THE COLLECTED WORKS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

LXV

(1937)

CWMG - LXV

THE COLLECTED WORKS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

CWMG - LXV

VOLUME SIXTY-FIVE



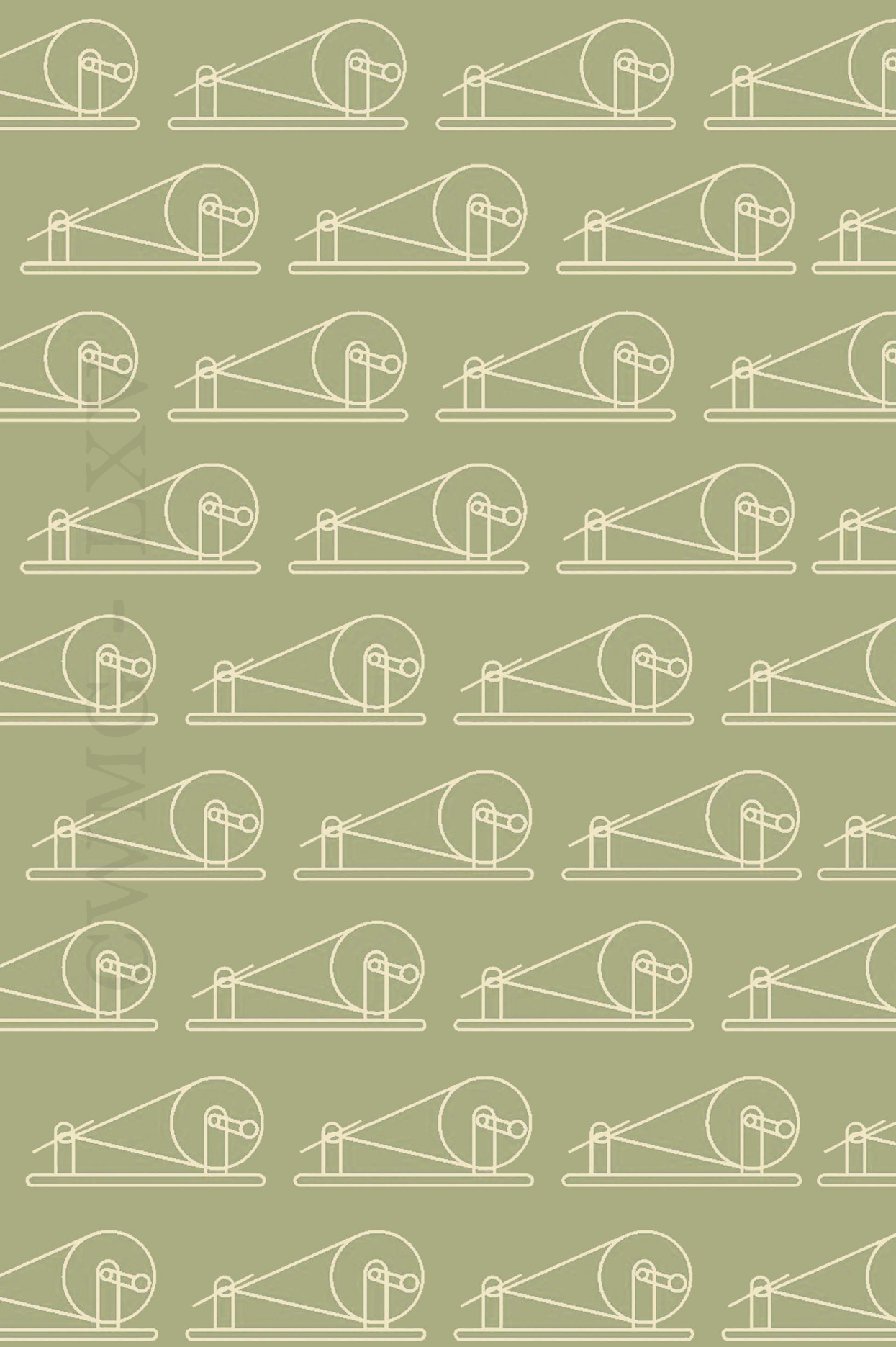
THE PUBLICATIONS DIVISION

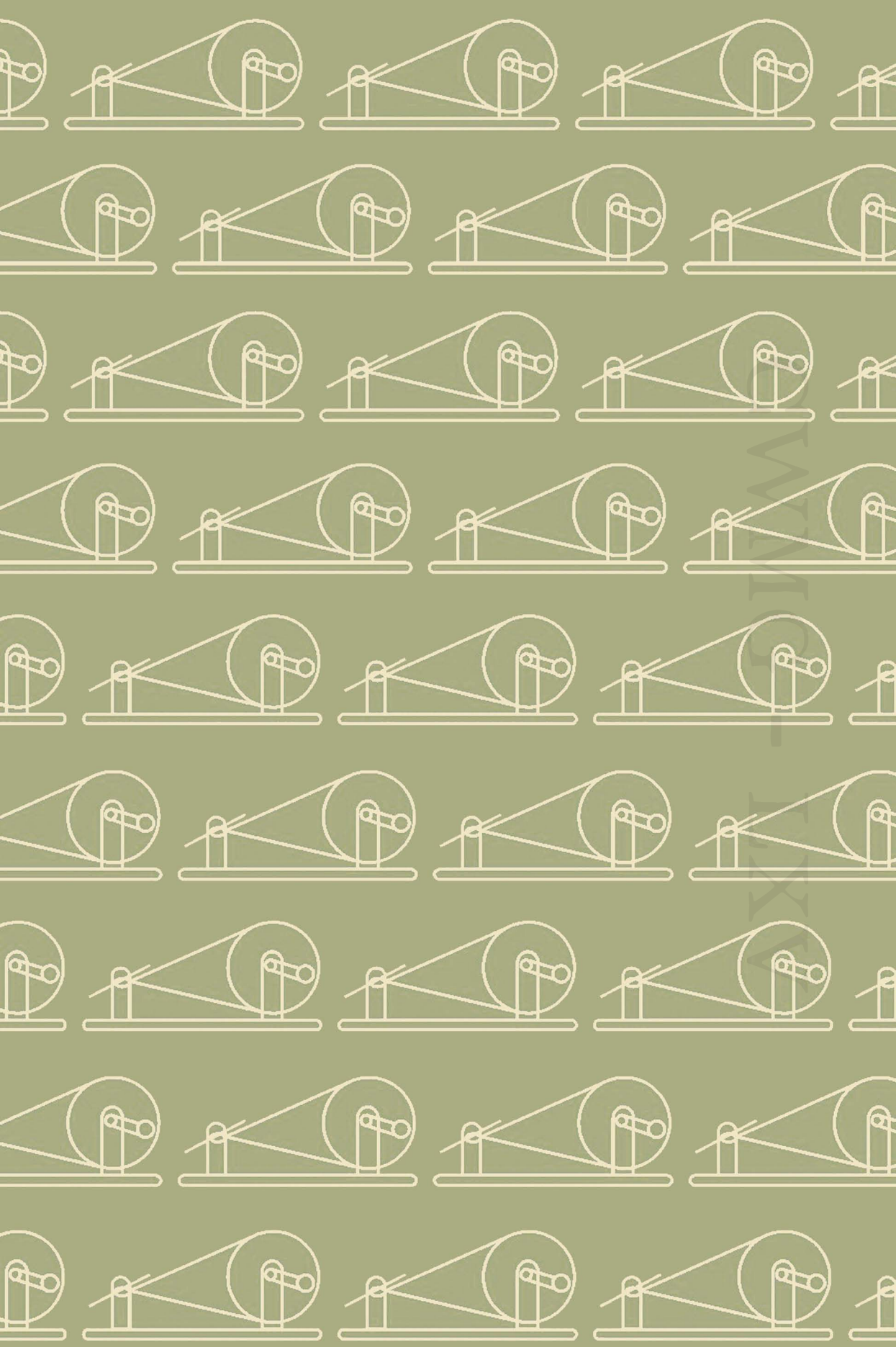
THE COLLECTED WORKS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

LXV (1937)

CWMG - LXV

CWMG - LXV





CWMG - LXV

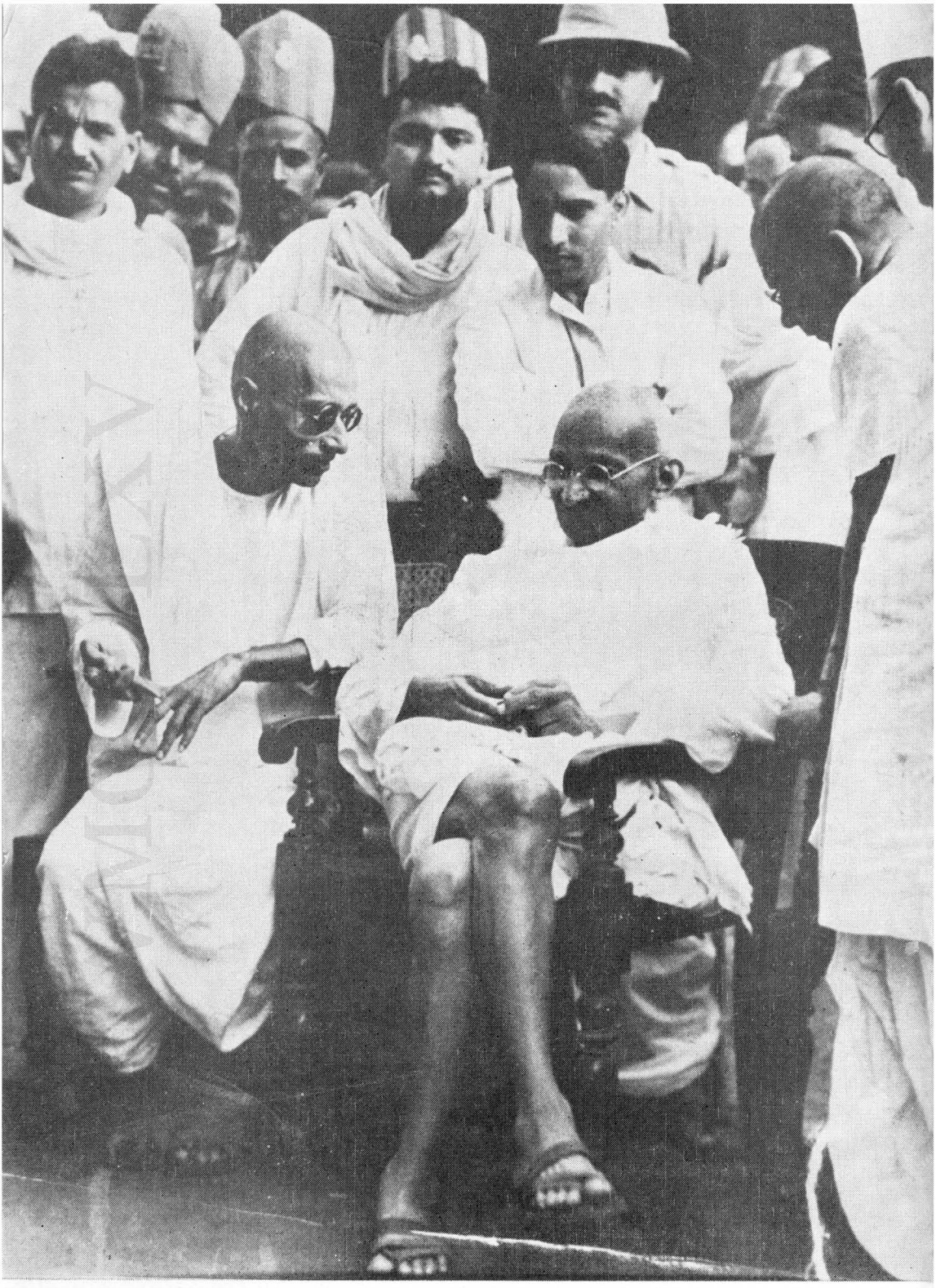
THE COLLECTED WORKS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

LXV

(March 15–July 31, 1937)

CWMG - LXV

CWMG - LXV



AT MADRAS WITH C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

THE COLLECTED WORKS OF
MAHATMA GANDHI

LXV

(March 15 – July 31, 1937)

CWMG - LXV



THE PUBLICATIONS DIVISION
MINISTRY OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

July 1976 (*Asadha 1898*)

© *Navajivan Trust, Ahmedabad, 1976*

Rs. 9

COPYRIGHT
By Kind Permission of Navajivan Trust, Ahmedabad

CWMG - LXV

PUBLISHED BY THE DIRECTOR, THE PUBLICATIONS DIVISION
NEW DELHI–110 001
AND PRINTED IN INDIA BY SHANTILAL HARJIVAN SHAH
NAVAJIVAN TRUST, AHMEDABAD–380 014

PREFACE

During the period (March 15 to July 31, 1937) covered by this volume, much of Gandhiji's energy was taken up with the question of office-acceptance by the Congress, following the general elections held under the Government of India Act of 1935. While the Congress was committed to "wrecking" the Act, it was in two minds whether it could best be done from outside or by assuming administrative responsibility in the provinces as provided in the first part of the Act. The extension of the franchise to some 35 million people had offered an opportunity for mass contact which the Congress had fully utilized. Jawaharlal Nehru, on whom, as President of the Congress, fell the lion's share in the party's election campaign, had travelled 50,000 miles by train, plane, car, cart, boat and so on, and addressed over 10 million people. As a result the Congress had secured absolute majorities in six out of the eleven provinces. The question which the party had now to face was whether to accept office in these provinces. Nehru had all along vehemently opposed such a course. He wanted the "slave constitution" to "go, lock, stock and barrel, and leave the field clear for our Constituent Assembly". On the other hand an influential section of the Congress leadership, like many of India's friends in Britain, pressed for acceptance. Anxious to avoid a split within the Congress and hoping for "the creation, by means consistent with the Congress creed of non-violence, of a situation that would transfer all power to the people," Gandhiji was inclined to support the acceptance of offices and to work them "so as to strengthen the Congress which has been shown predominantly to represent mass opinion" (p. 37).

Significantly the volume opens with a cabled assurance to Agatha Harrison: "Whatever happens breach between us impossible" (p. 1). In the Working Committee and A. I. C. C. meetings in Delhi, there were "little storms" which made Gandhiji unhappy (p. 7). But ultimately in order to reconcile conflicting points of view and also to test the British Government's real intentions, it was resolved that the Congress legislature parties in the six majority provinces could form Ministries provided "the Leader . . . is satisfied and is able to state publicly that . . . the Governor will not use his special powers of interference or set aside the advice of Ministers" (p. 4). On March 22 Gandhiji reported to Amrit Kaur: " . . . all has ended well . . . Jawaharlal rose to the highest height when

he apologized to the Committee for his speech before the Convention. The apology has brought him nearer to the Committee than anything else he has done during these anxious days" (p. 15). And on the 27th he cabled from Madras to Agatha Harrison: "Obstinacy refusing assurances will surely result deadlock. Breach Congress ranks impossible" (p. 26).

