things will go on in the world. Our duty, therefore, is to examine every case with an unprejudiced mind. So long as we have no strong reason to look at any such relation with suspicion, we should believe it to be pure. There is always the risk of our being deceived if we act in this manner, but it is any day better to run the risk of being deceived than of believing an innocent person to be guilty. Bear this in mind in coming to your conclusion.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I have not revised this.

Read the letter to Champa, so that you will find it easy to come to a conclusion.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5454

263. LETTER TO A

GONDA,

October 10, 1929

DEAR FRIEND ...¹,

I got your letter. There is nothing in it which need be kept secret. You have admitted your error, and so nothing more need be said about it.

A man has no right at all to beat any woman. Are men less guilty towards their wives? If, however, wives started beating their husbands for every misdeed, we would see very few husbands alive. If a woman has no such right, how can a man claim it? I do not write all this to point out your fault, but only to open your eyes so that you may feel the seriousness of your error still more and refrain from repeating it.

Moreover, you observe *brahmacharya* even in relation to your wife, so that it is all the more your duty to remain unaffected by her. You should forget the very thought that she is your wife. You should regard her as your friend and serve her as best as you can. If she stole cotton, you should have paid its price. If she steals again, you can fix a maintenance allowance for her and ask her to live separately from you.

Moreover, you had really no right to use her cushion. So long as your relations are unhappy, you should never accept a service or obligation from her, and in using her cushion you accepted, if not a service, an obligation from her.

I also place before you a rather subtle consideration. No person who wishes to observe *brahmacharya* should use any article belonging to a woman towards whom impure feelings are likely to be aroused in his heart. Especially, he should not use an article like a cushion which she must have touched every day and which the man may have used together with her when in an impure state of mind. The vows which you have described are good. If they do not forbid milk, you may benefit by taking milk or curds. Do not take any vow which is beyond your strength. There is no harm if you cannot take a

¹ The name has been omitted in the source.

vow, but it will do you much harm if you take a vow and then are forced to give it up.

Have no fear at all if people talk ill of your relation with ...¹ If you can say, with your soul as witness, that their evil talk has no basis in fact, you are safe. Have a frank talk with your wife. If she goes on harrassing you though you commit no fault, you can be firm and tell her to go and live elsewhere. For the present, you must let her live with you as atonement for your fault in your relation to her and as a test of your capacity for tolerance. If you have anything more to ask, let me know.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, pp. 160-1

264. A LETTER

MUSSOORIE,
October 10, 1929

There is peace only in being faithfully engaged in a worthy endeavour. There is no way to knowledge except through service and contemplation. The awareness of being in the abode of *guru* is valid. But the abode of *guru* is in one's own heart; therefore it is necessary to purify the heart, which is possible only through ceaseless service.

From a copy of the Hindi: Kusumbehn Desai's Diary. S.N. 32578/63

265. TELEGRAM TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

BARABANKI,
October 11, 1929

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

ANAND BHAVAN

ALLAHABAD

AS PREVIOUSLY ARRANGED SIKH LEAGUE MESSAGE² ALREADY SENT THROUGH SARDULSINGH LAHORE.

GANDHI

A.I.C.C. File No. 134E, 1929. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

¹ The name has been omitted in the source.

² *Vide* "Congress Organization"

266. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

BARABANKI,
October 11, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

We have now come to Barabanki from Gonda. After bath, we attend a meeting and then resume the tour. I, therefore, stop here today. We shall spend the night at Hardoi. Pyarelal tells me that he has asked for the post to be sent there.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5455

267. SPEECH AT POLITICAL CONFERENCE, HARDOI

October 11, 1929

Mahatmaji in his speech said:

We are habituated to pass resolutions without acting on them. I advise you to give up this mentality. This is one main obstacle in our path of progress. Had we fulfilled our promises of 1921, we should[have] attained swaraj long before. Another occasion is approaching on the people of this province as it is your province which has given the President of the next Congress. The responsibility is all the greater on the youth. Pandit Jawaharlal belongs to your province. At the same time, he is a youth. If you want to preserve your prestige and his too, you have to act as you say. You have already passed a resolution on untouchability. I hope you will pass similar resolutions on Hindu-Muslim unity and boycott of foreign cloth, which is possible only if you use khaddar. If you pass these resolutions, you have to abide by them. I hope and pray that you be prepared for the great struggle before us.

The Bombay Chronicle, 14-10-1929

268. *KHADDAR AND UNTOUCHABILITY: DUTY OF INDIAN MUNICIPALITIES*

CAMP HARDOL,

October 12, 1929

I have been asked by the Editor to answer the following question for this Gazette:

What can Indian municipalities do in the matter of khaddar and untouchability?

My answer is as follows:

In the matter of khaddar a municipality can help...

First, by prescribing the use of khaddar for the uniform of its employees. This will be effective only if the members will themselves wear khaddar.

Secondly, by making all purchases of cloth for hospitals and the like in khaddar only.

Thirdly, by introducing the *takli* and carding-bow in all the schools under its control.

Fourthly, by removing all duty upon khaddar and by giving grants to khaddar depots within municipal limits.

In the matter of untouchability a municipality can help...

First, by promoting the reform by insisting upon inspectors of municipal schools securing admission therein of a minimum number of 'untouchable' boys and girls

Secondly, by opening model schools specially for the instruction of 'untouchable' children.

Thirdly, by opening night schools for grown-up 'untouchables' in its employ.

Fifthly, by inducing trustees of temples to open them to 'untouchables', and where this is not possible, by building attractive temples in suitable places, specially for the use of 'untouchables', but generally for public use, and encouraging the public to make use of these temples in common with the 'untouchables'.

Sixthly, by giving grants to schools, temples and clubs, etc., that would specially cater for 'untouchables'.

Untouchability is perhaps the greatest evil that has crept into Hinduism. The nearest approach to it to be found in the West was untouchability of the Jews, who were confined to the ghettos. I do not know the historical origin of this disease. Socially it seems to have arisen from the desire of the so-called superior classes to isolate themselves from those whom they regarded as inferior. It is the excrescence of varnashrama dharma which has been misrepresented as the cast system with which, as seen in the multitudinous castes of latter-day Hinduism, the original four divisions have little to do.

Untouchability in its mildest form takes the shape of not touching or having any social intercourse with the 'untouchable'. In its extreme form it becomes *unapproachability* and even invisibility. The approach of a man within a defined distance or his very sight in some parts of the extreme south pollutes the 'superior' classes. The 'unapproachables' and the 'invisibles' are very few in number, whereas the 'untouchables' are roughly estimated at sixty million. In my opinion this is a highly exaggerated estimate.

Though I regard myself as a staunch Hindu believing in and having great veneration for the Vedas and the other Hindu religious books, and though I claim, not as a scholar but as a religiously-minded man, to have made a serious attempt to understand the Hindu scriptures, I can discover no warrant for this brutal doctrine of untouchability in it. Save for a few texts of doubtful authority in *smritis*, the whole doctrine of 'untouchability' is utterly repugnant to the spirit of Hinduism whose glory consists in proclaiming non-violence to be the basis of religion and which lays down the bold formulae that all life, including the meanest crawling beings, is one.

But to a reformer like me this philosophical foundation of Hinduism affords but little comfort in the face of the cruel fact that professors of that religion regard innumerable fellow-beings as beyond the pale of society solely on the ground of their birth in a particular group of men and women in every way like them.

But this untouchability will soon be a thing of past. Hindu society has become conscious of the hideous wrong done to man by this sinful doctrine. Hundreds of Hindu workers are devoting themselves to the uplift of these suppressed classes. Among them may be named late Swami Shraddhanandji and the late Lala Lajpat Rai. These, however, may not be regarded as orthodox. Pandit Madan Mohan Malviyaji, who is accepted by all Hindus as an orthodox

Hindu, has thrown in the weight of his great influence on the side of reform. Everywhere one sees the process of emancipation silently but surely and steadily going on. The so called higher-class Hindus are conducting schools and building hostels for them, giving them medical relief and serving them in a variety of ways. The effort is absolutely independent of the Government and is part of the process of purification that Hinduism is undergoing. Lastly, the Indian National Congress adopted removal of untouchability as a vital part of its constructive programme in 1920. It may not be superfluous to add that while untouchability is undoubtedly a grave social wrong, it has no legal sanction behind it. So far as I am aware, there is no legal disability against the 'untouchables'.

The reformer has still a stiff task before him in having to convert the masses to his point of view. The masses give intellectual assent to the reformers' plea, but are slow to grant equality in practice to their outcaste brethren. Nevertheless, untouchability is doomed, and Hinduism is saved. And, as I have indicated above, our municipalities can do much to bring about this salvation.

M. K. GANDHI

The Calcutta Municipal Gazette, Fifth Anniversary Number, Saturday, 23rd November, 1929; also S.N. 19854

269. LETTER TO AMAL HOME

CAMP HARDOL,

October 12, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your two letters. I have not the leisure to write anything of value for your Gazette. Nor have I much faith in anything I may write bearing fruit. However I send you the enclosed¹ for what it is worth.

Yours sincerely,

Enclosure.

AMAL HOME, ESQ.

EDITOR, "THE CALCUTTA MUNICIPAL GAZETTE"

CENTRAL MUNICIPAL OFFICE

CALCUTTA

From a copy: S.N. 15605

¹ *Vide* the preceding item.

270. LETTER OF FREDERIC STANDENATH

CAMP HARDOI,
October 12, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your birthday greetings. I know that you are advertising me for all your work. Only I hope that you are not consciously or unconsciously exaggerating anything. Remember it is always best to underrate the merits of friends. I must not write to you more whilst I am continuously travelling. I am keeping good health on milk, curds and fruits. I am not taking any grains or pulses or vegetables yet.

Yours sincerely,

FREDERIC STANDENATH, ESQ.
GRAZ (IN SYRIA)
AUSTRIA

From a photostat: S.N. 15654

271. LETTER TO HARI G. GOVIL¹

CAMP HARDOI,
October 12, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter and the cutting². You should ask Mr. Homes as to what is happening to the American Edition of the *Autobiography*.

Yours sincerely

HARI G. GOVIL, ESQ.
INDIA SOCIETY OF AMERICA
1107 TIMES BUILDING
NEW YORK CITY

From a photostat: G.N. 1025

¹ In reply to his letter (S.N 15656) dated 6-9-1929

² From *New York Herald Tribune*

272 LETTER TO TAGE BUNDGAARD¹

CAMP HARDOI
October 12, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I am much touched by your kind invitation but I do not see any chance of my being able to go to Denmark in the near future.

Yours sincerely,

TAGE BUNDGAARD, ESQ.
SILKEBORG, DENMARK

From a photostat: S.N. 15185

273. LETTER TO ELEANOR M. HOUGH²

CAMP HARDOI
October 12, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. You will please excuse me for my inability to send you the introduction you want.

Yours sincerely,

MISS ELEANOR M. HOUGH
2115 F STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C., U.S.A.

From a photostat: S.N. 15661

¹ In reply to his letter (S.N 15184) dated August 1929. The addressee had sent birthday greetings to Gandhiji and had invited him to visit Denmark and, in particular, his native town which had a beautiful atmosphere.

² In reply to her letter (S.N. 15660) dated August 30, 1929. Miss Hough wanted Gandhiji's endorsement of a study she planned to make in India, namely, "The Relation of the Co-operative Movement to Indian Nationalism", it being the subject of her doctoral dissertation at the George Washington University. She wished to obtain a year's scholarship for the purpose from the Guggenheim Memorial Foundation on the basis of Gandhiji's endorsement of the projected study.

274. LETTER TO HENRY S. SALT¹

CAMP HARDOI,
October 12, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I was agreeably surprised to receive your letter. Yes, indeed your book² which was the first English book I came across on vegetarianism was of immense help to me in steadying my faith in vegetarianism. My first introduction to Thoreau's writings was I think in 1907 or later when I was in the thick of passive resistance struggle. A friend sent me Thoreau's essay on civil disobedience. It left a deep impression upon me. I translated a portion of that essay for the readers of *Indian Opinion* in South Africa which I was then editing and I made copious extracts from that essay for that paper. That essay seemed to be so convincing and truthful that I felt the need of knowing more of Thoreau and I came across your life of him, his "Walden" and other short essays all of which I read with great pleasure and equal profit.

Yours sincerely,

HENRY S. SALT, ESQ.
21 CLEVELAND ROAD
BRIGHTON (ENGLAND)

From a photostat: S.N. 15663

¹ In reply to his letter (S.N 15662) dated September 18, 1929

² *A Plea for Vegetarianism*; Salt had seen a mention of his book in Gandhiji's *Autobiography*. About forty years earlier, he had published a life of Thoreau. Now he was handing over his material to an American friend Ramond Adams who intended to write a fuller life of Thoreau. Salt had enquired if Gandhiji had read anything of Thoreau's and the extent to which he had been influenced by it as on many subjects Gandhiji's views seemed akin to Thoreau's.

275. LETTER TO K.V. SWAMI¹

CAMP HARDOI,
October 12, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I was pleased to find that you were on the fair way to be cured of your leprosy through *Surya Namaskar*. I would like you to report to me again when the restoration is complete. It would be better also if you could secure a medical testimony of the cure.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. SWAMI, B.A.

MERCHANT, PARLAKIMEDI

From a photostat: S.N. 15665

276. LETTER TO ADELE KAUFMANN

CAMP HARDOI,
October 12, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. If you do find your way to India I shall welcome you to the Ashram.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 15655

277. LETTER TO C. VIJAYARAGHAVACHARIAR

CAMP HARDOI,
October 12, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter enclosing copy of the proceedings of the public meeting held on the 2nd instant at Salem. Mahadeo was telling me all about you but I was grieved to hear that you were not

¹ In reply to his letter (S.N 15664) dated September 12, 1929. The addressee had been in an advanced state of leprosy when he started *Surya Namaskar* as described by Chief of the State of Oundh in his book titled *Surya Namaskar*. After 13 months of this exercise he had benefited greatly and expected to be completely cured in another six months. Swami wanted Gandhiji to publicize his case so that he could help other fellow-sufferers.

yet enjoying the best of health. I hope however that this will find you in better health.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. C.VIJAYARAGHAVACHARIAR
THE ARAMA, SALEM
(S. INDIA)

From a photostat: S.N. 15666

278. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

HARDOI,
October 12, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I got your letter. When you are busy and have nothing in particular to write to me about, you need not write for the sake of writing. In any case there would be other letters from the Ashram. I would know from them that everything was all right.

If you let Dwarkanath remain or keep him, we should pay him Rs.60. I think it would not be right to pay Rs.150 to Dinkarraai at present. So long as both husband and wife live in the Ashram, they will be saved much expenditure. They will have no rent to pay. Their manner of living will also change somewhat, so that, if they wish, they can easily reduce their future requirements. If he has, therefore, no special requirements outside, I would prefer to pay them Rs.75 when we have had experience of him and can send him anywhere without hesitation. Then he may, if he wishes to save money, be paid Rs.150. For the present we should think of keeping him in the Ashram in the hope that he will become an ideal dairy worker. We should, therefore, decide to pay him according to our standard. The Managing Committee may take all this into account and decide what it thinks best.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5456

279. GUJARATIS' LOVE

When I am being inundated in every place by love, it would be pointless and even invidious for me to measure or compare the affection showered on me in the different regions. the best way to acknowledge this debt of love is to imbibe it silently or, if one may say so, to endure it. Though I know this, I cannot always observe the rule. Where there are Gujaratis, they single me out for favoured treatment and they do not expect me to repay my debt of love even to the extent of my acknowledging it. One such recent incident took place in Kanpur which I cannot forget. There the Gujaratis invited me to a separate meeting and considering their numbers and the extent of their business they gave me quite a decent sum when compared to the collections made there. The amount was Rs. 1,152. But I am an avaricious man. Therefore the collections of the citizens of Kanpur struck me as meagre. I complained to Dr. Murarilal and he endorsed the complaint. It was decided to make collections in the city. It was after this was arranged that I went to the meeting of Gujaratis. There also I lodged a similar complaint. The meeting took up the complaint forthwith and added Rs. 1,039-14as-6 pies to the sum of Rs. 1,152. Apart from this, the children and their teachers contributed Rs. 25-4 as. Thus, the total collection amounted to Rs. 2,217-2as-6 pies. The money that Gujarati women contributed is not included in this. I have all the details before me but it is not necessary to give those names. This article has not been written to record donations or names of donors. It is the overflow of my feelings. There is no exaggeration if I say that such love keeps me alive and increases my optimism. One can expect Rs. 200 from the man who donates Rs. 100, but not a pie from one who donates nothing. The Gujaratis who feed me with this potion of love should not sit back contented. I have written often and reiterate that foreign traders rule over us and hence if Indian traders are vigilant, the winning of swaraj will be child's play. If gunmen were ruling over us, some revolutionaries would have proved the necessity of guns. But where the Government is carried on for the sake of trade, it can be easily seen that if trade goes, the Government will also follow suit. That trade can be captured in two ways: One is to become like the foreign trader, the other is not to let that trade go on. Now his main trade is that in cloth, the others are organized behind it. Many of his cargo ships are dependent on the cotton trade. And if the

cotton trade goes, the steamers too come down crashing. This is not my assertion but that of an English writer. Hence those Gujaratis and other Indians who contribute money are to a small extent doing atonement. True atonement consists in purifying one's trade. The giving up of a trade which harms the nation is alone the true atonement. Those who contribute money say themselves that they have become conscious of this. When those who have understood act according to that understanding, one should take it that swaraj has been won. And this alone will be true swaraj.

This biggest of trades is in the hands of Gujaratis and Marwaris. Here the word 'Gujaratis' should be understood in its larger connotation as referring to those who speak the Gujarati language, so that the term includes all the people who live in Gujarat such as Muslims, Parsis, Christians and others. Therefore, if these two provinces wake up, the other provinces will surely do so of their own accord. I daily look forward to that auspicious time. The Gujaratis' love for me fills me with the hope that their contribution towards this end will be a large one.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 13-10-1929

280. A RUINOUS VICE

A gentleman from distant Uganda writes:¹

We can call this a national vice. It betrays our rudeness and apathy towards our neighbours. That this vice still persists despite the awakening among us shows our indolence. It of course spreads diseases and we are rightly maligned for it in the West.

This vice is contrary to religion. When I returned to our country in the year 1915, this filthy habit had caught my attention well enough and I tried to find out what the various religions had to say about it. I do not remember where the collection of extracts is at the moment. But during this tour I came across one or two stanzas from the Hindu Shastras whose gist I give below:

¹ The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had referred to the Indians' bad habit of spitting almost anywhere...near them, on the road or in a railway carriage...and thereby causing the spread of infection through flies. He had also alluded to the practice, prevalent in Paris, of carrying small boxes for use as spittoons.

No one should urinate or defecate or spit into rivers, ponds, etc.

—*Krishnayajurveda*

No one should urinate or defecate in the middle of a village or a town or in temples, cremation grounds, open spaces, watering places or on roads.

—*CHARAKA*

One should not indulge in such acts as rubbing the nose, gnashing the teeth, biting the nails, cracking one's finger joints, digging the ground [with one's toe], plucking grassblades or playing with the earth, etc., etc.

—*CHARAKA*

From this we now see that that civilization has been destroyed. Or one may say that at the time when the above treatises were written, these habits were prevalent among the people and therefore the saints drew our attention to them. But these habits have not been corrected till today. Whatever the state of affairs in the past, we should devise remedies to get rid of them now.

The correspondent regards as unacceptable two of the remedies adopted in the West. They are no doubt disgusting but how can we hope for pleasant remedies when our body itself is a storehouse of urine and excreta? We should perform these activities in such a way that we ourselves and our neighbours are spared the risk of spread of disease. Only this much is possible. While walking on a public road, if one coughs and has to spit out phlegm, there is no other way but to spit into a handkerchief or a spittoon such as a clean box. If one has to spit into a handkerchief, the handkerchief which has been used once should be folded and put into the pocket in such a way that neither the hand nor the pocket gets soiled. Only a man who has got tuberculosis and is obliged to spit very often needs to keep a small box. But there are many occasions when it is not necessary to do so. When we are seated in a train, one should take the trouble to spit out of the window. When going along a road, one should seek a lonely spot which is not frequented and spit, etc., in a bush or in some corner there. To one who has the power of discriminating between good and evil and who cares for the convenience of others, easy solutions will readily suggest themselves. Before setting out on a short or long journey, a thoughtful man will so arrange the calls of nature as to cause the least inconvenience to others.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 13-10-1929

281. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

MORADABAD,
October 13, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL JOSHI,

Your letter of the 9th has been received here. It is surprising that no letters from me were received there for two days. I have to write to Bhansali every day. I have, therefore, not allowed a single day to pass without writing to you. But as the place changes every day, it may have happened that letters posted at successive places may not have been received by you in the order in which they were posted.

I am surprised to know that Ramachandra's health has gone down so much. Is the bread which they make all right now? Jayadev came and saw me yesterday. In Hardwar he will be the person in charge of arrangements for me. Devsharmaji will also see me not later than tomorrow.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5457

282. LETTER TO ISHWARLAL JOSHI

MORADABAD,
October 13, 1929

CHI. ISHWARLAL,

If Chhaganbhai permits you, you may certainly have one year off. I would advise you to go to Madras. There you will be able to communicate with people only in English. I would put you in Rajagopalachari's Ashram so that you may learn English and also help him. One cannot learn English by reading a book for eight hours. But one learns it easily if one speaks and hears only English. That purpose is likely to be served there; but if you can think of any other course, by all means follow it.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 9278. Courtesy: Ishwarlal Joshi

283. LETTER TO PRABHUDAS GANDHI

MORADABAD,

October 13, 1929

CHI. PRABHUDAS,

I received your letter. Since we are going to meet, I am not writing much. I will be reaching Mussoorie on the 17th. So it is best that you plan to come there. You know of course how you can reach that place. From Kalol to Mehsana, and from there to Delhi on the meter gauge line; from there to Dehra Dun and then to Mussoorie in motor-car. You may have to hire a litter or pony or rickshaw for two or three miles if you cannot walk that much distance.

I got Chhotelal's and Krishnadas's long letters only yesterday. I will preserve them for you. They only discuss the question of the Vidyalaya.

Blessings from

BAPU

SHRI PRABHUDAS CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

UDYOGAGRIHA

VIJAPUR

“VIA” KALOL

B.B. & C.I. RLY.

From the Gujarati original: S.N. 33003

284. SPEECH AT MORADABAD

October 13, 1929

Amidst the cries of “Long Live Revolution” and “Vande Mataram”, Mahatma Gandhi was received at the railway station by a large concourse of people. He and his party stayed at the house of Moulvi Abdul Salam where a grand dinner was given in his honour.

In the morning Mahatmaji performed the opening ceremony of the Brijratan Hindu Public Library. He put to sale a chain attached to the library lock which fetched Rs. 76.

On the town-hall grounds he received addresses from the municipal and district boards and put to sale the caskets in which the addresses were presented. He was very

keen on the collection of funds while the audience wanted to have a long speech on the burning problems of the day.

When a purse of Rs. 2,385 was presented to him he was requested to accept it in the spirit in which shri Krishna had accepted rice offered by Sudama.

Mahatma Gandhi, however, said that whereas Sudama had given his all which consisted of only rice, Moradabad with its large population had contributed very little. He had received a telegram saying that Moradabad was not prepared to offer a large purse, but received later a telegram from the students saying that they were working hard to collect funds and were inviting him. He asked where those students were then. If they could not offer a purse befitting the position of Moradabad why did they invite him?

Referring to the addresses, he said that the best use he could make of the caskets was to sell them as he did not want them for himself.

He complained of a circular issued by the district board asking teachers to see that their pupils abstained from talking of the freedom of the country. He did not want to see their children wearing the chains of slavery and characterized such a circular issued by a board with an elected chairman and a majority of elected members as shameful. People generally got themselves elected for personal gain which he condemned.

Referring to the municipal board address, he said that though it boasted of the absence of communal friction he would call this state of affairs a mere armed neutrality. He would like to see real love between the communities and by having such love Moradabad could set an example to the whole of India. It was doubly the duty of the young men of these provinces to make the Congress a huge success as India had successively selected two Presidents, father and son, from U.P.

The Leader, 16-10-1929

285. *LETTER TO ASHRAM WOMEN*

HARDWAR,

Silence Day [October 14, 1929]¹

SISTERS,

Today we have arrived near the source of the Ganga. The Ganga entering the plains is very near here. If we go further up the river, we have to climb the hills.

¹ From the reference to Gandhiji's visit to Hardwar

Today being my day of silence, Kusum, Prabhavati and Kanti have gone out with Devdas for sightseeing. Nature is bountiful here, but man has spoiled the place all over.

I end here today.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3705

286. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

HARDWAR,

Silence Day, October 14, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I have received here two days' post together.

You say you have enclosed Prithuraj's letter, but you forgot to do so. I do not see it with your letter.

You should not be indifferent about your health. If you are getting low fever, you are bound to feel exhausted. I feel like sending you away to Mussoorie. After sending you there, however, I cannot keep you long there and the visit would do no good. I should like you to go to Wardha or Pudupalayam. If you think you require a cold climate, go to Almora. I think it will be enough if you merely go out of the Ashram. You should not think, either, that you can leave only if Ramniklal reaches there. If Narandas agrees, hand over the charge to him. I will persuade him if you want me to do so. You should go away somewhere, somehow. Never over tax your health.

I send the second letter from Chhaganlal, too, for your information. Slowly he will start writing directly to you. He has always suffered from this kind of excessive diffidence. You should tolerate it.

It is with my consent that the workers of the National Women's Council use foreign silk thread for embroidery on khadi. I have once written about this in *Navajivan*. There is no need to write about it again. Some reader may exaggerate the importance of the thing. We do use foreign thread for stitching our clothes. Embroidery is one step further than the stitching of dresses. At present we have reached the ground of khadi. In beautifying that ground, we use foreign dyes and foreign thread. Even so, I have opposed the proposal to stock such articles for sale in khadi stores. I have not, however, opposed

separate stalls for such articles in exhibitions. No issue of principle is involved in this; it is a question of practical wisdom, discretion and what is feasible.

We must encourage, within certain limits, inter-provincial marriages. I would regard it as essential that the husband and the wife should learn each other's language. This was so in Rukhi's marriage. In this case the husband does possess a fairly good knowledge of Gujarati. I do not mind if the other members of his family do not have such knowledge. When a man and a woman marry at a mature age, the idea would be that they should have a separate establishment of their own. The members of the husband's family cannot stand in the way of their doing so. The wife ought not to be made to suffer at their hands. In this case, moreover, the two languages are nearly alike. Hindi, again, being the national language, both know it. In these circumstances, there is no possibility of any difficulty arising for want of knowledge of a common language. I shall not, however, elaborate this reasoning. It is of course necessary to think before forming a connection with someone from another province, but I see no need to ban such connections.

I had expected that I would get information about Kaki's death in today's post, but there was none. I am sure I will get some tomorrow. It is four days since Mahadev's telegram.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5458

287. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

[After October 14, 1929]¹

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

Yesterday I got the post in the evening, two days' post together. I got Prithuraj's letter too.

As for the problem of disposing of Gujarat's khadi, we shall discuss the matter when I arrive there, and after I have thought about it I will write on the subject in *Navajivan*. It will not be difficult to dispose of it. You need not get alarmed if a small stock accumulates.

¹ From the reference to Prithuraj's letter ; *vide* the preceding item.

It may prove useful at a time of difficulty. Only, we should have the necessary facilities to store it.

You may certainly go to the Punjab.¹ The climate there will become colder day by day and the cold will be more intense than in Ahmedabad. You should, therefore, take sufficient warm clothing and covering.

We shall certainly have to keep a watch over Bhansali.

Narandas feels that you have no faith in his capacity for work and that, deep in your heart, you do not want his help. He even suspects that perhaps you do not wish his presence in the Udyoga Mandir at all. I have written to him and told him that this might possibly be his illusion. But, so long as he entertains this fear, he will not accept responsibilities with an open heart. You alone can remove his suspicion. How, it is difficult to say.

If the work in Vijapur goes on all right, I would advise you not to worry about the slightly high cost of khadi for some time. I am sending your letter to Chhaganlal. I feel that, whenever anyone writes such a letter to me, it would be good if I sent it to the person concerned. Anyone would understand the frank sincerity behind your letter.

I see no need to invite a doctor to live permanently in the Ashram. If the secretary's notebook is maintained properly, it would give the correct information about such matters. How often in the course of a year do we require a doctor's services? A few visits, but in quick succession, may sometimes appear numerous. I do feel, however, that we should offer something to the doctor, though I would not mind if he refused to accept anything. Whatever he accepts will not be sufficient to cover his fees. The only return we can make to him is through our vigilance, our self-control, our daily growing spirit of service and our devotion to duty. The very fact that the doctor comes every time we call him shows that he looks upon us as worthy servants.

I shall have no objection if dispensaries are opened in places where spinning work is going on. Only, we should take care to see that the former do not overshadow the latter. Govindbabu's activity in

¹ To attend the Lahore Congress; *vide*, "Letter to Chhaganlal Joshi", 23-10-1929

this field certainly does that. I have an impression that the Abhoy Ashram at Comilla has combined the two in a beautiful manner.

What you write about the Maganlal Memorial is correct I suppose you will be there in Wardha, will you not?

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5477

288. *LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI*

HARDWAR,

October 15, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

Jayanti should have reached here yesterday morning, but he arrived in the evening. He had not been able to sleep the previous night, and so at Saharanpur, where he should have changed he was asleep and woke up after the station had been left behind. He travelled back to Saharanpur and lost time in that.

I had become impatient to hear more about Kaki's death. I got out from Jayanti as much information as he could give. Shankar must have recovered now. Chhaganlal Gandhi's letter was left out yesterday; I enclose it today. Wherever you find an error in his figures, please do draw his attention to it, and also let me know about it. I suppose the matter about Kathor will now be attended to after Diwali.

We are nearing the Diwali. When we were children, we felt right from the Dussehra day that the Diwali had arrived. We felt sad on the new moon day, thinking that the Diwali was now over. But we used to console ourselves with the thought that there was still the Dev Diwali to be celebrated and neglected studies, etc., till then. But at present the problem which we have to tackle is whether, after the Diwali, we should continue the common kitchen. If there is anything about this which you think you should discuss with me, do so. But you can even decide independently of me if you wish to. The chief responsibility in this matter rests on the women, and so they should think very carefully about the problem. Let everyone among them think for herself whether she has found advantage or disadvantage in the common kitchen. Do not hold too many meetings or take too many

days for coming to a decision. Do not even spend too many hours. We gave the people freedom to reconsider the matter after Diwali. That is why, though my views are fixed, I have touched upon this matter so that all of you may use without hesitation the freedom that was given. We do not, however, wish to make it a subject for daily discussion.

Devdas requires an assistant in Jamia. He has come to know that Ishvarlal wishes to go out of the Ashram in order to learn English. He, therefore, suggested today that, if Ishvarlal went to Jamia, he, Devdas, would get some help and would himself teach the latter English. In Jamia Ishvarlal would not get the kind of English atmosphere which he would in Rajaji's Ashram. He would, however, get in Jamia the leisure which he would not at the other place. Ask Ishvarlal. If he wishes, he may immediately go to Delhi. Devdas will not be able to return to the place quite so soon, so that for the present Ishvarlal will act as a substitute for Devdas and teach the children spinning. By and by Devdas will return there. I do not wish to press Ishvarlal on this matter and ask him to go against his inclination. He may go only if he wishes to. Devdas's request was for Kanti, but I have assumed that you would not be able to spare him. I also feel that, if Kanti were to remain away from the dairy for a long time, he would lose interest in it and also the knowledge which he has acquired. In the end, therefore, he would succeed in neither task. If Ishvarlal is not ready for this but some others are, let me have their names.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

I have not revised this.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5459

289. LETTER TO GANGADEVI SANADHYA

HARDWAR,
October 15, 1929

CHI. GANGADEVI,

How are you keeping now? I often remember you. Has the doctor put off the operation? If the doctor suggests it, do undergo it. Have no fear. How long do you sew these days? How is Totaram's eye?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2541

290. STATEMENT ON AHMEDABAD LABOUR DISPUTE¹

DEHRADUN,
October 16, 1929

Shethshri Mangaldas has sent me for my comments a copy of the statement presented to the *Sarpanch*. I have gone through it.

I think that a number of points made in it are improper.

According to my understanding, the insistence that the cut in wages effected in 1923 was binding for all time had been given up. Moreover, even in his statement, Sheth Mangaldas does not insist that the labourers cannot demand, after the cut of 1923, that the same be abrogated and hence, though he has written at length about it, there is no propriety in my giving a reply to it. As an arbitrator, he gave no award in 1923. This much is clear that for whatever happened in 1923 he is not to blame, but if there is anyone to be blamed it is the Mill-owners' Association.

According to me there is truly speaking only one point before the *Sarpanch* for decision: Whether the wages which the labourers receive today are less than their expenditure in the light of the prices of foodgrains, etc., obtaining today and if they are less, whether at

¹ Between the Mill-owners' Association and the Ahmedabad Labour Union; Mangaldas Girdhardas and Gandhiji acted as arbitrators and K. M. Jhaveri as the Umpire. For Gandhiji's comments on the award, *vide* "An Important Award", 12-12-1929.

least in order to make up the deficit their wages should be increased or not.

The evidence given from the side of the labourers on this point clearly proves that the total of all their earnings is less than the necessary expense which they incur every month. In Sheth Mangaldas's statement I have not been able to see any rebuttal of this submission. Therefore there is not much that I can add to what I have said in my verdict¹. But I should draw the *Sarpanch's* attention to one thing. The cut in wages is a question of life and death to the labourers. To the mills it was and is one of effecting a cut and maintaining it with a view to increasing their reduced profits. I hold that, as long as the mills make some profit, one cannot effect any cut in the living wage of the labourers. Prior to the cut, this living wage was not a living wage at all. It is however true that the prices of foodgrains today are lower than those prevailing in the year 1923. Nevertheless it is a sad and surprising thing that the evidence put before the arbitrator proves that the expense incurred by the labourers today on foodgrains at those lower prices is higher than their wages. The figures presented by the labourers have been supported in two ways. An examination of the wages received and the calculation therefrom of the total savings and of the figures emerging from two Government enquiries makes it clear that the Government reports also support the statement of expenditure presented on behalf of the labourers.

I feel that both the mill-owners and Sheth Mangaldas have failed to understand the present condition of the labourers. It is to be hoped that the *Sarpanch* will appreciate that position.

If the *Sarpanch* has nothing specific to know from me, I have nothing more to say.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 14979

¹ Vide "Note on dispute Between Mill-Owners and Workers", 7-9-1929

291. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

October 16, 1929

CHI. MAHADEV,

I have your letters. For some time now I have not been able to write at all. I got the article about Kaki¹ only today. It is well written. Let the critics say what they will.²

The *Gita* proofs sent to Gorakhpur have not yet reached here. I don't know when I shall get them. At Mussoorie³ I shall have a good opportunity of disposing of them.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11457

292. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

DEHRADUN,

October 16, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

There is no letter from you. I got, however, Jamnalalji's letter written from the Ashram and that means the mail from the Ashram has been received here. I read in it about Umiya's⁴ betrothal. May both be happy. I send with this Chi. Shankerlal's letter, which you should hand over to Umiya. Read it and pass it on to her.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

I have not revised this.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5460

¹ D. B. Kalelkar's wife; the article, "Death of a Virtuous Woman", an obituary by Mahadev Desai, was published in *Navajivan*, 13-10-1929.

² *Vide* "Has *Navajivan* Become Dull", 3-11-1929.

³ Gandhiji was in Mussoorie from October 17 to October 24, 1929.

⁴ Jaisukhlal Gandhi's daughter

293. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

DEHRA DUN,
October 16, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,¹

I received your letter. I sent you two telegrams from Hardwar. Both came back with the remark that there is no such place as 'Udyogalaya' at Vijapur. The telegrams were sent as addressed to 'Chhaganlal, Udyogalaya'. When the first telegram was returned, I thought I might have committed some detail and sent you another telegram. The substance of both the telegrams was that Prabhudas should be sent to Mussoorie. There is no point now in sending you another telegram, since I do not know what address I should give so that it might reach you. Let me know for future guidance what address should be given in the telegram. Fortunately, before sending the telegram, I had written to the same effect to Prabhudas and I am therefore hoping that he will come. The dilemma that Prabhudas says he is in, seems correct. When I reach Mussoorie, I will consider in which hill station to arrange his stay. We will also know how Mussoorie suits him. While proceeding cautiously, do get at least as much khadi woven as you can. Do not mind it if it costs a little more. Send me a piece by way of sample. It is very good that you have got the boys from Mansa to help you. It is as well that you did not allow Raghunath to join you. It will be enough if your work there is not held up. Do keep me informed of all developments in detail.² Do write to Joshi as well. It seems that Vasumati has arrived there. You must have heard about Umiya having been betrothed.

Blessings from

BAPU

MUSSOORIE

October 17, 1929³

From the Gujarati original: S.N. 33100

¹ The letter is in Mahadev Desai's handwriting.

² The remaining letter including the place name and date is in Gandhiji's handwriting. It seems that Gandhiji completed the letter the next day at Mussoorie.

³ *ibid*

294. TELEGRAM TO K. T. GILCOCK

[Before October 17, 1929]¹

YOUR LETTER. TWENTY-SEVENTH OCTOBER FIRST NOVEMBER
MEERUT DISTRICT SECOND DELHI THIRD BULANDSHAHAH FOURTH
FIFTH ALIGARH SIXTH MUTTRA SEVENTH BRINDABAN. COULD
YOU COME MUSSOORIE BETWEEN SEVENTEENTH TWENTY-FOURTH
INSTANT.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S. N. 15247

295. IS IT VILLAGE UPLIFT?

Some time ago prominent notice was taken in the public press of Mr. F. L. Brayne's work for the uplift of the villagers in the Gurgaon district in the Punjab. Mr. Brayne was in charge of that district. These notices attracted my attention, and I felt that if the account given by Mr. Brayne was a true picture of the progress made in Gurgaon, it was worthy of close study and imitation. I therefore requested Lalaji's Society² to undertake local inspection of the actual work done. Lala Deshraj, a graduate member of the Society, was deputed for the work. He has prepared an exhaustive report of his inspection. I reproduce it³ with but slight omissions. It will repay perusal. Mr. Brayne has procured cautiously worded certificates of his work from the Viceroy as also the Governor of the Punjab. But I would not anticipate Lala Deshraj. My remarks I reserve till the report is fully published.⁴ The reader will have to wait for another issue of *Young India* to see the conclusion of the report.

Young India, 17-10-1929

¹ Inferred from the contents of the wire. Gandhiji was in Mussoorie from October 17 to October 24, 1929. The rest of the tour programme also fits in with Gandhiji's itinerary in October, 1929.

² Servants of the People Society

³ Not reproduced here

⁴ Vide "Village Improvement", 14-11-1929.

296. POSITION OF WOMEN

A fair friend¹, who has hitherto successfully resisted the matrimonial temptation, writes:

There was a women's conference yesterday at the Malabari Hall at which many sound speeches were made, and many resolutions passed. The question of the evening was the Sarda Bill. We are so glad you uphold the age of 18 for girls. Another important resolution dealt with the laws of inheritance. What a help it would be if you wrote a strong article on this subject in *Navajivan* and *Young India* ! Why should women have either to beg or to fight in order to win back their birthright? It is strange—and also tragically comic—to hear man born of woman talk loftily of 'the weaker sex' and nobly promising 'to give' us our due! What is this nonsense about 'giving'? Where is the 'nobility' and 'chivalry' in restoring to people that which has been unlawfully wrested from them by those having brute power in their hands? Wherein are women less important than men? Why should their share of inheritance be less than that of men? Why should it not be equal? We were discussing this very heatedly with some people a couple of days ago. A lady said, "We don't need any change in the law. We are quite content. After all, it is but fair that the son, who carries on the name and family traditions, should have the greater share. He is the mainstay of the family...." We said, "And what about the girl?" "Oh", intervened a strapping young man who was there, "the other fellow will look after *her*!" There you are. The 'other fellow'! Always the other fellow! The other fellow is an absolute nuisance! Why should there be another fellow? *Why* should it be taken for granted that there will be another fellow? They talk as though a girl were a bale of goods to be tolerated in the parental house until 'the other fellow' comes round, and then coolly handed over to him with a sigh of relief. . . . Really wouldn't you be wild if *you* were a girl?

I do not need to be a girl to be wild over man's atrocities towards woman. I count the law of inheritance among the least in the list. The Sarda Bill deals with an evil far greater than the one which the law of inheritance connotes. But I am uncompromising in the matter of woman's rights. In my opinion she should labour under no legal disability not suffered by man. I should treat the daughters and sons on a footing of perfect equality. As women begin to realize their strength, as they must in proportion to the education they receive, they will naturally resent the glaring inequalities to which

¹ Raihana Tyabji; vide "Letter to Raihana Tyabji", 9-10-1929

they are subjected.

But to remove legal inequalities will be a mere palliative. The root of the evil lies much deeper than most people realize. It lies in man's greed of power and fame and deeper still in mutual lust. Man has always desired power. Ownership of property gives this power. Man hankers also after posthumous fame based on power. This cannot be had, if property is progressively cut up in pieces as it must be if all the posterity become equal co-sharers. Hence the descent of property for the most part on the eldest male issue. Most women are married. And they are co-sharers, in spite of the law being against them, in their husbands' power and privileges. They delight in being ladies this and what not, simply for the fact of being the wives of particular lords. Though therefore they may vote for radical reform in academic discussions over inequalities, when it comes to acting up to their vote, they will be found to be unwilling to part with the privileges.

Whilst therefore I would always advocate the repeal of all legal disqualifications, I should have the enlightened women of India to deal with the root cause. Woman is the embodiment of sacrifice and suffering, and her advent to public life should therefore result in purifying it, in restraining unbridled ambition and accumulation of property. Let them know that millions of men have no property to transmit to posterity. Let us learn from them that it is better for the few to have no ancestral property at all. The real property that a parent can transmit to all equally is his or her character and educational facilities. Parents should seek to make their sons and daughters self-reliant, well able to earn an honest livelihood by the sweat of the brow. The upbringing of minor children will then naturally devolve upon the major descendants. Much of the present imbecility of the children of the wealthy will go, if the latter could but substitute the worthy ambition of educating their children to become independent for the unworthy ambition of making them slaves of ancestral property, which kills enterprise and feeds the passions which accompany idleness and luxury. The privilege of the awakened women should be to spot and eradicate age-long evils.

That mutual lust too has played an important part in bringing about the disqualifications of the fair sex hardly needs any demonstration, Woman has circumvented man in a variety of ways in her unconsciously subtle ways, as man has vainly and equally unconsciously struggled to thwart woman in gaining ascendancy over

him. The result is a stalemate. Thus viewed, it is a serious problem the enlightened daughters of Bharat Mata are called upon to solve. They may not ape the manner of the West which may be suited to its environment. They must apply methods suited to the Indian genius and Indian environment. Theirs must be the strong, controlling, purifying, steadying hand, conserving what is best in our culture and unhesitatingly rejecting what is base and degrading. This is the work of Sitas, Draupadis, Savitris and Damayantis, not of amazons and prudes.

Young India, 17-10-1929

297. MY SILENCE

I had hoped that by this time my correspondents had realized that, if I was silent on any question that agitated the country, the silence was maintained in its interest or on similar valid grounds, and that therefore they would not deluge me with inquiries and protests regarding my deliberate silence over the self-immolation of Jatindranath Das¹ and the question of hunger-strikers generally. At Gorakhpur in one of the addresses received by me the question was directly put to me, and I was in courtesy bound to answer it. My answer was that the silence was observed entirely in the national interest. I had felt that an expression of my opinion was likely to do more harm than good to the cause for which brave Jatindra fasted unto death. There are occasions when silence is wisdom. This I hold to be such an occasion. I may inform the reader that there are very many important questions affecting the nation on which, though I hold strong and decided views, I maintain absolute silence, for I believe that it often becomes the duty of every public man to be silent even at the risk of incurring unpopularity and even a much worse penalty, as it undoubtedly becomes his duty to speak out his mind when the occasion requires it, though it may be at the cost of his life. So far as the philosophy of hunger-strikes is concerned, I have given the fullest expression to my general views in these pages more often than once. It is therefore unnecessary for me to expound them any further. I regret

¹ A political worker who, while being tried in the Lahore Conspiracy case, went on fast in the Lahore jail as a protest against the discriminatory treatment meted out to Indian prisoners. He died on September 13, 1929, the sixty-fourth day of his fast.

that I can give my numerous correspondents no further satisfaction.¹ I may however give them this assurance that my silence has no connection whatsoever with Jatin's crime or innocence. For I hold that even a criminal is entitled to decent treatment and decent food. I also hold that an under-trial prisoner must be presumed at least by the public to be innocent, and for that matter what I have heard about Jatindranath Das is all in praise of him, and I have been assured that he was no more capable of doing or contemplating violence than I should be myself.

Young India, 17-10-1929

298. SYLLABUS IN INDIAN ECONOMICS

Our economics syllabus is not concerned with world economics, but with Indian economics. We know from experience that the economics of each country varies in some ways from the economics of other countries. Looked at from the point of view of the towns and the villages, the difference may be more pronounced. The following syllabus is chalked out on the assumption that the civilization of India is dependent on the condition of the villages and their full growth.

FIRST TERM

Teachers should take the pupils with them and visit some village and, there, get the pupils collect facts relating to the economy of the village and thus give them a practical lesson in economics; that is, make them ascertain its population, the number of men, women, boys and girls living in it and prepare statistical tables; then compile a statement of the occupations, the number of people employed in the various occupations, and the income accruing from them. They should also measure the area within its boundaries, calculate the per capita area of land, find out what crops are raised on the land, how it is manured, what kind of farm implements are used, what the expenditure on agriculture is and how much the produce. Then they should get them to collect figures for the produce and expenditure during the past ten years and from that deduce whether agriculture is a profitable occupation or a losing concern. Let them find out the number of live-stock, the expenditure on them, the amount of milk, etc., their feed, availability of a stud bull in the village, the utility of

¹ *Vide* "Letter to C. Rajagopalachari", 18-10-1929,

calves, the extent of pasture land, and if such land is not available whether there is enough space for the cattle for movement and fresh air. Whether the farmer keeps accounts, and if so, what manner of accounts he maintains should be inspected. How much leisure the farmers get and how they spend it should also be ascertained. After this extensive observation and investigation the pupils should draw their own conclusions and give suggestions for the improvement of the village. The pupils' reports should be written in ink neatly and in a good hand.

SECOND TERM

All the information gathered by various groups of such students should be collated, the results of their findings should be compared with those of other agricultural countries and then the differences between India and those other agricultural countries should be analysed.

THIRD TERM

The results of these independent investigations should be compared with the economic data taught in India and any additions or deletions that are necessary should be made and through such practical training alone should the student learn the economics of India.

NOTE: If every year new students undertake the study of economics according to the aforesaid syllabus, it will entail no harm. On the other hand, such work may lead to new conclusions or may progressively confirm the accepted theories. There should be no need to go to a village which has already been studied and surveyed.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 17-10-1929

299. *THE DUTY OF A VOLUNTEER*

As I am getting to know the volunteers during my tour of the U.P. I find that they badly need training. The volunteers' ideals are pure, they are not lacking in love but the energy which should spring from idealism and love is missing for want of training. They have very little organizing capacity. Because of this, rather than any help forthcoming often new difficulties crop up. It is therefore essential to

train them. They may well be volunteers at heart but nothing much will be achieved by that. Even for the easiest of jobs, some training is required. Even the work of a scavenger cannot be performed without training. How can the work of a volunteer succeed without it?

The volunteer is the soldier of the nation. Ultimately we hope to win swaraj through him. The members of a national organization should possess great qualities. The volunteers

1. should be capable of maintaining order in large gatherings;
2. should know the national language;
3. should be able to communicate their thoughts to other volunteers through signals;
4. should be able to stop noise;
5. should be able to clear a way through a mass of people;
6. should be able to march to drum-beat;
7. should be able to render first aid in case of injury;
8. should be able to put up with people's abuses, acrimony, assault, taunts, etc.;
9. should be able to endure Government's punishment, such as imprisonment, etc.;
10. should possess the qualities of patience, truthfulness, firmness, bravery, ahimsa and the like.

Besides, in my view, the volunteers should always wear khadi. They should also spin regularly by way of *yajna*.

In order to impart this kind of training every province should have volunteer training centres as also textbooks suitable to our country.

All the strength necessary in a 'violent' soldier is essential for a non-violent soldier also—except the violence part of it. But compared to the violent soldier, the non-violent soldier requires many more qualities. The readers must be aware of them.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 17-10-1929

300. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

MUSSOORIE,
October 17, 1929

CHI. VASUMATI¹,

I have your letter. I would not advise you to go to Almora just now. For some time the conditions there have been unsettled. It is also a question whether Prabhudas² should be sent there. We shall consider later whether you can go. If you wish to go to some hill station, it may of course be possible to make arrangements elsewhere. Or, it may be possible to put you up with Mathuradas in Almora. But, if you keep well at Vijapur, what is the advantage of going to a hill station? At a hill station it will be very cold now. Here in Mussoorie I am just now sitting wrapped in blankets.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati, S.N. 9267

301. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

October 17, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I have both your letters. I feel worried about your health. See that your body becomes as strong as steel. There is no rule which forbids us from giving anything at all to Jagjivandas. We certainly cannot let him: remain in debt. However, the Kathiawar Antyaja Committee should pay the balance of Rs. 400. I have asked Jagjivandas to write to the Committee again.

I have no objection to the decision to fix Umiya's marriage for December 4. I shall be there on that date.

I understand about Ayodhyaprasad Mathur. Has he stayed on there?

Yes, give the authority to signcheques to Panditji and Ramniklal.

¹ An inmate of the Sabarmati Ashram, widowed daughter-in-law of Navalram Pandya, a well-known literature of Gujarat

² Chhaganlal Gandhi's son

Also consider why Imamsaheb should not be included. Do you intend to give joint authority to Panditji and Ramniklal? If so, why? I see no need for joint authority. Also consider why this authority should not be given to Narandas. My point is that this responsibility should be given to a member of the Managing Committee who is doing office work. If Narandas is not such a member, it is a different matter. All this is for you to think over. In any case, joint signatures, I am sure, will not look right.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

Kanti¹ expressed a strong wish to accompany me as far as Mussoorie and so I have let him. He will leave tomorrow or the day after.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5461

302. MESSAGE TO “THE INDIAN LABOUR JOURNAL”²

CAMP MUSSOORIE,
October 18, 1929

MY DEAR RAGHAVAN,

I have your letter. Here is my message:

“Labour must learn to help itself and to be self-reliant.”

Yours sincerely,

. G. VIJIARAGHAVAN

INDIAN LABOUR JOURNAL”

SITABULDI, NAGPUR

From a microfilm: S.N. 15205

¹ Harilal Gandhi's son

² Official organ of the B. N. Railway Indian Labour Union

303. LETTER TO B. S. GOPALA ROW

CAMP MUSSOORIE,
October 18, 1929

MY DEAR GOPALA ROW¹,

I have your letter. I admire your zeal and confidence but I miss the scientific discussion that should back all confidence and zeal if they are to be fruitful. Do you not see that any number of certificates² are utterly useless for me in the teeth of overwhelming experience to the contrary? Supposing there is a man who does not feel the glow of a raging fire before him, do you suppose that the testimony of a thousand people who may feel the glow will convince him contrary to his own experience? And you may not also realize that all those whose names you mention have not been as thorough as you fancy in the description of foods they have taken, that is to say, if they have added milk to the raw food or cooked chapatis; it alters the state of the whole complexion of the whole experiment and vitiates it. Several writers tell me they eat unfired food and in the same breath inform me they occasionally take cooked rice, cooked vegetables and cooked chapatis and invariably take curds or milk. My experiment among the 44 was carried on without milk and without any cooked food and the vast majority failed hopelessly. There are three or four persisting in the face of odds. I cannot say what will happen to them in the end.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. B. S. GOPALA ROW

ADVOCATE, RAJAHMUNDRY

From a microfilm: S.N. 15639

¹ An advocate who had opened a Hydro-Chromopathic and Nature-cure Academy at Rajahmundry; for his suggestions on unfired food and Gandhiji's comments, *vide*

² The addressee had enclosed a list of nine persons cured by him,

304. LETTER TO C. C. DAS

CAMP MUSSOORIE,
October 18, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your note. I had a very happy time under your hospitable roof¹. I do hope that the fatigue of those days has left no trace upon your health now and I hope too that domestic peace prevails in the home now. Please ask Mrs. Das to write to me. She may do so in English or Hindi just as it pleases her.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 15643

305. LETTER TO P. RANGANADAN

CAMP MUSSOORIE,
October 18, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I had hoped to deal with your matter much earlier but the papers you gave me were left buried in an unassorted heap. I have now come across those papers and you will find reference in the ensuing number of *Young India*.² The reason for writing this letter is only to know what

you are doing now and whether the
Board took any further action.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. P. RANGANADAN
SRI RAMANA BHAVANAM
ARNI (N. ARCOT DT.)

From a microfilm: S.N. 15678

¹ From October 4 to October 7

² *Vide* "Elected Boards", 24-10-1929. It gives the actual name of the addressee as P. Ranganatha Ayyar.

306. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

CAMP MUSSOORIE,
October 18, 1929

MY DEAR C.R.,

There was one question which I forgot to deal with when I wrote to you. That was regarding the late Rev. Wizia¹. I cannot deal with the matter satisfactorily because I am wholly against hunger-strikes for matters such as Wizia and Jatin died for. Any expression of such opinion would be distorted and misused by the Government. I therefore feel that my silence is more serviceable than my criticism. Do you not agree with my judgment of the hunger-strikes and with my consequent silence?

Yours sincerely,

SJT. C. RAJAGOPALACHARI
RAJAPALAYAM (S. INDIA)
From a photostat: S.N. 15683

307. LETTER TO A. SUBBIAH

CAMP MUSSOORIE,
October 18, 1929

MY DEAR SUBBIAH,

I have your letter. I was wondering why you had not written for so long. It does not matter whether I reply at once or not. I would like to have a weekly budget from you. I never expected the prohibition work to go faster than it is. Nevertheless regular plodding is bound to bear fruit. I am glad *Vimochanam*² is doing so well. You must send me a copy. I am glad too that you and Lalita are together and flourishing. Many happy returns of the day to the year-old baby Krishnamurti. Ba and I send our joint blessings. I hope Seshan is not over-worrying you.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. SUBBIAH
C/O SJT. C. RAJAGOPALACHARI
RAJAPALAYAM (S. INDIA)
From a microfilm: S.N. 15684

¹ A Buddhist monk of Burma who, imprisoned for sedition, undertook a hunger-strike demanding better treatment and the right to wear yellow robes on special days. He died on September 19, 1929.

² A Tamil journal

308. *LETTER TO KATESHWAR PRASAD PANDAY*

CAMP MUSSOORIE,

October 18, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I send you herewith the letter of Maulvi Mohamed Adil Abbasi. Please return the letter with whatever you might have to offer.

Encl. 1

Yours sincerely,

PT. KATESHWAR PRASAD

BASTI (U.P.)

From a microfilm: S.N. 15685

309. *LETTER TO MOHAMED ADIL ABBASI*

CAMP MUSSOORIE,

October 18, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter¹. I should be sorry to find the facts to be as you have stated them. I hope that there is some misunderstanding. I am forwarding your letter to Pt. Kateshwar Prasad for reply. I quite agree with you that in every little matter the utmost delicacy is necessary while both the communities' feelings are tender and likely to be hurt on the slightest pretext.

Yours sincerely,

MAULVI MOHAMED ADIL ABBASI

BASTI (U.P.)

From a microfilm: S.N. 15686

¹ Wherein the addressee had complained that during Gandhiji's visit to Basti, the Urdu address was printed a day later than the Hindi address.

310. LETTER TO P. G. MATHEW

CAMP MUSSOORIE,
October 18, 1929

MY DEAR MATHEW,

I have your letter¹ but I do not think that I need to deal with it now as you must have received my previous letter. If you have not please tell me. Any way the purport of my previous letter was that I could not give you any monetary help. My advice to you was to gain much more practical experience than you had.

Yours sincerely,

P. G. MATHEW, Esq.

From a microfilm: S.N. 15687

311. LETTER TO N. R. MALKANI

October 18, 1929

MY DEAR MALKANI,

I have your letter and I had one from Jamshedji² also. I have therefore telegraphed to him saying that you could not usefully serve on his Committee³ and that therefore you should be excused. His own previous letter to me said that you had willingly joined his Committee and that you had in no way compromised yourself. I therefore told him that if that was so and if you wanted to remain on his Committee I would waive my objection. But I told him that before I did so, I would have to wait for your letter of confirmation. Your letter has crossed mine to him. There is therefore now no question of your having to serve on the Committee or rather assisting the Committee without being put on it. I hope that you are now once more breathing free. I would like you henceforth to harden yourself and never accept a charge or a burden unless you feel absolutely sure of what you are

¹ In which the addressee, who was staying at Sabarmati Ashram, had requested Gandhiji to finance a project which needed an initial outlay of a few thousand rupees

² Jamshed N. R. Mehta, a public worker of Sind and for a long time Mayor of the Municipal Corporation of Karachi

³ The People's Flood Relief Committee of Sind of which Malkani was the Secretary

doing. Very often the best service that we can render friends is to disappoint them and even displease them if what they say does not commend itself to the inner being. It is better even to risk the loss of friends than to compromise oneself and run the greater risk of being rendered unfit for service.

Yours sincerely,

BAPU

PROF. MALKANI
CONGRESS OFFICE
HYDERABAD SIND

From a photostat: G.N. 896

312. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

MUSSOORIE

October 18, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

Today I have not yet received the mail sent by you. I see that Panditji, too, worries about your health. Bring it round soon.

I cannot write more today.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5462

313. LETTER TO ABBAS TYABJI

CAMP MUSSOORIE,

October 19, 1929

MY DEAR BHRRR¹,

It was a delight to receive your letter after so many days and a cheery letter at that. I really did not need your letter to know that I had your good wishes. From this distance I could listen to the tick in your heart—much truer than the written word. Raihana told me all about your operation. But I got her letter long after everything was over and it is such an exhilarating thing to get bad news

¹ This was a form of greetings used between Gandhiji and the addressee.

when that news has lost all its force. One is then in a position to enjoy the unadulterated happiness of the thought that everything went on well in the end. I have no misgivings about Jawaharlal's conduct in the chair¹.

Yours,

BHRRR

SJT. ABBAS TYABJI

CAMP BARODA

From a photostat: S.N. 9568

314. LETTER TO RAIHANA TYABJI

MUSSOORIE,

October 19, 1929

MY DEAR RAIHANA,

Do you know the beautiful story of Nachiketa in the Upanishads? His father was a miser. He once gave as a donation a cow that was a burden to him. Nachiketa gently asked his father why he had done so and what he expected to gain by such a donation. The father cursed N. who took it in good part [and] wrested from Yamaraj² a change of heart for the father. Love melts mountains. Not to speak to father when you have something against him will be sin. Most probably he has good reasons for his action but supposing he is in error, he will retrace his steps the earliest when he is warned by loved ones. Therefore the sooner you speak to father the better. Only you should have no anger in you. I am sure he will take it all in good part. You should wean him too from speculation. He needs to hoard wealth for nobody now. Even you in spite of your frail body can earn your way. God has given you a voice that would any day support you. And after all God alone is responsible for our maintenance if we would but trust Him.

I have a cheery letter from father. Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: S.N. 9612

¹ That is, as President of the Congress

² God of Death

315. LETTER TO S. SRINIVASAN

CAMP MUSSOORIE,
October 19, 1929

MY DEAR SRINIVASAN,

I thank you for your letter and the enclosures. You are quite right in being indifferent about *After Mother India*. However, if I get some leisure I shall go through the chapters you have sent and if I find anything that I can usefully deal with I shall do so.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

K. SRINIVASAN, ESQ.
FREE PRESS OF INDIA, LTD.
24 BRIDE LANE, LONDON E.C.4

From a photostat: S.N. 15827

316. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

CAMP MUSSOORIE,
October 19, 1929

MY DEAR SATIS BABU,

I have your letter. I have given the Exhibition Committee¹ my idea about swadeshi. They will have an expert in their midst to guide them. But another difficulty has cropped up. This however is not of much moment. They want to charge for khaddar stalls just as they will for others. I feel that they ought not to charge for khaddar stalls. I am not aware of the practice at the other exhibitions, for instance, Madras. Was there a charge made at Cawnpore or Gauhati? I do not want to set up a new practice but we must not follow the Calcutta example either. Please let me have your views per return.

I am glad that Kumar Babu is with you. I do want to write to Hemprabhadevi as soon as I get a moment to spare.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 1610

¹ Of the ensuing Congress session at Lahore

317. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

MUSSOORIE,

October 19, 1929

CHI. MAHADEV,

Look into this. It is not necessary to take any notice of it in *Young India*. We constantly receive such anonymous letters. I had a wire informing me that the Gita proofs had been despatched, but they have not yet arrived. The accompanying address was presented at the Kanya Gurukul¹. It was sung in a very sweet tune. It is good that I retain my balance of mind. I hope that when I reach the Ashram you will be there.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11460

318. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

MUSSOORIE,

October 19, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

Today's mail has most probably arrived, but I have not been able to see it. The postal hours here are rather awkward, so that I cannot wait till I have looked into the mail which has been received. I return the letter received from Utkal. Kanti is leaving today for Ahmedabad. You may learn everything from him.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5463

¹ On October 17

319. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

MUSSOORIE,
October 19, 1929

CHI. NARANDAS,

I have both your letters. I wrote briefly to Chhaganlal after receiving your first letter and had intended to write to you later. Meanwhile I got your second letter. I don't believe that you have taken any step in haste or anger. Having regard to what you believe about Joshi, your step is the right one. I only hope that you have made some mistake in judging him. Whatever that may be, I don't mind your keeping away for the present. We do get the benefit of your time. Do some office work only when you feel that Joshi sincerely desires your help. I have put on him the burden of creating that confidence in you.

May I take it that Purushottam's health has come round?

I do believe that Kasumba¹ is very unhappy. There is no doubt that Jaisukhlal has been much too strict in the matter. Now that she has gone to Ranavav, she will have some peace.

Do pay a visit to Rajkot.

You say that even the work regarding the plague was done in 1902. I still remember that the plague occurred in 1896. But in such matters we do sometimes forget the year or the date. Ask Khushalbhair and be more definite. I have mentioned the famine, the plague and the jubilee, all the three things. Do you think that all of them relate to the year 1902?

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-9: Shri Narandas Gandhine, Part I, pp. 55-6

¹ Jaisukhlal Gandhi's wife

320. ANARCHY OF THOUGHT

As a small example of unrestrained imagination, I publish the following letter¹:

I receive many similar and even worse letters. Friends have sent me newspaper cuttings containing similar views. Where there is freedom of expression, such things are bound to happen. It only shows how incoherently one can think. This disorder exposes weakness of mind. Because of this weakness, the thought process works haphazardly instead of in an orderly manner and no correlation gets established. Many times this happens owing to anger also. The effects of anger resemble those produced by wine and opium. In the first fit, an angry man runs amuck. And then after the fit is past, the anger works like an opiate and dulls the rational faculties just like opium. Like opium, it consumes his mind. Infatuation, failure of memory and destruction of the mind are the successive symptoms of anger.

I find all this in the above letter according to my lights. The writer is a good man but in a fit of anger he has forgotten what has been written in *Navajivan*. All of a sudden he has become incapable of judging whether articles on social reforms can appear in a newspaper which exists only for swaraj.

The writer has narrowed down the very meaning of swaraj itself. The gentleman seems to believe that swaraj means the transfer of power from British hands to Indian hands. To my mind swaraj means regulated power in the hands of thirty crores of people. Where there is such rule, even a young girl will feel herself safe and, if the imagination of a poet is correct, animals like dogs, etc., who live among human beings will have a similar feeling of safety. We shall have to arrive at various basic decisions in regard to swaraj because under swaraj such decisions are not subject to officials in power but are based on truth and justice. I have succinctly called

¹ The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had objected to Gandhiji's giving an account of his tours in *Navajivan* week after week, and writing on such topics as form of marriage, remarriage, marriages contracted by old men, the Gujarati dictionary, cow-protection work, and sometimes philosophical dissertations while he had turned a blind eye to the political condition in the country and the lawless rule obtaining in many Indian States.

this kind of swaraj *Ramarajya*. As the Muslims and others may misinterpret it, I call it the rule of dharma too. Here there is room for a king, but a king means a protector, a guardian and a trustee, the best servant, the servant of servants. A king subsists on the leavings of his subjects; hence he should sleep after making his subjects sleep, eat after feeding them and live after enabling them to live. May such kings live for ever. If such kings do not arise in this age, I am certain that the very word 'king' will perish.

I am not concerned whether the ruler of Bhopal or other rulers possess any such qualities or not. I have declared what kind of ruler can survive in this age of public awakening.

My praise of the ruler of Bhopal was restrained.¹ I have not yet read the reports which have appeared in the newspapers on my praise of him and I am not even keen to read them. It is my experience that correct reports of my speeches or others' rarely appear in the newspapers. If I were to trust the newspaper reports about me, today I would have to believe that I had suffered from giddiness about three months ago. But my experience and that of my friends are quite different from the newspaper reports. Therefore I have warned all and do so again that only what is written in *Young India* and *Navajivan* should be believed as truth. I should not be held responsible for the rest. Even now I adhere literally to each word written in praise of the Nawab of Bhopal. The simplicity of his palace reminded me of the simplicity of Hazarat Omar. No one should interpret this to mean that the Bhopal palace was as simple as the shack of the great khalifa. It only meant that I did not find even a multi-storeyed building like that of an ordinary rich man where I had expected to see a gorgeous palace costing lakhs of rupees. The mansions of many of our millionaires in Ahmedabad are a hundred times superior to the palace of the Nawab Sahib. The philosophers and critics of the administration in the native States can be said to have reached the limit of intolerance, if they cannot bear even what little I have said on seeing the simplicity of the palace which I liked very much.

No one should consider me so innocent or good that I would give a certificate to a person who would buy khadi worth Rs. 200 to 400 from me. I can in most cases spot out wearers of khadi who deceive me or those who want to get some work done by me through

¹ *Vide* "Speech at Public Meeting, Bopal", 10-9-1929 and "Notes", Credit Where Due"

buying khadi. Sometimes I prefer to be deceived. And sometimes I get deceived because of my foolishness or my imperfection, say what you will.

There is a lot of exaggeration in the charges that rulers kill their subjects by poisoning them, etc., etc. The writer has levelled these allegations without adducing any proof. Idle persons believe wild rumours. The correspondent has done something similar. If he has valid proof of a ruler having killed a subject by poisoning him, he should send it to me. Hearsay cannot be considered as proof. Let not anybody who reads this part of my article misunderstand me. It is not in the least my intention to say that no ruler ever kills people unjustly. I know of murders having been committed at the instance of the rulers. I am not unaware of the rot that has set in in the native States. Despite this I believe that they can be reformed and brought under control. This faith of mine is based on my faith in humanity. The native rulers are the product of the atmosphere prevailing in India. Their bodies are like ours, their physical needs are similar to ours and they have all the virtues and vices that we have. If we have trust in ourselves, we shall have trust in them also. The whole science of satyagraha is based on faith in all living beings. That faith may well prove wrong in the end. But those who have faith in satyagraha will never say that all the rulers are worthless or that the States' administrations can never be reformed. Another belief implied in satyagraha is also worth noting. Satyagrahis believe that sin does not have the strength to exist independently on its own. It must have the support of *punya*¹. That is to say, evil subsists on the strength of good. If this is true, the native States, if they deserve such a fate, will perish on their own provided we do not help them in spite of knowing them to be evil. In this reasoning lies the origin of no-co-operation. Those who serve the native States even though they believe them to be bad are preserving them. Those also help them who consider them bad and want to destroy them with evil means. Wickedness has never been destroyed by wickedness. But persons like me who praise them for whatever good they find in them, though mistakenly but with a pure motive, thereby either reform them or secure the right to resort to satyagraha or non-co-operation.

The correspondent has criticized my silence on the martyrdom of Jatindra Das. I am not dealing with it here as it has been separately

¹ Merit accruing from virtuous action

commented on in *Navajivan*¹.

Now there remains the writer's assurance. He writes: "You believe that the subjects of the native States are afraid of jails. But I can assure you that we are not afraid of jails. We are not afraid even of death." I must regretfully say that this assurance is of little or no value to me. I believe that among the subjects of the native States, the number of people who will be found ready to go to jail can be counted on one's fingers, and fewer still would be ready to court death. If the subjects were not cowardly and were prepared to undergo all the hardships of jail-going, etc., the atrocities committed in the States would have been impossible. The writer should bear in mind that in the native States, as in the British provinces, no one is prevented from courting jail. All the evil will stop only when the spirit of sacrifice and the power of self-immolation pervade the whole country.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 20-10-1929

321. LETTER TO J. P. BHANSALI

October 20, 1929

CHI. BHANSALI,

I have your letter. You should not worry about what food you asked to be served after the fast was over. You ought not to stop eating on that ground. At the end of a fast, most men are bound to feel the desire for all manner of dishes. If a person does not feel such a desire, it can be said of him that he no longer takes pleasure in sense objects. But that state can result only from God's grace. For earning that grace, the right means is not the giving up of food, but intensely earnest prayer.

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, p.171

¹ Dated October 20, 1929; for the English article, vide "Ideal Primary School for Children", 2-6-1929

322. LETTER TO ANANDANAND¹

MUSSOORIE,

October 20, 1929

No one has so far asked me about a satyagraha in Poona. Ultimately a satyagraha has to be launched. Our movement is not so vigorous that we can achieve our aim while mischief-makers are still inactive. There are many to incite the untouchables. And since the demands of the latter are just, we cannot oppose them either. Under the circumstances, our duty, it seems to me, is to remain neutral and go on with our work. I should not be surprised if we had to resort to satyagraha on a limited scale as we did in Vykom. But I see little possibility of it in the present atmosphere.

I do not at all insist on my suggestion regarding the Navajivan Trust.² I should be happy to let your name be there. But if, as you say, Mohanbhai's name will do, I have no objection. It appeared to me from the language of the draft that you and I were regarded as the original owners of *Navajivan*. If that assumption is correct, either you must be there or, if we go as far back as the first stage, Shankerlal should be there. According to your interpretation of the sentence, it can be only Mohanlal. In that case, why should my name be there? I do not remember anything about my name being there. I am writing to Mohanlal.³ Let him do what the law requires, and nothing more. Let Mavalankar⁴ examine the legal position and include the name or names he considers necessary.

I shall find it unbearable if next year you are not in India or not by my side. You seem to attach so much importance to fate that individual effort and will have no place at all. Fate is only the fifth wheel. Hence, if the four wheels are all right, the fifth would hardly be needed. This indifference does not become you at all. You are at present giving most useful service to Jamnalalji and Jairamdasji. Both are workers worth helping and serving. Before that work is finished, I wonder what January will demand of us. I consider your contribution

¹ Although the source does not mention the addressee, it is clear from the contents that it was Anandanand.

² Vide "The Evil of Purdah", 27-6-1929.

³ Vide "Letter to Mohanlal Bhatt", 22-10-1929.

⁴ G. V. Mavalankar

of very great value in giving that account. I am hoping that even if unwillingly, you will be at your place at that time.

From a copy of the Gujarati: Kusumbehn Desai's Diary. S.N. 32578/60

323. TELEGRAM TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

MUSSOORIE,
October 21, 1929

JAMNALAL BAJAJ
395 KALBADEVI ROAD
BOMBAY

DOCTOR RAJABALI'S SCHEME APPROVED. HOPE YOU WELL.

BAPU

Panchven Putra ko Bapu ke Ashirvad, p. 71

324. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

MUSSOORIE,
October 21, 1929

CHI. MAHADEV,

At long last today I got your letter giving an account of Kaki's passing away. I had been waiting for it. A person like you is bound to regret his failure to reassure Kaki fully in response to her request. But that is how we all act. How can one know what is going to happen? One can serve only according to one's capacity. How could you have known that Kaki was going to pass away in a single day? Considering how long Durga¹, during your continued absence from home, could nurse Kaki on her sickbed, the reply you gave was a truthful one. If merely to reassure her you had said 'yes', the reply would have been considerate but untruthful. You should, therefore, give up vain regret and cherish sweet memories of Kaki. She had humbly acknowledged whatever services she was given and expressed her gratitude.

The *Gita* proofs seem to be still somewhere on the way.

Shall I take it that I have your promise for contributing three columns in *Young India* and *Navajivan*?

At present I am overwhelmed by disappointments. What

¹ Addressee's wife

need to write to you about them? Somehow I was impelled to mention the fact. Draw no inferences. “Immortal hope stands covered behind a cloud of disappointments”¹: “Covered” is my improvement to suggest that my disappointments are always momentary. Why, then, should one draw any inferences? With empty hands we came, and so shall we depart. We shall have won the battle of life only if we depart in that manner. I have no time to write more. But you should not plead that excuse.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11461

325. LETTER TO ASHRAM WOMEN

MUSSOORIE,

Silence Day, October 21, 1929

SISTERS,

Mussoorie is one of those places where pleasure-seeking abounds. There is no *purdah* here. Wealthy ladies spend their time in dancing at parties, paint their lips, deck themselves in all sorts of ways and blindly imitate the West in a good many ways. Ours is a middle path. We do not wish to keep alive superstitions and *purdah* nor to encourage shamelessness and self-indulgence. This middle path is straight but difficult to follow. It is our aim to seek it and follow it steadily.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3706

¹ From a poem by Manibhai Nabhubhai Dwivedi; the original has “hidden” instead of “covered”.

326. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

MUSSOORIE,
*Silence Day [October 21, 1929]*¹

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

There is nothing special today to write to you about. Read the letter to Raghunath Prasad and also Chhaganlal's which accompanies it.

Bhansali must be his normal self again. Request everyone to refrain from talking to him about the events during and following the fast.

Let me know your final decision about Budhabhai².

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5565

327. LETTER TO ASHRAM CHILDREN

October 21, 1929

BIRDS OF THE BAL MANDIR,

I have your letter. Now you should hear a description of Mussoorie. For that you may invite Kanti and hear it from him.³ I may, however, tell you just now that you would love to jump about and frolic in Mussoorie. Practically every morning we can see from here the mountains covered with *sutarfeni*⁴, but where are the birds here to fly over them and peck at even one thread with their beaks?

By the time you grow as big as Kantibhai I shall have flown away to God knows where. But if not I, somebody else will try to fulfil your aspirations.

What Dharmakumar⁵ writes is correct. My letters are short. But I thank God that He grants me the time to write even this much. You too should thank Him.

From a copy of the Gujarati: . Kusumbehn Desai's Diary. S.N. 32578/62

¹ The date is from *Bapuna Patro-7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine*.

² A Jain gentleman who lived near the Ashram

³ Kanti Gandhi had accompanied Gandhiji as far as Mussoorie.

⁴ A variety of sweet of white colour

⁵ Dharmakumar Giri

328. LETTER TO MOOLCHAND AGRAWAL

MUSSOORIE,
October 21, 1929

BHAI MOOLCHANDJI,

Both your letters have been received. I shall use one in *Navajivan*. As regards the one about Devasinghji I think that for the present he should simply carry on in his military job but with a detached attitude. We shall see when the time comes.

Yours,
MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 774

329. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

MUSSOORIE
October 21, 1929

CHI. BRAJKISAN,

I have been unable to answer your letter earlier. I appreciate your devotion to your mother. Do what the inner voice bids. Ultimately it is this devotion which has to be sublimated into much wider service. But this change cannot be forced. Even when it is accomplished it will not diminish the filial devotion which will however become more refined. At present it is tinged with *moha*¹, albeit of the *satvik*² kind.

I trust your health is better.

I shall reach Delhi on the night of November 1.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2368

¹ Attachment

² Pure

330. LETTER TO GIRIRAJKISHORE

CAMP MUSSOORIE,
October 22, 1929

MY DEAR GIRIRAJ ¹,

I have your letter. I have heard from Pratap Pandit also. He says that he is taking a personal interest in you and that he will certainly watch what you are doing. At present he wants you to read and understand what is written in the light of the experience that you are having. I suppose that is much the best thing to do. You should also try to procure all the literature on the economics of the leather trade. You will find therein much to strengthen the method that we are pursuing. There must be in Pandit's library literature of this type too. If there is not, Kishorelal will be of assistance in finding out such books. You should collect all the information about the various tanneries in India, the condition of the leather trade, the requirements in India, the import of leather goods from outside, the history of the failure of the British Government to capture the leather trade from Germany. All this is interesting reading. You should avoid fever and when you do get any such thing deal with it at once. How are you doing otherwise? I hope you write to the Ashram regularly.

From a microfilm: S.N. 15617

331. LETTER TO R. THADANI

CAMP MUSSOORIE,
October 22, 1929

MY DEAR THADANI,

I have your kind letter. I appreciate all you say about Girdhari. My own feeling is that no matter whom you get he will not be able to do justice to your firm's work as also to khadi. A little bit of sale may be effected but the work of production requires all a man's time. If therefore you aim at production you must get hold of an all-time worker and pay him specially either out of your own salary or out of the firm's income if the firm is willing.

But the latter, I imagine, is not feasible and probably not

¹ An inmate of the Ashram who had gone to Bombay for training in tannery

advisable even if it were feasible. You are as it is paying a lot for national purposes out of your income. It may be quite the proper thing to use this portion under your own supervision and see whether your plan of production amongst the men and amongst the villagers surrounding you succeeds. If you will entertain some such proposal Girdhari of course is not the man for it because he has his work cut out for him where he can be more usefully employed. The reason why Girdhari had taken up some other than national work was because Girdhari himself was uncertain as to his future plans and uncertain as to his future wants. After much cogitation and consultation, so far as I read him, he has now made his choice. He thinks that he wants to dedicate himself to national service and have his reasonable wants satisfied up to a point out of national service. So you see that the parable you quote will not apply in Girdhari's case.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. R. THADANI
BURHANPUR (C.P.)

From a microfilm: S.N. 15698

332. *LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT*

MUSSOORIE,
October 22, 1929

CHI. VASUMATI,

You must have got my letter¹ giving my opinion regarding Almora. I still hold that opinion. I may think of other possible alternatives after I talk over the matter with Prabhudas in Delhi. If I had been able to set up an ashram at Almora, I would have certainly sent you there. But that could not be, and now I don't think that it is possible. Let me also know why you particularly wish to go to Almora. I would look for other places for you if in any way you do not feel at home there. If you are keen on going to a hill station, there are other such places too. About Almora, I am in a moral difficulty.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9270

¹ of October 17

333. LETTER TO MOHANLAL BHATT

October 22, 1929

BHAISHRI MOHANLAL,

Your letter and mine crossed. I have read the Declaration of Trust¹. The names are all right. If possible, my name may be omitted as I had suggested. If so desired, a statement may be included to the effect that the beginning was made under my guidance, but it would be better if my signature is not required. I have received the *Gita* proofs today.

Blessings from

BAPU

SHRI MOHANLAL BHATT

NAVAJIVAN KARYALAYA

AHMEDABAD

B. B. & C. I. RLY.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1224

334. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

MUSSOORIE,

October 22, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I have not received today's mail till this hour.

No mail seems to have gone astray. Sooner or later I get every letter.

There seems to have been some misunderstanding regarding Ishwarlal.² I thought that he had asked for my permission in addition to yours. When he first spoke to me, I had asked him to obtain your permission. Henceforth we should make it a rule that no one should ask my permission directly. After the person in question has obtained your permission, he or she may ask me for my consent if desired. I should be kept out of as many things as possible.

¹ *Vide* "Declaration of Trust", 26-11-1929.

² *Vide* "Letter to Ishwarlal Joshi", 23-10-1929.

You may consult me on any matter. If, however, everybody asks for my opinion directly, there will be no order. This is an old complaint.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5464

335. TELEGRAM TO GULZARI LAL NANDA¹

MUSSOORIE,
October 23, 1929

GULZARILAL
MAJUR OFFICE
AHMEDABAD

YOUR WIRE SURPRISES ME. ON BEHALF LABOUR
THERE WERE TWO GROUNDS FOR REQUEST RESTORATION
CUT. ONE WAS ALLEGED INCREASE IN
PROSPERITY. THIS FAILED. SECOND WAS IN ANY
CASE CUT WAS UNWARRANTED BECAUSE IT REDUCED
WAGES WHICH WERE ALREADY HARDLY ENOUGH
PAY LIVING EXPENSES. THIS STATE OF THINGS
STILL PERSISTS. HENCE MY FINDING THAT MAJURS'
REQUEST SHOULD BE GRANTED IRRESPECTIVE OF
ECONOMIC CONDITIONS MILLS. SHOW YOUR WIRE AND
THIS SETH MANGALDAS AND THEN SURPUNCH.

GANDHI

From a copy: C.W. 9642. Courtesy: Gulzari Lal Nanda

¹ This was in reply to the following telegram from the addressee dated October 22: "Surpunch sends following message to you. You find that present condition of industry not so prosperous as would justify increase. You still differ from colleague and hold cut of 1923 unjustifiable which means cut should be restored. This seems inconsistent. Please explain fully. Surpunch arrives Ahmedabad from Bombay 25th."

336. LETTER TO KANNOOMAL

CAMP MUSSOORIE,
October 23, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I had your letter some time ago. When I return to the Ashram I shall see what copies of some of your books I require and I shall trouble you, if I find it necessary, to post more copies of any of your books. If I get the time I shall certainly endeavour to go through some of your other books and shall write to you if there is anything worth conveying to you.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. KANNOOMAL
DHOLPUR

From a microfilm: S.N. 15199

337. LETTER TO HARCHARAN LALL VARMAN

CAMP MUSSOORIE,
October 23, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter¹ for which I thank you. Everything that goes to *Young India* is overlooked by me. So is almost everything that goes to Gujarati *Navajivan*. *Hindi Navajivan* is prepared by a trustworthy co-worker from Gujarati *Navajivan* and *Young India*. It may therefore have in some respects ampler details and in some others an abstract only of what may appear in either of the two papers. The English passed under my eyes before it was sent to the press. The Hindi I have now read after the receipt of your letter. I consider both to be unexceptionable. Do you see any conflict between the English and the Hindi versions and do you take any exception to either? If the slightest injustice has been done anywhere I shall endeavour to correct it.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 15649

¹ Expressing surprise at the discrepancies in the reports of Gandhiji's visit to Dayalbagh published in *Hindi Navajivan* and *Young India*

338. LETTER TO KONDA VENATAPPAYYA

CAMP MUSSOORIE,

October 23, 1929

MY DEAR VENKATAPPAYYA,

I have your letters. I endorse the arrangements you have made for the Pallepattu Ashram. I shall see to it that you get the sum of Rs. 1,000 somehow or other. And of course you have the absolute right to remove anybody and to employ any other person. What I would love to see is that you or Sitarama Sastri should occasionally stay at the Ashram. It will hearten the young men whom you have placed in charge and it will draw the sympathy of local people and you might be able to influence the villagers near the Ashram. I should like it to become a living centre of activity.

With reference to Tenali please let me know what grant is actually required by the Tenali institution and give me also a somewhat accurate idea of how the amount is expected to be laid out. What qualifications should the technical instructor have? Will he have to know Telugu or English, a requirement that it would be difficult to fulfil? Where is Punnayya working now? Cannot he or someone be sent to the Ashram to complete the training required? Most of the instructors are otherwise engaged but I do want to meet your wishes if it is at all possible. You have said nothing about your wife's health or your daughter's. How are they both getting on? You must prepare to attend the meeting of the Council at Wardha in December.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. KONDA VENKATAPPAYYA

GUNTUR (MADRAS PRESIDENCY)

From a microfilm: S.N. 15699

*339. LETTER TO SUPERINTENDENT, GOVERNMENT
TELEGRAPH CHECK OFFICE, CALCUTTA*

CAMP MUSSOORIE,
October 23, 1929

THE SUPERINTENDENT
GOVERNMENT TELEGRAPH CHECK OFFICE
CALCUTTA

SIR,

I enclose herewith a pre-paid reply form in connection with cablegram No. 559/11 handed in at Durban addressed to me and received at Sabarmati on the 12th instant. I could not use the reply form as the cablegram reached me during my tour too late for reply. Will you please therefore send Rs. 7-6-0 or its equivalent to the sender of the cablegram? The sender is the Secretary, South Africa Indian Congress, Durban.

Yours faithfully,

Encl. 1

From a microfilm: S.N. 15700

340. LETTER TO ISHWARLAL JOSHI

October 23, 1929

CHI. ISHWARLAL,

I have your letter. It will be enough if you give six months to Delhi. I have told them to let you go, if you willingly agree, only on the condition that Devdas teaches you English and so arranges your work that you can spare time for study. I will send the letter through Devdas himself. He is out of Delhi at present. During the six months we will think out where to send you after the period. We need not think about that just now. I hope you understand that the question of consulting me or obtaining my consent in addition arises only after the Secretary's permission has been obtained.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 9279. Courtesy: Ishwarlal Joshi

341. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

MUSSOORIE,
October 23, 1929

CHI. MAHADEV,

At long last I got the *Gita* proofs yesterday. Redirected from place to place, they arrived very late. Now I shall be here today and tomorrow only. I don't think it will be possible even to have a look at them during that time. Both of you seem to have taken a good deal of pains over the thing. How is Durga's health nowadays? Has she resumed her kitchen duties? I hope she does not exert herself beyond her strength.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11462

342. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

October 23, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I have your letter. Read the letters to Ishwarlal and Dwarkanath and hand them over. Now I need write nothing to you about them.

My consent for your visit to Lahore was conveyed in a previous letter. As, however, you have requested a reply by wire, I am sending one.

I understand what you say about signatures.¹ When you can create confidence in Narandas, he will certainly work.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5465

¹ *Vide* "Goseva Sangha", 2-6-1929

343. A LETTER

MUSSOORIE,

October 23, 1929

Your way is clear. You must become a labourer. It requires no great effort to become like me. With a little firmness of mind everyone can do at least as much as I do.