The British Government, however, rejected the demand for assurances and, once more breaking "to the heart what it has promised to the ear" (p. 38), hastily installed in office, in the six Congress majority provinces, "toy ministries" (p. 55) which could carry on interim administrations for six months without legislative support.

The controversy that developed over the demand for "assurances" covered many issues, political and constitutional —like mutual courtesy, the avoidance of deadlocks, safeguards for minorities, difference between dismissal and resignation, and so on —and it served to educate public opinion in both countries. Gandhiji, intervening occasionally in the debate and functioning as a "mediator" between the Congress and the Government, displayed all his skill and patience in creating a climate in which Indian opinion would not stand on prestige and the British Government could be "converted under moral pressure" (p. 83). While he had no set schemes and responded to the situation as it arose (p. 87), he pleaded with Nehru, "You must bear with me till my understanding becomes clear or your fears are dispelled" (p. 55) and firmly told Rajagopalachari, "I want a sign from them before I take office, and I regard that sign as indispensable" (p. 292). During the Working Committee meetings in Allahabad at the end of April, "there was no wrangling" but the discussions were "a strain" (p. 164). Little by little a new situation emerged. Both sides reinterpreted and toned down their earlier statements, the Viceroy made a conciliatory speech on June 21 and in the Working Committee meeting held in Wardha in the first week of July a resolution was passed permitting office-acceptance without insisting on a formal assurance.

Gandhiji's laconic telegram (p. 374) conveying this momentous decision to Amrit Kaur was followed a few days later by a glowing tribute to Nehru: "Jawaharlal was more than good throughout. His innate nobility asserted itself every time a difficulty cropped up. He is truly a warrior *sans peur et sans reproche*. The more I see him, the more I love him" (p. 380). Recalling the events of these three months, Gandhiji, writing to G. D. Birla, likened his condition to that of "a woman in labour" who "cannot

give expression to all the turmoil taking place within her,'' and concluded: '' . . . whatever Jawaharlal said and did in the Working Committee was marvellous. Even otherwise he held a high place in my esteem but now he has risen still higher. The beauty of it is that it is so in spite of our continuing difference of opinion'' (p. 418).

The interim Ministries promptly resigned on July 8 and shortly thereafter Congress Ministries assumed office in the Central Provinces, Madras, Bihar, Bombay, United Provinces and Orissa, to be followed later by the North West Frontier Province and Assam.

To many workers in the Gandhi Seva Sangh, Gandhiji's active interest in conventional politics was bewildering and seemed in fact to spell the end of non-co-operation. In his intimate talks at Hudli with these constructive workers he made clear the difference in function as well as the right relationship between the Congress which represented ''the millions'' and the Sangh whose members ''represent only themselves'' or ''truth and non-violence'' (p. 88). His desire was that, independently of him, ''the Sangh should always grow like a tree''. For they should worship his ideals, not him, and remove his name from the name of the Sangh and perhaps even cremate all his writings with his body (pp. 89-90). In the apparent change in his attitude, from opposition to support of Council-entry, there was, he said, no loss of principle. ''I am a worshipper of truth and I am also a servant of the people. I am affected by the atmosphere.'' Even while non-co-operating he ''was in reality a co-operator''. Co-operation had always been his religion and he would die for it provided he ''got it with honour''. And now they were going into the legislatures ''not to give but to take co-operation'' (pp. 99-100). There was a world of difference between 1930 and 1937 and Gandhiji ''never made a fetish of foolish consistency'' (p. 422).

Granting that the Councils programme was ''full of temptations'' and might often awaken ''the brute in man'' (pp. 117-8), he would still support parliamentary democracy and also insist on the pursuit of truth and non-violence in its practice (p. 118). Asserting that truth and non-violence could be organized and could become ''our collective dharma'', he claimed, ''if there is anything special about me, it is only this, that I am organizing truth and non-violence. . . . Remember that truth and non-violence are not for hermits. These eternal principles apply in courts, legislatures and other spheres of human endeavour'' (pp. 125-6).

Referring to his differences with Jawaharlal Nehru, he said: ''He mistrusts the human race a little. He says we would not

be able to do anything there," i. e., wreck the constitution through non-violence. "He therefore places his faith in class struggle. . . . I say capital is insentient, but the capitalist is not so. It is possible to change his heart. He says this has never happened before" (p. 119). Rajendra Babu, Vallabhbhai, Rajaji and others were for accepting office and using it as a means to gain swaraj, while Jawaharlal was against it. And yet they all worked together as it was a necessity. "We have to work with patriots holding views different from our own. Therefore we have to work in a spirit of co-operation and compromise" (p. 120).

For the Sangh itself there was only one programme—the constructive programme — and swaraj depended only upon that. Hence if the constructive programme could be promoted through the legislatures, Gandhiji asked, why should they not use these bodies while also working outside? The legislatures were the representatives of three crores of voters and constructive workers should "come into close contact" with them and "take from them as much as they can" (p. 122). If, in order to make this contact effective, some members of the Gandhi Seva Sangh had to enter legislatures, it became the clear duty of the Sangh to make provision for it (p. 182).

No sooner had the Congress Ministries assumed office than Gandhiji threw open the columns of *Harijan* for the "political education" of the new rulers and started a series of articles on their duties and responsibilities. In a personal letter to Jawaharlal Nehru he almost apologized for wanting, and sought his permission for continuing, "to interfere with your handling of the whole situation", but he felt that it was his "duty to write" (p. 395). Through these *Harijan* articles he advised the Ministers to preserve "rigorous simplicity" in their style of living and also to introduce it in the administration (p. 407). They had a vast opportunity now of achieving the Congress objectives if only they were "honest, selfless, industrious, vigilant and solicitous for the true welfare of the starving millions" (p. 432). He pleaded not only for prohibition as a means of "adult education", but also for higher taxation of the wealthy. Defining education as "an all-round drawing out of the best of the child and the man—body, mind and spirit", he argued that the "highest development of the mind and the soul" could be achieved by learning a handicraft not "mechanically" but "scientifically" (p. 450).

"Language acquires lucidity in the course of work. . . . harmony of thought, word and deed is the sign of truth. But ideas advance and language is left behind." Tracing his

inability to carry conviction to the vagueness of his language and this to the vagueness of his ideas, Gandhiji said: "When I meditate after giving thought to a matter my language becomes clearer and clearer" (pp. 124-5). In a long letter to Jawaharlal Nehru dealing with weighty and delicate matters, the concluding paragraph ran: "Your calling khadi the 'livery of freedom' will live as long as we speak the English language in India. . . . For me it is not merely poetry but it enunciates a great truth whose full significance we have yet to grasp" (p. 446).

Being thus well aware of the poetic as well as the mathematical use of language, Gandhiji spoke with singular authority on Vaishnava dharma, which was his chief spiritual concern as well as his chosen means for removing evil without hurting human beings. In his search for irenic, not polemic, solutions to intractable problems, he turned to truth and Hinduism, for to him religion, truth and Hinduism were "interchangeable terms" (p. 136). A discovery he had made in South Africa was the efficacy of silent, selfless service as a spiritual *sadhana* leading to the ineffable joy of shared being. This presumably was what he meant when he said, "During that battle I saw God face to face many times, so many times that even if I were a dunce I should not forget it" (p. 128). Gandhiji did not need either the prophecies or the miracles to establish Jesus's greatness as a teacher. "Nothing can be more miraculous than the three years of his ministry" (p. 82) and in this ministry Jesus preached "not a new religion, but a new life" (p. 296). "Living the life of the spirit" (p. 297), one simply spreads the perfume of one's presence without presuming to meet others' spiritual needs. "If the rose needs no agent, much less does the Gospel of Christ need any agent" (p. 80).

The source of such selfless service and spontaneous influence was the inner light which shines in every human heart. "The sun of hope dwells not outside but within oneself. Search for it there, and you will surely find it" (p. 264). One had to create in one's heart the true forest where one made friends with trees, leaves, birds and animals, learnt fearlessness and gathered knowledge to help one's neighbours (pp. 309-10).

Condemning all judging, he wrote to Mirabehn: "We must not make a fetish of our vegetarianism and be intolerant. Let us not attribute more virtue to vegetarianism than it can carry" (p. 404). He wanted individuals and groups alike "to turn the searchlight inward" (p. 318) and discover their own shortcomings and to look out only for virtues in others (pp. 186 and 206). He

therefore refused to judge Christianity as a religion; but he could not concede the missionaries' duty, which often became a right, to "convert" others (pp. 47-8). "Presentation, with a view to conversion, of a faith other than one's own, can only necessarily be through an appeal to the intellect or the stomach or both." Such conversions were for convenience only and had no spiritual value (p. 298). For him the core of Christ's teaching was the "morality of grace" taught in the Sermon on the Mount. He felt that this morality could be practised by surrender to God and would, if practised, lead to self-transcendence and social growth. He must have felt too that ardent Christians in Europe and America had enough work to do to satisfy the spiritual needs of their own people. The Travancore pilgrimage had confirmed his faith in the power of the Hindu gods to stir the hearts of the Hindus, including Harijans, and so to satisfy their spiritual needs. Hence his emphatic endorsement of Hara Dayal Nag's dictum: "If the temple untouchability is not destroyed, the temples have to be; and if temples go, with them must disappear Hinduism as we know it" (p. 180).

In order to end the cruelty of *gwalas* whose sole motive was private profit, Gandhiji suggested milk supply becoming the monopoly of a municipality "even as the postal stamp is the monopoly of the State" (p. 320).

In dealing with the Nariman episode Gandhiji made it clear that a public worker had no claim to anything (p. 412), but he added that, if the charge against Vallabhbhai was proved, he would sever his "public connection" with the latter (p. 413).

A letter (p. 427) shows that contrary to a generally-held belief, an agreement between the Congress and the Muslim League in U. P. was opposed, not by Nehru, but by Purushottamdas Tandon.

CWMG-LXV

NOTE TO THE READER

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

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

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

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

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

In the source-line, the symbol S.N. stands for documents available in the Sabarmati Sangrahalaya, Ahmedabad; G.N. refers to documents, M.M.U. to the reels of the Mobile Microfilm Unit and S.G. to the photostats of the Sevagram collection available in the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi and Sangrahalaya, New Delhi; C.W. denotes documents secured by the Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi.

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

CWMG - LXV

CWMG - LXV

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

For material in this volume, we are indebted to the Sabarmati Ashram Preservation and Memorial Trust and Sangrahalaya, the Navajivan Trust and the Gujarat Vidyapith Granthalaya, Ahmedabad; the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi and Sangrahalaya, the National Archives of India, the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi; Kashi Vidyapith, Benares; the Government of Maharashtra; Smt. Mirabehn, Gaaden, Austria; Smt. Vijayabehn M. Pancholi, Sanosara; Smt. Amrit Kaur, Simla; Smt. Lilavati Asar, Bombay; Shri Valji G. Desai, Poona; Shri Anand T. Hingorani, Allahabad; Shri G. D. Birla, Calcutta; Shri Kantilal Gandhi, Bombay; Shri K. M. Munshi, Bombay; Shri Narayan J. Sampat, Ahmedabad; Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Patna, Shri Pyarelal, New Delhi; Shri Satish D. Kalelkar, New Delhi; Shri Haribhau Upadhyaya, New Delhi; Shri Parikshitlal L. Majmudar, Ahmedabad; Shri Narayan Desai, Bardoli; Shri Munnalal G. Shah, Sevagram; Shri Bhagwanji A. Mehta, Rajkot; Shri Narandas Gandhi, Rajkot; Smt. Sharadabehn G. Chokhawala, Surat; Smt. Manubehn S. Mashruwala, Bombay; Smt. S. Ambujammal, Madras; Smt. Premabehn Kantak, Saswad; Shri Baburao D. Mhatre, Bombay; Shri Kapilrai H. Parekh; Shri Shantikumar N. Morarjee, Bombay; Shri M. R. Masani, New Delhi; Smt. Rameshwari Nehru; Smt. Tehmina Khambhatta, Bombay; Shri Purushottam K. Jerajani, Bombay; Shri A. K. Sen, Calcutta; Shri C. A. Tulpule; Shri Kashinath N. Kelkar, Poona; Smt. Wanda Dynowska; Shri L. R. Dacha; the publishers of the books: *Bapuki Chhayamen*, *Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsha*, *Bapuna Patro–6: G. S. Gangabehnne*, *Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine*, *Bapuni Ashrami Kelavani*, *Bapuni Prasadi*, *Bapu's Letters to Mira*, (*A*) *Bunch of Old Letters*, *Congress Bulletin*, *No. 5* (July 1937), *Gandhi 1915–1948: A Detailed Chronology*, *Gandhi aur Rajasthan*, *Gandhi Seva Sanghke Tritiya Varshik Adhiveshan* (*Hudli*, *Karnatak*)*ka Vivaran*, *History of the Indian National Congress*, Vol. II, *In the Shadow of the Mahatma*, *India Since the Advent of the British*, (*The*) *Indian Annual Register*, *1937*, Vol. I, *Jivandwara Shikshan*, *Leaders' Correspondence with Jinnah*, *Letters to Rajkumari Amrit Kaur*, *Mahatma*, Vol. IV, *Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad*, *Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel*, Vol. II, *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru*, Vol. 7, *Twenty Years of the Visva-Bharati Cheena Bhavana*, *1937-1957*, and the following newspapers and journals: *The Bombay Chronicle*, *Harijan*, *Harijanbandhu*, *Harijan Sevak*, *The*

Hindu, *The Hindustan Times*, *The Hitavada* and *The Times of India*.

For research and reference facilities we owe thanks to the All-India Congress Committee Library, the Indian Council of World Affairs Library, the National Archives of India, the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, the Research and Reference Division of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, and Shri Pyarelal, New Delhi; and for assistance in photo-printing documents, to the Photo Division of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, New Delhi.