From a copy of the Gujarati: Kusumbehn Desai's Diary. S.N. 32578/65

344. A LETTER

MUSSOORIE,

October 23, 1929

May you succeed in your vow. If the mind succumbs in the slightest degree to physical passion, you should bear complete separation from each other, rather than break the vow. The lady should improve her language. Keeping the mind engaged the whole day would weaken disturbing thoughts and increase her knowledge. Both of you should also keep yourselves regularly engaged in some kind of physical labour.

From a copy of the Gujarati: Kusumbehn Desai's Diary. S.N. 32578/67

345. LETTER TO VENILAL

MUSSOORIE,

October 23, 1929

BHAISHRI VENILAL,

It would be desirable for the members of the Satyagraha Volunteer Corps to form the habit of doing every day some work fixed in advance rather than a lot of it all together.

From a copy of the Gujarati . Kusumbehn Desai's Diary. S.N. 32578/66

346. LETTER TO RANI VIDYAVATI

MUSSOORIE,
October 23, 1929

CHI. VIDYADEVI,

I have received your letter. The problem is a difficult one. Nothing wrong should be done even when the motive is good. If you satisfy Jang Bahadur's¹ physical desires, his addiction to drinking will increase and you will then not have the same influence on him as you now have. That is my view. But in the end, of course, your duty does not lie only in following what I say. You must do as your conscience dictates and having done it not feel unhappy. It is very difficult to know one's duty and doing it can differ from individual to individual.

Ba will visit Shahabad. Send somebody to take her there. Let Jang Bahadurji read this letter. Surrender to Rama is his sole help. He will succeed if he is firm in his decision.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Lakshmi Devi's² lamentation was unbearable. Tell her that she should spin finer yarn and get cotton from Surat.

From the Hindi original: Rani Vidyavati Papers. Courtesy: Gandhi National Museum and Library

347. ECONOMIES OF CATTLE BREEDING

When I was convalescing in Bangalore two years ago,³ Mr. William Smith, the Imperial Dairy Expert, gave me a precis of a statement he submitted to the Agricultural Committee in Poona. I extract from it the following valuable information⁴ and commend it to the attention of everyone interested in the economic well being of India.

¹ Raja Jang Bahadur Sinh of Barua, addressee's husband

² Addressee's sister-in-law

³ April 19 to August 31, 1927

⁴ Not reproduced here. William Smith had analysed the causes and recommended remedies for the poor condition of milch Cows and draught bullocks.

This is a tremendous problem. The poverty of the cow is reflected in the poverty of the people. The reader will note the emphasis put by Mr. Smith upon two points. The milk-producing quality of the cow does not affect her capacity for giving a proper draught animal. In Mr. Smith's opinion based on long experience the two go together. The cow that gives a substantial quantity of milk will also give a substantial bullock. The second point made by Mr. Smith is, that whilst the buffalo may apparently do good to the individual, she kills the cow and therefore kills agriculture. Both these important things can only be handled by adequate education of those who own cattle. of course if the State interested itself in the true welfare of the people as the States have done in many other parts of the world, the problem can be handled effectively inside of a few years but private effort too can do a great deal to arrest the growing decay of our cattle which are becoming an economic burden instead of being as they ought to be a blessing.

Young India, 24-10-1929

348. ELECTED BOARDS

It came upon me as a shock to find the District Board of Moradabad issuing a circular forbidding school teachers from taking part in politics, i.e., even collecting funds from their pupils or others for *Daridranarayana*¹. That same Board gave me an address with a beautiful casket. Probably the Board knew nothing about the circular. The loyal zeal betrayed in the circular no matter by whom evidently outruns the loyalty of Government schools and colleges which have been inviting me to address their students and presenting me with purses for khadi. Government servants have openly given donations to the same cause. It has come to be recognized that khadi as such had no politics in it, and that whilst there may be two opinions about its economic value, its undoubted moral value may not be ignored by any educationist. Unquestionably it has its political side, but so have many other very important questions at present engaging the attention of the people as well as the Government. Hindu-Muslim unity and untouchability are pre-eminently social questions, but they have today a political importance of the first magnitude, and they are items in the forefront of the Congress programme. But no one has yet been known on that account to prevent Government servants from

¹ God in the form of the poor

interesting themselves in either of these questions. Indeed many District Boards have heartily joined the khadi movement and co-operated with the A. I. S. A. in promoting this the only national cottage industry of universal application. The only Board that has acted like the Moradabad Board and that has come under my notice is the District Board of North Arcot, which had the effrontery to issue the following warning:

P. Ranganatha Ayyar¹, 1st Assistant, Board Middle School, Arcot, is informed, that his conduct in having lent himself to the raising of subscriptions by pupils to the khaddar fund is blameworthy and should not recur. As a whole-time servant of the Board, it is his duty to attend to the duties assigned to him by the Head Master in the school, and he should not fritter away his time in other avocations calculated to undermine the discipline or the popularity of the institution. He is hereby warned that a repetition of such conduct will entail summary removal from service.

2. The subscription notebook filed by him is returned and it is advisable for him to destroy it at once.

Note the rudeness of the language that omits even the common courtesy due to an employee enjoying the rank of a schoolmaster. Note too the excess of loyalty that demands destruction at once of an inoffensive little exercise book containing the names of equally inoffensive little children with the few coppers marked against their names. I regret to have to inform the reader that the poor schoolmaster was dismissed by the ultra-loyal North Arcot Board. Whether it has since felt repentant I do not know. I hope it has,

In any case schoolmasters and others whom a fate similar to Sjt. P. Ranganatha Ayyar's may overtake need experience no despondency. No able-bodied honest man or woman who has no prejudice against honest labour has any occasion to starve for want of work. The cry that I hear everywhere is that many public movements want good and true workers.

But though the dismissed persons may be indifferent about what may befall them in the execution of a public duty, the public dare not be. The Boards are now overwhelmingly elective with elected chairmen in most cases. I expect that the circulars such as the one to which I have drawn attention are issued departmentally without the knowledge of the members. It is the duty of the members to take notice of every high-handed and anti-national action by chairmen or depart-

¹ Vide "Letter to Jawaharlal Nehru", 5-6-1929

mental heads. And it is equally the duty of electors to keep a strict watch over the misdeeds of the Boards for whose existence they are responsible and who are their mouthpieces. Indeed if the electors only knew their rights and realized their duty, they would make any irregular or unpatriotic action by their Boards utterly impossible. It is the apathy of the general public which renders these elective Boards often instruments of oppression rather than of service. There is nothing to prevent the Boards from becoming powerful political bodies so long as they do not neglect or damage the social local service which is a first charge on their attention. It is possible even to demonstrate that it is necessary, in order to ensure social efficiency, for them to take part to a discriminating extent in the national movement for political emancipation.

Young India, 24-10-1929

349. LALAJI ANNIVERSARY

The Lalaji anniversary will be on us on the 17th November. The question that every patriot would naturally ask himself or herself is: 'What have I done during the year to vindicate Lalaji's death? What have I done to advance the cause of swaraj for which he lived and died? What have I done for the so-called untouchables whose cause he had made his own? What have I done in response to the appeal made by Pandit Malaviyaji and Pandit Motilalji?' There are many other questions which nationalists would ask themselves according to the emphasis they would put upon a particular characteristic in Lalaji's many-sided life, but my purpose is to suggest to all Congress Committees that they should celebrate the anniversary by making up the amount of the appeal for five lakhs issued by Pandit Malaviyaji and Pandit Motilalji.¹ It is a matter of shame that we have yet been able to collect out of the five lakhs not more than' two. If sufficient exertion is put forth there should be no difficulty in making up the deficit on or before 17th November. If they will do so, they must begin the preparations in right earnest from now.

Young India, 24-10-1929

¹ For the appeal drafted by Gandhiji, vide "Appeal for Lajpat Rai Memorial Fund", 26-11-1928

350. THE U.P. TOUR-VI¹

Here is the itinerary² for the week ending 18th instant.

PREJUDICES DIE HARD

From Barabanki we had to take the Express for Hardoi. The train was crowded. Gandhiji's insistence upon third-class travelling has become almost as rigid as before. The party got seats not without some difficulty which was removed by the railway authorities. Devdas Gandhi, whenever he is of the party, finds room for himself among the general travellers in order to make our party one less. At Barabanki he found room only in a compartment which had a card stuck upon a window "for Europeans and Anglo-Indians". He found in the compartment some Europeans and Anglo-Indians and some Indians too. There was no objection taken to him at Barabanki. But at Lucknow two European ladies objected to him on the plea that he was not properly dressed. He had a full khadi dhoti, vest and cap. They asked Devdas to go out of the compartment and, as he says, used offensive language Young Gandhi would not oblige them. The good ladies summoned the guard to their assistance. Devdas Gandhi stuck to his guns. The usual procedure followed as a matter of course. The guard summoned the station-master. Then came the police. Naturally there was the inevitable crowd. Gandhiji was duly informed of what was happening. He decided to leave Devdas free to do as he chose and to remain indifferent. Professor Kripalani and others went to this 'reserved' compartment, while the argument was developing. There was a missionary in the compartment. The discussion between him and the missionary was fairly warm, for the Professor could not appreciate the latter's argument that Devdas should yield because the good ladies objected to his dress. The end of it all was that the police would not or could not arrest the offending wearer. The train steamed out, and Devdas says the missionary and the ladies subsequently became friends. The incident is tragic showing how prejudices die hard. Europeans and Anglo-Indians have not yet realized that the

¹ This and other items under this title signed 'A' were written by Gandhiji; *vide* "Letter to Mahadev Desai", 18-11-1929. Although there Gandhiji mentions 'three letters' as having been written by him, actually six of them appeared over the initial 'A' and these are reproduced in this volume.

² Not reproduced here

dhobi is the national costume of the vast majority of India's population. So long as there are compartments reserved for Europeans and Anglo-Indians, so long will race and colour prejudice assert itself giving rise at times to unforeseen consequences. For the reservation feeds the insolent prejudice and keeps it alive. In Devdas Gandhi's case the label too was probably put up illegally. The compartment was not stamped in the usual manner. This insulting reservation can only be kept up so long as the multitude of passengers mutely and meekly submit to the injury. No regulation which lacks popular support has any chance of being respected. Let us hope that the courteous and successful resistance offered by young Gandhi will move the authorities to abolish the offensive reservation.

A TRUE SHRADDHA

The visit to Hardoi was interesting for several events. The activity of one selfless woman had altered the complexion of things. Shrimati Vidyadevi, the wife of Raja Jungbahadursinh of Barua, a small zamindari, has moved her husband and other relatives to a spirit of service. She has broken down the purdah for herself and for those who have come under her influence. She is a regular spinner, and her sister-in-law Shrimati Lakshmidēvi spins exceedingly fine yarn. A khadi piece woven in Barua out of her yarn was presented to Gandhiji who auctioned it for Rs. 105 at the public meeting in Hardoi. Rani Vidyadevi gave up at the women's meeting some costly jewellery. The gifts at the women's meeting amounted to nearly Rs. 1,700, Rs. 700 being in cash and jewellery worth about Rs. 1,000. The bulk of it came from this one family. Moved probably by the same silent influence Kunvar Maheshvarsinh had a khadi store opened by Gandhiji in memory of his wife who died in January last. The address presented to Gandhiji on the occasion stated that the late Shrimati Sarasvatidevi was a woman of learning, had torn down the *purdah*, was a regular spinner, and a regular worshipper of God.

She used herself to distribute free medicine among needy women and children, and took delight in sewing garments for the latter. There could be no better *shraddha* or memorial to a woman so pure and devoted to the cause of the poor as the Shrimati was. No wonder Gandhiji made her life the text of his address to the women's meeting.

I must pass by many interesting events, noting only a few as I pass by those that crowd upon my mind as I am writing these notes. The visit to Moradabad was noteworthy for the fact of Gandhiji being the guest of an old Mussalman friend Maulvi Abdus Samad Saheb—a rare event nowadays. He opened a new house for an old library, the donation of one citizen Lala Brajlal. In Dhampur we found the khadi activity in full swing. The orderliness of the reception evoked great praise from Gandhiji. The noise, the jostling, etc., had tired him out. He felt therefore refreshed as he alighted on the platform and moved through the motionless rows of men and women who had crowded at the station. The work of the Arya Pratinidhi Seva Samiti too delighted Gandhiji. In Hardwar an attempt was made by the so-called orthodox Brahmins to boycott Gandhiji, but it failed signally. The purse, which the most sanguine thought might not exceed Rs. 500, was fully Rs. 2,500 owing to the exertions of the Vice principal of the Kangri Gurukul, Pandit Devasharma Abhaya, assisted by a band of associates. Due to his exertion there is also a khadi bhandar which is well nigh self-supporting. of the insanitation both moral and physical of this great and ancient place of pilgrimage I need say nothing at present, as Gandhiji proposes to write himself next week.¹ I may not touch Dehradun and Mussoorie this week.

Young India, 24-10-1929

351. SERVANT OR MASTER?

Whatever was said about volunteers in a previous issue² bears repetition. I have noticed during every one of my tours that volunteers do not know whether they are servants or masters. For instance, during meetings if some instruction is to be conveyed to someone, it sounds more like a command than a request. When they lead me up to the platform, instead of requesting the villagers politely and gently to make way, they push them and order them in harsh tone and language to move off. At stations, wherever I get off, there is naturally a crowd. The volunteers, instead of politely requesting the crowd to make way, shout at them; so the people neither understand nor listen to them. On

¹ *Vide* "Physical and Moral Insanitation", 31-10-1929,

² *Vide* "The Duty of a Volunteer", 17-10-1929

the other hand, the uproar makes confusion worse confounded. Not to mention my own distress, although the object of all these orders is to save me from hardships. When the whole procession leaves the platform, no consideration whatever is shown to the passengers. People trample on their luggage, push them about, and if a passenger is sitting in their path, he is shown no consideration either. Similarly, when we proceed along a road and some villager walks in the middle of the road, volunteers consider it their duty to swear at him and remove him out of the way. I can give many more such examples. I don't believe that this incivility is deliberate, but is due to lack of discretion and education. The air is charged with notions of high and low. The townspeople look down upon the rural folk. When the kings set out in procession, their retinue accompanies them with great fanfare, even abusing the people without hesitation. The white masters have only imitated this. The foreigners are adept at copying such things. We have also been influenced, unwittingly, by this atmosphere. But in these days of public awakening volunteers must become true servants. Their service should be sincere and silent. The poor and the helpless must be served. Hundreds are willing to serve famous leaders who are pestered with excessive and unnecessary attention; but very few come forward to serve the poor; and of those few, many consider that they are doing the poor a great favour by serving them. The truth is that he who serves the poor discharges a small part of his debt. India's poor die of hunger, they have become helpless, and of all this misery, we the middle class people are the cause. The volunteers too belong to this class. It is we who have sustained ourselves by sitting on their backs so long and are doing so even today. When the poor realize their right and their might, then they will become our masters and we shall be forced to serve them. When that happens no one will call us volunteers; we shall certainly be called their slaves or servants.

Therefore, no volunteer should think even in his dream that when he serves the village folk courteously, respectfully and sincerely, he is doing anyone a favour. His greatness and the greatness of the country lie in such service only.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 24-10-1929

352. LETTER TO HEMANTA S. CHATTERJEE

CAMP MUSSOORIE,
October 24, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter of September 24th¹ and enclosure which I have now had time to read. I must confess that your scheme for ensuring a better milk supply does not appeal to me in spite of the findings of various Committees to the contrary. I am of opinion that there is no escape from municipalization of the milk supply if we are to make it uniformly cheap and accessible to the poorest citizen of Cawnpore. If it is a fact that a municipality cannot handle such enterprise because of the likelihood of corruption I should imagine that no other institution will, whether private or public. The secret of municipal government must consist in evolving honest enterprise by municipalities themselves setting the example. It bodes ill for corporate life if municipalities cannot handle big enterprises with success, efficiency and comparative cheapness. A municipality has facilities a private corporation can never command in a well-ordered State. There are two or three maxims which must be borne in mind for ensuring the supply of cheap and pure milk in a commercial centre like Cawnpore. Milk must be largely produced in a municipal farm, afair distance from Cawnpore. Secondly, there must be a method of ensuring cheap transport. Thirdly, sale of milk should be a municipal monopoly even as the manufacture and sale of postage stamps is a monopoly of the Central Government.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. HEMANTA K. CHATTERJEE, B.A., LL. B.
CAWNPORE

From a microfilm: S.N. 15253

¹ Seeking Gandhiji's opinion on a milk supply scheme proposed by the Public Health Committee

353. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

[October 24, 1929]¹

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I had already written to you about Lahore in a previous letter, and my letter of yesterday would reach you tomorrow at the latest. Hence I dropped the idea of sending you a wire and saved 12 annas.

You will receive a request from the Princess of Amava for a portable spinning-wheel with ball-bearings. If you receive such a request and if you have a model ready, send it. If you do not have any, get one made and send it. It would be good to keep one or two more ready in stock. You are likely to receive a letter from the Princess of Jasdan, too.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5488

354. LETTER TO DR. M. A. ANSARI

CAMP SAHARANPUR,
October 25, 1929

DEAR DR. ANSARI,

I noticed in the papers that you and Lala Shankerlal are appealing for a purse to be presented to me on my arrival in Delhi earmarked for local Congress work. Nowhere have purses of this description been countenanced. Purses earmarked for provincial service have been accepted in some places but everywhere the principal purse has been for khadi. Here if the papers correctly report you the purse is exclusively for local Congress work. This may not be done on any account. If nobody cares for khadi I think that no collections should be made. I must also say that I would discountenance anything done by Lala Shankerlal in connection with my visit. My experience of him has not been happy. He has still not refunded so far as I am aware the moneys due to the All-India

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Chhaganlal Joshi", 23-10-1929

Spinners' Association. He has not sent the full amount collected in the name of the Bardoli struggle to Bardoli. There have been several other complaints made to me from time to time about his financial dealings but I have not thought it worth while to investigate them. I know that Jamnalalji and several others have the same experience of him. I am sorry. But as I saw his name associated with yourself I thought I should tell you what I feel about him. You may certainly show this letter to him. If any injustice has been done to him and if I can be convinced of it I shall tender my apology to him. I did write to him once or twice about the All-India Spinners' Association money and then in despair gave up writing anything to him further. I would have preferred silence even now. But I would have been guilty of suppressing the truth if I had not told you of my opinion of Lala Shankerlal. I hope you will not arrange for any public meeting either unless it is really called for. I must visit Delhi now as it has been announced and I have sent appointments to some people. I am staying with Raghbir¹ as he wrote to me whilst I was in Mussoorie reminding me of the promise I made him when I was last in Delhi that on my next visit I shall stay with him. I expect to reach Delhi on the 1st proximo, by car from Meerut time in the evening.

I hope you got a fat sum from Bhopal and that you had a successful tour in the South so far as the Jamia is concerned. I saw in the public Press that your tour was wholly successful otherwise. Hayat² met me in Mussoorie. Rest of this when we meet.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 15709

355. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

SAHARANPUR,

October 25, 1929

CHI. VASUMATI,

I have your letter. I too had thought of Wardha and even mentioned it in a previous letter. For my part I am scheduled to reach Wardha on December 6, but you need not wait till then. Go there earlier if you are not keeping good health. Whether Prabhudas goes to

¹ Raghbir Singh, founder of Modern School, New Delhi

² H. M. Hayat of Bhopal

Almora or not, I may make independent arrangements if you wish to have a taste of the Almora winter. Just now Almora is bound to be very cold and will become colder day after day.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9269

356. LETTER TO MADHAVJI V. THAKKAR

SAHARANPUR,
October 26, 1929

BHAISHRI MADHAVJI,

Just now I am so much in arrears with my correspondence that I cannot remember to which letters I have replied and to which I have not. I see that I have not been able to reply to your letter of October 8. I have the impression that you had enclosed with it the stamps for an express telegram, but now I am only writing this letter as I believe that sending a telegram is meaningless. If you two decide to come, I shall be in Allahabad from Nov. 15 to 20th. I shall be staying in Anand Bhavan with Pandit Motilalji. There are so many items in your food that even very small quantities of each will make the total quantity excessive. Do give up the groundnuts. When one takes milk and/or curds, it is not necessary to eat groundnuts or any other nutritious food. I hope you follow the practice of taking whey only after putting soda bicarb into it. The rest when we meet. We can talk at leisure only in the Ashram, and I should prefer you seeing me there. I shall reach the Ashram on the night of November 25. Leaving it on December 1, I shall go to Wardha where I shall stay up to the 20th. It would be all right even if you come and see me at Wardha. It would be more convenient for you to do so. I think you know that there is a Satyagraha Ashram at Wardha. When at Wardha, I invariably stay there. You will find my programme in *Young India* and *Navajivan*.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6794

357. LETTER TO JAMNADAS GANDHI

ON THE TRAIN,
ON WAY TO MUZAFFARNAGAR,
OCTOBER 26, 1929

CHI. JAMNADAS,

I got your letter. Your minimum demand is for Rs. 2,500, and the maximum for Rs. 16,500. As far as I see things, there are risks even in the purchase of land. My idea in suggesting that you should see Thakore Saheb was that you might accept the land if he offered a deed making a free gift of the land. As I visualize the possibility of his taking back the land even after making an outright grant, you should drop the idea for the present. As for the other expenses to be incurred, we shall think of the matter later and hence, for the present, I will arrange to get you Rs. 3,000. As desired by you, you will get the first instalment of Rs. 500 at the end of *Kartak*. I am writing to the Ashram about it. I hope you have been cured of eczema. How did you get it?

Blessings from

BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 8700. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

358. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA

MUZAFFARNAGAR,
October 26, 1929

CHI. GANGABEHN,

Recently you have become slack in writing to me, and I have always been so. However much I hurry, I cannot cope with each day's programme of work and something or other is always left out. As I cannot gather the courage to resist the people's love and enthusiasm, even at the cost of over-straining myself I yield to many of their wishes and am obliged to give them more time than I had intended. As a result, letters remain unanswered, nor can I manage to write other letters which I may have intended to write.

I got your letter regarding Kaki. There is no doubt that she was very fortunate. She had no reason to wish to live longer.

I hope Bal¹ and Shankar² have now completely got over their grief.

I trust things are going on all right with the girls who have newly arrived. May God give you the strength for all such services. Your faith is such that you are bound to get it. Do not count the expense in taking milk and fruit. You are right in what you say about the girls. We give them much, but there is much still which we can give and much that remains to be done. I am, however, sure that, as we have been trying to give them the basic things of life, God is bound to grant us the strength to give them the rest. We have not yet been able to train women workers who can give the girls all that they need, and no women workers from outside whom we would welcome have offered to help. We should, therefore, have faith in what we have been doing and keep patience.

Take utmost care of your health.

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-6: G. S. Gangabehnne, pp. 27-8

359. LETTER TO MADHAVLAL

MUZAFFARNAGAR,
October 26, 1929

BHAISHRI MADHAVLAL,

I wrote about one who is in *samadhi* in the waking state. The person who is in *samadhi* and is not aware of the world does not need to be helped.

True *samadhi* can certainly be the purest service. Silence can be the best speech and service. But it should be natural. Such a path is very difficult. It is possible for one in a million. There is much danger of self-deception in it. I have seen that happening. The path of *samadhi* is not for the common people. We may adopt it when the path of *karma* naturally leads us to it. An action can be learnt by imitation, *samadhi* never. We are now nearing a station.

From a copy of the Gujarati: Kusumbehn Desai's Diary. S.N. 32578/70

¹ D. B. Kalelkar's sons

² *ibid*

360. A LETTER¹

October 26, 1929

For the present, instead of taking a vow about what to eat, try to limit the quantity of your diet and to purify your thoughts Bear all angry attacks by your wife. Cultivate sincere love for her in your heart. If your love becomes completely free from passion, it will melt her heart If you bear her taunts and remain unaffected and do nothing to deserve them you may happily sing ‘He who reviles us is our brother’ . . .

I got your and Swami’s letters. This letter answers both. What you are doing seems all right. I think it would be desirable for me to keep silent for the present. If I write anything, Kelkar² and other are likely to misinterpret it. Perhaps they would prefer that I should say nothing. And, moreover, what I write is most likely to have an adverse effect on the Poona untouchables.³ In the present circumstances it seems sufficient that you who are in a position to go there should go and do whatever needs to be done from time to time and ask for my opinion whenever necessary. Let me know if you desire any change in this arrangement.

I do not feel that Sadanand⁴ should receive any kind of help from us. Such should be our method of working. We have little need of help from the press. Only such help as is given without our seeking it would be proper. When help comes from a source to which we have made even the smallest monetary contribution, it cannot be considered to have been given on merit. I have, however, stated the ideal. You may do what Vallabhbbhai, Raja⁵, you and other wish.

There may be some technical difficulty in appointing Raja president of the Committee for the Removal of Untouchability. But I am not sure. I have an impression that the president should be a member of the Working Committee. But now the year is about to end. So let the present position continue.

Karsandas is a good man. He has also spent money. I am

¹ Omissions in the letter are as in the source.

² N. C. Kelkar

³ *Vide* also “Letter to N. M. Khare”, 4-11-1929

⁴ S. Sadanand, editor of *The Free Press Journal*

⁵ C. Rajagopalachari

therefore of the view that we should bear with him and keep him on. If the building is lying vacant we shall make use of it. In some matters man can see his mistakes only by experimenting.

From a copy of the Gujarati: Kusumbehn Desai's Diary. S.N. 32578/68

361. LETTER TO ANANDANAND

DEOBAND,

October 26, 1929

BHAI ANANDANAND,

I got the copies of your letters about the *Gita* and about untouchability¹. The reference to you in the Introduction² is also enclosed. The reference was necessary to show how I came to undertake tasks such as this in my life. I have sent a note for *Y.I.* on the Manifesto about untouchability that has been published³. It will be a great thing indeed if the *Ekadashi* is celebrated in the way suggested in the Manifesto. Be that as it may, we should do our best and let the result be what it will. If we cannot solve this problem, I again fear that it will not be possible to hold back the "untouchables". Justice being on their side, who can hold them back in this age of awakening? How can talk of ahimsa appeal to them? Our actions, too, are not a lesson in non-violence to them. If, therefore, they imitate us, we shall reap the fruit of our own folly. I can understand the anger of the *sanatanists*, but it is wholly futile.

You know about Deoband, don't you? It is the biggest centre of Islamic studies, where Maulanas converge.

From a copy of the Gujarati: Kusumbehn Desai's Diary. S.N. 32578/69

362. WONDERFUL ACHIEVEMENTS

The Students' Association of the Gujarat Vidyapith conducted an inquiry to find out the views of its ex-students about national education, their ideological and financial position, etc., and has

¹ *Vide* "Temples for Untouchables", 28-11-1929.

² To *Anasaktiyoga*; *vide* "Anasktiyoga"

³ By the Untouchability Committee; *vide* "A Great Manifesto", 31-10-1929

brought out its findings in the form of a small pamphlet. It is now a year since the pamphlet was published. It has been constantly with me on my travels, and though it is rather late it will still not be out of place to give a summary of the results mentioned in the pamphlet, in view of its usefulness.

The number of graduates who passed out of the Vidyapith from 1921 to 1926 was 251. Omitting those from Sind and Madras, a questionnaire was sent to more than 200 students. of them 82, including two ladies, sent in their replies. The pamphlet mentioned above gives an excellent summary of their replies, which should be read by those eager to make a study of national education. Here I can give only a few hurriedly jotted points:

Replies as to why they quit Government schools are as below:

Out of political fervour	33
Because of faith in non-co-operation	10
Because of conviction of the need for national education	10
In obedience to the call of the nation	11
At the instance of relatives	6
Being carried away by the prevailing current	<u>12</u>
Total	82

Of these, one student writes the following about the conditions under which he non-co-operated:

“I left my college against the advice of the elders in my family and caste, and against that of the institutions which were helping me. I thus lost the monthly scholarship of Rs. 10 which I was getting at the Government college.”

The following are a few of the opinions given by the ex-students about the atmosphere of the Gujarat Mahavidyalaya, i.e., the college section of the Vidyapith:

“There was great freedom. A notable fact was that the Mahavidya laya completely changed my life. I might say that it brought about a rebirth for me.”

“To begin with the atmosphere was political but afterwards it underwent a change. On the whole, it was such as to foster noble thoughts, though one cannot say that it also gave the power to translate those thoughts into action or even prepared us for that.”

“The distinction of the Vidyapith lay in its religious and pure atmosphere.”

“Throughout the three years I spent there the atmosphere was so good and uplifting that I dare say one could not find it anywhere else in India.”

“The atmosphere was very helpful both for study and contemplation.”

“Gujarat Vidyapith shows us the path, direct and straight, as to how a man can lead the highest kind of life. The atmosphere prevailing there offered me the best opportunities for the experience of life in the world —a gift by no means inconsiderable when one comes to think of its importance in one’s own life.”

“The atmosphere was very pure. There was not that narrow-mindedness which one comes across in Government schools and colleges. Everybody had the utmost freedom which was very helpful in the intellectual development of the students. At the same time there was also scope for the boys to abuse the freedom because not having had it before they could also misuse it. Under the circumstances there is little danger of the boys’ mental deterioration.”

At the time the pamphlet was prepared, the graduates were employed as follows:

In educational institutions		Total
1. Vidyapith	9	
2. Recognized or unrecognized national schools	21	
3. Government schools	7	37
In institutions for depressed classes		
1. Institutions for untouchables	2	
2. „ Bhils	2	
3. „ Kaliparaj	1	
4. „ Labour	3	8
Independent employment		
1. Agriculture, business, etc.		11
2. Private employment, business, office jobs, etc.		18

3. Legal practice	2
4. Journalism	3
5. Not engaged in any particular profession	3
	<hr/> 82

The readers will note that out of 82 as many as 45 were earning their living through social service work.

As for the figures of their earnings, no one earned less than thirty rupees a month.

Twelve graduates were earning sixty rupees per month. The number of those who had a monthly income of seventy-five rupees was 15. One of the graduates was earning Rs. 200, another Rs. 130 and three earned Rs. 125. Thus those who earned from Rs. 50 to Rs. 200 were 57. Eighteen graduates could not send the figures for their incomes because they were engaged in independent business or professional work. It would not be an exaggeration to say that these results are very satisfactory. Graduates of Government universities are of ten found to be earning even less than 30 rupees a month. Here there is only one who gets 30 rupees and very likely he too is doing so voluntarily as a sort of discipline. Today there are many among the educated in India who are ready to take up service for no more than a living—for just enough to keep body and soul together. We have seen that of the aforementioned, 42 are already engaged in social service work. And this is indeed the ideal which the Vidyapith seeks to set before its graduates, namely, that they should take up some sort of social service work at just a subsistence wage. As against this, the ideal in a Government university, if it can be called an ideal, is, understandably, career, i.e., a lucrative profession meaning mainly to secure Government service. A national institution devotes itself to training national workers, while a Government university addresses itself to preparing Government servants whom we consider to be slaves. In a national college service is its own reward while in a Government college there is the inducement of a rise in salary and the promise of a pension. The only pension a national worker can look for lies in the hope that there is in every man the instinct of grateful appreciation of pure service and that the people cannot fail to develop love and regard for their benefactors. That is why I regard the result mentioned above as excellent. The figures for monthly income prove that the graduates of the national university are able to make enough

income even in the sphere of service. And as time passes, and the spirit of sacrifice spreads, I hope to see a reduction made in the above earnings, not of course by force but voluntarily. As long as crores of our people are starving, a man who takes two rupees when he can do with one is really guilty of thieving.

The following extracts are from the replies to the question "What would you prefer to adopt as your life-work?"

"To be a soldier in the struggle for the freedom of the country and society"

"Any such activity as will enable me to take part in doing service to the country"

"Education and khadi"

"Harijan work or work in the primary or secondary schools in villages"

"I will have the satisfaction of having done my life-work if I could have the opportunity to serve the people in any form."

These graduates of the Gujarat Vidyapith admit the superiority of national education and its many advantages. Nevertheless, they have not hesitated to express their view that national education in its present form is imperfect. This freedom of thought raises the pamphlet's worth.

The figures given below show that up to 1926 only a small number had appreciated the value of sacrificial spinning:

Those who spin for an hour or more daily	5
Those who spin only for half an hour	10
Those who spin 1000 yards per month	9
Irregular spinners	9
Those who did not spin	<u>49</u>
	82

This indifference towards a thing which people like me regard as a great *yajna*, whose importance has been ever recognized by the Congress in its resolutions, is certainly disappointing. But I know that there has been an improvement in the situation after 1926 and I am therefore satisfied.

The number of those who stuck to pure khadi for their clothing was 56 which, though inadequate, may yet be regarded as fair, seeing that something is better than nothing. of course, there were others who used khadi to a limited extent. Those who did not use khadi explain

their difficulties thus:

“We have to work among the people who belittle our value on account of the simplicity of khadi. This results in less work for us and therefore less earning.”

“The dearness of khadi, the difficulty of getting it, and the keen desire for fine mill-cloth are a hindrance.”

“Ready-made garments of mill-cloth are available at the shops at very cheap prices, It is not so with khadi.”

That such excuses are put forward to explain why they do not use khadi shows that many do not yet know what a great help khadi is to the starving poor and what a great contribution it is making to our freedom struggle. It is to be remembered that no country has won freedom in this world without suffering privations and difficulties.

It would be very useful if developments in respect of khadi and other things, subsequent to the publication of the pamphlet, could be made available. I congratulate the editors on bringing out this pamphlet. Every national worker can learn much from it. The Association would do well to continue their inquiry. It should be the primary object of the Association to maintain spiritual contact with all the graduates of the Vidyapith, share their joys and sorrows and not allow a slackening of the ideals for which the Vidyapith has been founded.

I feel that those who read this pamphlet cannot but come to the conclusion that the national schools and colleges have done much good to the country, and that the strength which we find in the students today owes its origin to these institutions.

I have had the same experience in regard to the results of the work of the Kashi Vidyapith as of those of the Gujarat Vidyapith which have been noted above and I am sure that the same will be found to be true, on examination, in the case of the Jamia Millia and the Bihar Vidyapith. I also advise the Association to establish contacts with all the national universities, and collect and collate all information about them. It may perhaps be desirable to hold occasional or annual conferences of the teachers and graduates of these universities. Professor Gidwani had, in fact, attempted this. If such a conference is held, it should not synchronize with the Congress week. Our tendency to hold all conferences simultaneously with it is, I think, harmful. It distracts people's energy instead of concentrating it; and the people gain little from these conferences. If a conference is worth holding it

should be held separately. It is not possible that all people would be interested in all the conferences. Rightly the Congress is the organization which should interest all people. Therefore, during the Congress week, the people's attention should be directed to the sole purpose of strengthening the Congress.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan , 27-10-1929

363. LETTER TO FULCHAND K. SHAH

October 27, 1929

BHAISHRI FULCHAND,

I have not replied to your letter. I hope that Bhai Hemshankar is now completely free from his teeth trouble.

In my suggestion¹ to avoid personal criticism I did not think merely of practical wisdom, but it was and is a matter of principle also. Just as it would be uncivilized on my part to criticize you behind your back or outside your home, though it would be a duty to do so in your face, it is also improper to criticize one princely State in the territory of another, particularly when the latter is known to be on friendly terms with the former.

I know that we do not always follow this principle, but that does not prove that as a principle it is wrong.

Such being my views, I hold it to be the duty of a person, who believes in the principle I have stated, to dissociate himself from an organization—in the present instance, the youth movement—which indulges in such criticism as a matter of principle and makes it its chief aim. It is one's duty to resign from an institution whose defects carry one in a direction one does not approve of. There may be no objection to remaining, and occasionally it may even be a duty to remain, in the institution whose defects we hope to remove or remedy, keeping ourselves aloof from those defects. I think I have fully replied to your letter from Broach, dated September 29.

Now I turn to your second letter. The problem of Wadhwan is a complicated one. The chief question is what strength you have—you,

¹ *Vide* "Speech at Kathiawar Political Conference, Porbandar", 22-1-1928.

that is, your organization as a whole. How far all the members of your organization can feel love for the wrongdoer is for you to examine. If you are satisfied in the matter, you have the full right to offer satyagraha. Whether you have the strength to offer it, whether the time for it is ripe, whether you have acquired the necessary fitness—all these questions should be considered beforehand. This means that, in deciding the question, what is first needed is detailed knowledge of the facts; after that, all that is necessary is application of practical wisdom. You alone know the facts. If an error from the point of view of practical wisdom is committed, it can be overlooked.

After this you may act as you think fit. If you wish to consult me in the matter, you may see me in the Ashram after November 25. But it seems that you will have already taken, before you get this reply, many of the steps you propose to take. You know my tour programme. If you so desire, you may write to me at any of the places included in the programme and ask me about any matter.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 2836. Courtesy: Fulchand K. Shah

364. LETTER TO RAOJIBHAI M. PATEL

MUZAFFARNAGAR,

October 27, 1929

BHAISHRI RAOJIBHAI¹,

I got your letter. I have no doubt at all in my mind about the need of running the kitchen and succeeding in it. The problem of its management will be solved through actual experience. Our duty is to see that though the burden and the responsibility rest on the women, we act in such a manner that the women do not feel the burden and the responsibility and yet are aware that they are theirs. There is the well-known illustration of Queen Victoria and her ministers. Though the responsibility was the Queen's, the ministers let no burden fall on her. However, this after all is wisdom from a distance. The main thing is to ensure that the experiment succeeds, whatever the method we follow in running the kitchen.

¹ A khadi worker at Sabarmati Ashram

The cure for Dahibehn's illness lies in sun-bath, hip-bath, open air, light exercise and avoidance of starchy food. All of us eat much more starch than we need. We may, therefore, look robust, but in fact the body is flaccid. I had actually proved this once to Velanbehn in her own case.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8985

365. DISCUSSION WITH MEERUT CONSPIRACY PRISONERS¹

MEERUT,

October 27, 1929

The accused were rather surprised to see Mahatmaji coming to them in jail and some of them actually exclaimed it was a great surprise that he had come to them. Mahatmaji replied:

I hope it would not be a painful surprise.

After the comrades were personally introduced, Mahatmaji said he would be satisfied if Dominion Status in terms of the Nehru Report were given immediately. He would consider it independence, if, as is implied by the Nehru Provisions, it contained the organic ability of severance of connection.

Questioned if he would adopt the same attitude of thankful acceptance as he did in Amritsar on Montagu Announcements, if the new reforms were less than the terms of the Nehru Constitution, but a slight advance on 1917, Mahatma Gandhi said he would not accept them.

After this the Bombay comrades had a long discussion as to why Gandhiji did not help the 1928 general strike. Asked why he did not give them help, when several workers visited Ahmedabad to collect funds for the strike, Gandhiji said he thought the strikers were wrong in their action....

[About] the grievances of the workers in the 1928 strike, he said none of the strike-leaders had cared to see him and explain things.

[To a suggestion] that he should have at least helped the women and children who were starving, Gandhiji said instead of that he would have told the women to ask their men to go to work and feed them!

¹ At his own initiative and quite unexpectedly, Gandhiji visited the Meerut Jail and saw the Communist undertrials in their barracks. *Vide* "The U. P. Tour-VIII", sub-title, "With the Prisoners", 7-11-1929.

[On a remark] that unless the Congress accepted the programme of organizing the workers and peasants there would be no effect on the Government, Mahatmaji said he welcomed everyone to convince the Congress of any programme and put it through.

Gandhiji's attention [was drawn] to a very serious complaint . . . regarding the method of collecting money for his purse in some places in U. P. districts.... Big zamindars with the help of lawyers and intellectuals, [it was alleged,] forced a fixed tax per head on the peasants in their zamindari for contribution to Gandhiji's purse. Mahatmaji asked if Mr. Dange¹ could cite any particular name or place.

Mr. Dange said he would not do it just now, as he did not want to involve anybody's name.... Mahatmaji said he would mention it that very day in the meeting, and would inquire, if names were given, and would refuse to handle the money obtained by forcing the peasants to pay under the threats of a zamindar.

Mahatma Gandhi is reported to have reiterated his faith in non-violence as an efficacious political weapon and declared that he would retire from politics if it proved otherwise. A strike, opined Mahatma Gandhi, was non-co-operation and as such a good weapon in the hands of workers for the removal of genuine grievances.

To another question he replied:

I will certainly become an independencewallah, provided Dominion Status is not granted or promised by responsible heads of the British Government in India and England by the midnight of 31st December next. Whether the administration in such conditions would improve in quality depends on the personnel of the Government then.

He entertained hopes of attainment of Dominion Status within this period. He explained that he suspended civil disobedience in Bardoli² not because Bardoli was not prepared but as a direct consequence of the outbreak of violence in Chauri Chaura. Asked if Dominion Status was not forthcoming and another Chauri Chaura happened in the course of the contemplated civil disobedience whether he would advise another suspension of the programme, he replied:

That is the weak spot in me and you have to bear with me.

Asked what he would do for the Meerut case, Mahatmaji said:

If it were in my hands I would withdraw the charge, as in my scheme of things, holding opinions of any kind would be perfectly permissible.

Questioned as to his opinion previously expressed in *Young India*³ that a case of this nature required no defence, Mahatma Gandhi explained that India had produced

¹ S. A. Dange of the Communist Party of India

² In February 1922

³ *Vide* "Notes" sub-title The Indiscriminate Arrests

a sufficient number of legal practitioners who could take up a case of this nature without remuneration. He was never opposed to defence individually arranged but public subscriptions should not be utilized towards lawyers' fees in political trials.

Concluding his interview, he remarked that in the whole of his tour of the province this was the most pleasant hour he had spent.

The Bombay Chronicle, 1-11-1929; *The Leader*, 31-10-1929 and *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 29-10-1929

366. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, MEERUT

October 27, 1929

Mr. Gandhi . . . gave a joint reply in Hindustani to the several addresses presented to him by the local bodies and the Congress Committee. He thanked the citizens of Meerut for their contributions. He said Meerut's record of national service, though it fell short of the 1921 level, was a fairly good one. Rs. 14,000 was no small amount but it failed to satisfy his demands. He had taken upon himself a mission of service to *Daridranarayana*, the incarnation of poverty, and hence his needs would not be easily appeased.

Alluding to the Meerut alleged "conspiracy" case, he said the responsibilities of Meerut had increased a thousandfold in view of the trial being held there, a small city which was ill-chosen for the occasion. That city was lacking in suitable lawyers, books and other conveniences. Mr. Gandhi exhorted his audience to try to bring about the acquittal of the accused. Mr. Gandhi said: "I am not a Communist or any ist," but the accused were their brothers, and even if they were wrong it was not for Government to bring them to book, but for their countrymen to bring them round.

Mr. Gandhi pleaded for an extensive use of khaddar, removal of untouchability and Hindu-Muslim unity. Thirty crores of Indians could move the whole world, and he took upon himself the task of getting the Meerut "conspiracy" prisoners out of jail if his countrymen took to khaddar. He exhorted the people to give up liquor and other intoxicants, and criticized the excise policy of the ministers under local self-government. Twenty-five crores of rupees was annually wasted on intoxicants. He deprecated the policy of financing the Education Department out of excise revenues.

The Bombay Chronicle, 29-10-1929

367. LETTER TO REGINALD REYNOLDS

October 28, 1929

I was delighted to have your first letter from Sabarmati. As I was motoring from a village I was thinking of you and lo! as I reached Meerut at 11.30 I found your letter awaiting me.