CWMG - LXV

CONTENTS

	PREFACE	v
	NOTE TO THE READER	xi
	ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	xiii
1	CABLE TO AGATHA HARRISON (15-3-1937)	1
2	TELEGRAM TO D. B. KALELKAR (15-3-1937)	1
3	LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA (15-3-1937)	1
4	LETTER TO MIRABEHN (15-3-1937)	2
5	LETTER TO VIJAYA N. PATEL (15-3-1937)	2
6	LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI (15-3-1937)	3
7	EXTRACT FROM A. I. C. C. RESOLUTION (16-3-1937)	3
8	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (17-3-1937)	4
9	LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR (17-3-1937)	5
10	LETTER TO MANU GANDHI (17-3-1937)	5
11	LETTER TO VALJI G. DESAI (17-3-1937)	6
12	LETTER TO PRABHAVATI (17-3-1937)	6
13	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (19-3-1937)	7
14	INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS (19-3-1937)	8
15	ENFORCED WIDOWHOOD (20-3-1937)	9
16	AN ILLUSION (20-3-1937)	10
17	INTERVIEW TO PANDIT INDRA (20-3-1937)	11
18	KHADI WORK IN A SCHOOL (21-3-1937)	12
19	ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS (On or before 22-3-1937)	13
20	DISCUSSION WITH LEADERS OF JAMIAT-UL-ULEMA-I-HIND (On or before 22-3-1937)	14
21	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (22-3-1937)	14
22	LETTER TO PRABHAVATI (22-3-1937)	15
23	LETTER TO K. B. KEWALRAMANI (22-3-1937)	16
24	LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA (22-3-1937)	17
25	LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI (25-3-1937)	17
26	SPEECH AT DAKSHIN BHARAT HINDI PRACHAR SABHA, MADRAS (26-3-1937)	19
27	SHAMEFUL IF TRUE (27-3-1937)	22
28	A VOICE IN THE WILDERNESS (27-3-1937)	23
29	THE MEANING OF IT (27-3-1937)	24
30	NATTAR-HARIJAN AGREEMENT (27-3-1937)	25
31	CABLE TO AGATHA HARRISON (27-3-1937)	26
32	SPEECH AT BHARATIYA SAHITYA PARISHAD, MADRAS–I (27-3-1937)	27

CWMG - LXV

33	LONG LIVE KHADI (28-3-1937)	29
34	SPEECH AT BHARATIYA SAHITYA PARISHAD, MADRAS–II (28-3-1937)	30
35	INTERVIEW TO "THE HINDU" (28-3-1937)	33
36	STATEMENT TO THE PRESS (30-3-1937)	36
37	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (30-3-1937)	38
38	LETTER TO PRABHAVATI (30-3-1937)	39
39	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (31-3-1937)	40
40	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (1-4-1937)	41
41	LETTER TO MOOLCHAND AGRAWAL (1-4-1937)	41
42	LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA (1-4-1937)	42
43	LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM (1-4-1937)	43
44	LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR (2-4-1937)	44
45	LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA (2-4-1937)	44
46	HINDI PRACHAR AND PURITY (3-4-1937)	45
47	AN UNFORTUNATE DOCUMENT (3-4-1937)	47
48	OBSTACLES IN THE WAY OF A GOSEVAK (3-4-1937)	49
49	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (3-4-1937)	50
50	LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA (3-4-1937)	50
51	LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA (3-4-1937)	51
52	LETTER TO KOTWAL (4-4-1937)	51
53	LETTER TO PRABHASHANKAR H. PAREKH (4-4-1937)	52
54	LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI (4-4-1937)	52
55	LETTER TO JETHALAL G. SAMPAT (4-4-1937)	53
56	LETTER TO RAJENDRA PRASAD (4-4-1937)	53
57	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (5-4-1937)	54
58	LETTER TO AGATHA HARRISON (5-4-1937)	54
59	LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU (5-4-1937)	55
60	LETTER TO INDIRA NEHRU (5-4-1937)	56
61	LETTER TO PRABHAVATI (5-4-1937)	56
62	LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR (5-4-1937)	57
63	LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA (5-4-1937)	58
64	LETTER TO RAJENDRA PRASAD (5-4-1937)	58
65	LETTER TO BAHLOL KHAN (Before 6-4-1937)	59
66	LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI (6-4-1937)	59
67	LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI (7-4-1937)	60
68	LETTER TO PRABHAVATI (7-4-1937)	61
69	LETTER TO BHUJANGILAL CHHAYA (7-4-1937)	61
70	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (9-4-1937)	62
71	LETTER TO AGATHA HARRISON (9-4-1937)	63
72	LETTER TO RABINDRANATH TAGORE (9-4-1937)	64
73	LETTER TO TAN YUN SHAN (9-4-1937)	64
74	LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI (9-4-1937)	65

CWMG - LXV

75	LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI (9-4-1937)	65
76	LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR (9-4-1937)	66
77	LETTER TO SARASWATI (9-4-1937)	66
78	WONDERFUL IF TRUE (10-4-1937)	67
79	KHADI IN SWADESHI EXHIBITIONS (10-4-1937)	68
80	STATEMENT TO THE PRESS (10-4-1937)	70
81	CABLE TO AGATHA HARRISON (10-4-1937)	72
82	INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT OR DISSIPATION? (11-4-1937)	72
83	MESSAGE TO ASSOCIATED PRESS OF AMERICA (12-4-1937)	74
84	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (12-4-1937)	75
85	LETTER TO CHANDAN PAREKH (12-4-1937)	76
86	LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM (13-4-1937)	76
87	LETTER TO PRABHAVATI (13-4-1937)	77
88	LETTER TO HARIBHAU UPADHYAYA (13-4-1937)	78
89	DISCUSSION WITH A MISSIONARY (Before 14-4-1937)	79
90	CABLE TO "THE TIMES" (14-4-1937)	83
91	CABLE TO "THE TIMES" (On or before 15-4-1937)	84
92	LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR (15-4-1937)	85
93	INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS OF INDIA (15-4-1937)	86
94	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (15-4-1937)	86
95	INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS OF INDIA (15-4-1937)	87
96	SPEECH AT GANDHI SEVA SANGH MEETING, HUDLI–I (16-4-1937)	87
97	SPINNERS' WAGES (17-4-1937)	90
98	BAD IF TRUE (17-4-1937)	91
99	A. I. V. I. A. TRAINING SCHOOL (17-4-1937)	92
100	FOR STUDENTS (17-4-1937)	94
101	'OUR PARTIAL SIGHT' (17-4-1937)	96
102	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (17-4-1937)	97
103	LETTER TO PARIKSHITLAL L. MAJMUDAR (17-4-1937)	98
104	LETTER TO HASANALI SHAMJI (17-4-1937)	98
105	SPEECH AT GANDHI SEVA SANGH MEETING, HUDLI–II (17-4-1937)	99
106	SACRIFICE OF RAS (18-4-1937)	106
107	ADVICE TO NEWLY MARRIED COUPLES (18-4-1937)	108
108	SPEECH AT THREAD CEREMONY, HUDLI (18-4-1937)	112
109	LETTER TO MIRABEHN (19-4-1937)	113
110	LETTER TO VIJAYA N. PATEL (19-4-1937)	114
111	LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH (19-4-1937)	114
112	LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR (19-4-1937)	115
113	LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI (20-4-1937)	115
114	SPEECH AT GANDHI SEVA SANGH MEETING, HUDLI–III (20-4-1937)	116

CWMG - LXV

115	SPEECH AT GANDHI SEVA SANGH MEETING, HUDLI–IV (20-4-1937)	134
116	LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI (21-4-1937)	139
117	LETTER TO DR. JAWAHARLAL (21-4-1937)	139
118	INTERVIEW TO "THE HINDU" (22-4-1937)	140
119	INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS OF INDIA (22-4-1937)	142
120	INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS (22-4-1937)	142
121	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (23-4-1937)	143
122	CURSE OF DRINK (24-4-1937)	143
123	THE CAUSE OF IT (24-4-1937)	145
124	TELEGRAM TO HASRAT MOHANI (24-4-1937)	147
125	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (24-4-1937)	147
126	LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA (24-4-1937)	148
127	LETTER TO MESSRS PAYRE & CO. (24-4-1937)	148
128	LETTER TO BHAGWANJI A. MEHTA (24-4-1937)	149
129	LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI (24-4-1937)	150
130	LETTER TO SHARDA C. SHAH (24-4-1937)	152
131	LETTER TO CHANDRANI SACHAR (24-4-1937)	152
132	INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS (25-4-1937)	153
133	INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS (25-4-1937)	154
134	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (26-4-1937)	155
135	INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS OF INDIA (26-4-1937)	156
136	LETTER TO MIRABEHN (27-4-1937)	157
137	LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR (27-4-1937)	157
138	TELEGRAM TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ (30-4-1937)	158
139	INTERVIEW TO "THE BOMBAY CHRONICLE" (30-4-1937)	158
140	HARIJANS ON BEGAR (1-5-1937)	159
141	ESSAYS ON BARTER SYSTEM (1-5-1937)	160
142	A MORAL DILEMMA (1-5-1937)	161
143	LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM (1-5-1937)	162
144	KATHIAWAR COWS (2-5-1937)	163
145	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (2-5-1937)	164
146	LETTER TO P. G. MATHEW (2-5-1937)	164
147	LETTER TO PRABHAVATI (2-5-1937)	165
148	LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA (2-5-1937)	166
149	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (4-5-1937)	166
150	LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL (4-5-1937)	167
151	LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI (4-5-1937)	168
152	LETTER TO MANUBEHN S. MASHRUWALA (4-5-1937)	168
153	LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI (4-5-1937)	169
154	LETTER TO BENARSIDAS CHATURVEDI (5-5-1937)	170
155	LETTER TO CARL HEATH (6-5-1937)	170
156	LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI (6-5-1937)	171

CWMG - LXV

157	LETTER TO S. AMBUJAMMAL (6-5-1937)	172
158	LETTER TO MANUBEHN S. MASHRUWALA (6-5-1937)	172
159	LETTER TO DAMODAR (6-5-1937)	173
160	LETTER TO M. SATYANARAYANA (6-5-1937)	173
161	INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS OF INDIA (6-5-1937)	174
162	INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS OF INDIA (After 6-5-1937)	175
163	LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI (7-5-1937)	176
164	COCHIN-TRAVANCORE (8-5-1937)	177
165	THE COCHIN TEMPLE-ENTRY BAN (8-5-1937)	178
166	SELF-INFLICTED UNTOUCHABILITY (8-5-1937)	180
167	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (8-5-1937)	180
168	LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA (8-5-1937)	181
169	LETTER TO SARASWATI (8-5-1937)	181
170	DUTIES OF GANDHI SEVA SANGH (9-5-1937)	182
171	MESSAGE TO INTER-RELIGIOUS STUDENTS' CONFERENCE (9-5-1937)	184
172	LETTER TO HARIBHAU UPADHYAYA (9-5-1937)	185
173	LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH (10-5-1937)	185
174	LETTER TO VIJAYA N. PATEL (10-5-1937)	186
175	LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI (10-5-1937)	186
176	LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA (10-5-1937)	187
177	LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI (10-5-1937)	187
178	LETTER TO ANNAPURNA (10-5-1937)	188
179	DISCUSSION WITH WORKERS (11-5-1937)	188
180	LETTER TO PRABHAVATI (12-5-1937)	189
181	STATEMENT TO THE PRESS (12-5-1937)	190
182	LETTER TO VIJAYA N. PATEL (12-5-1937)	191
183	LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI (12-5-1937)	192
184	TELEGRAM TO NANDALAL BOSE (13-5-1937)	193
185	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (13-5-1937)	193
186	LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA (13-5-1937)	194
187	LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK (13-5-1937)	195
188	LETTER TO MOTILAL ROY (14-5-1937)	197
189	LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA (14-5-1937)	197
190	LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR (14-5-1937)	198
191	THE CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME (15-5-1937)	199
192	WHOSE IS THE BLAME? (15-5-1937)	200
193	THE MARRIAGE IDEAL (15-5-1937)	201
194	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (15-5-1937)	203
195	LETTER TO S. AMBUJAMMAL (15-5-1937)	204
196	LETTER TO NANDALAL BOSE (15-5-1937)	205
197	LETTER TO VIJAYA N. PATEL (15-5-1937)	205
198	LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH (15-5-1937)	206

CWMG - LXV

199	LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI (15-5-1937)	207
200	LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA (15-5-1937)	207
201	LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA (15-5-1937)	208
202	LETTER TO SARASWATI (15-5-1937)	208
203	INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS OF INDIA (15-5-1937)	209
204	THE REED *v.* THE FOUNTAIN-PEN (16-5-1937)	209
205	MESSAGE ON OPENING OF ANNAKSHETRA (16-5-1937)	212
206	LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI (16-5-1937)	212
207	LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH (16-5-1937)	213
208	LETTER TO VIDYA A. HINGORANI (16-5-1937)	214
209	LETTER TO AGATHA HARRISON (17-5-1937)	214
210	LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI (17-5-1937)	215
211	LETTER TO VIJAYA N. PATEL (17-5-1937)	216
212	LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR (17-5-1937)	216
213	LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI (17-5-1937)	217
214	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (18-5-1937)	217
215	LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH (18-5-1937)	218
216	TELEGRAM TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI (After 18-5-1937)	220
217	TELEGRAM TO BABURAO D. MHATRE (19-5-1937)	220
218	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (19-5-1937)	220
219	LETTER TO N. N. GODBOLE (20-5-1937)	221
220	LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM (20-5-1937)	221
221	LETTER TO BHAGWANJI A. MEHTA (20-5-1937)	222
222	LETTER TO VIJAYA N. PATEL (20-5-1937)	222
223	LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR (20-5-1937)	223
224	LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH (20-5-1937)	224
225	LETTER TO HARIPRASAD (20-5-1937)	224
226	LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI (20-5-1937)	225
227	LETTER TO KAPILRAI H. PAREKH (20-5-1937)	225
228	LETTER TO BHAGATRAM TOSHNIWAL (20-5-1937)	226
229	LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH (21-5-1937)	226
230	LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR (21-5-1937)	227
231	LETTER TO K. B. MENON (Before 22-5-1937)	227
232	TRAVANCORE *v.* COCHIN (22-5-1937)	228
233	RELIGIOUS OATH AND NON-RELIGIOUS (22-5-1937)	229
234	LETTER TO M. A. JINNAH (22-5-1937)	231
235	LETTER TO N. S. HARDIKER (22-5-1937)	231
236	LETTER TO PRABHAVATI (22-5-1937)	232
237	LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI (22-5-1937)	233
238	SPEECH AT TITHAL (22-5-1937)	233
239	REGISTER OF CUSTOMERS (23-5-1937)	235
240	VERY OLD QUESTIONS (23-5-1937)	236
241	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (23-5-1937)	238

CWMG - LXV

242	LETTER TO STUDENTS OF VALLABH VIDYALAYA (23-5-1937)	238
243	LETTER TO VITHALDAS JERAJANI (24-5-1937)	238
244	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (24-5-1937)	239
245	LETTER TO MANUBEHN S. MASHRUWALA (24-5-1937)	240
246	LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH (24-5-1937)	240
247	LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR (24-5-1937)	241
248	LETTER TO NATHUBHAI N. PAREKH (24-5-1937)	242
249	TELEGRAM TO CHHOTELAL JAIN (25-5-1937)	242
250	LETTER TO VIJAYA N. PATEL (25-5-1937)	243
251	LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH (25-5-1937)	243
252	LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI (25-5-1937)	244
253	LETTER TO A. B. LATTHE (26-5-1937)	244
254	LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI (26-5-1937)	245
255	LETTER TO BHUJANGILAL CHHAYA (26-5-1937)	246
256	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (26-5-1937)	246
257	LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI (26-5-1937)	247
258	LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA (26-5-1937)	247
259	INSTRUCTIONS TO SPINNERS (After 26-5-1937)	248
260	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (27-5-1937)	248
261	LETTER TO VIJAYA N. PATEL (27-5-1937)	249
262	LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH (27-5-1937)	250
263	LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR (27-5-1937)	251
264	LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH (27-5-1937)	251
265	LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI (27-5-1937)	252
266	LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA (27-5-1937)	253
267	LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI (28-5-1937)	253
268	LATHI'S EXAMPLE (29-5-1937)	254
269	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (29-5-1937)	255
270	LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK (29-5-1937)	256
271	LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR (29-5-1937)	257
272	A LETTER (30-5-1937)	258
273	LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA (30-5-1937)	259
274	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (31-5-1937)	259
275	LETTER TO VAIKUNTHLAL L. MEHTA (31-5-1937)	260
276	LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI (1-6-1937)	260
277	INTERVIEW TO "THE TIMES OF INDIA" (1-6-1937)	261
278	A TESTIMONIAL (2-6-1937)	263
279	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (2-6-1937)	263
280	LETTER TO SHANTIKUMAR N. MORARJEE (2-6-1937)	264
281	LETTER TO KAPILRAI H. PAREKH (2-6-1937)	264
282	LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR (2-6-1937)	265
283	LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH (2-6-1937)	265
284	LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH (2-6-1937)	267

CWMG - LXV

285	LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA (2-6-1937)	267
286	LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA (2-6-1937)	268
287	LETTER TO M. R. MASANI (3-6-1937)	268
288	LETTER TO P. KODANDA RAO (3-6-1937)	269
289	LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH (3-6-1937)	269
290	TELEGRAM TO BHARATAN KUMARAPPA (4-6-1937)	271
291	TELEGRAM TO NARANDAS GANDHI (4-6-1937)	271
292	LETTER TO EDMOND AND YVONNE PRIVAT (4-6-1937)	271
293	LETTER TO B. S. GOPALRAO (4-6-1937)	272
294	LETTER TO P. K. CHENGAMMAL (4-6-1937)	273
295	LETTER TO BHAGWANJI A. MEHTA (4-6-1937)	273
296	LETTER TO TULSI MAHER (4-6-1937)	274
297	COCHIN UNTOUCHABILITY (5-6-1937)	274
298	SHAMEFUL IF TRUE (5-6-1937)	277
299	LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI (3/5-6-1937)	278
300	LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR (5-6-1937)	279
301	LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI (5-6-1937)	280
302	LETTER TO MANUBEHN S. MASHRUWALA (5-6-1937)	280
303	LETTER TO VIJAYA N. PATEL (5-6-1937)	281
304	MY MISTAKE (6-6-1937)	282
305	LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ (6-6-1937)	283
306	LETTER TO LALJI PARMAR (6-6-1937)	283
307	LETTER TO RUSTOM CAMA (6-6-1937)	284
308	LETTER TO RAJENDRA PRASAD (6-6-1937)	284
309	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (7-6-1937)	285
310	LETTER TO S. AMBUJAMMAL (7-6-1937)	286
311	LETTER TO PRABHAVATI (7-6-1937)	286
312	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (8-6-1937)	287
313	LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR (8-6-1937)	288
314	LETTER TO J. B. KRIPALANI (9-6-1937)	288
315	LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI (9-6-1937)	289
316	LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA (9-6-1937)	289
317	SPEECH ON COW-PROTECTION, TITHAL (Before 10-6-1937)	290
318	LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI (11-6-1937)	291
319	LETTER TO H. RUNHAM BROWN (11-6-1937)	292
320	LETTER TO DANIEL OLIVER (11-6-1937)	293
321	LETTER TO ABBAS K. VARTEJI (11-6-1937)	293
322	LETTER TO S. AMBUJAMMAL (On or after 11-6-1937)	294
323	NOTES (12-6-1937)	294
324	HARIJANS (12-6-1937)	296
325	HARIJAN QUARTERS IN JAMSHEDPUR (12-6-1937)	299
326	LETTER TO RAMESHWARI NEHRU (12-6-1937)	299
327	LETTER TO ANAND T. HINGORANI (12-6-1937)	300

CWMG - LXV

328	SPEECH TO VILLAGERS, SEGAON (12-6-1937)	300
329	LETTER TO MIRABEHN (13-6-1937)	302
330	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (13-6-1937)	302
331	LETTER TO N. V. RAGHAVAN (13-6-1937)	303
332	TELEGRAM TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU (14-6-1937)	304
333	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (14-6-1937)	304
334	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (14-6-1937)	305
335	LETTER TO G. RAMACHANDRAN (14-6-1937)	305
336	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (14-6-1937)	306
337	LETTER TO PRABHAVATI (14-6-1937)	306
338	LETTER TO SARASWATI (14-6-1937)	307
339	LETTER TO MIRABEHN (15-6-1937)	307
340	LETTER TO MANUBEHN S. MASHRUWALA (15-6-1937)	308
341	LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI (15-6-1937)	308
342	LETTER TO KANU GANDHI (15-6-1937)	309
343	LETTER TO NATHUBHAI N. PAREKH (15-6-1937)	309
344	LETTER TO JETHALAL G. SAMPAT (16-6-1937)	310
345	LETTER TO MIRABEHN (17-6-1937)	311
346	A LETTER (17-6-1937)	312
347	LETTER TO KANU GANDHI (17-6-1937)	313
348	LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT (17-6-1937)	313
349	LETTER TO TULSI MAHER (17-6-1937)	314
350	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (18-6-1937)	314
351	LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ (18-6-1937)	315
352	LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA (18-6-1937)	315
353	HOW THEY CONVERT (19-6-1937)	316
354	KHADI AT HARIPURA (19-6-1937)	318
355	MAN'S INHUMANITY (19-6-1937)	319
356	LETTER TO MIRABEHN (19-6-1937)	321
357	LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL (19-6-1937)	321
358	LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ (19-6-1937)	322
359	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (20-6-1937)	322
360	LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA (20-6-1937)	323
361	LETTER TO BEHRAMJI KHAMBHATTA (20-6-1937)	324
362	LETTER TO KALYANJI V. MEHTA (20-6-1937)	324
363	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (21-6-1937)	324
364	LETTER TO MIRABEHN (21-6-1937)	325
365	LETTER TO PRABHAVATI (21-6-1937)	326
366	LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL (21-6-1937)	326
367	LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI (21-6-1937)	327
368	LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAM K. JERAJANI (21-6-1937)	328
369	LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU (22-6-1937)	328
370	LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA (22-6-1937)	328

CWMG - LXV

371	LETTER TO BABURAO D. MHATRE (22-6-1937)	329
372	INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS OF INDIA (22-6-1937)	329
373	LETTER TO ATULANAND CHAKRABARTY (23-6-1937)	330
374	LETTER TO BHAGWANJI A. MEHTA (23-6-1937)	331
375	LETTER TO LORD LOTHIAN (24-6-1937)	332
376	LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI (24-6-1937)	333
377	LETTER TO KANU GANDHI (24-6-1937)	335
378	LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA (24-6-1937)	336
379	LETTER TO MIRABEHN (25-6-1937)	336
380	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (25-6-1937)	337
381	LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU (25-6-1937)	338
382	LETTER TO PRABHAVATI (25-6-1937)	338
383	LETTER TO RAMESHWARDAS BIRLA (25-6-1937)	339
384	LETTER TO SHANTIKUMAR N. MORARJEE (25-6-1937)	339
385	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (25-6-1937)	340
386	LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM (25-6-1937)	340
387	LETTER TO KAMALNAYAN BAJAJ (25-6-1937)	341
388	UNFORTUNATE BUT INDISPENSABLE (26-6-1937)	341
389	ARE THERE DIFFERENT OATHS? (26-6-1937)	342
390	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (26-6-1937)	344
391	LETTER TO C. A. TULPULE (26-6-1937)	345
392	LETTER TO T. S. SUBRAHMANYAN (26-6-1937)	345
393	LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM (26-6-1937)	346
394	LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR (26-6-1937)	346
395	LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI (26-6-1937)	346
396	A GREAT EXPERIMENT (27-6-1937)	347
397	MY NOTES (27-6-1937)	349
398	LETTER TO MIRABEHN (27-6-1937)	350
399	LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI (27-6-1937)	351
400	LETTER TO MANUBEHN S. MASHRUWALA (27-6-1937)	351
401	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (27-6-1937)	352
402	LETTER TO MIRZA ISMAIL (28-6-1937)	352
403	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (28-6-1937)	353
404	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (28-6-1937)	354
405	LETTER TO MIRABEHN (29-6-1937)	354
406	LETTER TO BHARATAN KUMARAPPA (29-6-1937)	355
407	LETTER TO TULSI MAHER (29-6-1937)	355
408	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (30-6-1937)	355
409	LETTER TO PARIKSHITLAL L. MAJMUDAR (30-6-1937)	356
410	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (30-6-1937)	357
411	LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ (June 1937)	357
412	LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA (2-7-1937)	358
413	DISCUSSION WITH AN AMERICAN (Before 3-7-1937)	358

CWMG - LXV

414	INTERVIEW TO CAPT. STRUNK (Before 3-7-1937)	360
415	HINDI *v.* URDU (3-7-1937)	362
416	A PLEA FOR THE VILLAGE CART (3-7-1937)	364
417	WHAT SHOULD BE DONE? (3-7-1937)	365
418	HOLIDAYS (4-7-1937)	366
419	LETTER TO PARIKSHITLAL L. MAJMUDAR (4-7-1937)	367
420	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (4-7-1937)	367
421	LETTER TO GULABCHAND JAIN (4-7-1937)	368
422	LETTER TO MIRABEHN (5-7-1937)	368
423	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (5-7-1937)	369
424	LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK (5-7-1937)	369
425	LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI (5-7-1937)	370
426	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (5-7-1937)	371
427	LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI (5-7-1937)	371
428	SPEECH AT WORKING COMMITTEE MEETING, WARDHA (6-7-1937)	372
429	CONGRESS WORKING COMMITTEE RESOLUTION (7-7-1937)	373
430	TELEGRAM TO AMRIT KAUR (7-7-1937)	374
431	SPEECH AT RASHTRABHASHA ADHYAPAN MANDIR, WARDHA (7-7-1937)	375
432	INTERVIEW TO "THE HINDU" (8-7-1937)	376
433	MEANING OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL OATH (10-7-1937)	377
434	INSTRUCTIVE FIGURES (10-7-1937)	379
435	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (10-7-1937)	380
436	LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU (10-7-1937)	380
437	LETTER TO MIRABEHN (10-7-1937)	381
438	LETTER TO INDIRA NEHRU (10-7-1937)	382
439	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (11-7-1937)	382
440	LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL (11-7-1937)	383
441	LETTER TO NIRMALA GANDHI (11-7-1937)	384
442	LETTER TO H. L. SHARMA (11-7-1937)	384
443	LETTER TO MIRABEHN (12-7-1937)	385
444	LETTER TO KALESWARA RAO (12-7-1937)	385
445	LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA (12-7-1937)	386
446	LETTER TO PRABHAVATI (12-7-1937)	386
447	LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI (12-7-1937)	387
448	LETTER TO N. S. HARDIKER (13-7-1937)	388
449	LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA (13-7-1937)	388
450	LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI (13-7-1937)	389
451	TELEGRAM TO T. S. SHRIPAL (14-7-1937)	390
452	LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR (14-7-1937)	390
453	LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA (14-7-1937)	391
454	LETTER TO K. F. NARIMAN (14-7-1937)	392

CWMG - LXV

455	LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL (14-7-1937)	393
456	LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM (14-7-1937)	393
457	DRAFT TELEGRAM TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI (Before 15-7-1937)	394
458	LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU (15-7-1937)	395
459	LETTER TO K. F. NARIMAN (15-7-1937)	395
460	LETTER TO N. C. KELKAR (15-7-1937)	397
461	LETTER TO SHANKARRAO DEO (15-7-1937)	397
462	A LETTER (15-7-1937)	398
463	LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL (15-7-1937)	398
464	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (15-7-1937)	399
465	LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR (15-7-1937)	400
466	LETTER TO HARIVADAN (15-7-1937)	401
467	LETTER TO DAHYALAL JANI (15-7-1937)	401
468	LETTER TO N. R. MALKANI (16-7-1937)	402
469	LETTER TO MIRABEHN (16-7-1937)	403
470	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (16-7-1937)	404
471	LETTER TO PURATAN J. BUCH (16-7-1937)	405
472	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (Before 17-7-1937)	405
473	CONGRESS MINISTRIES (17-7-1937)	406
474	NOTE ON RENTIA JAYANTI CELEBRATION (17-7-1937)	409
475	A LETTER (17-7-1937)	409
476	LETTER TO S. AMBUJAMMAL (17-7-1937)	410
477	LETTER TO AGATHA HARRISON (17-7-1937)	410
478	LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA (17-7-1937)	411
479	LETTER TO GURDIAL MULLICK (17-7-1937)	411
480	LETTER TO K. F. NARIMAN (17-7-1937)	412
481	LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL (17-7-1937)	414
482	LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI (17-7-1937)	414
483	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (17-7-1937)	415
484	LETTER TO SARASWATI (17-7-1937)	416
485	LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM (17-7-1937)	416
486	LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA (18-7-1937)	417
487	LETTER TO KANU GANDHI (18-7-1937)	417
488	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (18-7-1937)	417
489	LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA (18-7-1937)	418
490	LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL (19-7-1937)	419
491	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (19-7-1937)	420
492	LETTER TO WANDA DYNOWSKA (20-7-1937)	420
493	LETTER TO MAURICE FRYDMAN (20-7-1937)	421
494	LETTER TO SHANKERRAO DEO (20-7-1937)	421
495	LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA (20-7-1937)	422
496	LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK (20-7-1937)	423