I am sorry we shall not meet before 25th November. In a way I am glad. Your first experience of the Ashram will be on merits. My presence at the Ashram prevents a dispassionate experience.

Anyway please conserve your health. The best way to do it is to feel perfectly at home there and have all your necessary comforts supplied. Use the sun-hat freely in the hot sun. Do not attempt suddenly to walk about barefoot. Use the mosquito net, if you find the mosquitoes about you. Do not use much ghee in the beginning stages at least. Avoid dal, try a little raw green vegetable whenever available. Keep your bowels in good order, if necessary, by taking castor oil, epsom salt or an enema. To ensure clearance, it is of ten better to go without one meal or to fast altogether for 24 hours, drinking freely hot water at intervals.

As you go on, I would like you to pick up a few Hindustani words daily. Note down every word you pick up. You can master the Devanagari character in 4 days' time, if not earlier. And please do not omit to get the meaning of the verses and hymns sung at the prayer time. These two prayer times I hold to be more essential than mealtimes.

Do make it a point to give me a weekly letter giving me freely of your impressions.

May you feel and be really happy and healthy at the Ashram.

Yours,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: C. W. 4526: Courtesy: Swarthmore College, Philadelphia

368. LETTER TO RAMNARESH TRIPATHI

MEERUT,
October 28, 1929

BHAI RAMNARESHJI,

What I have been able to see of your collection of folk songs¹ has enabled me to have some idea of the extent of your labour and your love for the national language. It is a fine collection and I would like every Hindi-lover to study it. The book deserves a place in educational institutions. Your translation of the folk songs has further enhanced its worth. Congratulations on your effort.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

From the Hindi original: C.W. 9240. Courtesy: Municipal Museum, Allahabad

369. LETTER TO KRISHNAN

October 28, 1929

MY DEAR KRISHNAN,

I have been expecting to hear from you all these days. So I was glad when I got your letter. I do not know the merits of the exhibition controversy. But no man is infallible. It is enough if our associates do not err deliberately. We should be ready to excuse one thousand mistakes unconsciously committed. More when we meet.

Though my partiality for the common kitchen is well known I have no desire to influence anybody's opinion. And I know that if there are willing hands the kitchen will not be broken up. What is needed is the will to co-operate. Where there is hearty co-operation a kitchen is the easiest thing to manage. There is really very little work to do when it is equitably divided, each attends thoroughly to his or her own portion. Keeping time to the minute is of the greatest importance when many are working at the same thing. One person getting out of time is like one note out of time spoiling the whole piece. I would like all therefore to work away with hearty goodwill and there will be no more thought of a break-up.

BAPU

From a copy: C.W. 9277

¹ *Gramya Geet*, published in four parts

370. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

MEERUT,
October 28, 1929

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I got your letter the day before yesterday. Of course, I have forgiven K.¹ I know that it is a temporary aberration. What I have felt is the deep grief caused so totally unnecessarily to Hemprabhaddevi. She has not got over it completely, I fear. The memory of it haunts her although she does now know through her reason that I was incapable of thinking of her in the way K. thought I had. But all this is the greater reason for me to pity K. than to get angry with him. Your analysis is correct. Only that does not alter the fact of his blind partiality towards Ram Binod in whom, at least so far as transactions with the A.I.S.A. are concerned, he sees no blemish. But whatever the reason, both you and I have to pray for K. and I have to guard myself against harbouring any anger against him.

Pray don't think that I have forgotten K.'s volumes². I am waiting for the proper wording. That wording has not yet come to me. How far K. himself believes in what he has written in the volumes is the question that agitates me. I want a wording that would keep me clear of any committal about his opinion. But it will come.

From a copy: Kusumbehn Desai's Diary. S.N. 32578/74

371. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

Silence Day, October 28, 1929

CHI. VASUMATI,

I have your letter. I have already written to you about Wardha. You need not wait for me to reach there before you go. I am not at all happy that your fever persists. No matter how long you have to stay at Wardha, you must shake off the fever completely.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9268

¹ Krishnadas

² *Seven Months with Gandhiji*, a narrative by Krishnadas in two volumes. For Gandhiji's comments on the work, vide "Notes" sub-title "Seven Months with Gandhiji", 26-12-1929.

372. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

MEERUT,
October 28, 1929

CHI. MAHADEV,

I cannot bear your falling ill. I hope you have completely recovered by now. One must observe moderation even in serving, and it will probably help you to render good service if you follow the maxim, 'Dharma without risking one's health'. We have, of course, the Englishman's experience in the saying, 'He enjoys the greatest leisure who works the hardest', and that is true indeed. Its point is that one who has done his duty sincerely is entitled to some rest. No one has the right to encroach on that much-needed rest.

As Diwali is now approaching, we should reconsider the question of the common kitchen. Give some time to it and decide the question finally as may seem best to you.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Yesterday I visited the Meerut prisoners. I spent with them an hour and a quarter or perhaps a half, listened to their taunts to my heart's fill and made them laugh a great deal before leaving them. They did not expect that I would visit them and seemed very pleased to see me. As for the actual conversation¹, you will get it if Devdas or Pyarelal reports. Professor had accompanied De[vdas] and P[yarelal]. I did not at all expect that whoever accompanied me would be permitted to enter.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11463

¹ *Vide* "Discussion with meerut onspiracy Prisoners", 27-10-1929.

373. LETTER TO ASHRAM WOMEN

MEERUT,
October 28, 1929

SISTERS,

Today we are in Kripalaniji's ashram in Meerut. Here too, therefore, we feel the atmosphere of our Ashram.

I write to you today about our common kitchen. Diwali is approaching. I have already received several letters. I write this to remove your fears. You have now had one year's experience. The entire burden of the kitchen was carried by you. I only enjoyed the benefits of the kitchen. I, therefore, put no value on my opinion. It is your opinion which should count. I will, therefore, accept any decision at which all of you arrive. But I do suggest this: Do not discuss the matter too much, nor take much time in deciding. Discuss important points and come to a quick decision. And whatever decision you arrive at, stick to it. Only thus shall we progress. There will always be arguments for and against a proposal, and we shall even make mistakes in our decisions, whatever they are. You need not worry on that score.

It is very necessary to learn to come to a decision and stick to it afterwards. It would be a different matter, of course, if we later feel that our decision was morally wrong. There can be no legitimate occasion of clinging to a decision which required us to commit a sin.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3707

374. LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI

MEERUT,
October 28, 1929

CHI. MANILAL AND SUSHILA,

I have your letters.

From your telegram to Shanti I understand that Sushila, and perhaps you also, will start after Shanti reaches there. Be that as it may. Chi. Nimu¹ has given birth to a daughter. Both the mother and

¹ Ramdas Gandhi's wife

the daughter are doing well. The delivery took place at Lakhtar and Nimu is still there. She did not suffer much.

My journey will continue till the end of November. Devdas is still with me. Krishnadas is at Almora.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4762

375. INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS

October 28, 1929

Interviewed by the Free Press representative about the much-talked-of invitation to prominent Indian Nationalist leaders to be issued by the British Cabinet for a Round Table Conference to discuss the question of the future constitution of India, Mahatma Gandhi said that he was not much interested in it and he preferred to be silent in the matter. He also preferred to be silent on the question of the programme to be settled in the Lahore Congress if Dominion Status was not granted by that time; but he reiterated his view that if Dominion Status was not granted within this year, he would be for complete independence from the next year.

The Hindu, 29-10-1929

376. SPEECH AT MEERUT COLLEGE, MEERUT

October 28, 1929

Replying to the welcome address, Mahatmaji thanked the students and the staff for the purse which he said had surpassed all purses presented to him in proportion to the number of students of the Meerut College. Mahatmaji expressed the fear that the welcome address given to him was not shown to all students and approved by them before being finally printed. He knew it had been rather customary to praise guests lavishly in welcome addresses. But he did not expect such welcome addresses from students. A welcome address by students, said Mahatmaji, should contain at best two things. Instead of being full of lavish praises it should contain much information about the students themselves as well as some instructions for them. Mahatmaji was afraid he was not worthy of the lavish praises sung in the welcome address and he pointed out that the real praise of a man was to follow his ideals.

Continuing, Mahatmaji said he knew many students who did not support his ideals and were for present-day Western civilization and as a matter of fact many such students had written to him to that effect. So he did not know whether all the students

of the Meerut College did subscribe freely to his ideals as expressed in the welcome address. However, said Mahatmaji, if they wanted to serve the motherland they should at least know what *samyama* or self-control was and they should at least make attempts to practise self-control. The reason for weakness and fear of present-day students was that they had forgotten to practise *samyama*. Mahatmaji exhorted the students to observe celibacy and advised married students to observe *samyama*. The students, he said, were soldiers and as such they should not be cowed down by threats. He knew, that very of ten students were asked not to do this thing or that by the authorities of institutions they read in and very of ten such restrictions were sought to be enforced by threats. He believed that students should not do many things but at the same time he hoped as soldiers the students should not allow themselves to be defeated by victimization. The worst that might happen to them for not obeying improper dictations by the authorities was that they might be expelled from schools and colleges. But certainly it did not matter much to them. They might prosecute their studies in many other places. Moreover, learning should never be regarded in terms of rupees, annas and pies, but it should be acquired for enlightening their souls.

Mahatmaji advised the students to take to khaddar which would give some relief to crores of their toiling and starving masses who were the real source of all their comforts in life including even their studies in schools and colleges.

Mahatmaji expressed regret in not being able to keep the plate and the welcome address. . . . He said that pledged as he was as a representative of *Daridranarayana* he could not keep those things.

At the conclusion . . . the servants of the college presented Rs. 21 to Mahatmaji to which Mahatmaji replied, "It is proper that servants are paying to a servant."

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 30-10-1929

377. LETTER TO SYED ROSS MASOOD

CAMP ASAURA,

October 29, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. It will certainly give me pleasure to renew my acquaintance with the students of the college and the professors. I shall gladly address them¹ at the time mentioned by you. As you have conferred with the Reception Committee I take it that

¹ *Vide* "Speech at Muslim University, Aligarh", 4-11-1929.

there will be no conflict with the other appointments the Committee might have made.

Yours sincerely,

SYED ROSS MASOOD, ESQ.
VICE-CHANCELLOR
MUSLIM UNIVERSITY
ALIGARH

From a microfilm: S.N. 15725

378. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

ASAURA ,
October 29, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I have your letter. I have not yet been able to read the other mail forwarded with it. I see that you will start from there on the 4th. That means we shall not meet in Delhi. It will be enough if you plan to meet me, wherever I am, before you proceed further on your journey.

The problem about Bhansali is becoming delicate. Let us wait and see what happens. It was wise of Lilabehn¹ to have left.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5467

379. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

October 29, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

Just now [I saw]² the other mail in which [I found]³ your letter.

The resolution . . .⁴ about the kitchen has not pained me but, on the contrary, has satisfied me, for I do not wish anything to be done under pressure from me. Everything done under pressure is likely to

¹ Bhansali's widowed sister-in-law

² According to the source, a corner of the sheet having been damaged, some words are illegible.

³ *ibid*

⁴ *ibid*

end in failure. I, therefore, welcome the Managing Committee's resolution. Whatever changes need to be introduced in conformity with it, let them be introduced by all means.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

Twice or thrice have I conveyed my permission to you to go to Lahore. One of these letters has come back to me, which I am returning with this.

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, p. 173

380. LETTER TO B. L. RALLIA RAM

October 30, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

You have asked the wrong man for naming the best book he might have read during the year. The book I get the time to read is the book of Nature which is not to be found on any book-stall.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. B. L. RALLIA RAM

NATIONAL COUNCIL, Y.M.C.A.

5 RUSSELL STREET, CALCUTTA

From a microfilm: S.N. 15706

381. LETTER TO K. S. SUBRAMANIAM

October 30, 1929

MY DEAR SUBRAMANIAM,

With reference to your letter regarding Satis Babu here is my reply.

In my opinion if the A.I.S.A. cannot take part in the general Congress exhibition a separate function should not be organized at the same time as the Congress. I entirely agree that all the exhibits should show clearly the selling price of each article. The question of

pooling the prices of khadi coming from different provinces is very difficult till we reach standardized cloth and standardized prices for all India for ordinary seasons. We cannot pool prices only for the exhibition and till we have the same quality in all the provinces for particular varieties. I think therefore that for the time being we shall have to be satisfied with different prices charged at different stalls from different provinces. What we can and must ensure is that no more than a certain percentage has been added to the cost price as it left the weavers' or the subsequent artisans' hands. My recollection is that Satis Babu knows all these views of mine. I believe that he corresponded with me in similar terms.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. K. S. SUBRAMANIAM
ALL INDIA SPINNERS ASSOCIATION
MIRZAPUR, AHMEDABAD

From a microfilm: S.N. 15726

382. *LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI*

ASAURA,
October 30, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I received your letter from Chalala also only yesterday. That is to say, letters dated the 21st and the 27th were also received yesterday. Sometimes it happens like that. I see from your letter that you were unable to write all the things you had in mind and so please make a note of all the points you wanted to tell me about before you come to see me. It is really very good that your health has improved because of your walks. It is indeed a very good practice to have a change of air while doing one's work.

It was really good that Lilabehn left. She badly needed a change of atmosphere mentally.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 15828

383. A LETTER

MEERUT,
October 30, 1929

BHAI,

I have your letter. I would only caution you that if either of you feels disturbed by passion in the slightest degree you must immediately start living apart before the feeling takes definite shape. If after thus living apart for three months you feel that self-control has become stronger you may again resume the experiment of living together. Thus gradually you can become free from passion towards each other. Both of you must be firmly resolved in your mind in order to attain this. Both of you should be so resolved to observe *brahmacharya* that while practising self-control you should feel cheerful. When the desire for self-control is keen, however painful the effort, one feels joy in it even as a greedy man does in acquiring wealth.

The other point is the constitution of the Seva Sangh. I am firmly of the view that it should not be made public at present. But those who have accepted the underlying principles should fully practise them in their own lives. Is not as if the objectives and the means laid down in the constitution were worthy of practise only collectively in an organization and not individually. Your letter further confirms my view. If your mind is unsteady, and an unsteady mind is always full of doubt, Manilal's is not less so. Besides he is prone to doubt. Jamnalal's is not unsteady. But I have a real doubt whether you two and others who are likely to join the Sangh can be free from this weakness.

Since you know your weakness, you are somewhat indifferent to the formation of the Sangh. Therefore my view is that for the time being you should thoroughly examine your own mind and practise the principles of the constitution independently in your life and find out from experience their truth or otherwise. Other also who wish may do the same. If after two or three months of experience the constitution is found to be good it can be made public. The question then remains how in the meantime you are to shoulder the responsibility of *Young Rajasthan*. If you have understood my way of working, write a letter immediately to Manilal and Jamnalalji

informing them that if they do not sent the required financial help within a certain time, you will stop *Young Rajasthan*. You will lose nothing if that has to be done. There are many field of activity for one who is keen to serve.

Be firm in your resolve that if no help is forthcoming from either of these two sources, you are not going to take it from any third source. Also resolve not to have *Young Rajasthan* published from anywhere except Beawar. The person who is resolved to follow the path of truth will learn to be indifferent even as to the things most dear to him. My conviction that the path of non-attachment taught by the *Gita* was the result of the realization that truth and non-violence were supreme, grows stronger day by day. The author of the *Gita* saw with his divine eyes that the results of truth and ahimsa are always good, but he also saw that man is not able to see them when he wishes. And very often he is also not able to decide what is good and what is bad. The author therefore showed him the path of non-attachment. After you come to a decision and inform me, I shall be ready to write to Jamnalalji and Manilal. No question of yours now remains unanswered. If you still feel confused and think it necessary to see me alone or with Haribhau¹, consult the dates of my tour programme and come to any place convenient to you.

There is a long and very good reply from Bhopal, but it is not meant for publication. I have asked for permission to show it to co-workers. When I receive it, I will show it to co-workers like you.

From a copy of the Gujarati: Kusumbehn Desai's Diary. S.N. 32578/75

384. *THE U.P. TOUR-VII*²

The foregoing has been, as the following itinerary³ will show, a week of comparative rest so far as movement is concerned.

IN DEHRADUN

Dehradun has long been a favourite health resort for Europeans. It has an altitude of over 3,000 feet lying at the foot of beautiful Mussoorie described as the Queen of Hills. It has now become popular with well-to-do Indians too. It therefore boasts many

¹ Haribhau Upadhyaya

² *Vide* footnote 2, "The U. P. Tour-VI", 24-10-1929

³ Not reproduced here

educational institutions. It has what has been euphemistically but incorrectly called the Indian Sandhurst School. It has also several schools where boys for Cambridge Senior are prepared. It has too the famous Anglo-Vedic College founded in 1904 with an attendance of over 800 boys owing its existence to the munificent sole donation of 2_ lakhs by the late Thakur Poonamsinghji Negi. It has the Kanya Gurukul, an offshoot of the Kangri Gurukul and conducted amid great difficulty by Shrimati Vidyavati Devi. And when Gandhiji reached Dehradun it was holding a political conference with Sjt. Purushottamdas Tandonji as its President. Gandhiji was to stay there only for a day. The programme therefore was fairly crowded. It commenced with the laying of the foundation-stone¹ of Shri Shraddhanand Abala Ashram on a spacious plot of ground. In laying the foundation-stone Gandhiji laid stress on the necessity of making the inmates of such institutions feel as members of a family with the manager as father or mother. He therefore added: 'The foundation of such ashrams is laid not in brick and mortar but in securing the services of a manager who would eat with the inmates and live with them as their father? friend and guide,' Addressing the many women who had gathered there Gandhiji said, 'If you truly revere Shraddhanandji's memory you will provide from among you a mother for this place. That men mostly manage such institutions is but a penance they are doing for having grossly neglected the education and training of girls and otherwise deprived women of the opportunity of bettering themselves.'

At the Anglo-Vedic College, where students presented their address and a purse of Rs. 500, Gandhiji asked the students to spread out in the villages as the Chinese had done and give the proper type of education and information both to the children and adults. This they could do during their long vacations.

There was also the meeting of the so-called untouchables. They have adopted the name Raidasi from the great Chamar saint Raidas. These are all well-to-do families at present. From day labourers they have become owners of limekilns. They presented a purse naturally for the Lalaji Memorial. They owe much to the work done for and amongst them by the young men sent out by Lalaji. Gandhiji told them that they should learn to help themselves by carrying on intensive internal reform. Lala Beharilal, who is an elected member of the Union Board, is their leader owing his training to the Anglo-Vedic

¹ On October 16

College. No one could possibly detect any difference between him and any other educated young man. Had I not known his antecedents, I should not have known that he was a tanner.

There was of course the Union Board address. Gandhiji in reply said, 'I cannot be satisfied unless you can make Dehradun a model town. Your roads are good only in fashionable quarters. The business centre where the workers and the poor live is not much better than when I saw it fifteen years ago. You do not supply pure and cheap milk to the aged and the children. Nor have you got rid of the drink curse in your midst. And yet you have among you good Hindus, good Mussalmans and good Englishmen and you proudly inform me that you are all working in a spirit of co-operation and goodwill. Let the Union work for the benefit of the poor.'

The day closed with a monster meeting of women. It was too noisy for Gandhiji to make any speech worth recording.

The next day on his way to Mussoorie he went to the Kanya Gurukul. The girls recited in a beautiful voice an address composed in Sanskrit. There was then a neat little speech by Shrimati Vidyavati recounting her trials and difficulties. This was followed by a spinning competition in which Gandhiji, Shrimati Kasturbai and Shrimati Mirabehn had joined. There was a big bundle of yarn too spun by the girls for Gandhiji which he returned asking them to turn it into khadi and then send it to him. In blessing the girls Gandhiji hoped that the institution would have its own abode instead of as now having to live in a state of uncertainty and suspense.

From the Kanya Gurukul we took on the way a purse from motor drivers' association and then halted at Rajpur where the late Dr. Keshav Dev Shastri had his sanatorium and where Mrs. Shastri with her sister though American is living the life of a strict Hindu widow. There were living there for the vacation over hundred boys of the Kangri Gurukul School. Gandhiji unveiled there the portrait of the late doctor and planted a tree in his memory. He received too an address from the boys and a pile of yarn which the boys had spun as also a purse which the boys had collected by their own labour.

IN MUSSOORIE

And then at last Gandhiji went uninterrupted to Mussoorie. The cars do not go beyond Bhatta. An uphill distance of nearly three miles had to be covered either on foot, by dandy or rickshaw or on

horseback. Gandhiji insisted on walking and got into a rickshaw only when he was about to enter the bazaar. This however proved most trying for him. Crowds pressed in upon the rickshaw from all sides. The din and the dust and the shower of flowers choked him. This went on for nearly an hour. He sat dazed and dejected in the rickshaw feeling perfectly helpless. Truly is a crowd's affection embarrassing when it is blindly exhibited.

The Reception Committee had left no stone unturned to make Gandhiji as happy and comfortable as possible. The weather was superb. The snowy range sparkling in the morning sun opened upon the sleeping citizens silently calling them to wake up and remember and thank God who had created for them the mountains with their luxuriant foliage and the life-giving waters that descended to the plains. Mussoorie is the resort of rajas and their ranis who pass their idle hours in luxurious dissipation. I understand that lakhs are spent in dances and the like to which we Indians are unused and which are as strong wine for us. In this exciting pastime, I was told, even the ranis, who otherwise live in seclusion, take part pretty freely as deeply interested spectators when they cannot take part in it themselves. Gandhiji found himself in this atmosphere like a fish out of water. When therefore he received the Municipal and other addresses¹ he pointedly reminded the citizens of their duty towards the poor people. The European members of the Municipality and some other Europeans had attended the public meeting. And Gandhiji was called upon to speak to them in English. Addressing them he said, 'I do not envy you your amusements and enjoyments, but I would like you not to forget the poor in your midst. Your very existence on a hill like this depends upon their unremitting toil. They carry you and your luggage and furniture for a mere pittance. They are said to get no adequate return for their labour. They wear dirty rags, are said to live on *ata*² and salt and dwell in dirty, ill-ventilated hovels. You owe it to them to better their lot.' The Hindi address mentioned the fact that though they had little untouchability in their midst, yet the only Hindu temple was barred against the so-called untouchables. Gandhiji expressed painful surprise that in Mussoorie where mostly enlightened people lived such a thing was tolerated. He had therefore asked Devdas Gandhi to inquire into the affairs of the temple. It was

¹ On October 21

² Flour

discovered that some trustees had actually flung open the temple to the untouchables. But the permission lasted but a day. Some enemy of Hinduism incited the unthinking Hindus of the bazaar to opposition. They threatened the offending trustees with excommunication. The latter took fright and meekly yielded. Gandhiji therefore vehemently urged the workers at their special meeting to bestir themselves and see to it that the temple was made accessible to the untouchables on the same terms as to the caste Hindus.

The only other public function was a ladies' meeting. This was largely attended by European ladies and the girls from a European girls' college. Gandhiji had again therefore to speak in English. He said to them, 'You can, if you will serve this country, do at least two things. You can help the poor in a tangible manner by adopting khadi and you can help the total prohibition movement. It is for you to shame your men into doing their duty towards Indian labour. The drink curse has desolated many a labourer's home. There is no halfway house between drunkenness and prohibition. Well-to-do men may pretend to be moderate. But there is no such thing as moderation possible among labourers. You can therefore create an atmosphere favourable to total prohibition and earn the silent blessings of the unfortunate victims.'

Young India, 31-10-1929

385. CHARKHA AS FAMINE RELIEF

Prafulla Babu of Abhoy Ashram writes about relief work undertaken by it in connection with the recent terrible floods:¹

In the face of facts like these percolating through many sources, East and West, North and South, under varying conditions no one can deny the value of the spinning-wheel as a very substantial aid in famine times.

Young India, 31-10-1929

¹ The letter is not reproduced here. It described how spinning and the sale of rice at cost price helped the flood victims.

386. NOTES

NON-VIOLENCE v. COWARDICE

Dr. Hardikar sends me an account of an assault said to have been committed on the 31st July last at Bagalkot on some volunteers of the Hindustani Seva Dal. The volunteers were distributing handbills and marching with their bands playing without noticing a mosque which could not be seen as it was situated on a low level. The band continued to play even when they had approached it. Enraged men inside the mosque therefore came out and are alleged to have assaulted the volunteers with stones, sticks, pickaxes and other tools. The volunteers, according to the description given by Dr. Hardikar, apologized for the mistake that was unconsciously made but the assault was continued. The volunteers however never retaliated. They decided also not to conduct any legal proceedings. The question is whether this restraint could be called non-violent or cowardly. In my opinion, here there is no question of cowardice. The volunteers would have been cowardly if they had run away. On the contrary they are stated to have stood their ground and suffered the assault without retaliation at any stage. Non-violence and cowardice are contradictory terms. Non-violence is the greatest virtue, cowardice the greatest vice. Non-violence springs from love, cowardice from hate. Non-violence always suffers, cowardice would always inflict suffering. Perfect non-violence is the highest bravery. Non-violent conduct is never demoralizing, cowardice always is. I can detect no cowardice in the conduct of the volunteers. No one claims the highest form of bravery for them. The assault, it is said, was so brutal that some Mussalman women who were nearby expostulated with the assaulters for continuing their assault in spite of the apology that was tendered. If the facts are as they are related, in my opinion the conduct of the volunteers was exemplary and strictly non-violent in terms of the Congress creed. Opinions may differ as to the propriety of such conduct, but there can be no two opinions about the bravery of the volunteers. It is undoubtedly in keeping with the creed that no court proceedings have been taken by the injured parties. My own conviction is that the more the volunteers learn the law of suffering bravely and consciously, the greater will be their efficiency for service when the critical time comes.

WHO SHOULD PROTECT?

An Assam correspondent writes a fearful letter describing abductions of girls, married, unmarried and widowed, and he indignantly asks what measures are being taken to protect the honour of our women. He sends me newspaper cuttings in corroboration of his statement. It is possible, as I have been repeatedly told, that these cases are exaggerated, but whether they are or not there is no doubt that abduction in well-organized society should be almost an impossibility. But I know that newspaper reporting can do very little in the way of securing protection for the girls who are in fear of being abducted. It is proof of rank cowardice on the part of relatives, friends and neighbours. A society that is unable to protect its womenfolk is unfit to marry and procreate. Licentious men will satisfy their lust whenever and wherever they can with impunity. The only agitation that can or should be set up is to shame those who do not protect their womenfolk into doing their duty.

ADVERTISING LEWDNESS

Sjt. Jairamdas, the Hon. Secretary of the Foreign-Cloth Boycott Committee, has sent me mild specimens as he calls them of indecent pictures which unscrupulous sellers of foreign cloth put in the pieces of calico, etc., they sell. He tells me that there were pictures far more indecent than the specimens he has sent to me. Whether the interpolation of these pictures is the work of the agents or of the principals it is difficult to say, but the pictures are there and they bear also names appropriate to the lewdness they advertise. One is marked 'Vilas Jivan'¹ for instance. The unscrupulous ways adopted for enticing simple folk to buy foreign cloth ought to disgust decent men and make them boycott foreign cloth even for these unscrupulous ways apart from any other reason.

A CORRECTION

Writing with reference to a recent weekly letter² Professor Gautama of the Udaya Pratap Kshatriya College, Banaras, asks the Editor to correct the spelling of the name of his college from Udaya Pratap Khatri College to Kshatriya College, and he says that the money paid should be Rs. 370-2-6 instead of Rs. 369-2-6 as Re. 1 was paid later to Sjt. Sri Prakasa.

Young India, 31-10-1929

¹ Voluptuous living

² By Pyarelal in *Young India*, 3-10-1929

387. A GREAT MANIFESTO

The following manifesto¹ has been issued by the Untouchability Committee.

It will be noted that it is extensively signed and bears weighty names. It has been issued none too early. It is impossible to hold the so-called untouchables under suppression when everywhere there is a yearning for liberty. Those who seek it must be prepared to recognize it for those whom they have hitherto deprived of it. There is a wholesome legal maxim which says that those who seek justice must come with clean hands.

Young India, 31-10-1929

388. PHYSICAL AND MORAL IN SANITATION

There can be no doubt that at one time Hardwar and the other celebrated places of pilgrimage were really holy. Their natural beauty, their ancient popularity would seem to show that at one time they were sanctuaries for the preservation and purification of Hinduism. In spite of my innate love of Hinduism, in spite of my conservatism that ever seeks to respect and justify ancient institutions, these holy places have few man-made attractions for me.

It was in 1915 that I first visited Hardwar² as a volunteer working under Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru who was in charge of the Seva Samiti organized by the Servants of India Society. I was therefore able to come in intimate touch with many men and things which otherwise I would not have done. I had gone there full of hope and reverence. But whilst I realized the grandeur of the holy Ganga and the holier Himalayas, I saw little to inspire me in what man was doing in this holy place. To my great grief I discovered insanitation both moral and physical. I found during the recent visit³ not much change for the better. There is the same defilement of the mighty stream even in the name of religion. Thoughtless ignorant men and women use for

¹ Not reproduced here. Signed by influential persons, it called upon all the Hindu organizations to observe the next *Kartika Ekadashi* as a day for the extinction of untouchability.

² Vide "Speech at Gurukul, Hardwar", 8-4-1915

³ On October 15

natural functions the sacred banks of the river where they are supposed to sit in quiet contemplation and find God. They violate religion, science and laws of sanitation. All the religions in the world prohibit the pollution of streams, their banks, public roads and all thoroughfares. Science teaches us that human evacuations, whether liquid or solid, make most valuable manure if they are properly conserved. Hygienists regard it as a crime against humanity for any person to perform natural functions in the places enumerated by me. This pollution is a sin born of ignorance or laziness. But there goes on deliberate pollution too in the name of religion. I was taken to the river to perform the usual ceremony. Flowers, yarn, curds, coloured starch, rice and the like were thrown into the river whose waters millions drink in the faith that they are doing a meritorious act. I protested that it was harmful to throw these things into the waters. "It is a tradition handed down from ages," was the priestly reply. Add to this the reported criminal emptying of the drain-pipes into the sacred waters.

Although the passenger traffic is very heavy, the station is as primitive as it could be made. There are very few conveniences for the passengers. The streets are narrow and unkempt. The roads are indifferently kept. Thus the authorities have conspired with the people to render Hardwar as little attractive as possible.

So much for the physical insanitation of Hardwar. I was reliably informed that moral insanitation was far worse. I have not the heart to narrate here the stories I was told of the horrible vice that went on in Hardwar. There was a naive admission in an address presented to me by the Pandas. They said that in Hardwar perfect sexual restraint was obligatory. They therefore left Hardwar to the pilgrims and not being celibates, were living outside the prohibited boundary. Needless to say there is not the least sign of this form of self-denial in Hardwar.

And yet there is no reason why Hardwar should not become an ideal place of pilgrimage. There are three educational institutions designed to revive the best of ancient tradition. There are rich *mahants*¹ living in and near Hardwar. If any or all of these institutions will it, they can transform insanitary Hardwar within a measurable distance of time into a model sacred place. Acharya Ramdeva, who presided at the public meeting where I disburdened myself of my grief over the physical and moral insanitation of Hardwar, promised to

¹ Heads of monasteries

work wholeheartedly through the Kangri Gurukul which has been shifted to Hardwar to bring about the desired reform. There are too some silent workers doing their best to make things look better. Hardwar uses only swadeshi sugar but imports annually seven lakhs of rupees worth of foreign v cloth. There is a drink shop and a butcher's shop in Jwalapur. There is no reason why Hardwar should not stop all drink. A butcher's shop in a Hindu place of pilgrimage is an anomaly. The optimistic Acharya hopes to make Hardwar sanitary and to banish foreign cloth, liquor and butcher's meat from Hardwar. It is a worthy ambition. May it be fulfilled. It will be the truest education for the boys of the Gurukul if to their studies they add this service of the country and religion.

Young India, 31-10-1929

389. HIGH AND LOW

We say this man is high, that is low. Sciences, both physical and metaphysical, tell us that we are all identical both physically and spiritually. Scientists) having analysed the human body, state that our bodies are made up of the same five elements, there being no difference on account of origin, race or sex. The ant and the elephant, the Brahmin and the sweeper, man and woman, the bodies of them all are composed of clay and the other things. The Upanishads and other scriptures teach us that an inward view will reveal only one soul pervading us all. So the subtle-seeing Acharya Sankara has told us that the differences apparent to us in name and form and such other things are all nothing but maya¹. Others call it *upadhi*² and some others call it *moha*³ too. Everyone admits that this conglomeration of names, forms, etc., is ephemeral.

In spite of a knowledge of these facts, the stress on the high and the low is not as pronounced in any other society as it is in the Hindu society. One gentleman, who has had experience of this, writes:⁴

¹ Illusion

² Disguise, cover

³ Delusion

⁴ The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had referred to the prevailing distinction between *kachchi* and *pakki* food—persons of a higher caste would not partake of *kachchi* food of offered by persons of a lower caste but there were no restrictions in accepting *pakki* food—and had asked whether khadi workers should not agitate against such distinctions which strengthened caste prejudices.

Two questions have been posed in this letter. Should khadi promoters fall a prey to popular beliefs and observe *kachchi-pakki* differences? Should they admit the distinction between the high and the low? It is my firm belief that, even for the sake of khadi, no khadi lover should give up his principles, resort to incorrect behaviour, or ever have recourse to evil ways even with the best of intentions. Nothing good can ever be accomplished through unclean means. The power that we look for in khadi will be completely destroyed if we resort to undesirable means in our work. The annihilation of the distinction between high and low is a glorious result of khadi.

Now, the second question is why not agitate against this difference of *kachchi-pakki*? The agitation for the spread of khadi can only pertain to khadi. Having given up the difference of *kachchi-pakki* in one's own life, one has nothing more to do in this direction. One must also realize that there can be no greater propaganda than one's own conduct. What one wants others to do, one should do oneself. This would be his most effective propaganda.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 31-10-1929

390. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

MEERUT,

October 31, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I got your letters yesterday. If Raghunath's work can be improved and if it can be extended, that should be done. The defects you have noticed today in our method of education have always been in my mind. This education has not yet become true in spirit because I have always remained at a distance from it and have contented myself with critic zing it. Today we have not found anyone who is intelligent enough and who will devote all his twenty-four hours to it. There are only you, Ramniklal and Narandas. After that I shall place Raojibhai and Shivabhai and Shankarbhai. I have others too in my mind. We can do something only when some of them get ready.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 15829

391. LETTER TO SHIVABHAI G. PATEL

MEERUT,

October 31, 1929

DEAR SHIVABHAI,

I still cannot say that the printing of the *Ashram Samachar* is such that it can be read in full. And it is likely that the clearest copy is sent to me. If the lettering is faint even in that copy, how much fainter it must be in the other copies! I therefore feel that we must instal a litho or get the *Ashram Samachar* printed. It must itself raise the money for that expense.

The list of the inmates is well given, but I consider it a big mistake that you have shown the three untouchables separately. You could have mentioned 'Hindus (including three untouchables) 198.' I also do not like the statement that the list of the labourers will be given later. The number of the labourers staying there must be known and it should be easy to give it. We cannot have in the Ashram a separate class of labourers distinct from other inmates.

the labourers should be identified in some other way, because all of us are labourers. We should drive this point into our heads as firmly as we can. And we must give up in practice and in principle the idea which often persists that a particular job is the responsibility only of the labourers.

We should make a distinction between students and paid workers or members receiving maintenance and paid workers in keeping with our principles. But even while making such a distinction we must strive to absorb the labourers among ourselves.

In other words, the number of labourers should diminish day by day and we should try to absorb among ourselves as many of the present ones as we can. You have given the number of Muslims as seven. Does this number include Amina's¹ children? If it does, according to my reckoning the number comes to eight. Sixth is Imam Saheb, seventh Abbas and the eighth another student whose name I have forgotten.

¹ Amina Qureshi

You write suggesting that I should check your figure with Jethalal. I shall do so now, for Jethalal has returned to Bardoli.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9494

392. *LETTER TO KISHORELAL*

BULANDSHAHAH,
[November 3, 1929]¹

BROTHER KISHORELAL,

I have your letter. The uplift of the aborigines can be justified solely so that that caste is made to sacrifice itself for the whole of India, not that it may forget the people in furtherance of its own selfish interests.

Love From
BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal Papers.

393. *LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI*

MEERUT,
November 1, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I have your letter. The question of keeping a motor-car has often been talked about. Doing so may possibly reduce our expenses, but it will add to our worries. Besides, people will use a car more often than they use one at present, so much so that ultimately, I think, we would have to get rid of it. A car had also been offered as a gift once or twice. The offers were declined deliberately and after discussion with Maganlal and others.

More than a motor-car, we need electricity which is more useful and less expensive. If we have it, we can also have an electric stove. Even then, however, I have not had the courage to get

¹ Gandhiji was in Bulandshahar on this date.

the connection. I do believe, though, that one day we shall have a car and electricity, both. We may even have them during my lifetime and I, too, may accept defeat and vote for them. At present, however, the inner voice tells me distinctly that we had better not have these things.

We certainly cannot have a zebra in any case. We must use a bullock for our work and incur the expenditure of getting him shod from time to time. And since he is our brother bullock, we should be content with whatever work he gives. The cow being our mother, the bullock surely is our brother. And so long as we recognize the distinction between kinsmen and others, we must tolerate a brother even if he is lame or infirm.

I will write to Jamnadas and get from him the information which you desire. I have so much faith in him that even when he incurs some expenditure which seems excessive I am not disturbed. I know, of course, that too much has been spent on putting up the building for the national school. That at any rate is my view. I had most probably expressed this view in the public meeting itself when I declared the school open. At any rate I did tell Jamnadas about it and he had even admitted his mistake. This is my position. Your position is different. You should certainly ask questions about the smallest details. The questions which you have asked are, therefore, all right.

Exhibit in the museum the cloth received from Farrukhabad.

I have left the letter incomplete here.

Delhi, 1-11-1929¹

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5469

¹ The letter was completed at Delhi.

394. ALL-PARTIES LEADERS' JOINT STATEMENTS¹

November 2, 1929

We, the undersigned, have read with careful consideration the Viceregal pronouncement on the question of India's future status among the nations of the world.

We appreciate the sincerity underlying the declaration, as also the desire of the British Government to placate Indian opinion. We hope to be able to tender our co-operation to His Majesty's Government in their effort to evolve a scheme of Dominion Constitution suitable for India's needs. But we deem it necessary that certain acts should be done and certain points should be cleared so as to inspire trust and ensure the co-operation of the political organizations in the country. We consider it vital for the success of the proposed Conference that:

(a) a policy of general conciliation should be definitely adopted to induce a calmer atmosphere;

(b) political prisoners should be granted a general amnesty; and
(c) the representation of progressive political organizations should be effectively secured and that the Indian National Congress, as the largest among them, should have predominant representation.

Some doubt has been expressed about the interpretation of the paragraph in the statement made by the Viceroy on behalf of His Majesty's Government regarding Dominion Status. We understand, however, that the Conference is to meet not to discuss when Dominion Status is to be established but to frame a scheme of Dominion Constitution for India. We hope that we are not mistaken in thus interpreting the import and implication of the weighty pronouncement of H. E. the Viceroy.

Until the new Constitution comes into existence we think it necessary that a more liberal spirit should be infused in the

¹ Signed by Gandhiji, Madan Mohan Malaviya, Tej Bahadur Sapru, M. A. Ansari, B. S. Moonje, Sherwani, M. S. Aney, Syed Mahmood, P. Thakurdas, Maharaja of Mahmadabad, Motilal Nehru, Jawaharlal Nehru, Annie Besant, Sarojini Naidu, A. R. Ayyangar, J. M. Sen Gupta, Vallabhbhai Patel, Jagat Narain Lal, G. A. Natesan, Duni Chand, P. Iyer and others. The All-Parties' Conference had met on November 1 and 2, 1929, at Vithalbhai Patel's house to consider the Viceroy's pronouncement of October 31; *vide* "Goseva Sangha", 6-6-1929

Government of the' country, that the relations of the Executive and the Legislatures should be brought more in harmony with the object of the proposed Conference and that greater regard should be paid to constitutional methods and practices. We hold it to be absolutely essential that the public should be made to feel that a new era has commenced even from today and that the new Constitution is to be but a register of that fact.

Lastly, we deem it as an essential factor for the success of the Conference that it should be convened as expeditiously as possible.

The Hindustan Times, 4-11-1929

395. SPEECH AT CIVIC RECEPTION, DELHI

November 2, 1929

Mahatmaji, in replying to the address, said he was thankful to the Municipality for the honour done to him. He expressed his regret for being late and said that doctors, pleaders and national servants were not masters of their time. He congratulated the Municipality for the work it had done for the city, but he told the City Fathers that the service of the poor alone should be their primary duty. Service to the poor, the needy and the helpless was the only real service that the Municipality could do.

Continuing, he said it was wrong for them to think that national work was out of the municipal scope. To establish Hindu-Muslim unity in the city was their prime function. A municipality which did not perform its duty in this respect, simply because it was not included in its rules and regulations, failed in its duty. He said:

If today the City Fathers of Delhi resolve that they will completely root out discord and disunity from the capital of India they will be doing nothing more than their duty to their country. I am a very poor man and regard myself as a representative of the poor—*Daridranarayana*—and you have presented me with an ivory box of great cost. How can I keep it with me? I present it to you and will charge you sovereigns for it. (Laughter) I have no home and no safe where I can keep this precious box. Being a municipality you cannot give me cash but I put it to auction and ask you to pay liberally. Every rupee of it will give food to 16 helpless women, through spinning-charkha and they will pray for your prosperity. I have sold such boxes everywhere and have charged very heavy sums—up to Rs. 1,000 for a box. Do not deal with me as a Bania, but deal with me as a representative of the poor. (Cheers)

The Hindustan Times, 4-11-1929

396. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, DELHI

November 2, 1929

Mahatma Gandhi . . . thanked the Congress Committee for “the long address”, the Mazdur Sabha for “a small address” and the public for the purse.

According to the rules of his tour, said Mahatmaji, the addresses ought not to have been read out but because he allowed the municipal address to be read over and thus “committed a sin”, he had to undergo more sins. (Laughter)

In a rather pathetic tone Mahatmaji said:

Delhi, where the great Hakim Ajmal Khan and Swami Shrad dhanand once lived, is not nowadays giving the true lead to the country. What can we helpless people do in the absence of the two great souls? I feel pain when I come to Delhi.

Continuing, he said he had not come to Delhi for receiving addresses. He had come to Delhi many times before, but this time he had come for a selfish purpose. (Laughter) He had become greedy, said the Mahatma, for the sake of the poor and was begging money to provide khadi work to the teeming millions.

He felt pain in saying that Delhi had fared worse than even the small towns which had paid him more than Rs. 5,000. The citizens of Delhi, he knew, spent on luxuries and useless articles, but if even after their expenses, they would give him savings, that could have satisfied his hunger. (Laughter)

The ladies and the students had paid their due share, but he expected more from the audience.

Reverting to the subject, Mahatmaji said Delhi was such an important and historic city that if the citizens of Delhi once resolved to unite themselves, it could become an ideal city for the whole country.

Pray to God to relieve us from the curse of disunity and I ask you what can the bold statements of leaders like the one made today achieve if Hindu-Muslim unity is not established?

Delhi if it desired could successfully boycott foreign cloth and give lead to other cities. There were many other trades open to the citizens of Delhi. He also appealed to everyone in the audience to join the Congress as a member so that the Congress purse may no longer remain empty. He appealed to Hindus to do away with the curse of untouchability which was against God’s nature and will. He made a strong appeal for giving up liquor saying, “Give up this animal-like habit.”

Mahatmaji then referred to the address of the Mazdur Sabha. He said the labourers knew him well and he knew them well, as he too was a labourer. The labourers had every right to get good food and decent dress and it was the duty of

labourers to perform their duties truthfully and properly.

I want to do away with the distinction between the master and the servant or labourer. Our ancient civilization teaches us that there is no such status as master and servant but it is that of father and son, and if this relation is adopted there can be no dispute between capital and labour. (Cheers) If the employers regarded themselves as fathers and guardians of labourers and labourers regarded the factories as their own, then both could give an ideal lesson to the world. (Cheers)

He concluded:

Our strength is immense, we need strong determination and well-considered action. I pray to God to bless us with a will and power to enable us to drive away fear and plunge into the field of action so that Mother India be free once again. (Loud applause)

The Hindustan Times, 4-11-1929

397. HAS “NAVAJIVAN” BECOME DULL?

A simple-minded lover of *Navajivan* writes:¹

Reading this letter, I was reminded of the well-known artist's argument. I must wind up *Navajivan* if I were to collect the views of all the critics and act on them. But I wish to do no such thing. My colleagues and I are trying our best not to let *Navajivan* become dull. Not one line is written which will not help the swaraj *yajna*. That there is and may be a difference of opinion about the procedure of this *yajna* is proved by the critic himself. Therefore, differences will always be there. Now I know some readers who have liked the articles which this critic has not liked. Anyone who comprehends the magnitude of the swaraj *yajna* should not find it difficult to appreciate the usefulness of the articles in *Navajivan*. I know it very well that I shall never be able to make all the articles in *Navajivan* interesting to all its readers. No journal can be run on such a condition. Various features are included in a newspaper to suit the varying tastes of its readership and appreciative readers should be liberal enough not to condemn a feature that does not interest them. They should understand that articles which do not interest them might possibly interest others. For instance, when the above critic's letter criticizing the article

¹ The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had complained that articles in *Navajivan* did not reflect the current political ferment in the country. He had criticized many articles published in *Navajivan* 13-10-1929.

“Weaving Craft in Vedic Literature”¹ arrived, I had another suggesting that all such articles be published in book form. Everyone knows that we wore khadi in the olden days or even a hundred years ago. Only a Vedic scholar would know and tell us that khadi was held in high esteem then as now. The activity of spinning was widespread and was regarded as a religious act. How can it be said that knowing it is of no use? I know that many have been inspired to take to spinning because this activity has been praised in the Vedas. The activity of spinning, etc., was so widely prevalent that many of its terms were used to express spiritual ideas. That is no mean thing. There need be no doubt that those things which prove the greatness of our ancient lore and arts and enhance our respect for them lead us on to the path of swaraj.

Now take “A Ruinous Vice”². This writer appears to have no idea how much harm our unhygienic practices in regard to toilet, etc., cause to the people; otherwise he would not have grudged me the quotation or two that I have exiguously cited from the Shastras in support of my stand. In order to eradicate this habit no number of quotations are too many. We have been amply criticized in South Africa for our dirty habits. For this very reason, persons who respect the laws of health keep away from our neighbourhood. This very habit gives rise to a number of diseases and causes loss of crores of rupees. I have not the least doubt that those who inspire us to get rid of this bad habit lead us on to swaraj.

Now about “Death of a Virtuous Woman”³. There is no doubt that there may be many such virtuous women in India. But whenever we come across such instances, we should cherish them, remember them and emulate them. If we want to do this, we should publicize a genuine case when we come across one. Is it not desirable that many such women are born in India? I have already written about Jatin Das.⁴ He has been praised all over the country and abroad. It is the special dharma of *Navajivan* to sing praises of those poor but heroic men and women whom no one knows nor would care to know. It is my firm belief that we are going to achieve true swaraj

¹ The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had complained that articles in *Navajivan* did not reflect the current political ferment in the country. He had criticized many articles published in *Navajivan* 13-10-1929.

² *Vide* “A Ruinous Vice”

³ By Mahadev Desai

⁴ For the English version, *vide* “My Silence”, 17-10-1929

or *Ramarajya* with the help of such unknown people. Those who believe that without self-purification such swaraj is impossible should preserve such articles.

Lastly, I had never expected any criticism of the innocent note “Gujaratis’ Love”¹. I rarely praise anyone. It is my belief that those articles which this reader has criticized lend colour to *Navajivan*. Without them it would become drab. I recommend to this correspondent that he read again all the articles he has criticized from my point of view.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 3-11- 1929

398. MY NOTES

THAKKAR BAPA CRAZY WITH JOY

A true priest always feels happy when the employer does something good or looks well or fares well. Thakkar Bapa is a true priest of the *Antyajas*, Bhils and others and so, if the latter, i.e., his employers, do something good or gains something, he becomes crazy with joy and in his ecstasy he forgets his old age and, if he is ill, even his illness. He experienced this joy in Navasari. The readers of *Navajivan* know that a fine *Antyaja* ashram is functioning there. It is under Thakkar Bapa’s management. But he is likely to forget himself when he finds there something good. If someone were to accuse him of self-praise, he has enough self-confidence to swallow the charge. Describing the gathering held under the chairmanship of Bhai Dayalji, Thakkar Bapa writes:²

Let us also share his happiness.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 3-11-1929

¹ Vide “Gijaratis Love”, 13-10-1929

² The letter is not translated here. It described the participation of Bhangi children and their guardians in the annual gathering.

399. CABLE TO "DAILY EXPRESS"¹

[November 3, 1929]²

EDITOR,
"DAILY EXPRESS"
LONDON

I DO NOT WISH ADD ANYTHING TO ALL PARTIES JOINT
STATEMENT COMPLETED LAST NIGHT BEYOND SAYING THAT I
AM DYING TO GIVE AND SECURE TRUE HEART CO-OPERATION IN PLACE
CO-OPERATION FALSELY SO CALLED.

GANDHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 14722

400. LETTER TO S. SHANKAR

CAMP KHURJA,
November 3, 1929

MY DEAR SHANKAR,

I was glad to hear from you after a long time.³ Your letter is very scrappy. I would like you to give me an accurate account of your khaddar work. Are you spinning regularly? Are you making up Hindustani? I observed that you have more time at your disposal than you need and I should have expected you to utilize it for mastering the details of khadi technique and in mastering Hindustani.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. S. SHANKAR
REDDY GARDEN
PERAMBUR (MADRAS)

From a microfilm: S.N. 15206

¹ In reply to the cable: "Your views Viceroy's declaration prospects its acceptance Indian opinion."

² From the reference to All-Parties Leaders' Joint Statement signed on November 2, 1929

³ The addressee was doing khadi work in Madras and enrolling Congress members for the Hindustani Seva Dal

401. LETTER TO DR. H. W. B. MORENO

CAMP KHURJA,
November 3, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter.¹ I would like you not to worry over our different points of view. I assure you that I am no less a friend of the Anglo-Indian cause than² you can be. Proof of the pudding is in the eating. I hope that whenever the occasion arises I shall not be found wanting but I must act naturally and not artificially.

Yours sincerely,

DR. H. W. B. MORENO
GENERAL PRESIDENT, THE ANGLO-INDIAN LEAGUE
2 WELLESLEY SQUARE
CALCUTTA

From a photostat: S.N. 15633

¹ Referring to Gandhiji's letter dated October 3, 1929 and article "The Anglo-Indian", 29-8-1929, *vide* "Letter to Dr. H.W.B. Mareno", 3-10-1929 and "The Anglo-Indian", 29-8-1929 respectively, the addressee had written: "What I have striven to do for the last quarter of a century is to bring about rapprochement between AngloIndians and Indians. You will admit . . . that there is already a better liaison than there was before. One thing remains—and you told me that when we last met—that the Anglo-Indian should not only say: 'I am an Indian', but should be proud of the dignity and should not say it in a half-hearted manner as if forced to admit it . . . If you and other Indian leaders keep on taunting, or appear to taunt us with every advance we make, that 'we belong to the ruling race', are 'half borns' of that race, etc., etc., it does not help us to come nearer to you; on the other hand the Anglo-Indian crowd will be bound to say: 'There you are, we told you so, you wish to become one with these Indians, and see already what treatment you will be likely to receive, you are already receiving an earnest of it.' . . . It is for you . . . to write again in *Young India*; and to tell all what anxious solicitude the Indian has to draw the Anglo-Indian to his side. . . " (S.N. 15632).

² The source has "as".

402. LETTER TO GOVIND MISRA

CAMP KHURJA,
November 3, 1929

DEAR GOVIND BABU,

Mr. Banker has sent me Copy of your letter¹ to him regarding Nirnanjan Babu. Your letter is vague and general. If you have really anything against Nirnanjan Babu that you can substantiate, you must be absolutely precise and give full particulars which you can establish. When did you first entertain doubts about his honesty?

Yours sincerely,

SJT. GOVIND MISRA
GANDHI SEVASHRAM
CHAMPAPURHAT, DT. CUTTACK

From a microfilm: S.N. 15675

403. LETTER TO C. P. MATHEW

CAMP KHURJA,
November 3, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I have intimation from the Ashram of the receipts of the gifts² from the students. My message is this:

Real education consists in character-building. Let the students therefore cultivate the taste for character-building side by side with their literary pursuits.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. C. P. MATHEW
LECTURER, UNION CHRISTIAN COLLEGE
ALWAYE (S. INDIA)

From a microfilm: S.N. 15693

¹ The addressee had alleged that Nirnanjan Babu had misused and squandered the funds for khadi work and requested Shankerlal Banker to visit Orissa and investigate into the matter (S.N. 15674).

² On the occasion of Gandhiji's sixtieth birthday, the students had sent him an address and a purse of Rs. 30.

404. LETTER TO B. SHIVA RAO

CAMP KHURJA,
November 3, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter.¹ Though the money was advanced to the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee through me it does not follow that I could therefore today influence its course. In democratic institutions property passes from one charge to another or one influence to another. I have therefore no control over the money today but you may let me know in whose possession the property is today. And if I can do anything to assist you I shall try.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. B. SHIVA RAO
THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY
ADIYAR, MADRAS

From a microfilm: S.N. 15703

405. LETTER TO PAPMA RUKMINI

CAMP KHURJA,
November 3, 1929

MY DEAR PAPMA,

I was pleased beyond measure to receive your well-written letter. Why did you not come to me? If I had the time I would have come over to see you. You must continue to write to me and tell me how you are getting on.

Yours sincerely,

MISS PAPMA RUKMINI
1 NORTH END ROAD, DELHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 15714

¹ The addressee had written: “. . . About 8 years ago when there was a lock-out in the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills, Madras . . . you were generous enough to send Rs. 30,000 to the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee for the use of the labourers. I am also informed that of this amount, Rs. 15,000 were spent in acquiring a piece of land for the use of the labourers. I do not know what happened to the balance.... Our proposal is that the property should be handed over to the Madras Labour Union. . .” (S.N. 15702).

406. LETTER TO S. M. JOSHI

CAMP KHURJA,
November 3, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter.¹ The question you raise is very delicate. The best answer I can give you is that you should follow Seth Jamnalalji's advice. Generally speaking, he shares my view. Therefore, when I know that he has a local knowledge of a particular situation I rely upon his judgment and do not form an independent judgment.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. S. MAHADEV JOSHI
SECRETARY, POONA YOUTH LEAGUE
POONA CITY

From a microfilm: S.N. 15717

407. LETTER TO J. M. SARKAR

CAMP KHURJA,
November 3, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. Engaged as I am in continuous touring I do not get many newspapers to read. Even as it was I was not in touch with the newspaper world but now I am even less in such touch. I therefore did not even know that the differences between the two leaders² had become so much accentuated as to lead to a public

¹ The addressee, who was one of the twelve volunteers in the satyagraha to be launched on November 2 for the temple-entry of Harijans, had asked whether the trustees should not be given sufficient time and favourable public opinion be created before launching the satyagraha (S.N. 15716).

² Subhas Chandra Bose and J. M. Sen Gupta. The addressee had written: "... In connection with election of office-bearers of Chittagong District Congress Committee recently some workers were assaulted and one Sukhendu Bikash was so brutally assaulted that he had to be taken to Calcutta for treatment and he is on the verge of death. This is attributed to the quarrel amongst our aforesaid two leaders. We had been expecting your interference but as we find you still remain unmoved, we cannot but approach you and fervently hope that you will be pleased to exercise your kind influence and put a stop to this quarrel and see that amity is established..." (S.N.15720).

discussion about them. I share fully your grief over them but I do not know what I can do, circumstances as I am. I can therefore only satisfy myself with the hope that all will be well and that local pressure will be sufficient to put an end to the differences.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. JNANENDRA MOHAN SARKAR
VICE-PRESIDENT
MURSHIDABAD DT. CONGRESS COMMITTEE
BERHAMPORE (BENGAL)

From a photostat: S.N. 15721

408. LETTER TO C. HANUMANTHA RAU

CAMP KHURJA,

November 3, 1929

MY DEAR HANUMANTHA RAU,

I was pleased to receive your letter. I hope that you are still feeling well both in body and mind. DO make the best and the most use of the time you have at the Ashram and let me have a weekly review of the work done by you from week to week.¹

Yours sincerely,

SJT. C. HANUMANTHA RAU
UDYOGA MANDIR, SABARMATI
From a microfilm: S.N. 15723

409. LETTER TO DR. GOPICHAND

CAMP KHURJA,

November 3, 1929

DEAR DR. GOPICHAND,

Your letter was delivered to me last night at half-past eleven. It is quite clear to me that neither the hosiery you mention nor the silk prepared in Kashmir in the manner described by you can be admitted. This question comes up before me almost every year. I would like you to know also that this is not a trade that is in need of any

¹ The addressee had come to stay in the Ashram for study and experience for six months.

encouragement. The hosiery prepared from indigenous mill yarn is all taken up and so is every yard of silk prepared in Kashmir. The value of our exhibition should be in exhibiting things which have not yet found vogue in the country and not in providing facilities for those whose wares can be sold otherwise without any difficulty. I know that I have not succeeded in persuading everyone to understand this very simple point. What I am anxious for is to keep our exhibition a vehicle for true education. Nothing more and¹ nothing less. I am therefore positive that we must not on any account introduce the commercial spirit in the exhibition. That an exhibition of a purely educative character properly organized may also result in profits being made is true. The very first exhibition organized strictly according to the lines suggested by me was a great success. I wish that the Lahore exhibition could also be of that character. About the choice of Kashmir silks you should be guided entirely by the advice of Sjt. Harjivan Kotak, the A.I.S.A. representative in Srinagar. Sjt. Chhaganlal Joshi of the Satyagraha Ashram will be with you in two or three days' time and will stay there for some time.

Yours sincerely,

DR. GOPICHAND

RECEPTION COMMITTEE, INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

LAHORE

From a microfilm: S.N. 15737

410. LETTER TO SHANKERLAL BANKER

CAMP KHURJA,

November 3, 1929

MY DEAR SHANKERLAL,

I have your letter of the 30th ultimo regarding Pallipadu Ashram. You know that I gave from the Rustomji Trust Fund over ten thousand rupees to that Ashram. As far as I recollect some other monies too were given. And then there is the substantial sentiment behind it that Hanumantha Rao² gave his life for the Ashram. The money collected at Nellore the people knew would go to the Ashram.

¹ The source has "nor".

² A Congress worker of Nellore who died in March 1926; *vide* "A Servant of India", 25-3-1926

Although therefore it may not reach the standard generally fixed by us, I think that it should be supported by the Association to the extent that we have the Nellore money. You probably know also that Nellore has given us very fine weaving and if the men whom Konda Venakatappayya has selected stick to the Ashram we may expect it even to be self-supporting. About Tenali we should await Konda Venkatappawa's reply. I hope you have sent Pt. Deo Sharma Rs. 1,500. I wrote a letter from Hardwar long ago and as Pt. Deo Sharma had not received the money I telegraphed yesterday.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. SHANKERLAL BANKER
ALL-INDIA SPINNERS ASSOCIATION
MIRZAPUR, AHMEDABAD

From a microfilm: S.N. 15741

411. LETTER TO ZN. M. KHARE

ALIGARH,

November 3, 1929

BHAI PANDITJI,

By the time this reaches you Chhaganlal would have left. I hardly come to know when a new year¹ sets in and such other occasions. I got some letters from there and came to know about it. All of you should of course take my blessings for granted.

I hear the new rule about the kitchen has invited adverse comments. Tell everybody that this is contrary to the basic tenets of the Ashram. The Managing Committee was free to adopt the resolution. It is plain violence to bear a grudge against anybody who takes advantage of this resolution to run a separate kitchen. I wish you would all avoid this. In fact it ought not to be discussed. We should not grudge anyone his weakness, on the contrary we should pity him. We all deserve mutual sympathy. If we are not tolerant towards one another the world shall come to an end. Similarly, if members of an institution, instead of being liberal towards one another indulge in

¹ The Gujarati New-Year Day

perpetual bickering just because one does not or cannot do what the other does, the institution would be nowhere.

Blessing from

BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 208. Courtesy: Lakshmibai Khare

412. LETTER TO REGINALD REYNOLDS

ALIGARH,

November 4, 1929

MY DEAR REYNOLDS,

Another good letter from you.

You shall certainly learn the other things you wish to. If you have strength of body and freshness of mind, I would like you to learn as much of all the activities as you possibly can.

Mr. Silcock who knows you and Mr. Wigham motored with me yesterday from Delhi to Aligarh.

Yours

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: C.W. 4527. Courtesy: Swarthmore College, Philadelphia

413. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

ALIGARH,

November 4, 1929

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

I have just got your letter. How shall I console you? Hearing others describe your state, I said to myself, 'Have I been guilty of putting undue pressure on you?' I have always believed you to be above undue pressure. I have always honoured your resistance. It has always been honourable. Acting under that belief I pressed my suit. Let this incident be a lesson. Resist me always when my suggestion does not appeal to your head or heart. I shall not love you the less for that resistance.

But why are you dejected? I hope there is no fear of public opinion in you. If you have done nothing wrong, why dejection? The ideal of independence is not in conflict with greater freedom. As an

executive of ficer now and President for the coming year, you could not keep yourself away from a collective act of the majority of your colleagues. In my opinion your signature¹ was logical, wise and otherwise correct. I hope therefore that you will get over your dejection and resume your unfailing cheerfulness.

The statement you may certainly make. But there is no hurry about it at all.

Here are copies of two cables² just received. Please show them to Father too.

If you feel like talking things over with me, do not hesitate to catch me wherever you like.

I hope to see Kamala hale and hearty when I reach Allahabad.

If you can do wire that the blues are over.

Yours,

BAPU

A Bunch of Old Letters, p. 76

414. LETTER TO N. M. KHARE

November 4, 1929

BHAI PANDITJI,

I hope Manu is now all right. I suppose the prayers must have been reorganized. It is absolutely necessary to preserve the solemnity of the prayer. The theft of Kalavati's³ ornaments does not appear to be the act of an outsider. Howsoever it might have happened, do caution everybody that they should keep no valuables with them.

We were looking for the meaning of the word *ap*⁴ in the trio of *apbala*, *tapabala* and *bahubala*⁵.... Please incorporate this correction if you have not done so and ask everyone else to do it in their own

¹ On the All-Parties Leaders' Joint Statement of November 2, 1929

² *Vide* footnote 1, "Cable to "Daily Express", 3-11-1929 and footnote 1 to "Letter to A. Fenner Brockway", 14-11-1929.

³ Wife of Kashinath Trivedi, an inmate of the Ashram

⁴ A word from a popular Hindi *bhajan* of Surdas; *ap* is a corrupt form of *aap* which is derived from the Sanskrit *atman* meaning self.

⁵ Strength of self, strength of penance and strength of arm

copies. We ought to get our Hindi *bhajans* revised with the help of some Hindi expert.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 209. Courtesy: Lakshmi Bai Khare

415. LETTER TO PANNALAL JHAVERI

ALIGARH,

November 4, 1929

BHAI PANNALAL,

I was glad to have your letter. I see no error in your reasoning. If your experiment succeeds, many young men will certainly benefit. You have my blessings for its success and I also trust that it will succeed, for I have such faith in you. I am sure you are keeping a record of the experiment and proper accounts.

You are bound to succeed in your effort to observe celibacy because both of you are sincere, both are persevering and both possess a good measure of self-control. Success is certain for him who perseveres. That is the assurance the *Gita* gives and it cannot fail.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3098

416. LETTER TO ASHRAM WOMEN

ALIGARH ,

Silence Day, November 4, 1929

SISTERS,

Do not expect long letters from me at present. May you all prosper during the New Year.

It is a matter of shame that Kalavati's ornaments have disappeared. But I do not feel sorry for her. Any man or woman who keeps jewellery or other valuables with him or her is untrue to the code of the Ashram, and should not feel unhappy if those things are stolen. Let us take a lesson from this incident and look into our boxes. Everybody should have the confidence that he will get, whenever he wants it, what he has kept as deposit with the Ashram.

It is good that you have made a definite rule about the kitchen. There should be no further discussion about the matter. Any family which has been living in the Ashram for many years may run a separate kitchen if it is permitted to do so, and nobody should grudge it this concession.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3708

417. LETTER TO FULCHAND K. SHAH

ALIGARH ,

November 4, 1929

BHAISHRI FULCHAND,

Vallabhbhai met me in Delhi. I see some difference between the account he gave and the one given by you. As Vallabhbhai puts it, since the officials gave an apology the Thakore Saheb suggested to the President to discontinue the inquiry and because Manilal did not do so, an order was issued to stop the inquiry. If this is true, I think your struggle was unjustified. Fight on if the struggle is for a pure cause.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9191

418. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA

ALIGARH,

Silence Day, November 4, 1929

CHI. GANGABEHN (SENIOR),

I have your letters. Never worry, come what may. We have done our duty when we have done what we can. He is the Lord of whatever merit or fault results from it. Do give up the worrying that you always do.

Wait till Nath¹ comes there. Now you cannot leave your work to

¹ Kedarnath Kulkarni, Kishorelal Mashruwala's guru and addressee's guide

go anywhere.

You must eat some fruit. You cannot coerce your body to build itself.

I shall see if I can accommodate Lakshmi in some other place when she comes.

Kalavati has lost her ornaments owing to her own grave fault. It was a good riddance, though it is painful that someone has stolen them. But thefts are bound to be there as long as our *tapascharya*¹ falls short.

Don't brood over the fast. We shall talk over it when I go over there; but you need not bother about this either. It is all for your good that you could not complete the fast. If you had gone through it successfully it would have been an excuse for some pride. God has been kind to you; He has spared you this occasion for pride. Even Narada had his pride smashed when he was puffed up. Please do understand that a fast in itself is no miracle.

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-6: G. S. Gangabehnne, p. 83

419. A LETTER

ALIGARH,

November 4, 1929

I have your beautiful letter. May you succeed in your vow. Do not feel sorry about the vows which you cannot observe. He who tries always succeeds. He who rises also falls. Only by keeping on climbing and falling does one reach that fourth state² from which there is no falling. Practice is the only remedy for it. That is what the *Gita*, our spiritual dictionary, teaches us. The word for practice, *abhyasa*, includes everything—effort, attention, devotion, contemplation, etc. It does not have the limited meaning we give to it in Gujarati.

From a copy of the Gujarati: Kusumbehn Desai's Diary. S.N. 32578/79

¹ Self-suffering as moral discipline

² *uriya*—unconditioned self-awareness beyond the third state of dreamless sleep

420. LETTER TO KALAVATI TRIVEDI

ALIGARH

Silence Day [November 4, 1929]¹

CHI. KALAVATI,

The loss of your ornaments is a matter not for sorrow but for rejoicing. You broke the Ashram rules, therefore you have been taught a lesson by God. The ornaments were of no use to you. If you would but listen to me you would take of f even the ornaments that you are wearing, sell them and deposit the proceeds in a bank. You will be happier. Keep writing to me.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 5292

421. SPEECH AT MUSLIM UNIVERSITY, ALIGARH²

November 4, 1929

The Mahatma . . . apologized for his inability to speak standing since God was not pleased to keep him in normal strength. He asked his hearers to pray to God to keep him deserving of the honour they had conferred upon him and to keep his heart unspoiled. He said he had known from his very boyhood that Hindu-Muslim unity was an integral part of Indian nationhood and he believed that national liberty was meaningless if Hindus and Muslims could not live together open-heartedly with complete harmony. He did not like that the two big communities should oppress the minority communities or should make them even feel that Hindu-Muslim unity was a bad thing. He rather wished the unity of the two to be a model for the whole world and a giver of peace. He agreed with the late Sir Syed³ that Hindus and Muslims were the two eyes of Mother India. He exhorted the students to be as true and sincere soldiers of India as they were true sons of Islam. He said further that having read and studied much of Islam and having long lived and even dined with Muslims, he knew the Islamic religion well. He advised the students not to be a prey to ease and luxury since only he

¹ From Gandhiji's presence at Aligarh and another letter to the addressee dated November 14, 1929 from Kalakankar; *vide* "Letter to Kalavati Trivedi", 14-1 1-1929.

² *Vide* also "The U. P. Tour-IX", sub-title, "In Aligarh", 14-11-1929.

³ Sir Syed Ahmed Khan

could serve the country well whose heart was simple and whose habits were simple. He farther exhorted the students to pity the lot of the millions of poor people who were having hardly one meal a day. In his opinion God could not be pleased with them merely by their daily readings of the Koran or by their daily prayers. The real thing that could please God was their practical mercy and real compassion for the millions of their distressed brethren. He, therefore, urged them to encourage khaddar.

The Leader, 7-11-1929

422. LETTER TO N. M. KHARE

ALIGARH,

November 5, 1929

BHAI PANDITJI,

Chhaganlal must have left by now. I shall therefore not reply to his letters. I hope Manu is keeping up the steady recovery in health.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 210. Courtesy: Lakshmibai Khare

423. A LETTER

ALIGARH,

November 5, 1929

CHI...¹,

May the New Year be fruitful for all the three of you. I know that my saying this has no meaning, since the distinction between the old and the new has lost its meaning for me. And when there is no joy for the new and no sorrow for the passing of the old, what is the meaning of wishing the New Year to be fruitful? However, in a sense there is some meaning. In wishing the New Year to be fruitful for you I suggested that you always have my blessings. And even though I may make no distinction between the old and the new, those who do appreciate elders' blessings will certainly feel happy if they receive an

¹ The names are omitted in the source.

assurance of blessings from them. Send this letter to . . .¹ also.

Are you reading anything these days? Even if you reserve only five minutes for reading the practice will be useful. Those who carefully save their minutes add to their span of life, lessen the weight of their burdens and increase their knowledge. By not taking care of their minutes one may sit erect, purposefully, and with a pure heart and closed eyes meditate on God. Or, if there is a *takli* lying around, one can read a verse from it, think about it and learn it by heart. One can find many other similar things to do. One may engage in any innocent activity of one's choice. I have mentioned only a few things by way of illustration. The point is that by intelligently keeping account of every minute one lightens the load on oneself and does not feel by new work to be a burden. Whatever time such a person gets he devotes to the work and if, after honestly doing his best, he cannot complete it he remains unconcerned. He does not feel unhappy. It would be difficult in the beginning to form the habit I have suggested. But by and by it becomes a natural thing and one feels no effort.

From a copy of the Gujarati: Kusumbehn Desai's Diary. S.N. 32578/83

424. TELEGRAM TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

MUTTRA,
November 6, 1929

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

ANAND BHAVAN

ALLAHABAD

DEEPLY	APPRECIATE	MORAL	DIFFICULTY	YOUR	SE-
COND	LETTER ² .	BUT	THERE	SHOULD	BE
ARRIVING	AT	DECISION.	RESIGNATION ³	MUST	NOT
BE	PRESSED.	IF	STILL	AGITATED	MEET
EVER YOU LIKE. ⁴				ME	WHER-

Gandhi-Nehru Papers, 52 1929. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

¹ The names are omitted in the source.

² *Vide* "Letter from Jawaharlal Nehru", 4-11-1929

³ Of the Secretaryship of the A.I.C.C.

⁴ *Vide* also "Letter to Jawaharlal Nehru", 8-11-1929,

425. LETTER TO HARIBHAU UPADHYAYA

MATHURA,
November 6, 1929

BHAI HARIBHAU,

I have your letter. If the lady wants to have some experience of life at the Ashram she can certainly do so. If she arrives will she come single or will it be the couple? I have already sent the Introduction that Vajjnath had asked for. Till now my health has been quite all right. I hope to leave Agra for Sabarmati on the 24th evening via metre gauge. The 25th falls on a Monday. I hope you are all right.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 6068. Courtesy: Haribhau Upadhyaya

426. LETTER TO SHIVABHAI PATEL

MATHURA,
November 6, 1929

BHAI SHIVABHAI¹,

I have your letter. I think that the Ashram's well-wishers who wish to subscribe have a right to get a copy. It is not anything confidential. I believe that a copy of it should be placed in the Ashram Reading Room. It should be possible to discuss fully the internal problems which may be of interest to many others. If the litho can be obtained cheap, I think it is worth buying. I regard it desirable that the *Ashram Samachar* should include the news about internal developments in institutions run on the same lines as the Ashram. If we wish to give such news, the size should be enlarged. This of course would add very much to the editor's work. He would have to give atleast seven hours a week to the work. If he cannot at present spare that time, we should give up the idea of enlarging the size.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9495

¹ An inmate of the Sabarmati Ashram; he assisted in the maintenance of accounts of the khadi section.

427. LETTER TO RAOJIBHAI M. PATEL

MATHURA,

November 6, 1929

BHAI RAOJIBHAI,

I got your letter. When we have several tasks on hand and are not in a position to do full justice to all of them, we should arrange them in order of their priority and assign each its place so that we can know which task can be dropped. And if all the tasks are of equal importance, we should drop those which are beyond our capacity to manage. The latrines, the kitchen and the accounts—these three I regard as having the highest priority. If the accounts are not correctly maintained, money will be wasted, our reputation will suffer and our conscience will be troubled. I have often explained that care of the latrine and of the kitchen are aspects of the same task. If either of them is imperfectly done, bodily health would suffer. I have also shown that scavenging and cooking involve important moral and scientific principles. A cook doing his or her duty religiously will not only cook the food well but will also observe the principles of good health, that is, of brahmacharya. And a scavenger doing his or her duty religiously will not merely bury the night-soil but also observe the stools passed by each and inform each person about the state of his or her health. We have with us neither such an ideal scavenger nor such an ideal cook, but I have no doubt that the Ashram should produce a crop of them. There are several defects about the kind of tank you suggest. We cannot of course build a pukka tank. We may dig a temporary pit. But we can think about this further only when I go over there. In any case this much is certain, that the shallower the pit the better. The first nine inches of the soil is exceedingly valuable. It is within this depth that the germs decomposing the stools, etc., live. The effect of the sun's rays also is the greatest up to that depth. Moreover, a shallow pit is no obstacle to the use of night-soil as manure wherever required. Instead of burying night-soil where we do at present, we may adopt this method. We should get two pits made side by side, each eighteen inches deep and having a surface area of 36 sq. yards. After one pit is filled with night-soil we might start using the other for the purpose and, after the night-soil in the first pit has been transformed into manure, take the manure out leaving the pit to

dry up until the second pit gets filled with night-soil buried there. This method will serve the purpose behind Somabhai's suggestion and largely remove the difficulty pointed out by you. The lavatories should remain as they are, and we should master the art of keeping them as clean as possible. For this one of us must shoulder the responsibility. The working men will go on changing from time to time, and it is necessary that they should. It is, therefore, essential to have one inspector. It is not enough that he take a round in the morning and inspect the places. He should inspect the lavatories at least thrice a day. For maintaining greater cleanliness, it may also be necessary to have more buckets.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8986

428. LETTER TO RAMNIKLAL MODI

MATHURA,

November 6, 1929

CHI. RAMNIKLAL,

I have your letter. You have accepted a fairly heavy responsibility¹. Learn the art of preserving your health while discharging that responsibility. You must know for certain that so long as you have not learnt that art, you will not have cultivated perfect non-attachment. Chhaganlal is likely to reach here tomorrow.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4147

¹ Managership of the Ashram during the absence of Chhaganlal Joshi who had gone to Lahore

429. THE U.P. TOUR—VIII¹

ON THE PLAINS

Saharanpur was the first station visited² on the plains. Besides the usual meetings of men and women there was the students' meeting. There was a meeting of the students and teachers of the Kashiram High School who together gave Gandhiji the largest purse of the tour comparing their numbers with the numbers of the other schools and colleges. This evoked from Gandhiji a well-deserved compliment as also the frank admission in their address that the khadi he saw them wear at the meeting was only purchased for the occasion and they assured him that what they had commenced they proposed to continue. The wearing of khadi for the occasion only has taken place everywhere without there being any secret about it. But this was the first occasion when a frank and penitent admission of weakness was made and a definite assurance of shedding it given. I was told that the head master and the staff were earnest men and that they fully meant to carry out the promise they had made. Taking Deoband on the way the next halt was at Muzaffarnagar. From Muzaffarnagar we went to Meerut, taking Kandhla, Shamli and several other places on the way. We settled down to a heavy programme in the Meerut district.

WITH THE PRISONERS

We reached Meerut at 11 a.m.³ and had to tackle a ladies' meeting and a public meeting. But Meerut was the place where the famous Communist trial is taking place. Though as he remarked he was neither a Communist nor any other ist, he could not miss seeing the prisoners if he was permitted. The Superintendent readily granted the permission and though it meant considerable interference with his rest and the day's programme Gandhiji went to the jail precisely at 2 p.m. and gave himself a happy 1½ hours' time with the prisoners. The party squatted on the coir matting that was spread on the floor. The prisoners' cell was an open well-ventilated rectangle studded with charpais for them. The prisoners who were quite cheerful and gay greeted Gandhiji with 'we frankly did not expect you to visit us'.

¹ *Vide* footnote 2, "the U. P. Tour-VI", 24-10-1929

² On October 25, 1929

³ On October 27, 1929

Gandhiji at once replied, 'Of course you did not. You do not know me. I may have my differences with you. You may even cause me trouble at Congress meetings but my creed teaches me to go out of my way to show regard to my opponents and thus demonstrate to them that I can mean no ill to them. Moreover in the present case by coming here I wanted in my humble way to show in a practical manner that this prosecution is wrong and that in any event it is atrocious that you should be put under a heavy handicap by being tried in an inconvenient place like Meerut where you cannot get the facilities obtainable in the presidency towns for conducting a proper defence.' There was quite a variety of topics which the prisoners discussed with Gandhiji. They wanted to know the implications of the Calcutta resolution about Dominion Status. They wanted to know also why he was silent on Jatindra Nath's self-immolation, about strikes, etc. Interesting though the whole of the conversation was, I must not attempt to give the whole of it. Suffice it to say that Gandhiji kept them laughing the whole of the hour and a half he was with them. One could see that he was loath to part with them and when he could stay no longer he told them that if they were not free men before the end of December he expected to join them early next year.

I must omit many other interesting events of the Meerut tour.

GANDHI ASHRAM

Chaudhuri Raghubir Narain Singhji is an enthusiast in the national cause and a lover of khadi. He was in charge of the tour in Meerut and the surrounding villages. He had therefore prepared as heavy a programme as Gandhiji's health could stand. Out of the numerous engagements in Meerut itself and the rich experiences gained in the numerous villages visited I have time and space for picking out only two things. The first is Acharya Kripalani's Ashram and the second is the visit to the Chaudhuri Saheb's own village Asaura.

The Ashram which is named Gandhi Ashram was established in 1920 in Banaras when some students of the Hindu University left it and with Professor Kripalani established an Ashram. Those who have remained staunch throughout have developed into good businessmen. The members took up khadi work in 1921. The production then amounted to Rs. 48 and the sales to Rs. 3,011 [*sic*]. For the year ending October last the production was Rs. 129,189-8-0. The sales were Rs. 171,512-13-6. No wonder the Ashram has purchased property worth Rs. 35,000 away from the business centre

and on spacious ground. I regard it as a necessary and sound investment. Every available room is occupied. The Ashram has production, sales, dyeing, printing, washing and calendering departments. Its prints are day by day increasing in popularity, as indigenous art is being introduced in its prints and innovations are being continuously made. The price of one yard of 36" khadi in 1921 was as. 9. Today that quantity but improved in quality sells at as. 5. And yet they expect to reduce the price. The Ashram prices compare favourably with the ruling prices throughout India. It has 29 permanent workers, 14 apprentices and 11 servants. The salary paid during the year was Rs. 12,123-4-6 averaging about Rs. 18 per month per head. This includes the apprentices. No one gets or can get more than Rs. 50 per month. Only three workers are taking Rs. 50 each. Needless to say most of these workers would in the open market any day get double the amount they are drawing today. Some of them were brilliant University men.

Who can say that the khadi or the Ashram has not a big future? What is needed are workers with grit, self-sacrifice and ability. There is illimitable scope for them.

IN ASAURA

In Asaura of course there is a strong khadi atmosphere. It would be strange if such was not the case in the zamindari of a khadi lover such as the Chaudhuri Saheb is. But what delighted Gandhiji most was the discovery made in the ordinary course that the family mandir¹ which is open to the public has been open since the days of Non-co-operation to the so-called untouchables. And I have understood from the Chaudhuri Saheb himself that the throwing open the portals of the mandir to the untouchables has not in any way affected the attendance of the touchables. Like the Lakshmi Narayan temple of Seth Jamnalal of Wardha this too has an elegantly built structure. It adjoins the beautiful garden belonging to the zamindari. There is a precious courtyard attached to it and the courtyard contains a school attended by the untouchables. Here is an example for the zamindars to copy. There are thousands of temples in the thousands of zamindaris. There is nothing to prevent the zamindars from throwing open their temples to the untouchables and in other ways befriending them as the Chaudhuri Saheb has done.

Young India, 7-11-1929

¹ Temple

430. WHAT MAY YOUTH DO?

I got now some time ago a letter on behalf of the Agra Youth League asking the following question:

We are in the dark with regard to our main activities in future. We wish to co-operate with the peasants and neighbours of the locality but no practical method seems to be at hand. We hope that you will kindly suggest some practical way out of the difficulty. We think ours is not the only institution facing this difficulty. Accordingly it is highly desirable that you should suggest a definite solution of this problem through the columns of *Navajivan* or *Young India*.

The address of the Youth League at Gorakhpur¹ contained a similar sentiment and also asked how to face the bread problem that stared the youth in the face. In my opinion the two questions are intertwined and both can be solved, if the youth can be persuaded to make village life their goal rather than city life. We are inheritors of a rural civilization. The vastness of our country, the vastness of the population, the situation and the climate of the country have, in my opinion, destined it for a rural civilization. Its defects are well known but not one of them is irremediable. To uproot it and substitute for it an urban civilization seems to me an impossibility, unless we are prepared by some drastic means to reduce the population from three hundred million to three or say even thirty. I can therefore suggest remedies on the assumption that we must perpetuate the present rural civilization and endeavour to rid it of its acknowledged defects. This can only be done if the youth of the country will settle down to village life. And if they will do this they must reconstruct their life and pass every day of their vacation in the villages surrounding their colleges or high schools and those who have finished their education or are not receiving any should think of settling down in villages. The All-India Spinners' Association with all its multifarious branches and institutions that have sprung up under its protection affords an easy opportunity to the students to qualify themselves for service and to maintain themselves honourably if they will be satisfied with the simple life which obtains in the villages. It maintains nearly 1500 young men of the country drawing anything between Rs. 15 to Rs. 150, and it can take in almost an unlimited number of earnest, honest and industrious young men who will not be ashamed of manual work.

¹ Gandhiji was in Gorakhpur district between October 4 and 7.

Then there are national educational institutions affording a similar though limited scope, limited only because national education is not in fashion. I therefore commend to the attention of all earnest young men who are dissatisfied with their existing surroundings and outlook to study these two great national institutions which are doing silent but most effective constructive work and which present the youth of the country with an opportunity both for service and for honourable maintenance. Whether however they avail themselves of these two great nation-building agencies or do not, let them penetrate the villages and find an unlimited scope for service, research and true knowledge. Professors would do well not to burden either their boys or girls with literary studies during the vacation but prescribe to them educative outings in the villages. Vacations must be utilized for recreation, never for memorizing books.

Young India, 7-11-1929

431. KHADDAR FRANCHISE

Lala Har Dayal Nag writes a letter on the working of the khaddar clause in the Congress constitution. I take from that letter the following relevant extract¹:

I was the President of the Tippera District Congress Committee of which the annual general meeting came off on the 27th ultimo. The meeting was timed to be held at Comilla.... Just after my arrival I was asked by some friends not to give any ruling on the dress of the members and to allow all, including those who are not habitual wearers of khaddar, to vote. I refused to comply.... This did not satisfy my friends and I was asked not to preside at the meeting. I could find no other way of satisfying them than by resigning the president hip. I accordingly wrote out a letter of resignation and handed it over to them.

I did not go to the meeting. . . . My letter of resignation was not placed before it. One of the Vice-Presidents was voted to the chair. After the disposal of some preliminary matters objection was raised to the non-khaddar dress of many members present. The president of the meeting ruled that the clause "habitual wearers of khaddar" did not require the members to wear khaddar at the time of voting. This ruling produced an unhappy division among the members present.... Those who thought that none but the habitual wearers of khaddar could vote seceded from the meeting and held a separate meeting.... The questions that arise from these facts are: (I) Is the ruling of the president of

¹ Only excerpts are reproduced here.

the original meeting about the khaddar wearing rule of the Congress correct? (2) If not, does the violation of the Congress rule invalidate the Committee formed at the original meeting? (3) If this Committee be found invalid, is the Committee formed by the seceders valid? In my humble opinion these are very important questions. I therefore request you to answer them through the pages of *Young India*, if possible.

If what Lala Har Dayal Nag says is true, it betrays an unfortunate state of affairs. Apart from the question whether khaddar wear should be obligatory or not on Congress voters at Congress meetings, it seems to me to be an extraordinary procedure for anyone to suggest to the President-elect not to give any ruling which is entirely within his province. Stranger still is the procedure said to have been adopted at the meeting itself where Lala Har Dayal Nag's letter was not even read. Such proceedings unperceivably but unmistakably weaken the hold of the Congress on the public and make the immediate Congress workers lax in discipline and manners. So far as the working of the khaddar clause is concerned, I cannot help saying that the ruling of the chair was totally wrong. The plain grammatical, common sense meaning of the clause is that a voter should not only be wearing khaddar from head to foot at the time of voting but that he should be a habitual wearer of khaddar. I am certainly of opinion that if any members were allowed to vote in breach of the rule, the proceedings of the Committee were void *pro tanto*. I do not think that the Committee itself became invalid by reason of an irregular procedure adopted at a particular meeting. That a recalcitrant Committee might be disbanded in the exercise of the extreme powers of the President of the Working Committee is another matter. The seceders could not form a Committee of their own without the previous sanction of the Working Committee of the Congress. Such is my opinion as a layman. If Lala Har Dayal Nag wishes a proper ruling on the points raised by him he should, in due course, refer the matter to the President.