CWMG - LXV

497	LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI (20-7-1937)	423
498	LETTER TO SITA GANDHI (20-7-1937)	424
499	LETTER TO L. R. DACHA (20-7-1937)	424
500	LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR (20-7-1937)	425
501	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (20-7-1937)	425
502	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (20-7-1937)	426
503	LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI (21-7-1937)	426
504	LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU (22-7-1937)	427
505	LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL (22-7-1937)	428
506	LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR (22-7-1937)	428
507	TELEGRAM TO AMRIT KAUR (23-7-1937)	429
508	LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM (23-7-1937)	429
509	LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI (23-7-1937)	430
510	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (23-7-1937)	431
511	LETTER TO SARASWATI (23-7-1937)	431
512	THE FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCE (24-7-1937)	431
513	A KHADI JOURNAL (24-7-1937)	433
514	LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI (24-7-1937)	434
515	LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL (24/25-7-1937)	434
516	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (25-7-1937)	435
517	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (26-7-1937)	436
518	LETTER TO M. N. ROY (27-7-1937)	436
519	LETTER TO LORD LINLITHGOW (27-7-1937)	437
520	LETTER TO MIRABEHN (27-7-1937)	437
521	LETTER TO K. F. NARIMAN (27-7-1937)	438
522	LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI (27-7-1937)	439
523	LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM (27-7-1937)	440
524	LETTER TO SAMPURNANAND (27-7-1937)	440
525	A SILENCE-DAY NOTE (Before 28-7-1937)	442
526	LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI (Before 28-7-1937)	442
527	LETTER TO K. F. NARIMAN (29-7-1937)	443
528	EXTRACT FROM LETTER TO K. F. NARIMAN (After 29-7-1937)	443
529	LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI (28/30-7-1937)	444
530	LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU (30-7-1937)	445
531	LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL (30-7-1937)	446
532	LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR (30-7-1937)	447
533	CRITICISM ANSWERED (31-7-1937)	447
534	PROF. K. T. SHAH'S SUGGESTIONS (31-7-1937)	453
535	LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA (31-7-1937)	454
536	LETTER TO NARAHARI D. PARIKH (31-7-1937)	454
	APPENDICES	
	I RESOLUTION PASSED AT A. I. C. C. MEETING, DELHI	455
	II LORD LOTHIAN'S LETTER TO "THE TIMES"	458

CWMG - LXV

III EXTRACTS FROM THE CONGRESS ELECTION MANIFESTO 459
IV LORD ZETLAND'S SPEECH 462
V KOODALMANIKKAM TEMPLE CONTROVERSY 464
VI VICEROY'S SPEECH 467
VII VALLABHBHAI PATEL'S STATEMENT 472
VIII LIVERY OF FREEDOM 473
SOURCES 474
CHRONOLOGY 476
INDEX OF TITLES 479
INDEX 483
CORRIGENDUM 505
ERRATA 506

CWMG - LXV

1. CABLE TO AGATHA HARRISON

DELHI,
March 15, 1937

AGATHA HARRISON
2 CRANBOURNE COURT
ALBERT BRIDGE ROAD
LONDON

WHATEVER HAPPENS BREACH BETWEEN US[1] IMPOSSIBLE.

GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 1503

2. TELEGRAM TO D. B. KALELKAR

March 15, 1937

KAKA KALELKAR
HARIJAN HOSTEL
WARDHA

GO MADRAS. HELP HARIHAR SHARMA[2].

BAPU
JAMNALAL

From a photostat: G.N. 10898

3. LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA

KINGSWAY, DELHI,
March 15, 1937

MY DEAR KU.,

You will please bear in mind that we have to deliver to Radhakrishna Bajaj one pukka maund of cow's ghee before 25th April. The ghee must be well made. Ghee-making is an art by itself. [You must][3] ensure quality.

[1] Congressmen; *vide* also "Cable to Agatha Harrison", p. 26.
[2] Also called Anna
[3] The source here is faded.

CWMG - LXV

The weather . . .[1] I must not forget to tell you that Fischer told me he could easily look at the butter-making.

I expect to return at the . . .[2] Sunday.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 10114

4. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

HARIJAN NIWAS,
KINGSWAY, DELHI,
March 15, 1937

CHI. MIRA,

The weather here is superb just now. It always is during March and part of April.

Hope you will win Vijiya's[3] heart. I shall never be able to give you a better girl. And you must not pamper Kandu and the other boys[4]. They are done for if they develop the tender skin that you and I have the misfortune to possess. The water incident stuck me in the throat.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

This was written on the date given but could not be posted before. Your letter is in. May not leave before Sunday.

From the original: C.W. 6377. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9843

5. LETTER TO VIJAYA N. PATEL

March 15, 1937

CHI. VIJAYA,

You wish to win the heart of Mirabehn. Take her company as virtuous, good and saintly. Overlook other people's shortcomings and see their virtues. Here is a verse from Tulsidas:

[1&2] A few words are illegible here.

[3] Vijaya N. Patel; *vide* also the following item.

[4] In *Bapu's Letters to Mira*, Mirabehn explains them as "Harijan village boys".

CWMG-LXV

God has made the world full of
living and non-living things, of virtue and vices,
The good, like the swan, take the milk of virtue
and leave out the water of vice.

If you do not understand the meaning, look it up in "Balkand" or ask Nanavati.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7063. Also C.W. 4555. Courtesy: Vijayabehn M. Pancholi

6. LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI

DELHI,
March 15, 1937

CHI. AMRITLAL,

We have to send to Radhakrishna one pukka maund of jaggery before 25th April. It should be securely packed and should be of good quality, i.e., such as will not become too soft. Jaggery which is likely to become so, we ourselves should use. Send the quantity to him in instalments as and when it is ready.

Take care of your health in whatever you do.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10728

7. EXTRACT FROM A. I. C. C. RESOLUTION[1]

DELHI,
March 16, 1937

The A. I. C. C. endorses and confirms the resolutions of the Working Committee passed at Wardha on February 27 and 28, 1937, on the extra-parliamentary activities of Congress members of the Legislatures, mass contact and the Congress policy in the Legislatures and calls upon all Congressmen in the Legislatures

[1] Gandhiji says that he was "the sole author of the office-acceptance clause of the Congress resolution". *Vide* "Statement to the Press", pp. 36-8, also "Interview to the Press", p. 8. For the text of the resolution passed in Delhi, and the background, *vide* Appendix I.

CWMG LXV

and outside to work in accordance with the directions contained in them. And on the pending question of office-acceptance and in pursuance of the policy summed up in the foregoing paragraph, the A. I. C. C. authorizes and permits the acceptance of the Ministerial offices in Provinces where the Congress commands majority in the Legislature; provided that Ministerships shall not be accepted unless the Leader of the Congress Party in the Legislature is satisfied and is able to state publicly that as long as he and his Cabinet act within the Constitution, the Governor will not use his special powers of interference or set aside the advice of Ministers.

The Hindustan Times, 17-3-1937

8. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

DELHI,
March 17, 1937

MY DEAR IDIOT,

This must be a newsletter only. I twice attempted yesterday and Monday to write to you but failed. This I am writing just after prayer. You are right. The tape measure was in the tin box. Nothing escaped your notice. Mahadev has gone to Calcutta to see Subhas Chandra Bose[1]. He went yesterday. I sent him because Jamnalal Bajaj won't let me go before Sunday. We are only Pyarelal, Mahadev and self.

Of course you need not trouble to write to Bishop Moore.

Yes, the missionary letter is in keeping with the general belief. But nothing beats Dornakal[2].

I hope you will continue steady progress.

A parcel of Hindi books was sent to you yesterday. Village note-paper has been given to R. I do not think anything else now remains to be done. You have yet to get the steam apparatus.

If you can add cream and butter to your diet so much the better, but no forcible feeding. It must be assimilated.

I am keeping well, taking more milk.

Love.

TYRANT

[1] He was released from jail on March 17.

[2] Bishop of Dornakal; *vide* "Discussion with a Missionary", Before 14-4-1937; also Vol. LXIV pp. 285-6.

[PS.]

Love to Pierre[1]. I hope he got my message that he can have a free passage.

From the original: C.W. 3767. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6923

9. *LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR*

March 17, 1937

CHI. LILAVATI,

I have written to Ba, but it is you who will have to prepare the thing. You will have always to give to Kanu[2] the bread which he will take with him and eat in the evening. If it is necessary to prepare something else also, do it yourself. Keep an account of each minute of yours. If possible, form the habit of getting up at 4 o'clock without fail. Then in the afternoon, you must have an hour's nap. Attend to your studies carefully.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9584. Also C.W. 6556. Courtesy: Lilavati Asar

10. *LETTER TO MANU GANDHI*

[*March 17, 1937*][3]

CHI. MANUDI[4],

I have no time to write to you. Study with care and improve your handwriting. Tell Kanam[5] that I understand that they could not secure a football there. I will bring one from here.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9584. Also C.W. 6556. Courtesy: Lilavati Asar

[1] Pierre Ceresole, a Swiss Pacifist, President, International Voluntary Service. He had come to India for helping relief work in Bihar.
[2] Also called 'Kanaiyo'; son of Narandas Gandhi
[3] In the source, this and the preceding item appear on the same sheet.
[4] Youngest daughter of Harilal Gandhi
[5] Also called 'Kano'; son of Ramdas Gandhi

11. LETTER TO VALJI G. DESAI

March 17, 1937

CHI. VALJI,

Please get Mota's[1] nostrils operated upon and also his tonsils. There is no harm in doing that. Let me know the result.

I will reach Wardha on the 22nd and Madras on the 26th.

I have gone through your *Bharati*. It does seem enjoyable. But I do not fully understand the aim. Should we give to children descriptions of things which are beyond human experience without explaining them?

Would even grown-ups understand? I am reading the *Ramayana*. I cannot raise any objection. I can barely get time to read it in the 'library' or at such other times.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI VALJI DESAI
SHRI MAGANLAL UDANI'S HOUSE
PARVATI MANSION, GRANT ROAD
BOMBAY 7

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7478. Courtesy: Valji G. Desai

12. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

DELHI,
March 17, 1937

CHI. PRABHA,

How impatient you are! I did write to you. Is it still my fault that you got the letter late? Yes, I could not write last Monday. I got both your letters. The description is very good. Only Mahadev and Pyarelal are accompanying me. We are all very well. Mahadev left yesterday to see Subhas Babu. He will return here. We shall leave Delhi on Sunday. As regards my address here, the particulars you give are enough. We have to reach Madras on the 26th. We shall have to stay there for three days. My address there will be: C/o Hindi

[1] Mahendra V. Desai, addressee's eldest son

CWMG - LXV

Prachar Office, Thyagarajanagar, Madras. Most probably Ba will accompany us to Madras.

If you eat well and do not worry, you will get all right. I will certainly have a talk with Mridu[1]. She has come to stay here. But how can you come away from there when you wish? Can't you come to an understanding with Jayaprakash about that? Doesn't he expect your help for some time? That would of course be the proper course. About the pay I will see.

Amtul Salaam is here and Jawaharlal also. There is quite a big crowd here this time and it is likely to increase.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3494

13. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

DELHI,
March 19, 1937

MY DEAR IDIOT,

You want me to give you news. But you have not armed me with your pen. You can write away for hours and still find more to write. I can't carry on for minutes, if I have to do mere chatting. Here goes the morning prayer bell. If you think that the first relevant portion of the London letter may be published, copy it and send. Sardar Datar Singh met me day before yesterday and we talked about his dairy. You should go and see it. He has one in Lahore now. There is no likelihood of my seeing the Governor-General. I leave on Sunday, possibly tomorrow. All seems to have ended well at the A. I. C. C. But there have been little storms which have not made me quite happy.[2] They make one think.

Mahadev returns today or rather tonight. He had an hour with Subhas Chandra Bose, evidently after his release. I am glad Mahadev went in time to greet him as a free man. But who knows whether he is now free or he was freer when he was a prisoner. Your description of the Manganwal village is very hopeful. Of course everywhere the difficulty is about workers.

[1] Mridula Sarabhai

[2] For Gandhiji's view, *vide* "Speech at Gandhi Seva Sangh Meeting, Hudli–III", 20-4-1937.

They have to be found or prepared locally. Importation is not possible for nowhere is there a plethora of supply.

I have got to stop now for there are visitors surrounding me. Love.

TYRANT

From the original: C.W. 3768. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6924

14. INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS

DELHI,
March 19, 1937

Asked for his comments on the resolution[1] of the A. I. C. C., Gandhiji said:

This is not now within my province. I being now aloof from the day-to-day activities of the Congress, it is not for me to forecast how the resolution would work out in the actualities of provincial politics. My interest at present is confined to that of tendering advice and assisting in drafting[2].

Denying very firmly any intention to make office-acceptance virtually impossible, he said:

The resolution is a downright honest resolution, without the slightest mental reservation but it must be read as an indivisible whole. If Governors want Congressmen to take office, I can see nothing in the resolution to make it even awkward to them to give the fullest satisfaction to the Congress leaders in their representative Provinces—this of course within the very limited sphere in which provincial Governors have discretion—and the resolution has asked for nothing more. Any leader summoned by the Governor in terms of the Act to form his Cabinet will naturally use the Congress resolution by way of illustration and he will ask for an assurance in cases covered by the resolution.

Asked if he would indicate some of the details of the plan of work of Congress Ministries, Gandhiji said that that could be best done by those who were likely to be in office themselves.

The Hindustan Times, 20-3-1937

[1] *Vide* Appendix I.
[2] *Vide* "Extract from A. I. C. C. Resolution", pp. 3-4.

15. ENFORCED WIDOWHOOD

Pyarelal has unearthed the following instructive extract on the suttee and widowhood from the treatise on universal history by Diodorus the Sicilian who lived in the age of Julius Cæsar.

> Now it was an ancient law among the Indians that when young men and maidens were minded to wed they did not marry according to the judgment of the parents, but by mutual consent. But when espousals were made between persons of immature age, mistakes of judgment were of frequent occurrence, and when both sides repented their union, many of the women became depraved, and through incontinence fell in love with other men, and when at last they wished to leave the husbands they had first chosen, but could not in decency do so openly, they got rid of them by poison, a means of destroying life which they could readily procure in their country which produces in great quantity and variety drugs of fatal potency, some of which cause death if merely introduced as powder into food and drink. But when this nefarious practice had become quite prevalent, and many lives had been sacrificed, and when it was found that the punishment of the guilty had no effect in deterring other wives from their career of iniquity, they passed a law ordaining that a wife, unless she was pregnant or had already borne children, should be burned along with the deceased husband, and that if she did not choose to obey the law she should remain a widow to the end of her life, and be for ever excommunicated from the sacrifices and other solemnities as being an impious person.

If these extracts give a faithful account of the origin of the two inhuman customs, we have reason to thank Heavens for the suppression of the suttee by law imposed upon us. No outside imposition can cure Hindu society of the enforced widowhood of girls who don't even know what marriage is. The reform can come first by the force of enlightened public opinion among Hindus, secondly by parents recognizing the duty of marrying their girl widows. This they can do, where the girls' consent is lacking, by educating their minds to the correctness of their marrying. Naturally this refers to girls under age. Where the so-called widows have grown to maturity and they do not desire to marry, nothing is necessary save to tell them that they are free to marry precisely as if they were maidens unmarried. It is

difficult to break the chains of prisoners who hug them, mistaking them as ornaments, as girls and even grown-up women do regard their silver or golden chains and rings as ornaments.