But Lala Har Dayal Nag's letter raised too the important question of the utility of the khaddar clause in the Congress constitution. My own personal view is well known. Khaddar has caught the imagination of the masses as no other constructive effort has. That the town-dwellers who flock to the Congress meetings flout the clause is to me a reason for stiffening the procedure for enforcing the rule, not its abrogation. But my opinion should most decidedly be set aside if the majority of those who are running the Congress

machinery do not like the rule or do not intend to carry it out. I have been told that the clause is retained only for my sake and that if the members could be persuaded to think that I shall not be hurt by its removal, it will go today. Those who think so pay me a poor compliment, do themselves an injustice and the Congress a positive disservice. For the sake of a cause we must dare to offend even the most eminent among us. In my case there is no question of offending me. Those who will not, for my sake, do what they think proper, do not know me and most certainly offend me.

Young India, 7-11-1929

432. CLOSE UP

I am given to understand that the Punjab which is to have the honour of holding the Congress session this year is still not united and that the party spirit runs high. If the information given to me is true, I hope that the responsible men and women belonging to different parties will put the nation before party, put the honour of the country before self, pocket false pride and bring together under the Congress banner all who may be under their influence including themselves. The Punjab must rally round the Congress and its young President and show by exemplary manners that we are well able to subject ourselves to discipline and thus govern ourselves by working harmoniously under one great national organization.

Young India, 7-11-1929

433. NOTES

IS IT TRUE?

The manifesto¹ which bears the signatures of Pandit Motilalji, Dr. Ansari, Dr. Besant, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, the Rt. Hon. Sastri, M. Mahomed Ali, and other leaders of public opinion is based upon trust. The signatories have, in spite of indications to the contrary, put on the Viceroy's statement² about Dominion Status a construction which may prove to have been wholly unwarranted. The Dominion Status contemplated by the Viceroy's declaration may be as indefinite and illusory as the 'responsible Government' of 1919. There can however

¹ *Vide* "All-Parties Leaders Joint Statement", 2-11-1929

² *Vide* "Viceroy's Statement", 31-10-1929

be no doubt about Lord Irwin's sincerity. Even therefore if the high expectations raised by the Viceregal pronouncement are not realized, the reciprocation of the sincerity evinced by the manifesto will have done no harm to the country. It will provide further justification for any strong action that the Congress may feel called upon to take at its forthcoming session. Had the signatories rejected what appears to be the Viceregal advance, they might easily have put themselves in the wrong. But let us entertain the hope that the pronouncement is all that the signatories believe it to be and that a new era is about to dawn upon unhappy India.

There may be no mistaking the intentions of the signatories. Stripped of the courtesy becoming a document of that nature, the co-operation promised there is conditional upon certain events happening. They are all easy of fruition, if the interpretation put upon Lord Irwin's pronouncement is correct. For if the contemplated Conference is to result in India obtaining a charter of Dominion Status, there must be amnesty, the composition of the Conference must be thoroughly nationalistic and the administration must from now correspond as nearly as possible to Dominion Status. The charter to be true must be simply a register of an accomplished fact. The face of the land will not be suddenly changed at the moment the charter is signed. If the Viceroy's statement signifies a real change of heart, everything is easy. Then Dominion Status is from now. If it means no change of heart, any charter however tempting it may be to look at will be but a piece of waste paper to be thrown into the basket designed for such papers.¹

Young India, 7-11-1929

434. VIRTUE OF SELF-RESTRAINT

Madam Clara Burger-von Dubu who signs herself as "daughter and widow of a German University professor, whose husband fell in the War 1916, mother of two sons, two daughters, for some time here (Italy) in a Dutch friend's house, to whom she owes the knowledge of *Young India*" writes as follows from Italy:²

Will you allow a mother to add some words to your article "Influence of

¹ *Vide* also "Conditions for Co-operation", 10-11-1929.

² Only excerpts are reproduced here.

Attitudes”, *Young India* 37?¹ I perfectly agree with you that “birth-control by contraceptives is race suicide,” . . . No action has so deep an influence and far reaching in consequences as this terribly abused act destined to create “Images of God”. In it we ought to conceive the Mystery of Incarnation in love, not in animal instinct, as a consecration of spirit, soul and body.

Thus marriage becomes a sacrament, the highest religion, in which the greatest contrasts are blended: crossing and crucifixion—life and death.

Young India, 7-11-1929

435. THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE

From the addresses I am receiving in the United Provinces I have come to know many things. In this article I wish to consider them only from the point of view of language. I have with me three examples from which I choose the following sentences²: These three are examples of Hindi or Hindustani, that is, the national language. One is stuffed with only Persian-Arabic words which an average Hindu will not be able to follow. Another is replete with Sanskrit words which an average Muslim can never understand. The third is such that it can be grasped by any average Hindu or Muslim. Here, Sanskrit or Arabic-Persian words do not appear to be deliberately avoided or chosen. If we wish to make Hindi the national language, if Hindus and Muslims both wish to build up unity, we cannot deliberately banish Sanskrit or Arabic-Persian words. That is to say, while writing or speaking the language, we should not harbour hatred in our minds towards each other or towards each other’s speech. On the other hand, there should be love for each other. When a Muslim finds a Hindu using Persian-Arabic words, he feels pleased. In the same manner, the Hindu’s regard for the Muslim grows when he aptly uses Sanskrit words also on occasion.

By adopting suitable words from all the three languages Hindi is enriched and gains in prestige; the language becomes sweeter. The fact is, if we do not harbour hatred for a particular language, we shall not feel embarrassed in borrowing from it to enrich and develop our language.

Shri Ramnaresh Tripathi writes in the preface to his book

¹ *Vide* “Influence of Attitudes”, 16-9-1926

² Not translated here

Gramya Geet¹:

The number of words most used in the essays and books that are written in Hindi nowadays will not exceed three hundred according to my estimate. Within so few words is all Hindi learning circumscribed. We think, write essays or books and give speeches within this narrow compass. How many things used every day in our homes, fields and factories have no Hindi names and how many ideas have no appropriate Hindi words?

If this is true, it is very sad and shameful; it is a sign of poverty of thought. It is said that Shakespeare used 20,000 words in his works, and Milton 10,000 words. What a wealth of words in their language and what poverty in ours! In spite of this state of affairs, if we wish to make our national language glorious, then, at least for its own sake we must increase our knowledge. It is not a matter of shame to borrow words from another language and make them our own. It is shameful only when we do not know the words current in our language and therefore use those of another; for example, when we forget the word *ghar* and say *house*, or employ *mother* for *mata*, *father* for *pita*, *husband* for *pati* and *wife* for *patni*.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 7-11-1929

436. LETTER TO M. MUJEEB

CAMP BRINDABAN,

November 7, 1929

MY DEAR MUJEEB²,

I had a chat with Dr. Ansari about you in Delhi and Dr. Ansari undertook to speak to your father himself and ensure your allowance from him. He asked me not to worry about you. In Aligarh I made it a special point to speak to your brother³. It was there that I discovered that he was Sohaila's⁴ husband. And Sohaila to me is like my own daughter. Such is the intimacy I have the privilege to enjoy with the Tyabji family. I had therefore much less hesitation to speak to your brother than I would have had without a knowledge of this

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Ramnaresh Tripathi", 28-10-1929

² Joined the Jamia Millia in 1926; became its Vice-Chancellor in 1948.

³ Professor Mohammed Habib

⁴ Abbas Tyabji's daughter

relationship. To my agreeable surprise I found your brother to be most receptive and reasonable. I did not need to argue with him at all. As soon as I mentioned the matter he said he would do as I asked him to and he agreed that you should be supported by your father and brothers. He seemed to be quite proud of you and proud of the fact that you were serving the Jamia. Sohaila was present during the whole of the conversation. I mentioned Rs. 150 as that was the sum you thought would be enough for you. Devdas just now tells me that your brother told him subsequent to the conversation with me that Rs. 150 might not be enough for you. I hope however that you will so regulate your life as to make Rs. 150 pay your way. If you are now restored to health completely I would like you to go to Delhi at once and take up your work. Your brother asked me to write to your father which I am doing today.¹

I must not omit one thing your brother wanted me to speak to you about. He told me that you did not listen to him in anything. I said in reply that such could not be the case unless it was on matters of vital principle. Anyway you know exactly what Habib means. I would like you to write to him if you at all feel up to it a sweet letter. I must confess that by his humility and yet dignified bearing he captured me entirely.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 15749

437. A LETTER

BRINDABAN,

November 7, 1929

BHAISHRI . . .²,

You are right in saying that we should not imitate others in our behaviour. Our guiding star must only be the ideal in which we believe. Let us not worry if all our neighbours cannot reach it. But I found another thing in your letter which I cannot endorse. Both of you disapprove of the behaviour of the Ashram inmates. I see a certain lack of generosity in this. We need to be as generous to our

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Mohamad Nasim", 8-11-1929.

² The name is omitted in the source.

neighbours and co-workers as we need to be strict with ourselves. One reason for this can be grasped by the intellect. We can easily see others' shortcomings, but can never know about their efforts and the success of these efforts. It does not mean much to us if a man has successfully lived a life of purity for fifty long years. But if, after fifty years, he is found to have fallen just one day, he immediately loses all value in our eyes. My personal opinion about the inmates of the Ashram is that all of them are striving to the best of their abilities. I observe regarding the Ashram experiments that if persons who did not before now live in society with family ties with anybody are required to do so, their failings are easily noticed. Consider all these points, and if you feel that I am right revise your attitude. After cautioning you thus, I wish you to explain what failings you have noticed in the Ashram inmates and in whom. I may then, if I think it necessary to do so, be able to bring those failings to the notice of the persons concerned.

It is sad that you are not able fully to observe *brahmacharya* in thought. But I see no need for you to leave the Ashram for that reason. It is of course our aim to acquire control over the mind, and so long as you are sincerely striving for the both the Ashram and you are safe. But anyone who nurses impure thoughts inwardly and only refrains from giving them concrete expression certainly does not deserve to be in the Ashram.

From a copy of the Gujarati: Kusumbehn Desai's Diary. S.N. 32578/84

438. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

BRINDABAN,

November 8, 1929

MY DEAR JAWAHAR,

I have your letter¹. You must have got my wire². You must not resign just now. . I have not the time to argue out my point. All I know is that it will affect the national cause. There is no hurry and no principle at stake. About the crown³, no one else can wear it. It never was to be a crown of roses. Let it be all thorns now. If I could have

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Jawaharlal Nehru", 8-11-1929,

² *Vide* "Telegram to Jawaharlal Nehru", 6-11-1929

³ Presidentship of the Congress

persuaded myself to wear it, I would have done so at Lucknow¹. The contingency I had in mind when I would be forced to wear it was not of this type. One of them was your arrest and increased repression. But let us reserve the whole of this for calm and detached discussion when we meet.

Meanwhile may God give you peace.

BAPU

A Bunch of Old Letters, PP. 77-8

439. LETTER TO NIDHALAL NIDHISH

CAMP BRINDABAN,
November 8, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter and your gifts for which I thank you. I cannot withhold from you my grief that you had insisted on my calling at your house to receive your gift. I thought that it was decided that I was not to stop near your house and I was absolutely taken aback when the car suddenly stopped. I felt that it was some other place where, for some reason unknown to me, the car was stopped. The companion who was with me was not present at the time.

The other companions had come to the conclusion that it would be wrong to make me stop at your door or anywhere else for receiving single donations when you could have easily paid your donation at the public meeting or sent your donation to the place of my sojourn. You can easily imagine the embarrassment caused to me if I was called upon to go to individual houses to receive purses of Rs. 21. You can understand how physically impossible it would be if such requests were multiplied and there is no reason why others should not do what one man takes in his head a fancy for doing. I must confess to you that had I known that I was being taken to the house where it was decided I was not to be taken I would have refused to receive the purse. Now of course the thing is finished. My letter to you is for future guidance.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. NIDHALAL NIDHISH

NIDHISH NIKETAN, ALIGARH

From a photostat: S.N. 15751

¹ At the A.I.C.C. meeting held on 28-9-1929

440. LETTER TO MOHAMAD NASIM

CAMP BRINDABAN,
November 8, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I had the pleasure of meeting your son Prof. Habib in Aligarh and it gave me the greatest pleasure to understand that he was my old friend and co-worker Abbas Tyabji's son-in-law. I knew that Sohaila was married to a Lucknow man who was a professor in Aligarh but I did not know that he was also Mujeeb's brother. I had a chat with him about Mujeeb. You may know that I dote on Mujeeb. He is one of the purest minded young men whom I have the pleasure of knowing. Mujeeb is an acquisition to the Jamia. The Jamia is passing through a financial crisis. Many professors have cut down their honorarium to Rs. 75 per month. Hitherto you have been good enough not only to give Mujeeb to Jamia but to support him. Mujeeb told me that you had now refused to give him your support. Will you not reconsider your decision and not only bless Mujeeb in his work at the Jamia but also give him all the financial assistance he may need which I was glad to be informed you were well able to do? If Mujeeb was not working in a poor national institution I would fully appreciate your refusal to support him for I do believe in parents not pampering their children. But here it is not a question of supporting a pampered boy but supporting an institution to which he has the spirit of sacrifice enough to dedicate himself without reserve. Professor Habib Was good enough to assure me that he would have no objection to supporting Mujeeb. It will be a great relief to me and I am sure to Jamia staff to feel the assurance that you would support Mujeeb. Yes, I am anxious to have your reply as early as you can send it to me. I give you my dates during the week following:

November 10th and 11th	Shahjahanpur
„ 12th	Lakhimpur or Sitapur
„ 13th	Rae Bareili
„ 14th	Kalakankar
„ 15th-18th	Allahabad

Yours sincerely,

MOHAMAD NASIM, ESQ.

ADVOCATE

BUTLER ROAD, LUCKNOW

From a photostat: S.N. 15752

441. TELEGRAM TO SHANTIKUMAR MORARJEE

CAMP HATHRAS,
November 8, 1929

SHANTIKUMAR
SHANTIBHAVAN
PEDDAR ROAD
BOMBAY

JUST RECEIVED JAMNALALJI'S WIRE ADVISING FATHER'S¹
DEATH. DEEPEST SYMPATHY YOUR GRIEF. CONSOLE
MOTHER² MY BEHALF. SHE AND YOU AND OTHERS
MUST USE YOUR FAITH IN GOD SUSTAIN YOU.
MAY GOD ENABLE YOU TO BEAR BURDEN. JAMNALALJI WANTS ME
ENQUIRE IF YOU NEED HIS ASSISTANCE ADVICE. TOUR PROGRAMME IN
"YOUNG INDIA".

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 15754

442. TELEGRAM TO BAJAJ

CAMP HATHRAS,
November 8, 1929

SETH JAMNALALJI
WARDHA

JUST TELEGRAPHED SHANTIKUMAR CONDOLENCES AND
YOUR OFFER. CONSIDER YOUR PRESENCE ALLAHABAD³
VERY ADVISABLE THOUGH NOT ABSOLUTELY NECES-
SARY. ATTEND IF POSSIBLE.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 15755

¹ Narottam Morarjee who died on November 4

² Addressee's grandmother

³ For the A.I.C.C. meeting scheduled for November 16, 1929

443. LETTER TO ALBERT M. TODD

CAMP HATHRAS,
November 8, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter of 25th September. I do not remember having told you in my letter¹ that we would be having an election campaign in the spring and at that time I would be glad to receive financial help from you. It may interest you to know that I do not take part either directly or indirectly in any election campaign, being wholly against ourselves having anything to do with election campaigns till we have got redress according to our demands. I enclose herewith a copy of the latest number of *Young India* which I am editing. This will give you some notion of my activities. And if you are still further interested you can have upon application to Mr. S. Ganesan, Printer and Publisher, Triplicane, Madras, a copy of my writings in book form.

Yours sincerely,

ALBERT M. TODD, ESQ.

KALAMAZOO

MICHIGAN (U.S.A.)

From a photostat: S.N. 15600

444. LETTER TO GIRIRAJKISHORE

CAMP HATHRAS,
November 8, 1929

MY DEAR GIRIRAJ,

I have your letter. I hope by this time you have no fever and that you have regained your whole strength. Your description of the discourse with the Magistrate does not show dignity about it. I should resent the word charity. Though we are under a vow of non-possession and poverty we do not live on charity. You may discuss this problem with Kishorilal and accept his judgment

¹ *Vide* "Letter to albert M. Todd", 15-7-1929

implicitly in this matter. I am still keeping well. You must tell me what progress you have made in your work.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. GIRIRAJ

SURAJMAL ONKARMAL'S CHAWL

MATUNGA

From a microfilm: S.N. 15619

445. LETTER TO PEN HASSELROT

CAMP HATHRAS,

November 8, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter as also the sum mentioned in it by you.¹ I enclose herewith the form sent by you duly receipted. The second volume of [*The Story of*] *My Experiments with Truth* may be translated by you whenever you wish to upon the same terms as the first.

Yours faithfully,

ENCL. 1

PEN HASSELROT, ESQ.

POSTGIRO 675, STOCKHOLM 7

From a microfilm: S.N. 15652

446. LETTER TO MURIEL LESTER

CAMP HATHRAS,

November 8, 1929

I have your letter. As there was nothing particular to write to you about I have been silent because there is not one moment to spare. But I am following your work from the letters you send me. I am asking the *Young India* Manager to put you on the complimentary list so that you may continue to get your *Young India* whether you send the subscription or not and henceforth if you really

¹ The addressee had written that the translation of the first volume of An Autobiography had been published and had sent a sum of £11-0-5d.

cannot afford it do not pinch yourself and send the subscription. You have a right to receive a free copy. You will see what I have done in connection with the Viceregal letter.¹ I do not know what will come out of it. Write to Mohanlal yourself asking him to send a complimentary copy to you.

MURIEL LESTER

KINGSLEY HALL, BOW. E/3

From a photostat: S.N. 15677

447. LETTER TO A. A. PAUL

CAMP HATHRAS,

November 8, 1929

MY DEAR RAJAN,

I have your letter as also the minutes². I went through the minutes perfunctorily. I have hardly time for more. Of course I have studies on the *Gita*³ in mind but I have almost despaired of getting the time for them. Let me however hope and pray. I am keeping well. Thank you.

Yours sincerely,

A. A. PAUL, ESQ.

FEDERATION OF INTERNATIONAL FELLOWSHIPS, MADRAS

From a photostat: S.N. 15728

¹ *Vide* "All-Parties Leaders Joint Statement", 2-11-1929

² Of the meeting of the Council of the Federation of International Fellowships

³ The addressee had sent a copy of Studies in the Gospels by Verrier Elwin and wanted to have Gandhiji's studies on the Gita mainly for the use of Hindu students.

448. LETTER TO LADY MONCRIEFF-SMITH

CAMP HATHRAS,
November 8, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter¹ for which I thank you. The monies that I receive are earmarked for Certain definite charitable purposes. I am therefore unable to use them for any other purpose however laudable it may be.

Yours sincerely,

LADY MONCRIEFF-SMITH

CHAIRMAN, DELHI HEALTH AND BABY WEEK 1930

19 AKBAR ROAD, NEW DELHI

From a photostat: S.N. 15739

449. LETTER TO SHANKERLAL BANKER

CAMP HATHRAS,
November 8, 1929

MY DEAR SHANKERLAL,

Here is a letter I received from Lala Shankarlal. I would like you to reply to it in detail and send it to me. And if Manilal Kothari is there I would like you to get his reply also but even if he is not there you may send a Copy of this letter to him and get him to send a reply as early as possible.

Yours sincerely,

Encl. 2

SJT. SHANKERLAL BANKER

ALL-INDIA SPINNERS' ASSOCIATION

MIRZAPUR, AHMEDABAD

From a microfilm: S.N. 15753

¹ Requesting Gandhiji to contribute some funds for an exhibition on the dangers of tuberculosis

450. LETTER TO "KAISER-I-HIND"

CAMP HATHRAS,
November 8, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your circular letter dated 26th October. The only thing I can say with reference to the Viceroy's declaration is that unless there is a full response to what must be frankly considered to be the conditions enumerated in the leaders' manifesto there can be no peace.

Yours sincerely,

THE EDITOR, "KAISER-I-HIND"
FORT, BOMBAY

From a photostat: S.N. 15757

451. LETTER TO UNDER-SECRETARY, HINDUSTANI
SEVA DAL

CAMP HATHRAS,
November 8, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

With reference to your enquiry I am sorry I have not got the repatriation rules regarding indentured labourers at the Assam Tea Plantations but you are likely to have them either from Pt. Banarsidas Chaturvedi, *Vishal Bharat*¹, Calcutta, or Servants of India Society, Poona.

Yours sincerely,

THE UNDER-SECRETARY
HINDUSTANI SEVA DAL
HUBLI

From a microfilm: S.N. 15758

¹ A nationalist Hindi daily

452. LETTER TO K. SANTANAM

CAMP HATHRAS,
November 8, 1929

MY DEAR SANTANAM,

I enclose herewith copy of reply¹ from Satis Babu of Khadi Pratishthan in reply to my enquiry. Chhaganlal Joshi and Subramaniam are now with you. You will do whatever you think proper.

Yours sincerely,

Encl. 1

PT. K. SANTANAM

From a microfilm: S.N. 15759

453. LETTER TO N. R. MALKANI

CAMP HATHRAS,
November 8, 1929

MY DEAR MALKANI,

I am surprised that you had not heard from me up to the 28th ultimo, the date of your letter. I hope however that you did receive the letter after the despatch of yours. In any case now you do not need my letter as you have made up with Jamshedji². I hope the work³ will go on without a hitch now.

Yours sincerely,

BAPU

SJT. MALKANI

TILAK CONGRESS BHAWAN
HYDERABAD, SIND

From a photostat: G.N. 897

¹ Satis Chandra Das Gupta had written: "Lahore Exhibition Committee may gracefully agree to let khadi have (1) free stalls (2) free food tickets for exhibition, and (3) free housing in special huts within the exhibition grounds."

² Jamshedji N. R. Mehta, Mayor of Karachi

³ Flood relief work in Sind

454. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

CAMP HATHRAS,
November 8, 1929

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I have your letter. You did not tell me anything about your going to Rajahmundry but I knew from Dr. Pattabhi that you had gone there and I was glad. I understand what you say about Utkal. I would love to go to Utkal after the Congress if I get the time. But whether I do or not there need be no difficulty about finding funds for Utkal if they are really required, that is to say, deserved. It would be quite good if you and Shankerlal go there before we meet at Wardha. Sukhendu's death is a murder.¹ The world's history shows that you cannot be violent towards one and non-violent towards another. All our violence is bound to recoil upon our heads more and more as we go on and if we do not retrace our steps. We will have to discover a method of dealing with this violence among ourselves. Of course there is not one word in Hind Swaraj that cannot be substantiated. If I have to rewrite it today I may change the language but never the thought. I hope you are much stronger. How is Hemprabhadevi? Whether I write to her or not she must give me an occasional letter. Correspondence is still going on with the Exhibition Committee about the charges. I am passing on the relevant extracts from your letter to Pt. Santanam.²

With reference to Utkal I have not attached any importance to Govind Babu's insinuations about Niranjana Babu. However I have written to him³ a strong letter either to substantiate his innuendoes or to apologize for having made them.

With love,

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 1611

¹ *Vide* footnote 2, "Letter to S. M. Joshi", 3-11-1929

² *Vide* "Letter to K. Santanam", 8-11-1929

³ On November 3; *vide* "Letter to C. P. Mathew", 3-11-1929

455. LETTER TO SHANTIKUMAR MORARJEE

HATHRAS,
November 8, 1929

CHI. SHANTIKUMAR,

You must have received the telegram which I sent you today. I read about it in a newspaper only a while ago and soon after I had a telegram from Jamnalal. I was shocked. How did this accident happen? I make this inquiry because Jamnalalji, according to his nature, has left it to me to ask you if you need any advice or help. You are brave and I have no doubt that you will show patience. Why should we grieve when we know that the way Father has gone is the way all of us are destined to go? Mataji has knowledge and self-control and, therefore, she is bound to be above joy or sorrow. Bring honour to Father's mantle which you inherit. In all your work act with great patience. I should like you to write to me regularly for some time.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati. C.W. 4716. Courtesy: Shantikumar Morarjee

456. LETTER TO RAMNIKLAL MODI

HATHRAS,
November 8, 1929

CHI. RAMNIKLAL,

I have not received any mail from you today. A letter on the Bank is enclosed with this, which you may use if necessary.

Ba and Devdas have gone to Shahabad today to attend a women's meeting. Others have gone to Etah ahead of me.

Maintain your health in excellent condition.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Chhaganlal has separated from the party today and left for the Punjab.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4148

457. LETTER TO MATHURADAS PURUSHOTTAM

ETAH,
November 9, 1929

CHI. MATHURADAS¹,

I have the letter you wrote while on your way to Karachi. Has Jivandas's death increased your responsibilities? Has he made any provision for his widow? Or can she support herself? As I view things, it should be the duty of every husband devoted to his wife to teach her at the earliest opportunity to be self-reliant. To leave money for her is, according to me, the lowest of duties. Of course, if one keeps the wife always dependent on oneself, the only course then is to leave money for her. The logical thing is that, as a wife does not leave money for her husband and, if she does, the latter feels ashamed, a wife too, should feel so if the husband leaves money for her. About the children, too, my thinking has been on the same lines, as you must have seen from my article in *Navajivan*. In the light of this, your duty to the widowed sister lies, not in supporting her for life if she is penniless, but in teaching her to be resolute and self-reliant.

The progress of the spinning-wheel class is slow because still there are very few persons who recognize spinning as a science and are interested in it as a science. Because of these two factors we do not have a tradition of good teachers. Moreover, you will observe that we have not so far had even one single teacher who has clung to the work throughout after once taking it up. As you have understood this secret, I hope that you will stick to this work and do well in it.

I hope that both of you are keeping good health.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3733

¹ An expert carder and khadi worker at Sabarmati Ashram

458. LETTER TO ISHWARLAL JOSHI

BADAYUN,

November 9, 1929

CHI. ISHWARLAL,

As long as you were at the Ashram it was not necessary for you to write to me except when there was some reason. But now it is necessary that you should. You may write to me whenever you have any difficulty.

Blessings from

BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 9280. Courtesy: Ishwarlal Joshi

459. A LETTER

November 9, 1929

In order to avoid social disapproval it is one's duty to refrain from doing a thing one need not do. Where a principle is likely to be violated, one should put up with any degree of disapproval, but where no question of principle is involved one should avoid social disapproval.

From a copy of the Gujarati: Kusumbehn Desai's Diary. S.N. 32579/3

460. A LETTER

November 9, 1929

CHI. . . .¹,

How can you dry up? If you know my plight, you would not expect any letter from me. It has become quite difficult to cope with the writing work. I have returned from Karaganj quite exhausted, but from the moment I returned, that is from seven-thirty, I have been busy writing or dictating. Raghavachari has been typing. I am dictating this at a quarter to ten. I will have to send someone to Mathura especially to post this letter at eleven. But whether I write or not, I shall expect your letters.

¹The name is omitted in the source.

My question regarding *Navajivan* and *Young India* still remains unanswered.

From a copy of the Gujarati: Kusumbehn Desai's Diary. S.N. 32579/4

461. A LETTER

November 9, 1929

BHAISHRI . . .¹,

I do not think it is part of religion to regard a woman in her periods as untouchable. I think the restriction must have had its origin in the knowledge that man is lustful. If I am right in my belief, everyone should examine the strength of his or her passion and formulate his or her own rule.

From a copy of the Gujarati: Kusumbehn Desai's Diary. S.N. 32579/2

462. LETTER TO RANCHHODLAL

ETAH,

November 9, 1929

CHI. RANCHHODLAL,

Your article is bound to contain technical terms and jargon which only experts can understand. None the less you can so simplify it that readers with some general knowledge can follow its meaning if they read it carefully. In the West many such attempts have been made. Jules Verne's books have been so written that even people who have not studied science are able to understand them and read them with interest. He has written whole novel in that style. The ability to write in that way is also an art.

I have read one of the American articles, the one in which there is criticism of the prize. I will comment on it in *Young India*². I will read the other article and write to you about it if necessary. I am not at present placing the spinning-wheel before the whole world because even here it is still in the experimental stage. But I am convinced that the people of the West will be forced to adopt the spinning-wheel if

¹ The name is omitted in the source.

² Vide "Implications of the Wheel", 21-11-1929.

they do not do so voluntarily. If India becomes really free, she can do nothing else. America, England, Australia and other countries of the West are able to make money with machines which are superior to human beings because they export what they produce. If every nation became self-reliant, many of their industries would close down. If all nations became equally efficient, — and they should become so —, exchange of goods would be so much reduced that America which earns millions of rupees today will not be able to do so. In that case life would naturally have to be made simple and the lifeless machines would to a great extent have to be abandoned. I am not the only one who thinks along these lines. The number of those who think in the same way is growing day by day.

From a copy of the Gujarati: Kusumbehn Desai's Diary. S.N. 32578/86

463. LETTER TO PRABHUDAS GANDHI

ETAH,

November 9, 1929

CHI. PRABHUDAS,¹

For the present, you ought to write to me twice a week at least. Fix Mondays and Thursdays for doing so. It will do even if it is only a postcard. You ought to give me an account of the state of your body and mind. You should also tell me what is your present diet. Moreover, you should also give me some idea of the experiences you have had at that place. How is Ishwarlal getting along? Does he get proper material for his study of English?

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: S.N. 33007

¹ The letters are in a different hand but the subscription in both is by Gandhiji.

464. A MISTAKE IN BARDOLI?

A correspondent writes:¹

Just as a person cannot see his own back, he cannot see his own faults! Hence wise men have advised us that we should be prepared to see those faults in ourselves which others find in us and point out to us and we should not insult through anger or impatience those who do so. Being aware of this, I have always welcomed those who have pointed out my faults. But I am always faced with a serious dilemma: everyone does not see the same faults. That which seems a virtue to some appears to be a failing to others. What should a person like me do when faced with such a difficult situation? When such a dilemma arises, if one is not convinced despite considering the critic's observations dispassionately, one should follow the dictates of one's inner voice. I am in such a predicament with regard to Bardoli. Until this day, I have felt that I have served the country and the world by calling off the Bardoli struggle. I am confident that history will look upon it as a form of perfect satyagraha and not as an act of cowardice. On my part, I have seen even its results to be excellent. If I had deliberately continued the struggle, the nation would have been crushed. As a result of the postponement of the struggle, the nation has made progress, though at a slow rate, its thinking power has increased and the awakening that followed in its wake has been stabilized.

The opinion expressed by the Governor of Bombay or any other official is irrelevant. It is not possible for an outsider to think of a solution that suggests itself to a person directly involved. I, as the leader, or my companions who are involved in the struggle alone can judge it. A commander who gives up his own opinions as a result of being influenced by the criticism made by others is fit to be dismissed. He must have the capacity to assess his own decisions; failing this, he should never take such a responsibility upon himself.

Having said so much in support of my decision, I am prepared to admit that it is possible that my being a Bania by birth prevents me from perceiving my cowardice. If that failing remains, it is

¹ The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had referred to the reported remarks about India being within an inch of swaraj when the non-co-operation movement was withdrawn after the Chauri Chaura incident in February 1922.

unavoidable. But it is for the people to decide whether to overlook this failing or to reject my services because of it. People wish to be served and yet desire perfection—how can both these be possible? I must also add here that I do not recall having admitted defeat in any struggle. The struggle which was begun in 1920-21 has not yet ended. I have not admitted defeat. I live in the hope of either winning swaraj in this birth or dying while fighting for it. There is no such thing as defeat in satyagraha. Once a satyagrahi has chalked out his path, he never retreats from it. Anyone who does so is not a satyagrahi.

It is not necessary now to discuss the question as to what I would do if incidents similar to those of Chauri Chaura occur again. This is so because I do not have the capacity to take such a decision in advance. It is my desire to plan my strategy by taking into account incidents such as those which took place in Chauri Chaura so that we can deal with them when the time comes for launching the struggle. I do not know whether it is possible to plan this way or not. While man aspires and tries,; it is for God to fulfil his wishes.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 10-11-1929

465. *THE YOUTH AND AGRICULTURE*

A co-worker who has received modern education and wishes to become self-reliant by taking to farming writes:¹

I sincerely regard myself as a farmer. Some people were amused at my evidence in the court. I had described my profession as farmer and weaver². Even today, if my ability is taken into consideration, I have no right to call myself a farmer, but I have no doubt that my flesh and blood are those of a farmer. I am fascinated by the farmer's life. I am a worshipper of his natural virtues and I envy him his indifference to death. When I see his sturdy physique, I take pity on my own frail body. I have had personal experience of the fact that the common sense which he possesses can never be acquired in schools. I do not feel ashamed of cleaning latrines, of sweeping or of handling the spade and the hoe; on the contrary, I like doing these things. Hence I know that, if I give up that which I have come to regard as service or am forced to give it up, and I continue to be physically fit, I

¹ The letter is not translated here.

² *Vide* "Message to Bombay", 11-3-1922

shall start farming that very day. But I was not destined to do so and hence I have had to be content with living on a farm and inspiring my co-workers to take to farming.

But because I have realized the importance of agriculture in this manner, I am happy when any educated person takes up this occupation. Moreover, I am well acquainted with the hardships involved in it as I have come into close contact with farmers, and experiments in agriculture are being carried out under my direct supervision. I have reproduced the above extract from my coworker's letter in order to give some idea of those joys and hardships.

Without both, health and wealth, it is not possible to do farming. Multi-millionaires earn money by owning hundreds of thousands of bighas of land. They do not till the land, but carry on business; their success is similar to that of the person who runs a factory with the help of workers. But if those who have a limited sum of money invest it in farming, they must certainly have both the desire and the capacity to put in body labour. No other profession requires the same degree of alertness as that required of a farmer.

If a farmer so desires, he can with the slightest effort become a yogi. It is for this very reason that the saying has originated to the effect "Agriculture is the best of professions, business comes next and service is the most inferior one." I have no doubt, therefore, that the larger the number of young men who take to farming, the better it will be for us. I have not written at length about it as I know that it is a difficult path. This precious profession cannot, however, be suggested to everyone. Anyone who wishes to take up farming should, first of all, serve silently as a labourer under some farmer. He should learn to use a plough, acquire the same knowledge as an ordinary farmer about the soil and crops, and learn well how to dig round and square pits. He should then acquire a knowledge of farming from books written in the West. Soil chemistry is a distinct subject. Some improvement can certainly be brought about in our agriculture by obtaining some knowledge of it. Hence if the educated young man who wishes to make a success of farming does not have inexhaustible patience, he should never take up this experiment. Anyone who carries out the experiment must also develop self-confidence. Initial failures should not dishearten him. Success has always been born out of failure.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 10-11-1929

466. MY NOTES

AN ASPECT OF JAPAN

The following extract from a letter written by an Indian residing in Japan is worth reading:¹

This is an example of blind patriotism. It is not necessary for us to decide whether Japan is what it has been described to be. Let ours be an enlightened patriotism, full of truth and compassion.

WEAKNESS OF THE FLESH

An unhappy gentleman writes:²

Many persons have experienced the same age-old difficulty as this gentleman. Arjuna had put the same question to the Lord. Mastery over the senses was offered as a remedy. It was suggested that the soul should rest in itself. Constant endeavour, self-abnegation and devotion had also been pointed out as paths to self-conquest. Innumerable people have attained self-purification through devotion alone. This gentleman is well aware of his own weaknesses; hence his disease cannot be regarded as incurable. He and those like him should exercise self-control and keep themselves fully occupied in work in order to gain control over the mind and, along with this effort they should repeat Ramanama or use whatever epithet of God they like and have the faith that finally their effort is sure to succeed. Again, we come across many persons who, having failed, give up their efforts and despite this discuss their vices with everyone, ask for a remedy, declare their inability to adopt it and obtain permission to do sinful deeds. The correspondent should not commit this grave error through lack of effort. He should have faith that God always responds to the cry of a person in distress.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 10-11-1929

¹ This is not translated here. The correspondent had described certain virtues and defects of the Japanese people.

² The letter is not translated here. The khadi-wearing correspondent had confessed his failure in giving up immoral relations.

467. CONDITIONS FOR CO-OPERATION¹

It is my advice to readers that they should not evince undue interest in the leaders' parleys, nor should they be very inquisitive about them. For, despite promises from the Government and even if the promise of Dominion Status is translated into a law, if the people do not prove worthy of it, they will not be able to see its results at all. However potent *svarnabhasma*² may happen to be, if one who takes it has no power to digest it, that *bhasma* is useless for one. Exactly similar position obtains in regard to Dominion Status, independence, swaraj and freedom—or by whatever other name it is known. As we keep developing our strength to win and preserve it, so and to that extent we shall have won swaraj. If this reasoning is accepted there is no need for conferences and the like. When a conference is held, one can merely conclude from it that the opponent is inclined to recognize to some extent our strength. Suppose the Conference is to meet and there are even Congress representatives in it, and yet if at that time the people's power is at a low ebb, that cannot but affect the Conference. Hence all those who are not required to attend the Conference should keep themselves engaged in constructive activities which are an expression of the people's strength. We do not yet know at all what the Viceregal pronouncement means. Suppose the interpretation made in the leaders' manifesto is correct, suppose the conditions stipulated by them are accepted, even then we cannot at all slow down the tempo of our present activities. That is to say, rather than abate activities like boycott of foreign cloth, production of khadi, prohibition, Hindu-Muslim unity, removal of untouchability, etc., we should accelerate their pace. Instead of that happening, if the people go to sleep, nothing will materialize today or hereafter. In other words, one cannot go to heaven unless one dies; or the winning of swaraj depends only on our own strength.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 10-11-1929

¹ The first two paragraphs of this article are not translated here as they cover the same ground as "Notes", 7-11-1929; *vide* "Notes", sub-title Is It True

² An oxide of gold

468. *LETTER TO REGINALD REYNOLDS*

SHAHJAHANPUR,
November 11, 1929

MY DEAR REYNOLDS,

I do think of you on my silence day. You are charitable about your being debarred from temple-entry and it is right for us all to be so towards one another. But the hideous truth is that this bar is a variety of the curse of untouchability which in its worst form we are making a mighty effort to remove.

Pray do not be greedy about doing many things at once. I would have you do some things at least well. We shall not be long meeting now. If all goes as expected I reach there¹ the night of 25th.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: C.W. 4528. Courtesy: Swarthmore College, Philadelphia

469. *LETTER TO FULCHAND S. SHAH*

SHAHJAHANPUR,
November 11, 1929

BHAI FULCHAND,

I have your letter dated November 5, 1929. I have already replied to the letters which preceded.

I am sure you admit that *Saurashtra Mitra* has been at fault. If so, what struggle do you wish to take up on its behalf? I expect to reach Sabarmati on the night of the 25th, and to leave again from there on the morning of December 6. Come and see me during this period if you have anything to tell me. Do not come if there is nothing to explain and if you have no doubt whatever about what you propose to do. Even if there is a possibility of a mistake somewhere, do not hesitate to act according to what your conscience says. How long will you seek my protection?

I cannot accept your statement that you bear no ill will against

¹ Sabarmati Ashram

the evil-doer. The freedom from such ill will results only from constant striving. It has not seemed to me that many members of your organization have so much as tried to cultivate that virtue. That is why I gave you a general caution.

One may regard the Ashram at Chhaya to have been put on a sound footing now, if the strong foundation for a building serve also as strong foundation for its inner spirit. Or else, we may persuade ourselves that the spirit was already well-founded and that is why the Ashram had a strong building constructed for itself.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 2838. Courtesy: Fulchand K. Shah

470. LETTER TO SHARDABEHN SHAH

SHAHJAHANPUR,

*Silence Day [November 11, 1929]*¹

CHI. SHARDA,

I have your letter. One should not put a wrong interpretation on the restrictions I mentioned. Why should those who have in them Bhaktibehn's² spontaneous courage not join the Corps? In doing good one should not wait for others to begin. Bhaktibehn is of course as good as enlisted. If, therefore, one has the spontaneous courage to follow truth unswervingly, if one has the strength to endure the hardships of jail life, etc., one should have absolutely no objection to enlisting in the Corps. You should not believe that all those who are at present members of the Corps will bring credit to it. Do not ever take satyagraha to mean no more than resistance to tyranny. The strength to oppose tyranny may be one of the marks of satyagraha. I have seen quite a good number of those who resist tyranny practising untruth. It is certain that mastery of the art of following truth unswervingly does give one the strength to resist tyranny, but the capacity for firm pursuit of truth results only from devoting each day diligently to some pure benevolent activity—from the performing of a pure sacrifice by way of unselfish service to others without attachment to such service. I have observed that such strength comes easily to a

¹ Gandhiji was at Shahjahanpur on this date.

² Darbar Gopaldas's wife

woman who has developed a general understanding of things and that it remains with her for the rest of her life.

I don't mind your having kept the yarn for a sari. It is enough that you spun it. I hope you remember the rule that only the spinner who does his own carding is regarded a spinner.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 2839. Courtesy: Shardabehn Shah

471. LETTER TO ASHRAM WOMEN

SHAHJAHANPUR,

Silence Day, November 11, 1929

SISTERS,

After this, I shall be required to write to you only on one more Monday.

It is being proved every day that the reason for frequent thefts in the Ashram is our own negligence. We are negligent in two ways: We are not watchful enough, and, though frequently warned, some of us keep jewelry with them and some others keep money. There will always be thieves in the world. There are three ways of protecting ourselves against them. One is that we should keep nothing with ourselves. That is not quite possible.

If we keep things with us, to that extent we should remain watchful. *The third method is to let the thieves feel the fear of punishment through the Government, and to co-operate with the Government in punishing them. We have renounced this third course.* The first course is our ideal. The second is the one that we follow at present. We should have the fewest possible possessions, and be watchful about the few things we keep with us as being absolutely necessary.

Since this letter has turned out to be of common interest, let it also be read out at the time of the evening prayers.

Do not get disheartened by the burden of the kitchen. Ask for whatever help you require, but do not give up in despair. It does not matter if we do not embark upon some task; but, having undertaken it, we should do it at the cost of our lives. God always helps those who

work steadfastly in this manner. That is the lesson to be learnt in the story of *Gajendramoksha*¹ and in the *bhajan* about the male and female tortoise.²

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3709

472. LETTER TO RAMNIKLAL MODI

SHAHJAEXANPUR,

November 11, 1929

CHI. RAMNIKLAL,

This theft has agitated me. I see in it our fault and God's grace. If, despite our fault, we remain complacent, I would look upon it as a sign of God's wrath. It is my view that anyone who is found negligent in his duty of keeping watch should leave the Ashram. There are certain tasks which permit no laxity. A vaidya who gives his patient arsenic powder instead of salt ought not to be permitted to practise as a vaidya; this case is on a par with that. It seems that even at 4 o'clock it is necessary to maintain a watch.

Though we have a rule that no one should keep any money in his room, why is it that the rule is not observed? Personally I feel that those who violate the general rules of the Ashram should leave it. I don't think that asking people to leave the Ashram is a punishment; it is a form of non-co-operation.