Harijan, 20-3-1937

16. AN ILLUSION

I received this letter[1] last November. But owing to pressure of work I could not write anything up till now. The writer is a scholar of Lahore. It is surprising that he should be labouring under such a grave misapprehension. Perhaps the recent miracle of Travancore has removed his misapprehension. Still there are many people who harbour such misconceptions. So, it would be better to reply to his letter.

In Travancore the Harijans behind the strong movement for temple-entry were not wanting in money. Their leader was, and still is, Shri Govindan, an ex-judge of Travancore. Money brought them no peace. Temple-entry has brought them peace; we witness it for ourselves. They are very pleased with the Maharaja and Maharani. Even if the Maharaja had bestowed half his kingdom on them, it would not have achieved what temple-entry has achieved. This miracle shows that man values many things more than wealth. Man sacrifices his all for self-respect. People have suffered many hardships in the cause of religion, and have even embraced death for it.

When Hindus observe untouchability towards non-Hindus, there is certainly hatred in it. But as the non-Hindus are strong, they do not feel it as much as the Harijans do, who in spite of belonging to the same religion are considered untouchables.

It is also not right to say that there are restrictions in the matter of eating and drinking even among the four castes. The difference between this and untouchability is like that between an elephant and an ant. Untouchables are outcastes. However rich they may be, if they do anything outside their custom they are flogged. It is my firm belief that Hindus alone are responsible for the grievances of the Harijans. They have made

[1] Not translated here. The correspondent had said that caste Hindus ill-treated Harijans because they were poor and suggested that unless their economic conditions were improved, anti-untouchability activities would bear no fruit.

injustice their dharma. To describe their problem as an economic one is tantamount to denying their present situation.

From the way this correspondent writes it appears that though he is a Hindu, he keeps himself a little outside the Hindu society. There are no Brahmins who are hated by Rajputs or any other caste Hindus. On the other hand, we find that a Brahmin or any other caste Hindu is worshipped even by the rich if he embraces poverty.

In the end, even after having read the correspondent's letter with due care and courtesy, I do not regret anything I have said or done regarding untouchability.

[From Hindi]

Harijan Sevak, 20-3-1937

17. INTERVIEW TO PANDIT INDRA

March 20, 1937

Although I am a prisoner of Jawaharlal and I am bound by his orders, at present I am concentrating my attention on village work and that too in Segaon.

Thus reported Mahatma Gandhi to Pandit Indra, Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Congress Convention[1], and others who had gone to request him to attend today's session of the Convention. Gandhiji added:

I have chosen one particular course of action and cannot think of anything else. At present, my mind moves in that direction. When I am able to present something before you, I shall come without your asking. There is meaning in my sitting in the village. My hopes are brightening.

When requested to address a meeting of villagers here, Gandhiji replied:

My eyes are on Segaon now.

The Hindu, 21-3-1937

[1] Of the newly elected Congress members of the Legislatures and other A. I. C. C. members which met in Delhi on March 19 and 20 to administer to the legislators an oath of national independence and allegiance to the Indian people, prior to their taking of the oath in the form in vogue avowing loyalty to the British Sovereign

CWMG LXV

18. KHADI WORK IN A SCHOOL

A national school was founded in Rajkot sixteen years ago chiefly through the efforts of the late Shri Revashankar Jagjivan Jhaveri and with the help of Shri Jamnadas Gandhi. Last month, its sixteenth anniversary was celebrated under the chairmanship of Shri Narahari Parikh. There are three sections in that school —the *Vinay*, the *Kumar* and the *Bal Mandir*. In all, 190 students —110 boys and 80 girls—are studying there. I quote below a paragraph from Shri Narandas Gandhi's statement[1] that deserves attention.

It is a matter for rejoicing that interest can be created in this way in khadi amongst girls and boys. It is significant to note that cotton too is grown in the school, that a dairy is run and foodstuff necessary for a balanced diet also prepared there. If these activities are properly developed and the boys and girls are taught in the skills needed for them in a manner which they would understand, their minds would truly develop. It is an illusion to believe that a child's intellect develops by cramming it with facts which have no relevance to his life. These may well provide entertainment to the intellect, they cannot develop it, because their intellect will not be able to discriminate. But whenever a boy or a girl has to perform some activity and that activity is not taught to him in a mechanical fashion but the reason behind each activity is explained, in such cases the child's intellect develops readily, he acquires self-awareness, self-respect and self-reliance.

[From Gujarati]

Harijanbandhu, 21-3-1937

[1] Not translated here. The statement, amongst other things, explained that children at the Vidyalaya showed a keen interest in khadi. The Vidyalaya conducted classes to teach sewing, weaving, farming and dairying, besides running a provision store.

CWMG-LXV

19. *ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS*[1]

[DELHI,
On or before *March 22, 1937*][2]

QUESTION: It is all right that you teach us tailoring and high-class shoe-making. But that is not what our villagers want. We must learn something that our villagers need.

ANSWER: You are partly right and partly wrong. The villagers may not need these things, but the city people need them. Why should they not depend on you rather than others for these things? If thereby a living contact can be established between the cities and the villages, it will be very good. You have got to teach the villagers whatever you learn here.

Q. If we are to do tanning and scavenging which are the occupations of our forefathers and which have kept us untouchables for centuries, how are you going to destroy untouchability?

A. Not by asking you to give up the occupation of your forefathers but by doing it ourselves. Don't you know that I am a master-scavenger? But nobody treats me as an untouchable. Why should they then treat you as an untouchable? And if they treated you as a touchable only after you give up professions which are so useful to the community, where is the merit? Untouchability will not be removed that way. For then they will treat as untouchables those who will next do these unclean tasks. Untouchability cannot be destroyed that way. It can be destroyed by the so-called untouchables also doing the unclean tasks, and by impressing on the orthodox that however unclean those tasks, they are as honourable as any other and more useful than many.

Harijan, 27-3-1937

[1] This is extracted from "Weekly Letter" by Mahadev Desai, who had reported that Gandhiji spent half an hour with the inmates of the Harijan Industrial Home in Harijan Colony, where he was staying. After some friendly talk with the boys they were "invited to put questions". Mahadev Desai had also explained that the Home, which had about 33 boys, imparted training in tailoring, shoe-making and carpentry, in addition to teaching Hindi and arithmetic. They lived "a clean, healthy corporate life, doing cooking, washing, sweeping, grinding, etc., by turns . . . and scavenging of neighbouring villages every Sunday morning".

[2] Gandhiji left Delhi for Wardha on March 22.

20. DISCUSSION WITH LEADERS OF JAMIAT-UL-ULEMA-I-HIND

DELHI,
[On or before *March 22, 1937*][1]

With regard to the first question[2], Gandhiji said that he would give his attention to that. Reverting to the second question[3], he said:

There is no cause dearer to my life than the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity and since I have taken up this cause I have staked my life on several occasions on this issue. All those Muslim leaders who come in closer touch with me know that I have this object every moment in my eye and every minute a fire is kindling in my heart.

Mahatmaji, however, told the Jamiat leaders that he had been pondering over fresh avenues of real Hindu-Muslim unity. Mahatmaji thought that the present situation when the Congress has been returned in a majority in elections in most of the Provinces might help in this task.

The Bombay Chronicle, 29-3-1937

21. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

DELHI,
March 22, 1937

MY DEAR REBEL,

It is 4.30 a.m. now. Your love letters to hand. I do not like your pain in the toe. Why do you want dal or ghee in cooking vegetables? Both are quite unnecessary, I am sure. And where is the difficulty in having local earth bandage? Are you taking enough soda? One who knows more about the baths than I

[1] Gandhiji left Delhi for Wardha on March 22.

[2&3] The deputationists invited Gandhiji's attention to the statements of Congress leaders which created difficulties in the way of Muslims joining the Congress and fighting for India's freedom. They also suggested establishing a separate institution for creating a better understanding among the different communities of India on the lines of All-India Spinners' Association and Harijan Sevak Sangh.

CWMG - LXV

do tells me that sitz-baths are far more effective than the hip. Therefore you must not omit them unless you find that they hurt. I hope the books have reached you. The parcel was given to R. to be sent to you.

No, I did not see the paper, nor have I received payment. I shall see what is possible about your parcel of hand-made paper.

Of course you should belong to All-India Spinners' Association and take much more interest than you have done in the wheel. Though all has ended well it has cost me much but not more than was warranted by the occasion. Jawaharlal rose to the highest height when he apologized to the Committee[1] for his speech before the Convention[2]. The apology has brought him nearer to the Committee than anything else he has done during these anxious days. Let us see what happens. Thank God that He can and does override our petty plans.

We were not allowed to leave yesterday. We go today and leave Wardha for Madras on 25th. Address is: Hindi Prachar Office, Thyagarayanagar, Madras. We return to Segaon on 31st at latest, I hope.

Love.

TYRANT

[PS.]

Don't send the other copy of Granth Sahib. Pierre must tell me in time when he wants to sail. Raksha has just come in and paid for the paper.

From the original: C.W. 3769. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6925

22. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

March 22, 1937

CHI. PRABHA,

It is Monday today, and morning just now. Thinking that I may not get time after the day has advanced, I am writing a few lines just now. I got your note.

Jayaprakash has not come to take away the jaggery. I haven't seen him at all for three days.

[1] Congress Working Committee which met in Delhi from March 15 to 22

[2] *Vide* footnote on p. 11.

CWMG - LXV

Mridu has just left me. I haven't talked about the matter with her. The main point, however, I have already discussed. Am I right in believing that your staying there will also depend on your state of mind? It seems to me that much will depend on Jayaprakash's wish. Once you settle down in the new place, the road will be clear. When can you leave that place?

We are now leaving this evening. We have to reach Madras on the 26th and return to Wardha on the 31st, leaving Madras on the 30th.

You must procure a tub for hip-bath. If possible, take friction-bath. A tub doesn't seem necessary for that. You will find out from experience. Do you get hand-ground flour? Do you have a carding-bow there? Can't anybody near you be persuaded to spin and card? Harilal came and saw me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3495

23. LETTER TO K. B. KEWALRAMANI

March 22, 1937

DEAR KEWALRAMANI,

I had anticipated you had rebuked Vidya for her coming and Anand for bringing her. Vidya had promised to rest and not to try to come to see whilst I was in Delhi. But I saw that she needed to come to me. I share with you the honour of being parent both to Vidya and Anand. I could see that she would have fared worse if she could not have come to me. You were right in asking her not to venture out to Delhi, and she was right in satisfying her soul-hunger. I do hope you did not find her any the worse for her coming to Delhi.

SHRI K. B. KEWALRAMANI, S.D.O.
CANAL COLONY
FEROZEPUR (PUNJAB)

Yours,

From a microfilm. Courtesy: National Archives of India and Anand T. Hingorani

CWMG - LXV

24. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

March 22, 1937

BHAI GHANSHYAMDAS,

Parameshwari Prasad[1] says that he is prepared to hand over the possession of the farm, etc., even today. He will sign the necessary documents and he can leave the farm four or five days later.

M. K. GANDHI

From Hindi: C.W. 8029. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

25. LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI

SEGAON,
March 25, 1937

CHI. KANTI[2],

I could not write to you earlier. I had a talk with Devdas. If you wish to go to Mysore, you may do so. If the expenses increase by your going there, Devdas will earn the money or raise it. It is, therefore, not necessary for you to join Wilson [College, Bombay] for want of money or Devdas's consent. You may go to Trivandrum if you like. If you get a cargo ship and desire to go by it, there is no objection. It is certainly good to travel thus. Devdas will bear the expense of the voyage, but if he does not, then you may ask me for it. It would not be proper to take it from me if he can bear it.

I know Devdas could not see you. On my asking him he told me that he had tried to see you but could not. He did not send for you because his programme was uncertain. One should not mind such things. And in any case one should never be suspicious. You may take from Nimu or Ramdas whatever money you immediately need. We, i.e., Ba, Manu, Kanu (Junior), Mahadev, Pyarelal and I are leaving for Madras today. We shall be there for three days, and shall be back on the 31st. It has almost been decided to have Manu's wedding[3] in Hudli.

[1] He was in charge of the addressee's dairy farm.

[2] Son of Harilal Gandhi

[3] With Surendra Mashruwala on April 18; *vide* "Advice to Newly-married Couples", 18-4-1937.

CWMG - LXV

Did you cancel your proposed trip to Rajkot? Do you wish to have Amtul Salaam with you? She thinks that you do, but Devdas's impression and mine is that you do not. If that is the case, please write to her frankly. She is making herself needlessly unhappy. She was with me in Delhi as long as I was there.

My language need not be considered mathematical just because I use mathematical terms. But if it is as exact as mathematics, that is, if its successive steps in reasoning are logical and exact, it may be described as mathematical. If my language has that quality, it is because of my worship of truth.

One who wants to learn only a subject of intellectual study can very well do so from a person without character, and such a person may certainly be intelligent also. For instance, a craftsman without character may be highly proficient in his craft. But the highest intelligence or craftsmanship without good character can never do good to the world or serve it. The effect of such service will be temporary. That is why the *Gita* says: "Worship me and I will give you intelligence and whatever else you need." "Worship me" means 'serve me—my creation'.

After writing these sheets I went to the 'library' and after returning I am now drinking milk, and am dictating this while doing so. I had taken your letter to the 'library', just to see whether I had omitted to reply to any point. I am replying in brief to what has been left out. A self-controlled man should be busy in service for all the twenty-four hours. If it is merely doing anything, even a demon can do it. This is in the character of a Ravana. But such a person cannot be regarded as a self-controlled man. Activity is threefold: of body, mind and soul. In pure service there is a combination of the three.

I do know that it is not an easy task to interpret ahimsa in mathematical language. I am trying to do that. And what is true of ahimsa is also true of all other things, e.g., spinning, village industries, etc. But perhaps you will understand all this on your own if you start reading the three journals[1]. I am expecting from you work of that level. I have torn up your letter. Nothing from it will pass to Delhi. If you decide to go to Trivandrum, and if you do not take a ship and if you can free yourself from there, then why not join us in Madras?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7318. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

[1] *Harijan*, *Harijan Sevak* and *Harijanbandhu*

26. SPEECH AT DAKSHIN BHARAT HINDI PRACHAR SABHA, MADRAS[1]

March 26, 1937

Mahatmaji expressed his intention to speak in Hindi and . . . said:

It is not my purpose to hear my own voice. I would like that you should all hear it and, what is more important, understand it; for otherwise there can be neither pleasure nor profit in speaking. So kindly raise your hands, those who understand me—partially or fully.

A good number of hands went up.

And now those who cannot understand me, please put up your hands.

Gandhiji looked round at those with lifted hands and seeing Mr. G. A. Natesan among them cried out:

Shame, shame!

"It is a shame," Mr. Natesan agreed and added, "and I am very sorry indeed." Gandhiji at once took the opportunity to impress upon those present the need for learning Hindi:

You understand on whom I have just now cried shame. It is my good old friend, Mr. Natesan. Of course, I would not take that liberty with others. I have known him since 1915 when I came here from South Africa and he and I understand each other. He is a great publisher and editor. He has also brought out translations of great Sanskrit works. He has enthusiasm and youthfulness for such work. But what has he done in regard to Hindi? He may say, 'Oh I am old.' Perhaps, he is, in body. But let not the mind get old. Let it go on adding to its store of knowledge. For, one whose mind has not become old can do great good to himself and to his fellowmen.

There are still some persons—happily, they are very few—who seem to consider it a sin to look upon Hindi-Hindustani as the national language and a greater sin to study it. I can say from my experience that those who recognize the place of Hindi as the

[1] Gandhiji presided over the convocation of the Sabha.

national language will take to its study with enthusiasm and earnestness, whether it be their mother tongue or not. Otherwise, they may not be able to contribute to its growth as the national language. Hindi cannot take the place of the different provincial languages nor is that the aim of Hindi *prachar*. On the other hand, the spread of the national language will accelerate the growth of the provincial languages and *vice versa* . A strong and virile national language requires healthy development of the provincial languages. If the latter be weak and anaemic, how can the former at all grow?[1]

Gujarati, I said to myself, cannot be the language. Not more than a thirtieth part of the people of the country speaks it. How am I to find Tulsi *Ramayana* therein? What about Marathi, then, I wondered. I love Marathi. I claim among the Marathi-speaking people some staunch co-workers. I know the Maharashtrians' efficiency, capacity for self-sacrifice, and their learning. And yet I did not think Marathi—the language that Lokamanya Tilak wielded so wonderfully well—could be our *rashtrabhasha*. When I was thus reasoning this out, let me tell you that I did not know the actual number of people speaking Hindi, and yet I instinctively felt that only Hindi could take that place, and no other. Did I not appreciate Bengali? I did, and I thought highly of it as the language of Chaitanya, Ram Mohun Roy, Ramakrishna, Vivekananda and Rabindranath Tagore. And yet I felt that we could not make even Bengali the language of inter-provincial intercourse.[2]

I was convinced long ago, and my conviction has grown stronger since from experience, that if any Indian language can ever become India's national language—and some one must become the national language if Indians are to become a nation—that language was only Hindi, and I have always directed my efforts in its cause.

No doubt, in the South we are up against a great problem in this matter. But we cannot see how a language of the South, Tamil or Telugu or any other, can serve as the national language. I honestly tried to learn Telugu and Tamil. Indeed there was a time when I could speak in Tamil quite as well as I am now speaking Hindi. I had sufficient material when I was in South Africa to assist me in this, because I had to work in the midst

[1] *Vide* also "Speech at Bharatiya Sahitya Parishad, Madras-II", pp. 30-2.

[2] This paragraph is reproduced from Mahadev Desai's "Weekly Letter".

of Tamils. But I must confess, to my regret and shame, that I have not kept up touch with it and have forgotten what little I knew of that language. I am not wholly responsible for it. The blame for it rests partly on my Tamil friends. I have taken a girl[1] from Tamil Nad into my household as my daughter-in-law. But instead of compelling me to keep touch with Tamil, she has learnt Hindi and Gujarati and speaks and writes in Hindi. What can I do? How can I hope to refresh my knowledge of Tamil when Tamilians let me down in this manner?

Nor is my Hindi particularly good. My friends behind, who are all proficient in Hindi, laugh at my Hindi pronunciation and grammar. I know both are erratic for I have not studied either. It will do for my purpose if I am able to express my thoughts so as to be understood. If I attempt to be grammatical, I am afraid the results will not be very complimentary to me. I must, on this occasion, express my regret at the absence of any book to help Hindi-speaking people to learn Tamil. If they want to learn Tamil, they have to do it through English. We have not shown the zeal in this cause which some Western Missionaries have evinced. I would appeal to Tamils and also my North Indian friends to remedy this defect. I am thankful to my South Indian friends for the enthusiasm they have shown in learning Hindi but I must say it is not sufficient. It is a unique event that the session of the All-India Sahitya Sammelan is being held in Madras, where Tamil is the chief language. Tamil, of all the Dravidian languages, has borrowed least from Sanskrit. This, no doubt, is a handicap to Tamilians in learning Hindi. But still they have striven to learn the language.[2]

I certainly congratulate you on what you have achieved. But I should be satisfied only when distinguished people like my friend G. A. Natesan, member of the Council of State, give half an hour each day to the study of Hindi. Let him not plead old age. If he is not too old to edit the *Indian Review*, if he is not too old to study Sanskrit and issue Sanskrit publications one after another, if he is not too old to go to the Council of State, why should he be too old to learn Hindi?

What I mean to say is this. Up till now only the middle-class people have taken up the study of Hindi. When will our distinguished leaders take it up? When will the Advocate-General find half an hour to leave his briefs aside and devote it to

[1] Lakshmi, Devdas Gandhi's wife, daughter of C. Rajagopalachari
[2] What follows is from *Harijan*.

Hindi? I want men and women among the most distinguished of the South to study Hindi.

The Hindu, 27-3-1937, and *Harijan*, 3-4-1937

27. SHAMEFUL IF TRUE

A correspondent in British Malabar writes:[1]

> I desire you kindly to comment on the following incident which has agitated me considerably. A public procession was organized by the Congress workers of our village on the eve of the General Elections to the Assembly. A Harijan boy of the place wished to go along with the procession. But the organizers requested him to keep away, mildly saying to him, 'Of course, as you know, we are in full sympathy with you. But the procession has to go through by-lanes along which you people are not generally allowed. Then again, we fear that the orthodox may make this a plea for voting against the Congress. We, therefore, consider it prudent that you do not accompany us.' The poor boy returned with a heavy heart. . . .

This ill-treatment of the noble Harijan lad, if the report is true, deserves severe condemnation, and victory at elections or in other matters is not worth anything if it is bought with the suppression of Harijan liberty. The prohibition against Harijans making use of the roads in the place mentioned is an illegal act and ought not to be tolerated for a single day. Workers should reason with the objectors, and if they do not listen, a test case should be made by taking a few Harijans through the prohibited streets. One would have thought that in Malabar at least such things as are described by the correspondent would not happen.

Harijan, 27-3-1937

[1] Only an extract is reproduced here.

CWMG - LXV

28. A VOICE IN THE WILDERNESS

Just lately I read a review of your conference[1] with Mrs. Sanger, the birth-control advocate. I was so deeply moved that I am writing you to express my appreciation for your stand. God bless you for your courage. . . .

I realize it will take centuries to educate the public to higher ideals, but there is no time like the present to begin. I fear she mistakes passion for love, for love is of the spirit and never born of lust.

Dr. Alexis Carrel agrees with you, in that sex control is not harmful except to those who feed their passions and are already unbalanced. Mrs. Sanger is wrong in saying that most doctors believe abstinence is harmful. I find many leading doctors and scientists belonging to the American Social Hygiene Association hold that control is beneficial.

You are doing a noble work. . . . You are one of the few who have this higher spiritual viewpoint on the sex question. . . .

Let us keep up the good work so that youth may know the truth, for the hope of the future is in their hands.

I add a quotation from one of my talks to boys:

" . . . Creation—physical, mental and spiritual—is joy and life. If you are merely seeking the sensations of the flesh with no thought of creating, or even trying to avoid the aim of creation, you are perverting nature and killing your spiritual powers. . . ."

I know this is like a prophet crying in the wilderness, but I am convinced of the truth of it, and I can but point the way.

This is one of the letters[2] which I occasionally get from America in condemnation of the use of contraceptives. Current literature that India imports weekly from the Far West would have us believe that in America none but idiots and imbeciles oppose the use of this modern method of deliverance from the bondage of the superstition which imprisons the body and crushes it by denying it its supreme enjoyment. That literature produces as much momentary intoxication as the act which it teaches and incites us to perform without incurring the risk of its ordinary result. I do not put before the readers of *Harijan* merely letters

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXII, pp. 156-60.

[2] Only extracts are reproduced here.

CWMG - LXV

of individual condemnation received from the West. They have their use for me as a seeker but very little for the general reader. This letter, however, from a teacher of boys with thirty years' experience behind him has a definite value. It should serve as a guide for Indian teachers and the public—men and women—who are carried away by the overwhelming tide. The use of contraceptives is infinitely more tempting than the whisky bottle. But it is no more lawful than the sparkling liquid for its fatal temptation. Nor can opposition to the use of either be given up in despair because their use seems to be growing. If the opponents have faith in their mission, it has to be pursued. A voice in the wilderness has a potency which voices uttered in the midst of 'the madding crowd' lack. For the voice in the wilderness has meditation, deliberation and unquenchable faith behind it, whilst the babel of voices has generally nothing but the backing of the experience of personal enjoyment or the false and sentimental pity for the unwanted children and their suffering mothers. Argument of personal experience has as much weight as an act of a drunkard. The argument of pity is a trap into which it is dangerous to fall. Sufferings of unwanted children and of equally unwanted motherhood are punishments or warnings devised by beneficent nature. Disregard of the law of discipline and restraint is suicide. Ours is a state of probation. If we refuse to bear the yoke of discipline we court failure like cowards, we avoid battle and give up the only joy of living.

Harijan, 27-3-1937

29. THE MEANING OF IT

I have a wire from Gwalior saying that the notice board in Mahakaleshwar temple in Ujjain, prohibiting the entry into it of Harijans and those who may be associating with or working with them, has been withdrawn by the Maharaja. Before one can pronounce an opinion on the notice it is necessary to know its full meaning. If the prohibition is not withdrawn but only the offending notice board is, the withdrawal brings no relief to the insulted Harijans and their caste associates. It may even bring punishment to the unwary who seeing the notice board withdrawn may venture to enter the temple. If it means withdrawal of the prohibition itself, one would expect a notification to that effect. And if the prohibition is withdrawn from one

temple, why not from all State-owned temples of which I am informed there are nearly fifty in Gwalior State? I hope, therefore, that the State authorities will clear the point and tell the public what the withdrawal of the notice board means.

Indeed there seems to be a timidity on the part of the Princes and their advisers on this matter of doing elementary justice to the poorest and the neediest of their people, and that, too, in a matter which has first-class religious value but which costs them nothing materially. The most striking example of Travancore should have shown them that if they threw open their temples to Harijans there would be no resentment. But it may be that the Princes are afraid of the middle-class Hindus with whom they come in daily contact and that they are not concerned about the silent sufferers—the bulk of the poorest—whether they be Harijans or others. Save for a few Princes who may be counted on the fingers of one's hands the vast majority have themselves no religious scruples about untouchability. Must the Hindu Princes who are supposed to be custodians of the faith, as is shown by the titles they assume, continue to neglect this obvious duty of throwing open their temples to Harijans? I drew attention the other day[1] to the title of the Maharaja of Travancore. Now I learn from D. B. Har Bilas Sarda that the Maharajas of Oodeypore[2] are entitled Diwans inasmuch as they are ministers of the deity of their clan, and that whenever they visit their temples in Oodeypore they officiate like priests for the deity. I would therefore respectfully urge the Princes and their advisers boldly and unequivocally to throw open the temples in their respective States and prove themselves worthy trustees of their faith.

Harijan, 27-3-1937

30. NATTAR-HARIJAN AGREEMENT

The following has been received from Shri L. N. Gopalaswami, Secretary, Tamil Nad Harijan Sevak Sangh:

> I am very glad to communicate to you the very good news regarding the settlement of troubles between a big section of the Nattars called the 'Tennilai Nattars' and the Harijans of that locality.
>
> The following is the true translation of the agreement entered into between the heads of both the parties:

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXIV, pp. 242-3.
[2] Now called Udaipur

'COPY OF THE AGREEMENT DATED FEBRUARY 24, 1937

We, the Harijans and Nattars of Tennilai Nadu, have in the presence of Smt. Kamala Sivasubramaniam, Secretary, Harijan Sevak Sangh, Karaikudi, today resolved to forget and forgive all the differences in the past between the two communities. In token thereof we have set our hand to the conditions of the agreement referred to below:

1. The Harijans will not be forced to do labour. They are at perfect liberty to take wages for the work they do and refuse to do work for those who do not pay.

2. Wearing of dress: The Harijans are entitled to use shirts and upper clothes as they like, and the women all kinds of ornaments as they please. But on the car-day festival of Kandadevi and Eluvancottah, the males will not wear shirts as the chief Nattars themselves do not do so.

3. The Harijans can build any type of houses they please according to their wishes and capacities.

(Signed)

Harijans:	Nattars:
VEMBAN	P. N. KARUPPAIAH AMBALAN
KALIAN	C. KARUPPIAH AMBALAN
S. RAMASWAMI	P. CHIDAMBARA AMBALAN
	S. PARANCHODHI PILLAI.'

This is indeed good news, and those who brought about the agreement deserve congratulations. One may hope also that the terms will be strictly observed by the Nattars. But it is humiliating to find that a portion of Indian humanity cannot wear the dress or ornaments they like and receive wages for their labour except by the grace of another supposed to be superior to them but in reality no better than the first.

Harijan, 27-3-1937

31. CABLE TO AGATHA HARRISON

MADRAS,
March 27, 1937

OBSTINACY REFUSING ASSURANCES[1] WILL SURELY RESULT DEADLOCK. BREACH CONGRESS RANKS IMPOSSIBLE.

GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 1504

[1] Demanded by the Congress regarding non-interference by Governors in the administration; *vide* pp. 3-4.

CWMG - LXV

32. SPEECH AT BHARATIYA SAHITYA PARISHAD, MADRAS–I[1]

March 27, 1937

The Mahamahopadhyaya's[2] speech has whetted my appetite for a study of Tamil, which neither age nor desire would deter me from undertaking, but only the want of time makes difficult. The object of this conference is to collect gems from all provincial literatures and to make them available through Hindi. For this purpose I would make an appeal to you. Of course everyone must know his own language thoroughly well, and he should also know the great literature of other Indian languages through Hindi. But it is also the object of this conference to stimulate in our people the desire to know languages of other provinces, e.g., Gujaratis should know Tamil, Bengalis should know Gujarati and so on. And I tell you from experience that it is not at all difficult to pick up another Indian language. But to this end a common script is quite essential. It is not difficult to achieve in Tamil Nad. For look at this simple fact: over 90 per cent of our people are illiterate. We have to start with a clean slate with them. Why should we not start making them literate by means of a common script? In Europe they have tried the experiment of a common script quite successfully. Some people even go the length of saying that we might adopt the Roman script from Europe. After a good deal of controversy there is a consensus of opinion that the common script can be Devnagari and none else. Urdu is claimed as a rival, but I think neither Urdu nor Roman has the perfection and phonetic capacity of Devnagari. Please remember that I say nothing against your languages. Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Kannada must be there and will be there. But why not teach the illiterate in these parts these languages through the Devnagari script? In the interest of the national unity we desire to achieve, the adoption of Devnagari as a common script is so essential. Here it is a question of just shedding our provincialism and narrowness, there are no difficulties at all. Not that I do not like Tamil or Urdu scripts.