You may consider whether the Managing Committee should make such a rule, but read out the above to all people as an expression of my feelings on the subject. It is not the loss of ten rupees which I mind, but the fact that we are still so lax. If Nathji has arrived there, ask him what his view is.

I certainly see our deficiency in the fact that we have not gone into the neighbouring villages. That we have not been able to do so shows that we do not know how. Think over how we can.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4149

¹ The story of an elephant who, being caught by a crocodile, was rescued by Vishnu

² A devotional song by Bhoja Bhagat narrates the story of a male and female tortoise saved by their faith in God.

473. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA

SHAHJAHANPUR,
November 11, 1929

CHI. GANGABEHN

Nathji must have come now. He will give you consolation. I can see that you are firm in your decision but not calm.

For the sake of health, take the necessary fruits as medicine. It is not a sin to take care of the body, treating it as a temple, but certainly it is a great sin to consider the body to be an abode of pleasure and pamper it. But you have freed yourself from it.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-6: G. S. Gangabehnne, p. 2 9

474. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

SHAHJAHANPUR,
November 11, 1929

CHI. PREMA,

A postcard which I wrote to your Bombay address does not seem to have reached you. It seems you had left before it could.

If your weight keeps going up at Bombay and going down at the Ashram, wouldn't you at last develop aversion to the Ashram?

Experience alone can show whether or not it was right for you to have spread the good name of the Ashram in Bombay. At present I can see only the defects of the Ashram, and that is what I like. When we see no defect in us but all the time see our virtues, you may know that that is the beginning of our fall.

As for the preparations, we shall talk about them when I return.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-5: Ku. Premabehn Kantakne, pp. 5-6

475. LETTER TO KASHINATH TRIVEDI

SHAHJAHANPUR,

Silence Day [November 11, 1929]¹

DEAR KASHINATH,

I do not remember having received your letter from Muradabad. My impression is that I have already replied to the letters I have received. I am glad that the number of subscribers to *Hindi Navajivan* is increasing.

Kalavati² will have to be patiently brought round. It is my experience that God opens the eyes of those who refuse to listen to reason. You did well in sending money to Father. About the letter to Indore, remind me to write it when I come.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G. N. 5288

476. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

Tuesday [November 12, 1929]³

CHI. VASUMATI,

I have your letters. I agree that it will be advisable for you to continue to stay at Vijapur as long as you keep physically and mentally fit there. That will enable you to do some propaganda work and Chhaganlal will get some help. Help him as much as you can in carding and making slivers. See if you can introduce spinning in the primary school at Vijapur. If possible, cultivate social relations with good families there. You may do, however, what pleases your mind. For the present, carding should not be taught to those who do not spin. After some headway is made, there would be no objection to

¹ The date has been inferred from the contents. In 1929 Gandhiji was at Shahjahanpur on this date, a Monday.

² Addressee's wife, whose jewellery had been stolen the previous week; *vide* "Letter to Kalavati Trivedi", 4-11-1929 and "Letter to Kalavati Trivedi", 14-11-1929

³ The date is inferred from the reference to Lucknow in the last paragraph. On this date Gandhiji was at Lakhimpur which is about 85 miles from Lucknow. Gandhiji passed through Lucknow on November 13 on his way to Rai Bareilly.

teaching it to anyone. The carding-bow should not be supplied to anybody free of charge. There is no harm in giving it at a concession price.

Today we have been camping at a village. We came here leaving Mirabehn and others at Lucknow, but we shall again be united tomorrow.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9377

477. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

AMARU,

November 12, 1929

BHAI GHANSHYAMDASJI,

I feel ashamed that I have not been able to write to you for so long, though your letters came regularly.

Since we are going to meet at Wardha, I do not want to write at length.

I had sent a wire in connection with the prevailing imposts in South Africa.

The episode of the calf and that of the monkeys did cause me pain, but also gave me an opportunity to understand man's nature and to keep anger under control.

Mahadev told me many things about you. I felt happy. I already knew much of what he told me .

I intend to reach Wardha on the 24th.

More when we meet.

Jamnalalji is leaving for Bombay today. Mahadev is staying at Bardoli nowadays. He has come here for three days.

Yours,

MOHANDAS

[From Hindi]

Bapuki Prem Prasadi, Vol. I, p. 135

478. LETTER TO RAMNIKLAL MODI

SITAPUR,

November 13, 1929

CHI. RAMNIKLAL,

I got your letter. I have arrived at a principle of conduct on the basis of experience, namely, that one should never think of doing good to others with a selfish motive. If while pursuing his own interest a person incidentally does some good to others, he should not regard it as benevolence. He earns no merit for such a deed either. His neighbours may indeed benefit from what he has done, but the benefit results from the usefulness of the deed and not from the goodness of its author.

For instance, if a Bhangi cleans lavatories conscientiously, his work is of great benefit to others. But he earns no merit for it, since he works for his livelihood. As, however, his work is useful, society benefits from it as much as from that of any other person who might clean lavatories purely in a spirit of service. In the same way, if anyone practises *pranayama*, etc., for the sake of health, the benefit he derives from these activities is limited to health. His soul enjoys no peace through such *pranayama*.

This preface has reference to your question regarding our harassment at the hands of thieves. We can clean villages, dispense medicines and take up similar other activities. If, however, we start them now, they will have been prompted purely by self-interest and we shall be given no credit for our work. From the beginning we have cherished the intention of doing such work. We should hold to it, and take up the work in future. At the present time we can go into the villages only by declaring our interest in doing so.

I had drafted a leaflet with this aim. It was even printed. But, thanks to lack of faith on the part of the Ashram inmates, their timidity and their false sense of shame, its circulation was abandoned. My position is still the same and even now I give the same advice. I for one believe that we should go among the people and talk to them at present about nothing but our wretchedness and beg them to have pity on us. If I get time, I will draft and send a leaflet for this purpose, else I will draft one after I return. All of you may decide then whether or not to use it. I am dictating this letter while visitors are coming and

going, and so I cannot finish what I wish to say. You may fill in the rest.

I wrote to you on Monday in regard to the signing of cheques.

About putting up a hedge, ask me after I return. However, if you feel that you cannot wait till then, do what you think best.

I have not revised this.

Blessings from

BAPU

LUCKNOW

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4150

479. LETTER TO HARIBHAU UPADHYAYA

RAI BARELI,

November 13, 1929

BHAISHRI HARIBHAU,

I have your letter. It would have been nice if you yourself could have come. But now it will do if some responsible representative comes. A satyagrahi must be wholly pure. Then only can he be invincible. We shall further discuss this when we meet if we feel the need to do so. I presume that you will surely come to Wardha although you did not come to Sabarmati Ashram.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 6063. Courtesy: Haribhau Upadhyaya

480. LETTER TO ISHWARLAL JOSHI

RAI BARELI.,

November 13, 1929

CHI. ISEIWARLAL,

I have your letter. I was glad to learn that your study of English is making good progress. Do your work there with careful application. Write to me regularly. Tell what books you are asked to read. If you have been doing some written work, send me one of your exercise books so that I may be able to see your handwriting and also get an idea of the kind of English you can write.

Blessings from

BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 9281. Courtesy: Ishwarlal Joshi

481. LETTER TO PRABHUDAS GANDHI

RAI BAREILY,

November 13, 1929

CHI. PRABHUDAS,²

I have your letter, I am prepared to send you to Vijapur if you can keep well there. And Kashi and Chhaganlal will have less worries for you. They will get some help also. Moreover, if you find one or two students in Vijapur, they will learn from you and you will get some help. I may take the final decision but let me know your own views. A person who takes the decision should have all the information. It is possible that you know something which I do not and therefore arrive at a wrong decision.

I understand about Prem Vidyalaya. I will take care of it. I have written to Bhagirathji. Your going there at this time would have been improper. Keep on writing to me regularly. Your health should not deteriorate there. If there is the slightest chance of it, you are not going to stay there.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: S.N. 32948

482. *TELEGRAM TO VITHALBHAI PATEL*

[On or after *November 13, 1929*]¹

PRESIDENT PATEL

SARDARGRIHA

BOMBAY

GOT VALLABHBHAI'S LETTER². CO-SIGNATORIES³ INVITED
I 8TH. NO DEPARTURE WILL BE MADE WITHOUT
CONSULTATION WITH THEM.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 15569

483. *TELEGRAM TO MOTILAL NEHRU*

[On or before *November 14, 1929*]⁴

PANDIT NEHRU

LUCKNOW

IF NOTHING ANNOUNCED REGARDING LALAJI ANNI-
VERSARY WHICH COMES SEVENTEENTH INSTANT PLEASE ANNOUNCE
OBSERVANCE BY MEMORIAL COLLECTIONS.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 15570

¹ From the reference to Vallabhbhai's letter which was dated November 11, 1929 and which would have reached Gandhiji on November 13

² *Vide* "Letter from Vallabhbhai Patel", 11-11-1929. Vallabhbhai had also sent a telegram on November 11 which read: "Can you arrange meet Vithalbai Jinnah myself at Ahmedabad twenty-fourth or Bombay twenty-fifth or twenty-sixth. Wire reply President Patel Sardargriha."

³ To the All-Parties Leaders' Joint Statement

⁴ Motilal Nehru's reply dated November 14 reads: "Issuing appeal for Lalaji Memorial through Associated and Free Press".

484. *CONDOLENCES*¹

The tragic death of Sheth Narottam Morarjee removes from our midst a merchant prince who combined patriotism with commercial ambition. As an employer of labour he combined humanity with its exploitation. His latest enterprise, the Scindhia Steam Navigation Company, was conceived as much through patriotism as through ambition. His charities were wide, discriminating and in keeping with the modern requirements.. The removal of such a son of India at this juncture is a great loss to the country. His mantle has fallen upon the shoulders of his only son who is yet in the making. But Sjt. Shantikumar has all the patriotism of his distinguished father and if possible, a greater love of the labourers employed in his father's many businesses. I tender my condolences to him, his aged grandmother and the other members of the family with whom I have had the privilege of enjoying intimate relations.

Young India, 14-11-1929

485. *VILLAGE IMPROVEMENT*²

I hope the reader carefully followed the articles by Lala Deshraj which were published in five parts.³ They constitute, I think, a dispassionate review of the famous experiment made by Mr. Brayne, the late Deputy Commissioner of Gurgaon District, known as the Gurgaon Programme. Whilst the articles were being published, I took up Mr. Brayne's book called *The Remaking of Village India*, being the second edition of his *Village Uplift in India* as it was originally called. So far as one can judge from Lala Deshraj's articles, the Gurgaon experiment for village remaking must be pronounced virtually a failure. After Mr. Brayne's back was turned upon Gurgaon, the people who were working under his inspiration or pressure seem to have gone to sleep, the manure pits lying neglected, the new ploughs rusting and co-education dissolving.

¹ A similar obituary appeared in *Navajivan*, 24-11-1929.

² Gandhiji's articles on the same subject also appeared in *Navajivan*, 24-11-1929, 1-12-1929 and 8-12-1929.

³ In fact these articles appeared in four issues of *Young India*, 17-10-1929, 24-10-1929, 31-10-1929 and 7-11-1929. For Gandhiji's introductory remarks, vide "Is it Village Uplift", 17-10-1929

The reason for the failure is not far to seek. The reform came not from within but was superimposed from without. Mr. Brayne made use of his official position to put as much pressure as he could upon his subordinates and upon the people themselves, but he could not carry conviction by force, and conviction so essential to success was lacking. Mr. Brayne thought that the results would convince the people. But that is not how reform works. The reformer's path is strewn not with roses but with thorns, and he has to walk warily. He can but limp, dare not jump. Mr. Brayne was impatient and wanted to cover a long distance in one stride, and he failed.

When an official becomes a reformer, he must realize that his official position is not a help but a hindrance. In spite of his Herculean efforts people will suspect him and his motives, and they will scent danger where there is none. And when they do certain things, they often do them more to please the official than to please themselves.

The other handicap that Mr. Brayne laboured under was the almost fatal facility he had for receiving money. In my opinion money is the last thing that a reformer needs in his campaign. It comes to him unsolicited in exact proportion to his strict needs. I have always distrusted reformers, who have pleaded want of financial aid as an excuse for their ill-success. Where there is zeal, adequate knowledge and faith in oneself, financial assistance has always come; but Mr. Brayne relied more upon money for the success of his experiment than upon his faith in himself and the people. So in spite of his having had Rs. 50,000 a year according to Lala Deshraj's estimate, he complains that many things await development only for want of money. His ambition is insatiable. So much for the actual experiment itself.

The book deserves careful study apart from the experiment. There can be no doubt about Mr. Brayne's sincerity. Every page of the book proves it. The intrinsic worth of many of the author's suggestions is indisputable. The book is ably written, and everyone who wishes to do village reconstruction work should make haste to study Mr. Brayne's volume. The defects in the villages described by Mr. Brayne are as follows:

1. The peasant's methods of farming are bad.
2. His village is filthy; he lives in dirt, squalor, disease and suffering.
3. He is the prey of epidemic diseases.

4. He wastes all his wealth.
5. He keeps his womenfolk in degradation and slavery.
6. He pays no attention to his home or his village, and spends no time or thought over bettering himself and his surroundings.
7. He resists all change; he is illiterate and ignorant of what progress village folk in other civilized countries and in other parts of his own country are making, and what he can himself make if he sets his mind to it.

There is much exaggeration in this description. The Indian villager's methods of farming are certainly not bad. Many have testified that he has a workable knowledge of agriculture which is not to be despised. The second and third defects have, I fear, to be admitted. The fourth is largely, if not wholly, inadmissible if only because he has no wealth to waste. The fifth, sixth and seventh are largely true. The remedies suggested are eighteen. I summarize them as follows:

1. Keep good cattle.
2. Use modern implements.
3. Use good seed.
4. Put up Persian wheels.
5. Stock the manure in pits.
6. Stop making dung cakes.
7. Make use of village banks.
8. Bank your fields and divide them into squares according to levels to prevent wastage of rain water.
9. Consolidate your holdings.
10. Harvest for the whole year through the well.
11. Sow trees on every vacant space.
12. Inoculate your cattle against disease.
13. Kill the field-rats, porcupines and pests that share your crops with you.
14. Develop pasture land.
15. Cultivate half your land well and devote the rest to pasture.
16. Use underground pipes for carrying your well water.
17. Stop the sand-dunes by sowing whatever vegetation will grow and hold the sand.
18. Straighten and clean your canals and channels.

Many of the suggestions are admirable. What is new requires

careful experiment. Much of what is old is not capable of enforcement. As to modern implements, after fifteen years' continuous experimenting and without any prejudice against implements and after having tried many of them at the Ashram, we have come to the conclusion that most of these implements are useless, and I may assure the reader that we have not made a hash of it all. We are making steady progress, but there are very few modern implements which we have found to be of much use. I hope to give later a definite note upon this Ashram experiment. Meanwhile I would say to those who go in for modern implements: 'Hasten slowly.' Conservation of manure and the consequent stopping of its wanton destruction through dung cake-making are suggestions worth taking up. Fragmentation of holdings is undoubtedly a crying evil. Drastic legislation alone can cope with an evil so extensive as this meaningless fragmentation. All the suggestions require true education and self-confidence. The starving peasant has no education and has no self-confidence, because he thinks that penury is an inheritance from which he cannot shake himself free. Mr. Brayne has valuable suggestions about sanitation. He would allow no sweepings, rubbish, dung, ashes, etc., to be thrown anywhere but into properly dug pits. He gives elaborate instructions for using manure pits as latrines. I cannot resist quoting the following long but truthful instructive paragraph:

This rubbish lying in heaps all round and inside the village, and this night-soil, scattered thick everywhere outside the village, and sometimes inside too, dries up and is blown all over the village by the wind and is stirred up by the feet of men and cattle. It falls into your food and drink, gets into everyone's eyes and nose, and goes into their lungs with every breath they breathe. It thus forms part of your air and food and drink, and you and your children are daily poisoned by the filth of your village. Besides this, it breeds innumerable flies, which sit first on the filth and then on your food, your dishes, and on your children's eyes and mouths. And remember that the flies do not wash their feet or take off their shoes when they visit you. Can you imagine any quicker way of securing permanent ill health and bad eyes, and an early grave for yourself and your family?

"The Gurgaon village houses", says the author, "are the direct successors of the caves of pre-historic man." He would therefore have the villager to open windows in his house. He will guard against smallpox by free vaccinations. He would guard against plague by

inoculation and rat-killing, against cholera by well-cleaning and proper arrangements for drawing water and against malaria by quinine and mosquito-nets. The assurance with which Mr. Brayne speaks of vaccination and inoculation is amazing when one knows that medical authorities speak of both with the greatest caution. Vaccination is daily being proved as an exploded remedy, and plague inoculation and the like, whatever merit they may possess as a temporary relief measure if they do at all, are soul-destroying remedies making man a weakling dying many times before his natural death. There is abundant testimony to show that where there is clean living there is no fear of plague or smallpox, both being diseases born of filth and insinuation. Well-cleaning and a clean method of drawing water are no doubt good not only as a precaution against cholera but many other things. Quinine without milk is a useless remedy, and mosquito-nets, I know from personal experience, are not within the reach of millions. More than once has Mr. Brayne betrayed ignorance of the chronic economic distress of the seething millions of India. It is perfectly useless to suggest remedies which are beyond the present means of the people. What the people may be capable of doing when the reformer's dream is realized is irrelevant to a consideration of what they ought to do whilst the reform is making its way among them.

The following is the remedy suggested for waste:

Eradicate the present ideals of absurd expenditure on *kaj*¹ and other such ceremonies, jewellery, weddings and quarrelling.

I fear that this 'absurd expenditure' exists largely only in Mr. Brayne's imagination. It is confined to the fewest people. The vast majority of the masses have no money to spend on any ceremony. The jewellery hoarding is the old official trick. I have now moved amongst lakhs of women all over India. I have myself inveighed against jewellery and dispossessed many sisters of it. I know that there is no beauty about it. But if the number of those who can afford ceremonies is small, that of those who can afford jewellery is smaller still. Millions wear either hideous stone or wooden pieces. Many wear brass or copper ornaments and some wear silver bangles and anklets. A microscopic number have any gold on their persons. Whilst therefore the advice to turn jewellery into cash and bank it is in my opinion perfectly sound, it is irrelevant when considered as part of a

¹ Socio-religious ceremonies

programme for village reconstruction. The same may be said about quarrelling. Whilst the amount of litigation is no doubt great in itself and shameful, it is again confined to those who have, but the millions are the have-nots, and in a programme of village reconstruction one has to think of this vast, helpless, ignorant and hopeless majority.

To ensure a happy home Mr. Brayne would humanize the women and make them honourable and equal partners in the home. He will send the girls to the school with the boys till they are too big to be so sent. He will not marry them while they are children. He is energetic and even eloquent on the rights of women. Here are two passages worthy of consideration:

When your wife is to have a baby, you choose a dark and dirty room and send for a sweeper's wife. Why do you not send for the sweeper when you break your arm? Why not train some of your own women as midwives? Sweepers' wives have no more business to be midwives than they have to be doctors. Would it not be far nicer for your wife to be attended by one of her own people at such a risky time than by the lowest caste in the village? There is no more noble work for a high-caste woman than the work of a nurse or dai.

Don't reserve the darkest and least airy part of the house for your wife and family. They are just as important as you, and their ill health is just as bad for you as your own. You can keep fit by going to the fields. Your women and children must spend a lot of their time at home. Therefore give them the best and airiest part of the house.

Here is another passage of poetic beauty:

Man is the only creature that discriminates between his male and female children, and treats the females as inferior. Your mother was once a girl. Your wife was once a girl. Your daughters will one day be mothers. If girls are an inferior creation, then you are yourselves inferior.

I hope the reader will share my appreciation of the following passage about dogs:

The dog is called the friend of man. In Gurgaon he is treated not much better than a woman, and is the enemy of man. Keep a dog by all means, but feed it regularly, give it a name and a collar, train it and look after it properly. Don't allow uncared-for dogs to roam the village, spoil your food, keep you awake at night by barking, and finally go mad and bite you.

There is much more that is valuable in his book. There is not a defect in the villages that has escaped his eagle eye. His ideas on village education are in my opinion perfectly sound and difficult to improve upon. I cannot resist quoting the following passage:

The object of a village school is to make better, more intelligent, and happier villagers. If a ploughman's son comes to school, his schooling should so prepare him that when he comes to follow the tail of his father's plough he will pick up the work more quickly and display more intelligence in all his business than his father did. Above all, the children must learn at school how to lead healthy lives and protect themselves from epidemic diseases. What is the use of teaching boys who are going to go blind, become in some way physically incapacitated, or even to die before they reach manhood? What is the use of education when the home is dirty, uncomfortable, and epidemics are liable to sweep away the whole family, or leave the children blind or maimed?

And to this end he would make the village teacher not a man who could only impart a knowledge of the three R's. He must become a genuine village leader, a centre of light and culture whom the people trust, to whom they refer their problems and whom they consult when they are in doubt or difficulty.

The teacher must take and hold his proper place in village life. He must practise what he preaches, and set the example of working with his own hands at all the uplift measures he recommends. His gospel is the dignity of labour and the dignity of social service, and he must be as willing to set about cleaning the village or adjusting an iron plough as he is to teach reading and writing.

I must restrain myself now, and be satisfied with recommending a perusal of this valuable contribution to village reconstruction literature. The scheme so far as it goes is on the whole good and practicable. If the information that has been given by Lala Deshraj is to be relied upon, as in my opinion it should be, the execution has been, to say the least, extremely defective, not however through want of will and effort on the part of both Mr. Brayne and his partner, but because of the official environment and groove which he and his were unable to overcome. But this limitation is one which all of us similarly placed would labour under. I know that Mr. Brayne has been libelling India and putting before his English audiences deductions from his limited observations which they could not possibly challenge and which at that distance would appear in a much more exaggerated form than they would if repeated in India. But I have not allowed my examination of his book to be affected either by his English calumnies or by the apparent failure of his experiment. As a reformer myself deeply interested in village reconstruction I have endeavoured to take what good I can out of a book sincerely written.

Young India, 14-11-1929

486. MY POSITION

English friends have been sending me cables¹, as I suppose, to others, telling me in substance to reciprocate the effort of the Labour Government to help India. After the joint manifesto which bears my signature in common with others, nothing more remains to be said or done. Nevertheless, perhaps, I owe it to the personal friends, who are interested in what I think and do, and who are affectionately solicitous that I should think or do the right thing, to explain my own position more definitely than a joint manifesto can ever do.

Let me repeat what I have said before in these e pages² that I am dying for co-operation. My non-co-operation is a token of my earnest longing for real heart co-operation in the place of co-operation falsely so called. I have therefore responded on the very first opportunity that offered itself. But I have meant every word of the joint manifesto as I have the now famous Calcutta resolution³ of the Congress. The two are in no sense contradictory. The letter of a document is nothing if the spirit of it is preserved in fact. I can wait for the Dominion Status constitution, if I can get the real Dominion Status in action, if, that is to say, there is a real change of heart, a real desire on the part of the British people to see India a free and self-respecting nation and on the part of the officials in India a true spirit of service. But this means substitution of the steel bayonet by that of the goodwill of the people. Are the Englishmen and Englishwomen prepared to rely for the safety of their life and property upon the goodwill of the people rather than upon their gun-mounted forts? If they are not yet ready, there is no Dominion Status that would satisfy me. My conception of Dominion Status implies present ability to sever the British connection if I wish to. Therefore there can be no such thing as compulsion in the regulation of relations between Britain and India. If I choose to remain in the Empire, it is to make the partnership a power for promoting peace and goodwill. In the world, never to promote

¹ For cables from *The Daily Express* and A. Fenner Brockway, *vide* footnote 1, p. 87 and footnote I to "Letter to A. Fenner Brockway", 14-11-1929.

² *Vide* "Notes", sub-title Is It True

³ *Vide* "Speech on Resolution on Nehru Report, Calcutta Congress- III", 31-12-1928

exploitation or what is known as Britain's imperialistic greed. It is highly likely that the Labour Government has never meant all the implications mentioned by me. In my opinion I have not stretched the meaning of the manifesto in stating the implications. But whether the manifesto can bear the weight of these implications or not, it is due to the friends in England and in India that they should clearly realize my own fundamental position. I am fully aware that India has not developed strength enough to assert the position here adumbrated. If therefore it is realized now it will be largely through the good grace of the British people. It will be nothing strange if they exhibit it at the present juncture. It will be some reparation for the past wrongs done to India.

But if the time is not yet ripe for India to come to her own I have patience enough to wait. I can work and live for no other goal. I recognize that mine is but the voice of an individual. How far it is representative of India's millions, no one can say; I certainly cannot.

Young India, 14-11-1929

487. *THE INCOME OF POTENTATES*

A correspondent sends a strongly worded letter giving a digest of figures showing the takings by the different European monarchs in every 1,350 rupees of the income of their States and has compared them with the income derived by only one Maharaja, that is of Mysore. I take the following¹ from it.

I do not know whether the figures given by the correspondent are approximately true. If anyone can supplement the correspondent's figures, they will be a most helpful study alike for the princes as for the people. Assuming the correctness of the figures, they furnish food for reflection for Indian princes.

Young India, 14-11-1929

¹ Not reproduced here. The correspondent had furnished figures from the *Statesman Year Book of 1926*.

488. *THE U. P. TOUR-IX*¹

IN DELHI

In Delhi Gandhiji had to face a crowded programme which he could scrape through with the greatest difficulty, for he had to finish not merely the items of his tour but to attend the unexpected meeting of the members of the Working Committee as also a joint meeting of these members and the leaders who at the urgent invitation of Pandit Motilal Nehru had arrived in Delhi. I must however omit the political meeting, as it was not part of the tour and its result is already before the public. The tour programme began with a visit to the Jamia. It became a solemn function owing to the short but solemn speech made by Gandhiji in acknowledging the Jamia khadi purse of Rs. 500. Speaking under a visible emotion he said how it was a matter of grief to him every time he visited Delhi which was the scene of Shraddhanandji's assassination and Hindu-Muslim riots. He loved to call it the Delhi of Hakim Saheb Ajmal Khan and Shraddhanandji which alas it was no more. But he was consoled by the fact that the very first function in Delhi began with a visit to the Jamia for whose existence in Delhi Hakim Saheb was principally responsible. He entertained the highest hopes of the Jamia boys in achieving Hindu-Muslim unity. He expected them to remain untouched by communal passion and communal prejudice. That was the least the boys owed to the memory of Hakim Saheb and to the self-sacrifice of the teachers who were devoting themselves to the moulding of the Jamia boys. From the Jamia the party motored to Indraprasth Gurukul situated about 14 miles from Delhi on an extensive piece of lofty ground. The teachers, the boys and the servants altogether contributed over Rs. 855 to the purse, probably the largest sum yet contributed in proportion to their numbers by any educational institution. This Gurukul has 141 pupils. The analysis of their contribution is also interesting. Servants Rs. 36-4-0, the earnings of labour specially put in by the pupils Rs. 80-8-6, denial by the pupils of part of their clothing Rs. 570-8-0, contribution by the teachers Rs. 186-4-0², total Rs. 855-8-6. Over and above this the students contributed a very large

¹ *Vide* footnote 2, "The U. P. Tour-VI", 24-10-1929

² Perhaps a slip for 168-4-0 which would give the total 855-8-6 152

amount of yarn. It has been a special feature of gurukuls to make up their contributions by manual labour and self-denial. Here too Gandhiji redelivered the message delivered to the Jamia boys. He told the boys that the only proper manner in which they could do penance for Shraddhanandji's assassination was to purify themselves and there through Hindu religion. In the afternoon there was the meeting to receive the Municipal Committee's address. Then women's meeting. Then students' meeting and then the public meeting. The women's contribution was a notable effort. It amounted to over Rs. 1,000 besides a large amount of jewellery. Owing to the political conference to which I have referred, the whole of the afternoon programme was upset. The women who had gathered at 2 o'clock patiently waited till 6.30, and yet they showed no resentment, no sullenness, no impatience. India may well be proud of her women who are capable of such forbearance. The reader need not run away with the idea that those who had gathered in their large numbers at this meeting were illiterate women. On the contrary many of them were highly educated, but they knew that Gandhiji was helpless and therefore out of their natural charity forgave him for the inconvenience that was undoubtedly caused to them, many of whom had left young children behind for the purpose of attending the meeting. I must pass by the other meetings in Delhi and take the reader to Aligarh, omitting also the several places visited on the way to Aligarh.

IN ALIGARH¹

The Vice-Chancellor of the Muslim University had invited Gandhiji to address the students. The hall where he gave the address² was packed to suffocation. The Pro-Vice-Chancellor, Mr. Horn, presided. At this meeting Gandhiji was made honorary life member of the University Union. His address was an impassioned appeal to the University boys to produce servants of the country and Islam like Gokhale. The speaker recalled to the students the simplicity of the second Caliph Umar, told them how he, although the treasures of the world lay at his feet, denied himself every form of ease and luxury, and rebuked his lieutenants when they pampered themselves by using soft silk garments instead of coarse khadi and fine flour instead of unsifted stone-ground coarse flour. Khadi was practically conspicuous

¹ On November 3

² *Vide* "Speech at Muslim University, Aligarh", 4-11-1929

by its absence among the students. Gandhiji therefore made a moving appeal to them to adopt khadi if they would establish a living bond between themselves and the millions of India's paupers whose children could never have access to the facilities for education which the foresight and genius of the late Sir Syed Ahmed had provided for them. And thirdly he asked them to consider themselves custodians of India's honour and makers of Hindu Muslim unity. He would expect them to be found amongst the first to help a Hindu in distress as he would expect Hindu students to be found among the first to help a Muslim brother in distress. Though there was no want of enthusiasm at the meeting, it was impossible not to notice the absence of any purse from the students and professors. Throughout the tour this was our first experience of a students' gathering addressed by Gandhiji where there was no purse presented for *Daridranarayana*. The omission was all the more noticeable for the fact that Gandhiji scrupulously refrained from making any mention about it at the meeting. At the end of the meeting he was besieged for autographs. He straightway named his price: 'If you will have my autograph you must promise to wear khadi.' After a little hesitation on the part of the first applicant many came forward with their promises and received autographs. Several others came the next day to receive the autograph in exchange for promises to wear khadi. There were of course the usual functions in Aligarh which do not require any special description.

IN MATHURA¹

From Aligarh taking several places on the way as usual we passed on to Mathura. The absence in this celebrated holy place of Hinduism of anything to remind one of the nativity of Krishna, the first among the cowherds of the world as Gandhiji called him at the public meeting, preyed upon his mind, and in reply to the addresses Gandhiji emptied his soul before the meeting on behalf of the cow. He said a visitor to Mathura and the surrounding places reported to be the birthplace and the playground of the divine keeper of the cow had a right to expect this part of the country to show the finest cattle in the world and to produce rich, pure unadulterated milk almost at the price of water even as it was said to have been in Krishna's age. A visitor would expect the people of Mathura to show the rigorous piety,

¹ On November 6

simplicity and bravery of Krishna. He would also expect to find the despised untouchables to be treated with affection and every consideration. 'I see, as I go through the streets of Mathura, cattle with their bones protruding, cows who give so little milk as to be an economic burden. I see in this holy place the slaughter-house where the cow whom Krishna protected and venerated is slaughtered for man's food. Do not imagine that it is the Muslim or even the Englishman who is in the first instance responsible for this shameful state of things. We Hindus are primarily responsible for it. Cattle will be killed as they are fast becoming an economic burden on the land, and if they are not killed in India they will be shipped as they are already being shipped to Australia for its butcheries. Hindus are in the first instance possessors of the vast majority of India's cattle. It is they who sell them to butchers or their buyers. If we would but do our duty towards the divine child whom we affect to worship, we could study the science of cattle-keeping and would make it a point of ensuring that they are superior to any cattle in the world in their capacity to give milk and bear burdens. If we would do this we have to discard foolish prejudices and superstitions however ancient they may be.'

GOVARDHAN¹

From Mathura we went to Govardhan on our way to Brindaban. The sight that Gandhiji saw in Govardhan grieved him more even than in Mathura. Govardhan was visited in the early morning at 7 o'clock. As we passed through the ill-kept street of Govardhan we faced a yoke of bullock and buffalo both with their protruding bones. At the meeting we found men looking as if they had just risen from their sleep, youngsters in dirty clothes, with eyes and ears unwashed and without any lustre in their eyes, or intelligence in their features. To add to his grief, the secretary who presented the khadi purse said: "This place is filled with Brahmins who are *bhikharis*—beggars—and so we are unable to give you a large purse." This drew from Gandhiji a speech which showed his great grief. He made no reference to the purse and would not make the appeal he invariably makes for money. 'You have brought me,' he said, 'to a place which stirs me to my depths. I belong to a Vaishnava family. From my childhood I have been taught to think of the birthplace and the playground of Shri Krishna as places which would make a man discard his sins if he

¹ On November 7

visited them. I had no such feeling as I passed through the streets. This is the place where Krishna is alleged to have lifted with his little finger the hill of Govardhan and protected his cowherd companions and their cattle from being deluged by the rains that were pouring upon them. But the spirit of that sermon of humanity and its companion the cow I miss here. Instead I see dilapidated cattle and I see before me men and boys without life or lustre and I am told about and I find Brahmins described as beggars. Not so were those, the Brahmins of old. They were those who had seen God face to face and imparted to all men the secret of so seeing God. It was not on charity that they lived. Their maintenance was found for them as a matter of privilege by those whom they endowed with divine knowledge. They were in the days of Krishna the custodians of true religion. They arrogated no superiority to themselves but they commanded respect and veneration by reason of their service of humanity. I see no trace of this in sacred Govardhan.’ The meeting in Govardhan did not occupy more than twenty minutes, for we had to take several places before reaching our destination which was Brindaban.

IN BRINDABAN¹

In Brindaban we stayed at the Prem Mahavidyalaya, that standing monument to the charity of that brave patriot Raja Mahendra Pratap. I must not however tarry to describe this institution or the Ramakrishna Mission or the Gurukul—all of which Gandhiji visited. At the public meeting there was the unveiling of the Raja Saheb’s portrait by Gandhiji and an address to the students of the Prem Mahavidyalaya. Acharya Jugalkishore had purposely postponed the annual function of the Vidyalaya to the time of Gandhiji’s visit. Gandhiji used the unveiling ceremony as an occasion for paying a glowing tribute to Raja Mahendra Pratap whose noble example of self-sacrifice and patriotism he commended to all the zamindars. to the students he said: ‘You will not have deserved the munificent donation of Raja Mahendra Pratap if you do not labour for your neighbours. Your education, if it is a vital thing, must shed its fragrance in your surroundings. You must devote a certain portion of your time daily to serving the people around in a practical manner. You must therefore be prepared to take the spade, the broomstick and the basket. You must become voluntary scavengers of this holy place.

¹ On November 7

That would be the richest part of your education, not learning by heart literary theses. I learn that Brindaban contains a very large number of widows who have come principally from Bengal to pass the remainder of their lives in Brindaban. The poor amongst them are paid a small pittance daily for repeating in congregation the divine name Radhe-Shyam.¹ It is to be hoped that those who are responsible for organizing this charity will give some work to the widows rather than make them feel helpless by doling out charity as against their repeating the name of God. Surely a vain repetition can have no virtue about it.’

Young India, 14-11-1929

489. AN IDEAL ADDRESS

In the last issue I had given some examples of the language used in addresses.² At every meeting I receive three, four, or even more addresses. In most of them I find nothing artistic. Mostly the addresses are only full of fulsome praise of me. In my opinion this shows lack of wisdom and ideas. By flattering a person to his face we neither honour nor please him. Much of my work would cease if I were to believe the words of praise applied to me. God has given me a sense of humour; with this I laugh away all such epithets; and, because I try to practise the teachings of the *Gita*, to my knowledge praise and blame have no effect on me. But, in this article, I have not set out to describe what effect the addresses have on me. Here I only wish to tell the readers how an ideal address should be framed, so that people who present addresses in future may also get some help in preparing them. An ideal address can be prepared by observing the following rules.

1. The language of an address should be such that both Hindus and Muslims alike can understand it.

2. An address should not need a frame.

3. As far as possible the address should be written on handmade paper. Such paper can be secured if an attempt is made to obtain it. Granted that hand-made paper cannot compare with machine-made paper, even so we should not let this handicraft die. The survival of such handicrafts depends on the patriotism of the rich and the wise.

¹ The source has “Radha Shyam”.

² *Vide* “the National Language”

4. The address should only be written by hand. If this becomes the rule, then the art of calligraphy will flourish. Such an address should not be written by any and every person. It should be written only by someone who is an adept at calligraphy. It is quite a different matter to say that for the sake of publicity it is necessary to have an address printed. In my opinion there is no necessity to distribute addresses in this manner. Before the guest arrives, the address should be read out to the gathering.

5. Nowadays, it has become the vogue that an address to be presented in the name of an association or society is prepared by some one individual without other members being consulted about it. Our people are indifferent to such matters; therefore, whatever is to be said or to be done, only one person acts on behalf of all. But the proper thing is for the contents of the address to be known to all the people who are giving the address. Only then has the address any value. For instance, if an address is to be presented in the name of students, a committee of the students should be formed; and even then, the address, when ready, should be approved by an assembly of all the students.

6. An address should contain very few words of praise. Rather, what has been done in accordance with the ideals of the addressee, and what would be done in the future, should be spelled out in the address. together with this, particulars of the society or association presenting the address should be given in it.

If the above suggestions are followed, then, the addresses which are dull and meaningless today will become interesting and purposeful.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 14-11-1929

490. LETTER TO JOHN S. HOYLAND

CAMP RAI BARELI,
November 14, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter of October 18th. I have not yet received the book.¹ When I return to the Ashram I suppose I shall see it and if I at all get the time I shall read it and see what I can do with it. Generally books are not reviewed in *Young India*. I wish indeed that I could come to England but there is no call from within as yet., I hope that medical reasons will soon cease to operate against your return to India.²

Yours sincerely,

JOHN S. HOYLAND, ESQ.
BIRMINGHAM (ENGLAND)

From a photostat: S.N. 15682

491. LETTER TO ALI MOHAMAD A. ALLADIN

CAMP RAI BARELI,
November 14, 1929

DEAR FRIEND

I have your letter³. I know nothing of the incident referred to by you but assuming that some Sikhs and some Hindus misbehaved themselves that is no reason why it should be a bar against Hindu-Muslim friendship or that the sins of a few should be imputed to the whole people.

Yours sincerely,

ALI MOHAMAD A. ALLADIN, ESQ., M.A.
ALLADIN BUILDINGS
SECUNDERABAD, DECCAN

From a microfilm: S.N. 15744

¹ *The Case for India*

² The addressee had been in India for sixteen years.

³ It stated: "... Some time ago at Quadian in Punjab Sikhs and Hindus joined together and demolished completely the abattoir for cows.... At this atrocious incident the Hindu leaders instead of condemning the perpetrators never raised a single voice of protest Under such circumstances how Muslims of India can be convinced that when India gets swaraj or even Dominion Status their rights would be safeguarded?" (S.N. 15743)

492. LETTER TO C. D. SMILEY¹

CAMP RAI BARELI,
November 14, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. You could see me in Wardha near Nagpur between the 8th and 15th of December. My movements are just now subject to alteration but in all probability during the dates mentioned by me I shall be in Wardha. On enquiring about that time at Sabarmati you will know whether I am then in Wardha or not.

Yours sincerely,

MISS C. D. SMILEY
AMERICAN MARATHI MISSION
BYCULLA, BOMBAY

From a microfilm: S.N. 15746

493. LETTER TO ALAVI

CAMP RAI BARELI,
November 14, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I went through a few pages of your book. A book like yours is not in my line. I am no judge of English poetry and I have no time to give myself to pleasures of that character. But I saw sufficient of your pages to discover that it contained many errors typographical and others. And as I was going through the few pages I could not help asking myself why you had devoted your precious time to writing on a thing on which Englishmen would write with greater confidence and authority and why you had not given your time to writing something in Urdu and for the Urdu-knowing countrymen of ours.

Yours sincerely,

PROF. ALAVI
MUSLIM UNIVERSITY
ALIGARH

From a photostat: S.N. 15765

¹ An American on a visit to India 159

494. *LETTER TO SECRETARY, A.I.S.A., MASULIPATAM*¹

Registered

CAMP RAI BARELI,
November 14, 1929

DEAR SIR,

I am writing a note in *Young India* about the dealers in spurious Andhra khadi.² I return the papers sent by you.

Yours sincerely,

Encls.

From a microfilm: S.N. 15766

495. *LETTER TO A. FENNER BROCKWAY*

CAMP RAI BARELI,
November 14, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I had your cablegram³. I have done whatever was possible but you will be patient with me if I do not take things quite on trust. I would want some absolute guarantees that things are not what they seem. The two Parliamentary debates contain nothing, not even in Benn's⁴ speech that would give me assurance that I may approach the Conference⁵ with confidence and safety. I would far rather wait and watch and pray than run into what may after all be a dangerous trap, may be quite unintended. The Montagu reforms have proved illusory. They have not eased the misery of the poor. On the contrary they have demonstrably increased their burdens. The price that was paid for the reforms was altogether too heavy. I want to pay no price for Dominion Status or whatever name the reality is called by. Why

¹ From the S.N. Register

² *Vide* "Notes", sub-title, "Khadi Buyers Beware", 21-11-1929.

³ Which read: "Convinced after seeing Benn sincere desire meet India basis equality. Beg you co-operate this opening door friendship. Arranging amnesty. Love."

⁴ Wedgwood Benn, Secretary of State for India

⁵ Proposed Round Table Conference

should a creditor have to pay anything for the repayment of debts due to him? I will follow the methods that I have adopted throughout life and, as for instance, in South Africa. Immediately I found that Smuts meant well I capitulated but I did so after having taken a written assurance from him. How the events will shape themselves in the next few days I do not know. But I owe it to you to make my position as clear as I can in a brief letter dictated in the midst of an exacting tour and at night after a fatiguing journey.

Similar letter sent to two other friends who sent cables like yours.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

FENNER BROCKWAY, ESQ.

From a photostat: G.N. 1407

496. LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA

CAMP RAI BARELI,

November 14, 1929

MY DEAR KUMARAPPA,

I have nearly finished your monograph on Public Finance. So far as I have gone I like it and I would like to publish it in *Young India*¹ and then perhaps separately in pamphlet form. If you are agreeable please telegraph your assent Anand Bhawan Allahabad.

This letter should be in your hands on Saturday.

Yours sincerely,

BAPU

SJT. KUMARAPPA

GUJARAT VIDYAPITH

AHMEDABAD

From a photostat: G.N. 10084

¹ It was published serially in *Young India* from 28-11-1929 to 23-1-1930 with an introduction by Gandhiji; *vide* "Public Finance and Our Poverty", 28-11-1929. It was later published in book form in 1930 with a foreword by Gandhiji; *vide* "Foreword to *Public Finance and Our Poverty*", 20-4-1930.

497. TELEGRAM TO SAROJINI NAIDU¹

[KALAKANKAR,
November 14, 1929]²

SAROJINI DEVI
TAJMAHAL
BOMBAY

CONSIDER IT IMPOSSIBLE INTERRUPT PROGRAMME DISAPPOINT
TENS OF THOUSANDS WHO CANNOT UNDERSTAND
INTERRUPTION. INTERVIEW CAN COME IF NECESSARY AFTER 24TH.
MEANWHILE HOPE MR. JINNAH OTHER FRIENDS
WILL RESPOND MOTILALJI INVITATION.

From a photostat: S.N. 15777

498. TELEGRAM TO MOTILAL NEHRU³

[KALAKANKAR,
November 14, 1929]

PANDIT NEHRU

REPLIED SAROJINIDEVI SAYING IMPOSSIBLE INTERRUPT
PROGRAMME. INTERVIEW CAN COME IF NECESSARY AFTER
24TH. THANKS FOR APPEAL LALAJI MEMORIAL.

From a photostat: S.N. 15777

¹ The addressee's telegram, communicated by Motilal Nehru to Gandhiji, read: "Viceroy expected Bombay sixteenth. Private interview as suggested feasible if authorized by you . . ."; *vide* also *Vithalbhai Patel, Life and Times*, Book II, p. 1064.

² The telegram to which this is a reply was received at Kalakankar on November 14 at 12.40 p.m.

³ Quoting Sarojini Naidu's telegram, *vide* footnote 2, the addressee had wired: "Our common friend will take initiative immediately and wire authentic invitation direct if in view important situation you could possibly alter your programme. Specially reach Bombay that date. Wire immediately."

499. LETTER TO J. B. PENNINGTON

CAMP KALAKANKAR,
November 14, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

However much we may differ, your letters are always welcome. They serve as a tonic. I am reproducing your letter in full in *Young India* with a short reply¹ of which I send you an advance copy herewith so as not to keep you waiting for the reply for a fortnight which it would take before it is printed as I am sending it to *Young India* from an out-of-the-way place in my U.P. tour. May you live long enough to send me many more letters still. There is no reason why you should not live to see India reach her cherished goal.

Yours sincerely,

J. B. PENNINGTON, ESQ.
NATIONAL HOMECROFT ASSOCIATION LIMITED
CARDIFF

From a photostat: S.N. 15249

500. LETTER TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

CAMP KALAKANKAR,
November 14, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I remember having received during this tour the letter you refer to but travelling along with me it got itself lost in a pile of papers and escaped my attention altogether. Pray, forgive me. You certainly have my blessings, both you and your wife, and may you have a happy long life dedicated to the service of the motherland. So far as I can see, you were right in leaving your father's house and your father is also right in saying that you may not have it all your own way so long as you depend upon him even for maintaining you. My own feeling is that no boy is fit to be married so long as he is not capable of maintaining himself and is actually not so doing. I feel that even if a grown-up young man is living in his father's house he

¹ Vide "Honest Differences", 21-11-1929.

should contribute his quota of labour to the household and earn his living so that both father and son feel interdependent and free to sever the joint life whenever either party so desires it. I do hope that you will not take up railway service. If you can put up with a life of hard toil you can certainly come to the Udyoga Mandir, see the thing for yourself and if it suits you, you can remain there. And if you can become acclimatized there your wife may follow. The law of the Udyoga Mandir requires strict celibacy even between husband and wife and therefore if your wife comes she would be expected to live apart from you. But if the Udyoga Mandir is too rigorous for you, you can still be accommodated in some national service if you will be content with a humble salary.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. ANAND T. HINGORANI
P.O. BALLOKI, DT. LAHORE

From a microfilm: S.N. 15690

501. LETTER TO SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN CONGRESS

CAMP KALAKANKAR,
November 14, 1929

THE SECRETARIES
SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN CONGRESS
[DURBAN]

DEAR SIR,

I enclose herewith letter received from the Accounts Officer, Telegraph Check Office, Calcutta, with reference to my application¹ for refund to be made of the amount sent by you for a message which amount was not used.

Yours sincerely,

Encl. 1

From a microfilm: S.N. 15767

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Superintendent, Government Telegraph Check Office, Calcutta", 23-10-1929

502. LETTER TO NARGIS CAPTAIN

CAMP KALAKANKAR,
November 14, 1929

I have your letter. I think you did talk to me about the German lady. If she comes to the Ashram of course I shall see her. I hope you were none the worse for the rushing you had during the tour. I am doing well. How is baby doing? You must give me all your impressions as you had promised. I shall reach Allahabad tomorrow and I hope to see Kamala in a comparatively healthy state.

MRS. NARGIS CAPTAIN
78 NAPEAN SEA ROAD
BOMBAY

From a photostat: S.N. 15768

503. LETTER TO SECRETARY, FIJI CONGRESS

CAMP KALAKANKAR,
November 14, 1929

THE SECRETARY
CONGRESS LAUTOKA
SUVA (FIJI)
DEAR FRIEND,

I had your cablegram¹ about the throwing out of the motion for common franchise. I congratulate the members who have resigned by way of protest. I hope that they will stick to their decision and not seek re-election till a common franchise is granted. United effort and agitation will surely bring about relief at an early period but whether it comes early or late it is perfectly useless to go to the Council unless this elementary thing is done. Please keep me informed of further developments.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 15769

¹ *Vide* "Notes", sub-title, Indians in Fiji", 21-11-1929.

504. LETTER TO RAMNIKLAL MODI

KALAKANKAR,

November 14, 1929

CHI. RAMNIKLAL,

I have your letter. The laxity about sacrificial spinning which is growing among us strikes me as dangerous. It is of course necessary that those who do not spin should give the reason why they do not do so. But these external remedies are just attempts to keep up appearances. Those who do not spin should declare what their real faith is.

I have held for many years that one external step remains to be taken. All activities which are looked upon as *yajna*, that is, dharma or duty, have a fixed time assigned to them. The *namaz*, the *gayatri*, etc., are performed at fixed hours. This is the meaning behind the notion of *mahurta*¹. It would therefore be worth while to fix the hour for sacrificial activities as we have fixed hours for meals. If we put upon these activities the same value in our hearts as we do with our lips, we would be able to solve all the difficulties which may arise in fixing such a time. I can understand that all the members of an institution cannot spin at the same hour. For instance, those who are engaged in cooking cannot spin at the same time as others. We may even fix a separate hour when such persons may spin. Think over this suggestion and, if you think it is practicable, discuss it with others. We shall discuss it further after my return and then do what seems best. If you do not think it has any significance, ignore it. You may, if you wish to, remove the rule about the length of the time [for spinning]. If my suggestion can be carried out, the question of removing that rule will not arise. If, however, you wish to fix the hour for spinning and not the length of time, you may do that. Adopt whichever method will safeguard truth.

I had a wire from Mahadev today, telling me that Santok² had been operated upon for piles and fistula. This seems to have been a sudden development, for I did not even know till now that Santok suffered from piles. of course it was good that she was operated upon.

¹ Auspicious hour

² Maganlal Gandhi's widow

I shall know more details when your letter arrives. It would be good if you get Manu's tonsils also removed just now. You need not wait for me, for the operation is a simple one.

Nath must have arrived there. I understand what you say about Marathe. By trying to keep his art a secret, he limits its scope and obstructs its progress. If Nath can convince him of this, Marathe will be happier and have more peace. Ishwarlal told me that, because of this defect of his, students did not like to work under him. I felt that there was a good deal of truth in what he said. I shall have no objection if you wish to show this portion to him. Tell Surendra that, though I write nothing concerning him, I have been every day looking for a letter from him.

Ask Bal to write. Enclosed is a letter for Bhansali. Pass it on to him after reading it. I have discussed some principles in it which it would be good for you to know.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4151

505. A LETTER

KALAKANKAR,

November 14, 1929

CHI...¹,

I should very much like to write about the Jam Saheb and other Princely states. I know a great deal about them, but at present I can serve best by keeping silent. Time is not yet for me to speak. But that does not mean that I do not think about the states. I think a great deal, I am learning a great deal, and if I live I will also gather the strength to speak.²

In spinning, the time spent in joining the string, if it breaks, can be included in the hour to be spent in spinning. But there is much room for self-deception in that practice. Hence after personal experience I have suggested that while fixing the time we should also fix the number of rounds. Just as we fix the minimum of one hour for

¹ The name is omitted in the source.

² *Vide* also "Princely States", 28-11-1929.

spinning, if we also fix the maximum or minimum of 160 rounds, there would be less room for self-deception, because it is my experience that if we have not fixed the number of rounds to be spun, very often the appointed time may be spent in fixing the spinning-wheel and we shall not have spun even one round. That happened with me in Yeravda Prison. So I set three types of conditions; so much weight and so much time. In fixing the limit of weight I was prompted by a desire to spin fine yarn, because I had seen that at time I span a lot but the weight was excessive, so that the yarn proved to be only of three counts. This made me angry with myself, and I decided to reduce the weight and spin the same number of rounds within it. After that I learnt to spin fine yarn. I can point out yet another necessary restriction. But this is enough for the present.

From a copy of the Gujarati: Kusumbehn Desai's Diary. S.N. 32579/8

506. *LETTER TO KALAVATI TRIVEDI*

KALAKANKAR,

November 14, 1929

CHI. KALAVATI,

I have your letter. It is good that you have now got over the loss of your jewellery. If we think deeply over it we shall find that nothing in this world belongs to any one individual. When a certain thing that we had come to regard as ours is lost or destroyed we feel grieved. But if we look upon a thing as belonging not to us but to God, there would be no grief. The question then arises: If nothing belongs to anyone, who should take care of anything and why? The answer is that though we are not the owners of a thing, we hold it, when it has come to us through our labour or through some other rightful means, in trust or guardianship for God. It then becomes our duty to guard it. And, if, in spite of our guarding it with diligence and care, it comes to be destroyed or lost we should not feel grieved.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 5241

507. *LETTER TO J. P. BHANSALI*

KALAKANKAR,
November 15, 1929

CHI. BHANSALI,

I have your letter. You are perfectly entitled to write to me about the Ashram for you have been regarding it as your own. By all means discuss the question with me to your heart's content when we meet. There is certainly much in what you write. The things I do and encourage others to do, I describe as experiments because we cannot be definite about their results. If I had been following the beaten path, I would not have given it the name "experiment". As I have not deduced any new principle, I do not describe the experiment as a fresh discovery. However, as an element of novelty is necessarily involved in putting ancient principles into practice, risks have got to be taken in such experiments. If there is scope for reform or change in the common practice of those principles, it becomes one's duty to effect such reform even if risks have to be taken for the purpose. The rest when we meet.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4208

508. *LETTER TO SANTOK GANDHI*

November 16, 1929

CHI. SANTOK,

I have now Mahadev's letter from which I learn the details. It is very good that you underwent the operation. I hope you are resting now. Ask Radha¹ or Rukhi² to write to me a detailed account.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 8678. Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

¹ Addressee's daughters

² *ibid*

509. THE VALUE OF NATIONAL EDUCATION¹

Shri Jethalal Jivanlal Gandhi, Secretary of the Gujarat Vidyapith Graduates' Association, writes:²

The readers will see that this letter confirms what I said in my first article.³ If the prevailing atmosphere in the country is good, or if our youth shows the capacity to rise above it, the national schools will brim over with students. Life throbs in the national schools. If nothing more, it does at least produce in the students a spirit of service and self-confidence.

The progress registered in spinning and the use of khadi may be considered satisfactory. But, in my opinion, there is still room for improvement. No one who has been in a national school for any length of time can afford to be half-hearted in his use of khadi. For instance, if one omits any part of a uniform, one cannot be said to be in uniform. It has to be remembered that khadi is the accepted uniform of national schools and colleges. Just as every right angle has 90 degrees, even so it is with the uniform to be used by the graduates of a national college. We restrict the meaning of uniform only to the kind of cloth used. There is no restriction about the type of clothes to be put on. I think that it should be so. The practice obtained in the gurukuls of olden times and prevails today in the well-known schools of the West. I am inclined to believe that there is a sound basis for it.

The graduates do not yet take sufficient interest in spinning for they have not still fully appreciated its value. If they do, they can easily produce every month heaps of beautiful, well-twisted fine yarn and it will not take much of their time. As long as they are not convinced that swaraj does indeed lie in the self-spun khadi yarn, we have to wait for that full interest to be shown by them in spinning and khadi.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan 17-11-1929

¹ Translation of this article is adapted from *The Problem of Education*.

² The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had given the latest

³ information on the activities of the ex-students of the Gujarat Vidyapith

510. COWDUNG CAKES OR MANURE?¹

In the last chapter² we discussed human excreta and urine. Since we make no use of animals' urine like that of cows and buffaloes, it only serves to accentuate the filth. Cowdung is mostly used for making cakes for fuel. There is no reason to doubt at all that this is the least use—if not misuse—of cowdung. This is like killing a buffalo for making a lash. The heat produced by cowdung cake is considered to be mild. It is used by those who smoke a hookah or *chilam*³. In the Punjab there is a belief that cowdung cake fire is better for making ghee. It is possible that there is some truth in it. But all these arguments are advanced because we use cowdung as fuel. If we make full use of cowdung, various other means can be found to produce a mild fire. If cowdung cakes cost one pie each, the value of the same quantity of cowdung, if fully utilized, will be ten times more. And if we take into account the indirect losses, they are hard to estimate.

To make full and good use of cowdung is to use it as manure. Agricultural experts opine that, if we misuse cowdung for fuel, the fields suffer in fertility. A field without manure is as dry as a sweetmeat without ghee. I presume that there are no such farmers in India foolish enough to burn cowdung and buy chemical manure. Moreover, farmers believe that the value of chemical manure when compared with cowdung manure is much less. There are advantages as well as disadvantages in using chemical manure. Although scientists are still making experiments, many of them believe that the use of chemical manure increases the quantity of yield and sometimes improves its appearance also, but the quality certainly suffers. It is the opinion of some scientists that, by using chemical manure in a field of given area the yield of wheat would increase, the grain would be bigger in size and better in appearance, while the yield of wheat in a field of equal size having natural manure may be less, but will excel the former in sweetness and nutritional value. It is possible that after sufficient research the value that is attached to chemical manure today will be considerably lowered.

¹ This appeared in the *Shikshan ane Sahitya* supplement.

² Vide "Does A Village Mean A Dunghill", 22-9-1929

³ Clay pipe

Whether it be so or not, there can be no two opinions that cowdung must be used only as manure. Hence it is but the village level worker's job to impart full knowledge about the use of cattle dung and urine as manure. It is the volunteer's duty to remove the people's misconception about cowdung cakes, to find out some other substitute fuel, to explain to them by various means the value of cowdung and urine as manure and to gain enough knowledge to be able to explain the above points to the people. The subject is as profitable as it is interesting and, for an industrious researcher, there is a mine of knowledge in it. Readers will see that in this as in regard to human excreta, money or great knowledge is not required, but what is needed is love, the love to which I referred in the last chapter.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 17-11-1929

511. THE SAME OLD QUESTIONS

A reader of *Navajivan* asks:¹

Such questions have been asked in the past and replies to them have also been given. It seems, however, that the same questions pose themselves before other people. How would a new subscriber or reader of *Navajivan* know what has been written before? Hence, as soon as doubts arise, he asks for a clarification. So long as the majority of people do not take an intelligent interest in public activities, answers to the same questions will have to be given repeatedly.

The above correspondent also writes:

I ask these questions not for myself; I have full faith in you. Answers are necessary for reassuring others.

Now the replies.

Anyone who has taken the vow of *aparigraha*² may not keep anything for himself, but he can keep crores in his custody while acting as a trustee. I am a representative of the poor, the cow, etc. So long as the people put their trust in me, I have a right to ask for

¹ The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had questioned the propriety of an austere person like Gandhiji collecting funds, and sought particulars about such funds and property.

² Non-possession

money and keep it in my possession on their behalf.

I have not yet been able to collect a sum amounting to rupees one and a half crore but if I live longer, I certainly hope to do so. The one crore rupees belonging to the Tilak Swaraj Fund were entrusted to the Congress. Its accounts have been published in full and the publication can be obtained even today by writing to the secretary or the treasurer of the Congress. The amount collected for the poor is being deposited in the account of the All-India Spinners' Association. Seth Jamnalalji is the treasurer of both these organizations. The money is deposited in well-known banks. The accounts of the All-India Spinners' Association are also published every year and whoever wants them can obtain them by writing to its secretary.

The documents relating to the Ashram and its land have been registered in the names of its trustees.¹ I am not one of them. The accounts of the Ashram have also been published and are sent to those friends who contribute towards its expenses.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 17-11-1929

512. A DILEMMA

A Brahmin youth aged thirty writes:²

I was hesitating to publish this letter, but finally decided that this should be done. I have received such letters from two or three different quarters. Some young men have also personally talked to me. From this I conclude that such incidents are not altogether uncommon. Hence discussing them may prove useful to some people. If what this unhappy Brahmin has written is wholly true, he should be regarded as having knowingly ruined the poor girl. He married at the age of 25. At that age he was a fully mature person. His weakness was not of recent origin, it was there even at the time of marriage. Hence he should have explained his condition to his parents without any false sense of modesty and should have refused to get married. But thinking about what has already been done is futile except in so far as it is useful in seeking a remedy. I feel that even under Hindu law, such a relationship would not be regarded as marriage. If a woman

¹ *Vide* "Ashram Trust-Deed", 2-2-1926.

² The letter is not translated here.

disguises herself as a man and marries another woman, that marriage is not recognized as legal and the latter has full freedom to marry again. Likewise, the marriage of a man who for whatever reasons is impotent even at the time of marriage cannot be regarded as marriage at all. Hence the girl should look upon herself as unmarried and get married again. The young man should frankly admit his mistake before the members of his caste and others and take it upon himself to get her married again. If the parents come in the way of his doing this, he should face their opposition, but carry out his dharma and save the girl.

Young men conceal their impotency and such other ailments; but this should not be necessary. It is the parents and not the children who are responsible for the bad habits the latter contract in their childhood. If the former are negligent, teach their children a false sense of modesty, do not make them their, friends and later, if the children unconsciously form bad habits, the fault is not theirs but it is the parents alone who are to be blamed.

Hence, when children reach maturity, they should courageously make known their impotency if any and such other defects. If treated in time, such weakness can even be cured. But I cannot advise this particular husband to torture the girl while he makes efforts to regain his potency. If he wishes to undergo treatment after having got the girl settled in another marriage, he is free to do so. But certain precautions are necessary even in doing this. No one can gain true virility by taking *matras*, *tejabs* and *yakutis*¹. What they do get through these is artificial stimulation. No one has been able by means of *yakutis* to turn a weak mind into a strong one. The remedy for one who has lost his virility is exercise, a wholesome diet, open air and hydrotherapy. And the first thing is to make an effort to give up one's bad habits. Hydrotherapy strengthens the nerve-cells and one gains peace of mind. As a result, bad habits too are brought under control.

It is possible that the girl is not prepared to marry again. In that case she should stay in some institution, accept the dharma of service and get educated. If she is occupied the whole day in ennobling service and studies, it is possible that her desire for sex and for having children will be subdued. Why should she not regard all the children

¹ These are various types of medicinal preparations, oxides of metals, acids and intoxicants.

in the world as her own?

But the first step has to be taken by the young man and that is resolutely to make his own weakness known. to be afraid of receiving letters through the post may be regarded as the very limit of degradation. But the present-day atmosphere in our country has become so pathetic that there are many young men who are afraid to get replies to their letters by post. Parents too -are certainly to be blamed for this. They have the audacity to read without hesitation letters addressed to their children. Grown-up children are not at all obliged to tell everything or show their letters to their parents. Those parents who desire to read their children's letters without the latter's permission are not parents, but tyrants.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 17-11-1 929

513. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

CAMP ALLAHABAD,
November 17, 1929

MY DEAR SATIS BABU,

I have your letter. I have not yet got the soya bean packets. I note what you have written to Govind Babu. I do not attach any importance to his opinion. You are having your share of sorrows and worries with a vengeance, Tarini incapable, Charu following suit and Hemprabhadevi again bed-ridden. It is appalling. May YOU have the strength to bear the burden.

I have got a letter from Ram Binod of which I enclose a copy herewith. I also enclose a copy of my reply¹. Have I correctly represented your position?

Yours sincerely,

BAPU

Encls. 2

From a photostat: G.N. 1612

¹ *Vide* the following item.

514. LETTER TO RAM BINOD

CAMP ALLAHABAD,
November 17, 1929

MY DEAR RAM BINOD,

I have your letter¹ many days after your telegram. From your letter I gather that you propose to take up a legal standpoint. If you wish to do so I have nothing to say. The Association must then decide according to the opinion of its legal advisers. But I wish to put three things before you. Firstly, I have never looked upon these proceedings as a legal arbitration. Secondly, I was to be the final judge. Satis Babu and Vithaldas Jerajani were to advise me. Thirdly, so far as I am aware Satis Babu himself does not regard his judgment as a legal award. On the contrary he considers it to be a judgment submitted to me for my approval. I have never thought that even I was to give a legal award. My one aim was to arrive at an amicable settlement. You will now please let me know whether you propose to take up your stand upon law and regard the proceedings before Satis Babu as legal [or] as part of an attempt to arrive at an amicable settlement.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. RAM BINOD

GANDHI KUTIR

MALKHACHAK

P.O. DIGHWARA (BIHAR)

From a microfilm: S.N. 15761

¹ The addressee had written: “. . . the dispute between me and the Bihar Branch of the A.I.S.A. has been settled finally by arbitration. I have nothing to say in regard to it. I do not see how the matter can now be reopened. Both Rajendra Babu and myself agreed in writing in Calcutta, at your intervention and with your concurrence, to refer the dispute for final decision to arbitration and to accept the award loyally and faithfully as the last word upon the subject.... And after going into the matter thoroughly the arbitrators came to a decision which vindicated and upheld me. . . . The Bihar Branch of the A.I.S.A. having agreed to accept the award as final must abide by it. . . . “

515. LETTER TO NAWAB OF BHOPAL

CAMP ALLAHABAD,
November 17, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I am much obliged to you for your letter¹ of 11th inst. I can in return give you my assurance that I shall not make any indiscreet or illegitimate use of the information you have so generously placed in my possession.

Yours sincerely,

HIS HIGHNESS THE NAWAB SAHEB OF BHOPAL
BHOPAL (C.I.)

From a photostat: S.N. 15770

516. LETTER TO B. RAM VARMA

CAMP ALLAHABAD,
November 17, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. The Raja Saheb of Avagarh has promised a fat contribution but I have not received anything yet. He however said that he would send the contribution at an early date. I have no doubt that he will do so. I have nothing but sweet recollections of my visit to Etah.² You were all very kind and I think that the Etah contribution was not bad.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. B. RAM VARMA
PRESIDENT, DT. CONGRESS COMMITTEE
ETAH

From a photostat: S.N. 15774

¹ This is not available. In an earlier confidential letter to Gandhiji, the addressee had regretted that people were needlessly criticizing the administration, that he had voluntarily curtailed his expenses and his income was derived from investments made prior to becoming the ruler. With his letter he had enclosed some State documents.

² On November 8

517. SPEECH AT ALLAHABAD UNIVERSITY

November 17, 1929

Mahatma Gandhi, expressing appreciation of the address and the purse presented, said what they had done was in the performance of their duty and so he thought that there was no occasion for congratulating the students and the staff on contributing to the Lajpat Rai Fund and for khaddar propaganda.

He referred to a letter¹ which he received after his visit to Lucknow from a student of Lucknow saying that he too had joined in contributing at Lucknow to the purse in the hope that from that moment those contributing would resolve to use always khaddar. But this student expressed his surprise that after leaving Lucknow none appeared to be disposed to work for and use khaddar.

Mahatma Gandhi did not see any meaning in making those presents for khaddar and charkha if they were not at the same time determined to work for khaddar. So I say that there would be no occasion for my expressing gratitude if it is not your resolve that from today you will work for khaddar.

It was, therefore, his earnest request that they should start doing the work, an appreciation of which they made by presenting the purse.

You say in your address that charkha has a great power but have you made up your mind to work it yourself? I know you can if you only decide to do so.

He was sure that it would not in the least interfere with their studies nor would it affect their mental powers if the students only decided to give half an hour a day to spinning. Mahatma Gandhi next appealed to the students to form their *sangathan*², for their organized effort only could bring swaraj.

He next paid a tribute to the late Lala Lajpat Rai. Some thought, he said, that Lajpat Rai was an enemy of Mohammedans.

But I would say that he was the enemy of none. Lalaji was an advocate of Hindu-Muslim unity which was his creed and so was his religion and if you want to respect him you should at least do this that you should make an effort for bringing about unity.

The Leader, 20-11-1929

¹ *Vide* "Notes", sub-title, "Is It a Sale of Indulgences", 21-11-1929.

² Organization

518. SPEECH AT CIVIC RECEPTION, ALLAHABAD

November 17, 1929

Mahatma Gandhi giving a joint reply to the addresses expressed his feeling of gratitude at the addresses presented by the Municipal and District Boards and also for the purse presented by the former Board.

He congratulated the Municipal Board on giving instruction in charkha to the children and hoped that the District Board also would introduce charkha in its schools. He also congratulated the Municipal Board on having a leather working school. Mahatma Gandhi said that as he regarded himself a spinner and cultivator he also considered himself a Chamar¹ in view of his having some knowledge of the Chamar's craft as well. He therefore ventured to make a suggestion in respect of the leather industry in India.

He noticed that these days from India nine crores of rupees were sent to foreign countries through the skins of the animals being sent out for tanning. In order to save the drain of such a large amount annually, he desired that earnest efforts be made to find out some ways of improving the tanning industry in India. Hitherto even the British had failed to compete successfully with the Germans. Indians were, therefore, advised by Mahatma Gandhi to content themselves with chrome tanning only and to use shoes of chrome leather. If that was done nine crores of rupees would be retained in the country.

Proceeding, Mahatma Gandhi said that he was shocked to hear that like Hardwar, the sacred rivers of Prayag were also allowed to be polluted by sewage water of the Municipality. This news caused much pain to Mahatma Gandhi. The Board thereby not only polluted sacred rivers but also threw in the river thousands of rupees, for otherwise sewage water could be beneficially utilized. He expressed his surprise at the Board being unable to do anything in that respect.

Mahatma Gandhi emphasized the need for making arrangements for the supply of good milk to their constituents. The Boards, in his opinion, would not be considered to have discharged their duties if they did not make arrangements for that. He failed to understand why the Boards had hitherto failed to do such a simple thing.

Concluding, Mahatma Gandhi asked the audience to go to that evening's public meeting with their pockets full of money to contribute towards the Lajpat Rai Fund as that was the day of Lala Lajpat Rai's death anniversary when they should try to give away as much as they could.

The Leader, 20-11-1929

¹ Leather worker

519. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, ALLAHABAD

November 17, 1929

Mahatma Gandhi said that it was not for the first time that he had come to Prayag. Pandit Motilal Nehru brought him generally whenever he desired and whenever he liked. But this visit, he said, was his first visit to Allahabad on the mission of begging for *Daridranarayana*.

Allahabad had given him more than Rs. 30,000 of which more than Rs. 16,000 was the share of *Daridranarayana*. For that Mahatma Gandhi offered his congratulations but cautioned the citizens not to feel that they had given him much. Considering the population of two lakhs of Allahabad the collection of a sum of Rs. 30,000 or Rs. 40,000 was not a great achievement. He knew that in Allahabad there were men who could pay Rs. 40,000 each, if they only so desired. Mahatma Gandhi's feeling was that when he left Allahabad he would have with him at least- Rs. 35,000.

But, he said, he wanted sixty crores of rupees and they could get sixty six crores if all Indians decided to use only khaddar. The use of khaddar would save the drain of sixty-six crores of India's money annually to foreign countries and sixty-six crores so saved would be sent into the villages. He paid a tribute to the Raja of Kalakankar and the Lal Sahib of Samastipur¹ who, he said, brought out their precious clothes of foreign stuff and got them burnt. Mahatma Gandhi, therefore, asked the citizens of Allahabad to resolve from that day to use nothing but khaddar.

Mahatma Gandhi next paid a tribute to the late Lala Lajpat Rai's memory and expressed surprise that although a year had passed they had not been able to collect even five lakhs of rupees. He referred to the appeal² issued under the signatures of some leaders for the Lajpat Rai Memorial Fund and the suggestion of Pandit Motilal Nehru that they should collect at least two lakhs on the day of the first anniversary of the death of Lala Lajpat Rai. If they put their heart into the work he did not think it was a great thing to collect two lakhs.

If they had the least respect, Mahatma Gandhi added, for the late Lala Lajpat Rai they should give as much as they could that day for the Memorial Fund. Allahabad was the place where the present and future Presidents³ of the Indian National Congress lived, it was the place where the Committee⁴ was located and where a big university was established and so if they would not get money here where else would they be able to get it? Lala Lajpat Rai, he said, had given his life in the work for swaraj and India

¹ Samaspur; vide "The U. P. tour-IX", 21-11-1929.

² Vide "Appeal for Lajpat Rai Memorial Fund", 26-11-1928

³ Motilal Nehru and Jawaharlal Nehru

⁴ All-India Congress Committee

should, therefore, resolve to do within a year what Lala Lajpat Rai wanted to do.

People should forget what the Viceroy said or would say or what Mr. Wedgwood Benn said or would say and what the leaders would discuss. What India was to get would not come from London but would come from the Indians themselves from their own strength. Mahatma Gandhi, therefore, appealed to the people to organize themselves for the work to attain swaraj. Until there was an awakening about his rights in even the smallest cultivator there would be no real swaraj. Everything depended on the power of the people themselves and therefore he appealed to the people to do everything to increase their strength and organization.

The Leader, 20-11-1929

520. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

November 18, 1929

MY DEAR JAWAHAR,

Here is my draft¹. I want you to consider it carefully and take your full share in the discussion tonight. I do not want you to suppress yourself in any way whatsoever except where *you* feel that self-suppression is better than self-expression on particular occasions. After all we must each serve according to our lights, not borrowed.

BAPU

Gandhi-Nehru Papers, 1929. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

¹ *Vide* the following item.

*521. DRAFT RESOLUTION FOR CONGRESS
WORKING COMMITTEE¹*

November 18, 1929

Having considered the Viceregal pronouncement² of 1st instant and the manifesto bearing the signatures of Congress members and members belonging to the other political parties in the country, the events that have happened thereafter both in India and England and the advice tendered by friends and well-wishers, the Working Committee approves of the action taken by Congressmen and defers further consideration pending the holding of the forthcoming session of the National Congress.

From a photostat: S.N. 15593

522. LETTER TO V. G. DESAI

PRAYAG [ALLAHABAD],

November 18, 1929

BHAISHRI VALJI,

It is not worth while to do that business in grass. The other expenditure will be more than the cost of the material itself. It is necessary to inform Nagindas about this.

The venture proposed by Vrajmohanlal Varma is of little value. I saw him. Reply to him directly from there and tell him that we cannot give him any help.

If I still have the subscription list relating to Hasanand, it may be

¹ As passed by the Congress Working Committee, the resolution read: "Having regard to the Viceregal pronouncement of November 1, the Delhi manifesto bearing the signatures of Congress members and members belonging to other political parties in the country and the events that have subsequently happened and having regard to the opinions of friends that the response from the British Government to the Delhi manifesto should be further awaited before the policy laid down therein is revised, the Working Committee confirms the action taken by Congressmen at Delhi, it being clearly understood that this confirmation is constitutionally limited to the date of the holding of the forthcoming session of the Congress." *The Pioneer*, 20-11-1929

² *Vide* "Viceroy's Statement", 31-10-1929

somewhere in the file there. I shall search for it after I return there.

I have still not been able to take those essays in hand.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7403. Courtesy: V. G. Desai

523. LETTER TO SHIVABHAI PATEL

November 18, 1929

BHAI SHIVABHAI,

I have your letter. It is the assurance of the *Gita*, and is proved in experience, that anyone who strives sincerely for self-control is bound to succeed in his effort. of course such striving requires patience. More when we meet.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9496

524. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

PRAYAG,

November 18, 1929

CHI. MAHADEV,

I got your letters. For some time now Pyarelal's inspiration has dried up. I was put to such trouble in revising his articles that I relieved him of the burden of writing. The articles became so weak that, even after revision, they lacked vigour. Pyarelal also saw this and so, for the present, he looks after the correspondence. The last three letters from U.P.¹ were written by me. I thought it advisable during this tour to write the letters myself and sign them. None of us knows how the signature A originated. Personally, I wanted the signature P to continue to appear. But I thought that Valji may have deliberately replaced P, and if that was so I did not wish to alter the new practice and did not ask any question about it.

I do not remember anything about the cow Jill.²

¹ *Vide* "The U. P. tour-X", 21-11-1929 and "The U. P. tour-XI", 28-11-1929.

² *Vide* Frontispiece of

It is surprising that though the matter for *Navajivan* was posted with great care, it reached there on Saturday instead of Friday. to run a journal from a distance is certainly a species of bravado, but that has been the position ever since I started running a journal.

As Jamnalalji is also here, you are the only one absent from the company. How can I manage to give accounts of the events here? Devdas is lazy in such matters, and Pyarelal is happy-go-lucky. You may, therefore, go on complaining as much as you choose.

I have finished reading Brayne's second book¹ too. That man's zeal astonishes me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11464

525. LETTER TO ASHRAM WOMEN

PRAYAG,
Silence Day, November 18, 1929

SISTERS,

I write about an idea which occurred to me from Santok's operation. Indian women feel reluctant to get themselves examined by doctors. This is a wrong attitude. We have suffered much because of it. *This sense of shame has its origin not in purity but in impurity.* I should like the women in the Ashram to get rid of this superstition. If Dr. Haribhai had not been permitted to operate upon Santok, the operation would not have been performed and her life would have been in danger. No woman should hesitate to let herself be examined even by a male doctor. Since the patient would be accompanied by her relatives and friends, she need have no fear. Perhaps you do not know that I had called in a male doctor at the time of Ba's last confinement. She had an operation once and that too was done by a male doctor. Ba lost nothing by this. In such matters, all that is necessary is to change one's attitude. That is why I have put this matter before you. If you wish to ask me anything about this, do so on Tuesday the 26th.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3710

¹ On village uplift; vide "Is It Village Uplift", 17-10-1929

526. LETTER TO NANDKISHORI

PRAYAG,

*Silence Day [November 18, 1929]*¹

CHI. NANDKISHORI,

You have asked a pertinent question. Whether one's love is pure or not can be judged only by its manifestation. The love of a mother indulging her offspring with luxuries proceeds from ignorance. That wife's love is selfish who is reluctant to stay away from her husband even in the interest of his dharma. We can note innumerable such instances.

Those people who do not wish to observe the rules have no place in the Ashram. But the others, who are making honest though unsuccessful efforts, do have and should have a place.

In the Ashram we do not follow the policy of punishment for transgression of the rules or for other lapses.

May you ever pass your life in such a thoughtful manner.

Blessings from

BAPU

From Hindi: C.W. 1638. Courtesy: Ramniklal Modi

527. LETTER TO TOTARAM SANADHYA

PRAYAG,

*Silence Day [November 18, 1929]*²

BHAI TOTARAMJI,

The doctor's opinion about Gangadevi is not to be entirely relied upon. For the present she needs nothing besides milk, curds and fruits. Anyway I am returning soon. After observing Gangadevi's health and her wishes I shall make the changes that may be necessary.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2335

¹ In 1929, Gandhiji was in Prayag on this date. This letter was included in the collection of letters received from Ramniklal Modi who was Manager of the Ashram in late 1929.

² Gandhiji was in Prayag on this day in 1929.

528. *LETTER TO CHAND TYAGI*

PRAYAG,
*Silence Day [November 18, 1929]*¹

BHAI TYAGIJI,

Enquire from Pandit Devsharmaji regarding Balbir and the climate. If coconut is not available sesame or linseed [oil] may be used.

I am keeping good health.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI CHAND TYAGIJI
GURUKUL MAYAPUR
P. O. KANKHAL
DT. SAHARANPUR

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 6096

529. *LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS*

Unrevised

CAMP MIRZAPUR,
November 19, 1929

MY DEAR CHARLIE,

I got your letter from New York yesterday at Allahabad, took the early morning train today to come to Mirzapur and here I am dictating this letter to Pyarelal whilst I am spinning. I am glad that you will not write anything final without consultation. I was receiving so many cautions and I had distrusted with good reason so many things said about Br.² that I thought if I published your letter as I wanted to, I ought to utter the word of caution I did.³ I am glad about the improved climate. The touring has never hurt me but there certainly was some defect in the raw food experiment. Almost everyone broke down and four or five who are bravely carrying on are not able to

¹ From the postmark

² Presumably Brockway; *vide* "Letter to A. Fenner Brockway", 14-11-1929

³ Presumably in the article "My Position", 14-11-1929; *vide* "My Position", 14-11-1929

show brilliant results. But they are carrying on because they have the scientific spirit in them.

Of course, anything that might be received from the Macmillan Company¹ will be going to the Pearson Memorial in the Shantiniketan for which, I am glad, you have secured the services of a quaker doctor. You will be glad to learn that prompted by H. G. Alexander, a young quaker, whom perhaps you know, Reginald Reynolds has come to the Ashram. I have not yet met him but hope to do so on the 25th. His two weeks' experience, he tells me, confirms the first happy impression produced upon him by Indian contacts.

Of course, I want you whenever you can come. But I do not want you to interrupt your work. So long as you think that the West needs you do by all means stay there. of events here you know everything I suppose.

The Joint Conference took place last night at which we came to a workable formula. I am doing my utmost best to smooth the way of Lord Irwin. The rest I must leave Pyarelal to fill up.

Love.

MOHAN

From a photostat: G.N. 996

530. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

CAMP ALLAHABAD,
November 19, 1929

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I have your tragic letter in Mirzapur.

What a sad fate ! What crimes do we not commit in the name of service! Has Prasannababu left any children?

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

[PS.]

May God make Hemprabhadevi healthy.²

From a photostat: G.N. 1613

¹ Royalty payments for the American edition of *An Autobiography* edited by C. F. Andrews

² The postscript is in Hindi.

531. LETTER TO RAMNIKLAL MODI

MIRZAPUR,

November 19, 1929

CHI. RAMNIKLAL,

I have your letter. I have already written to you concerning spinning.¹ I need not, therefore, write more about it. I have even written to Chhaganlal and told him that I do not agree with his view. If his objection is valid, it strikes at the very root of all rules. If we need the restriction of rules, we have to relax or stiffen them as we may find necessary from experience. That involves no question of principle. If, however, it is necessary to discuss this matter, we shall do that when all of us meet.

I intend to send away Ba, Kusum and Jayanti four days earlier. The journey from now onwards will be rather difficult. The facilities available will be few. Cars will have to be hired. In such circumstances, I wish to have the smallest number accompanying me. Prabhavati left for Patna yesterday. Mirabeen will start tomorrow. Hence, only Pyarelal, and possibly Devdas, will remain with me. I have not looked up the time-table to see by what train they will reach Ahmedabad. I will, therefore, send a wire later. Send word to Ranchhodbhai or Anasuyabeen to have a car waiting at the station.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4152

532. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

MIRZAPUR,

November 19, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I have your letter. I myself find it difficult to understand my telegram of which you have sent me a copy. The message does not seem to have been transmitted correctly. Be that as it may. The Bombay Women's Council workers use English thread for

¹ On November 14; vide "Letter to Ramniklal Modi", 14-11-1929

embroidery work on khadi, but their articles are not boycotted for that reason. This practice has been going on for many years. Hence follow it this time too. I have no time to write more.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5470

533. A LETTER

ALLAHABAD,

November 19, 1929

CHI...¹,

I should not have asked what your mental condition was. Where one forget the past, thinks not about the future and only wants to be engrossed in the present duty, no question arises about one's mental condition being either good or bad. The mind of one who fully keeps it occupied in the immediate duty is bound to be pure, just as a machine that is kept in working order will be free from dirt. It is wrong to say that he who is only striving is necessarily a pretender; one may only say that pretence is likely to creep into his conduct. Striving which has an element of pretence in it is no striving at all. The same is true about a moral teacher. He may develop hypocrisy. But though one may be imperfect, one can avoid hypocrisy. In Kaka's words there is self-condemnation in the attempt to express humility. No other meaning is to be read in to them.

From a copy of the Gujarati: Kusumbehn Desai's Diary. S.N. 32579/10

534. LETTER TO BUDHABHAI

MIRZAPUR,

November 19, 1929

BHAISHRI BUDHABHAI²,

I received your letter. As long as Parvati harbours impure feelings in her heart and you two do not get along well with each other, you should not accept any services from her. But in thus

¹ The name is omitted in the source.

² The letter is in a different hand but the subscription is by Gandhiji

refusing her services, you should have no feeling of anger or ill-will against her and you may unhesitatingly accept any service from her which your inner voice prompts you to accept. That which I believe to be dharma. . . .¹ If, however, you do not believe that to be dharma, you need not, in spite of that, act in that manner. As for eating the things seasoned in the kitchen with condiments, I will think over the matter when I come there. I understand what Nanibehn says, too.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: S.N. 33127

535. *LETTER TO RAMNARAYAN CHOUDHRI*

MIRZAPUR,

November 19, 1929

BHAI RAMNARAYAN,

I got your letter. I had forgotten about ghee. There was no need to abstain from ghee in my presence. Give up the restriction and take the required quantity of ghee. You must build up your body. My train will reach Ajmer on the 25th morning. It will be my day of silence.

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Hindi]

Bapu: Maine Kya Dekha, Kya Samjha?

536. *LETTER TO RAMNIKLAL MODI*

BANDA,

November 20, 1929

CHI. RAMNIKLAL,

I should have had a letter from you, but did not get one. Probably I shall get it at some other place. I told you in my letter yesterday that Ba, Kusum and Jayanti would arrive there on Thursday, but later I changed my mind about Jayanti. I thought that he should

¹ The source here is damaged.

utilize this opportunity and see Agra, Jaipur and Ajmer. In my judgment, there was nothing special for him to see or get experience of during the remaining four days of the tour, and so I sent him away to see the three cities. Ba and Kusum seemed reluctant at the last moment to leave early and arrive there ahead of me, and, therefore, I did not insist. Having stayed on, however, she collected today her share of the contributions. Because she was with me, by her presence she consoled hundreds of women in places which I could not visit.

And on the way, travelling in another car she received purses while I slept. That was a gain for the poor and gave some satisfaction to the people. Now all of us will arrive there together on Monday evening by the meter gauge. Send word to Anasuyabehn and Ranchhodbhai to arrange for a car.

Blessings from

BAPU

[P.S.]

I have not revised this.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4153

537. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

Unrevised

BANDA,

November 20, 1929

CHI. MIRA,¹

Our train being two hours late, the whole of the programme was upset. It was somewhat set right by my forgoing the afternoon rest and putting off the bath for the night station. I finished spinning at 9.30. It is now nearly 10 p.m. But I may not retire before writing this.

The foregoing preface is to show you I have been thinking of you the whole day long. Now that you are away from me, my grief over having grieved you is greater.² No tyrant has yet lived who has not paid for the suffering he has caused. No lover has ever given pain without being more pained. Such is my state. What I have done was inevitable. Only I wish I did not lose temper. But such is my brutality

¹ The superscription in this and other letters to Mirabehn is in Devanagari script.

² Gandhiji had reproached the addressee for being over-anxious about his health.

towards those I love most. But now that you are away from me, I can think of nothing but your extraordinary devotion. May God remove what I consider is your *moha*¹ or may He open the eyes of my understanding and let me see my error.

You are to keep well.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5379. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9435

¹ Ignorant attachment