[1] The speech is extracted from Mahadev Desai's "Weekly Letter".

[2] V. Swaminatha Aiyar, Tamil scholar

I know both. But service of the motherland, to which all my life is being given and without which life would be insupportable for me, has taught me that we should try to lift unnecessary burdens off our people. The burden of knowing many scripts is unnecessary and easily avoidable. I would appeal to men of letters of all provinces to resolve their differences on this point and be agreed on this matter of prime importance. Then and then only can the Bharatiya Sahitya Parishad be a success.

Then you have to think of ways and means for carrying on our work. *Hans* is now defunct.[1] Its founder was Premchandji who is no more. Unfortunately Premchandji did not leave anyone to take his place. Indeed, there was none that could adequately fill his place, for he was an unrivalled writer. But that was not the reason for the stopping of the *Hans*. It ceased even when he was alive. Its cessation was due—it was a pity—to the paucity of the number of men who sympathized with or took sufficient interest in the method of work adopted by the journal. All the articles there were drawn from different provincial languages and were written in the Nagari script. If you accept the ideal of a common script, it would be your duty to earnestly work for this objective of the Parishad.

Kakasaheb has told you that he is issuing periodical booklets now, but the whole thing cannot yet be said to have caught on. I want you to shed your apathy and lend a helping hand. You must remember that the whole work falls on the shoulders of the chief workers of the Sammelan. Our work suffers not for want of funds, but for want of workers. We want them from every province. Kakasaheb said that we had limited the number of our governing body to 50 members, but that does not mean that it does not want more workers.

Today our literature is in the interest of the few, i.e., of the few literates. Even among the literates there would be few who are really interested in literature.

Our country lives in the villages, but we have not gone to the villages to do the country's work. What I saw in Segaon is to be seen in every Indian village. You will be surprised that out of about six hundred villagers in Segaon, not two can read good literature. Every day a gentleman goes to the village to read out to them the day's news from the dailies. But it is with great hardship that he is able to get two villagers to listen to him. You can very well understand from this what a

[1] The rest of the paragraph is from *The Hindu*.

stupendous task it must be to carry good literature to their door. It is the aim of the Parishad to remove that defect. I am not mad after any particular script, but I want you to take a considered and dispassionate view of the question. I appeal to you to give this Parishad as much assistance as you can.[1]

Kakasaheb has told you the kind of literature to which we have limited ourselves. I am not fond of literature for its own sake, I do not make a fetish of literacy either. Literacy must be one of the many means for intellectual development, but we have had in the past intellectual giants who were unlettered. That is why we have confined ourselves only to literature of the cleanest and healthiest kind. How can we have this, unless we have your hearty co-operation and unless you are prepared to select suitable literature in your respective languages?

Harijan, 3-4-1937, and *The Hindu*, 27-3-1937

33. LONG LIVE KHADI

Shri Kakubhai writes to say from Bombay:[2]

This increase may be regarded as fairly satisfactory. There is no reason to be pleased at the daily sale of khadi worth Rs. 1,000 in the biggest khadi bhandar in the country, and that too, in a city like Bombay. For me the sale of khadi is the best thermometer for measuring India's peaceful progress. The reader should also bear in mind that this Rs. 1,000 includes orders which have been received from outside also. How many shops are there in Bombay which sell mill-cloth both foreign and Indian? What is their daily sale? And how many khadi shops are there? We shall have to hang our heads in shame if these figures are compared. Despite this, we can derive satisfaction from the fact that khadi worth Rs. 1,000 is being sold and, this time, an increase in sale has been recorded.

Shri Kakubhai cannot give any reason for the increase in sale. I found from my conversation with Shri Vithaldas Jerajani that this sale was in no way connected with the enthusiasm about the Legislative Assembly. Had it been the case, the increase would have amounted to not one, but many thousands. Hence,

[1] This paragraph is from *The Hindu*.

[2] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had given details to show that the sale of khadi had increased notwithstanding the rise in prices. He had expressed the hope that it would increase further.

there is some other reason behind it. I presume that people have increasingly begun to understand the significance of khadi, and those who wear khadi are satisfied by the higher rate paid to women spinners and thus their enthusiasm for wearing it has increased. If my guess is correct, it is something that should encourage khadi workers. I have found out something of practical significance. The softness and durability of khadi have increased to a considerable extent ever since the rate for spinning has been increased and the work of women spinners is being supervised. The reason for this is obvious. And that too is something that should encourage us. If readers of *Harijanbandhu* can throw some light on this, they should write to me.

[From Gujarati]

Harijanbandhu, 28-3-1937

34. SPEECH AT BHARATIYA SAHITYA PARISHAD, MADRAS–II[1]

[*March 28, 1937*][2]

If the Congress went on as usual while we passed resolutions in support of Hindi as the common language, our work would be painfully slow. This resolution appeals to the Congress to exclude the use of English as a language of inter-provincial communication. English, it says, should not be allowed to take either the place of the provincial languages or of Hindi. If English had not ousted the languages of the people, the provincial languages would have been wonderfully rich today. If England had adopted French as the language of her national

[1] The speech is extracted from Mahadev Desai's "Weekly Letter". Before Gandhiji's speech the Parishad had passed a resolution, drafted by C. Rajagopalachari, which read: "This Conference appeals to the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress to resolve not to use English in future in the proceedings of the Congress, the A. I. C. C. and the Working Committee and to use Hindi-Hindustani instead; provided that those who are not able to express themselves fully in Hindi-Hindustani may use English. If a member who is unable to express himself in Hindi-Hindustani desires to speak in his provincial language, he may do so, and arrangements may be made for translating such a speech into Hindi-Hindustani. If any person finds it necessary on any occasion to speak in English to make himself understood by any section of the audience, he may do so with the permission of the chairman."

[2] *Gandhi 1915–1948: A Detailed Chronology*

CWMG - LXV

deliberations we should have had no English literature today. French was the language there after the Norman conquest. But then the tide turned in favour of 'English-undefiled'. That created the great English literature we know. What Yakub Hussain Saheb said was quite right. The Mussalman contact had a great influence on our culture and civilization, so much so that there were men like the late Pandit Ajodhyanath who were perfect scholars in Persian and Arabic. If they had given to their mother tongue all the time that they gave to the study of Arabic and Persian, the mother tongue would have made great progress. Then English came to occupy the unnatural position it does until this day. University professors can wax eloquent in English but will not be able to express their thoughts in their own mother tongue. Sir C. V. Raman's researches are all contained in his papers in English. They are a sealed book to those who do not know English. But look at the position in Russia. Even before the Revolution they resolved to have all their textbooks (including scientific) in Russian. That really prepared the way for Lenin's Revolution. We cannot establish real mass contacts until the Congress decides to have all its deliberations in Hindi and of its provincial organizations in the provincial languages.

This resolution becomes as much a business of the Bharatiya Parishad as of the Sammelan, for the Bharatiya Parishad is intended to advance the cause of the provincial languages, and if the Congress does not adopt the resolution its object will be to that extent frustrated.

It is not that I am making a fetish of language. It is not that I would refuse to have swaraj if I could have it at the cost of our language, as indeed I should refuse to have it at the cost of Truth and Non-violence. But I insist so much on the language because it is a powerful means of achieving national unity, and the more firmly it is established the broader based will be our unity.

Don't be alarmed at my proposal of everyone learning Hindi plus a language of other provinces, besides his mother tongue. Languages are easily learnt. Max Muller knew 14 languages; and I know a German girl who knew 11 languages when she came here five years ago and now knows two or three Indian languages. But you have created before your mind's eye a bugbear and somehow feel that you cannot express yourselves in Hindi. It is our mental laziness that we have made no progress in spite of Hindustani being adopted in our Congress constitution these 12 years.

Yakub Hussain Saheb asked me why I insisted so much on 'Hindi-Hindustani' and was not content with having simple 'Hindustani' as the common language. I must take you through the genesis of the whole thing. It was as early as 1918 that as President of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan I suggested[1] to the Hindi-speaking world to broaden their definition of Hindi to include Urdu. When I presided over the Sammelan once again in 1935[2] I had the word Hindi properly defined as a language that was spoken both by Hindus and Mussalmans and written in Devnagari or Urdu script. My object in doing so was to include in Hindi the high-flown Urdu of Maulana Shibli and the high-flown Hindi of Pandit Shyamsunderdas. Then came the Bharatiya Sahitya Parishad, also an off-shoot of the Sammelan. At my suggestion the name Hindi-Hindustani was adopted in the place of Hindi. Abdul Haq Saheb stoutly opposed me there. I could not accept his suggestion. I should have done violence to myself and to the Sammelan if I had given up the word 'Hindi' which was the word of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan and which I had persuaded them to define so as to include Urdu. We must remember that the word Hindi is not of Hindu coinage, it was coined after the Muslim advent to describe the language which Hindus of the North spoke and studied. So many Mussalman writers of note have described their language as Hindi. And why now this quarrel over words when Hindi is defined to include the variations spoken and written by Hindus and Mussalmans?

Then there is another factor to be considered. So far as South Indian languages are concerned it is only Hindi with a large number of Sanskrit words that can appeal to them, for they are already familiar with a certain number of Sanskrit words and the Sanskrit sound. When the two—Hindi and Hindustani or Urdu—amalgamate and really become the all-India language, daily augmented by the introduction of provincial words, we shall have a vocabulary richer even than the English vocabulary. I hope you now understand why I insist on Hindi-Hindustani.

And then I would give a tip to such of you as dread the advent of Hindi-Hindustani as the only language of the Congress. Invest in a Hindi daily or a good book, read aloud part of it regularly even for five minutes, select passages from well-known Hindi writings and speeches and repeat them to

[1] *Vide* Vol. XIV, pp. 292-7.
[2] *Vide* Vol. LX, pp. 443-50 and 450-5.

yourselves, for correct intonation, make a point of learning a few Hindi words every day, and I assure you that such regular practice will be enough to enable you to express yourselves well in Hindi-Hindustani in six months' time and without putting an undue strain on your memory.

Harijan, 3-4-1937

35. *INTERVIEW TO "THE HINDU"*[1]

MADRAS,
March 28, 1937

REPRESENTATIVE: As the reputed co-author of the resolution[2] of the A. I. C. C. on office-acceptance, can you throw some light on the position as it has emerged today?

GANDHIJI: It is definite that I am not saying anything about politics. That must be understood.

R. Are you aware that an opinion has been expressed that each side has but tried to put the other in the wrong and that that opinion seems to be held by responsible public men?

G. I do not know about it. I have not yet seen this evening's papers.

The interviewer had to switch on to other topics and he sought Gandhiji's views on the progress of Hindi in South India with particular reference to the resolution[3] adopted by the All-India Sahitya Sammelan that day urging the exclusive use of Hindi in Congress deliberations.

G. The progress made in the matter of Hindi is comparatively speaking good. Whereas some years back there was hardly anybody who knew Hindi, today there is a big establishment looking after the training in Hindi of several thousands of boys and girls and men and women. That is a sign of progress. But I cannot say I am satisfied with the response from all the four Provinces of the South so far as the leaders of public opinion are concerned. I very much fear they have not taken up the study of Hindi seriously so as to be able to carry

[1] The interview was granted to its representative "immediately after Gandhiji's evening prayers".

[2] *Vide* pp. 3-4.

[3] *Vide* footnote 1, p. 30.

CWMG - INDEX

on conversation in Hindi or to understand what is going on in the Hindi Press or to be able to speak to the multitude in northern Provinces. It is therefore a happy thing that for the first time in the history of a southern Province, the Hindi Sammelan was invited and had its sittings in Madras.

I hope and believe the prejudice that Hindi was intended to supplant the provincial languages has by this time been set at rest. Indeed the effort of the Sammelan is to strengthen the provincial languages also. If the provincial languages are not strong, Hindi as a language of inter-provincial intercourse would not be able to thrive. Love of Hindi as the *rashtrabhasha* must go hand in hand with love of provincial languages.

It was indeed a great thing that with unanimous consent, this resolution asking the Working Committee of the Congress to stop the use of English in all-India proceedings has been passed. I have no doubt that English has enjoyed a status and importance in public affairs which it should never have enjoyed. He who runs can see that this usurpation by English of the place that belongs to Hindi or Hindustani has to that extent delayed the progress of Hindi and also of the vernaculars. It is not a very flattering admission on our part that the riches and discoveries of physical sciences cannot be accurately described in the provincial languages or in Hindi. I am convinced that it is sheer laziness on our part which makes us say so. These two conferences, the Sammelan and the Bharatiya Sahitya Parishad, will have rendered a useful service if the eyes of leaders of opinion in the South are opened to this obvious fact.

R. If, as you say, the fear that the spread of Hindi may be prejudicial to the growth of provincial languages is dying down, is not the suggestion for the adoption of a common script for all Indian languages likely to be a disturbing factor?

G. That is a question very well put. It should be most unfortunate if the suggestion that we should have a common script for the provincial languages disturbs in any way the provincial mind that it is an attempt directly or indirectly to undermine the importance of provincial languages. I can say without fear of contradiction that nothing was farther from my thoughts than that by the adoption of a common script the chances of provincial languages should be reduced. On the other hand, a common script would remove a great difficulty from the path of persons wanting to learn languages of India other than their own and would thereby facilitate the study of those languages.

My observation was based on personal experience and that of the experience of co-workers.

We are an illiterate nation, illiterate in the sense that hardly seven per cent of the people of India can trace their own alphabet. What are you going to do to the other ninety or ninety-three per cent? Should the seven or ten per cent of literates, because they are associated with a particular form of script and because they have associated the provincial sound with those signs, impose those signs on the ninety or ninety-three per cent and make it difficult for them to learn other provincial languages? A little care for the illiterate masses and a little thought about all India should convince the seven per cent of provincial literates of the necessity of adopting a common script. Has the adoption of a common script in Europe prevented the growth of different European languages in any shape or form?

Conversation then turned on the rural uplift work which was being carried on in Segaon village and Gandhiji sat up and said:

You can talk to me freely of it. You can talk to me of khadi, the charkha, basket-making and paper-making.

R. Has paper-making made great progress in your Segaon reconstruction scheme?

G. If I get a contract for paper from newspapers, I hope to be able to supply their requirements, though I am not just now competing with the paper mills. For, were I to enter into that competition just now, I must needs neglect the anti-malaria work.

Speaking of malaria, Gandhiji said that preventive measures and diet were the most important items in anti-malaria work. Administration of quinine, he said, was of no avail unless food was given to the people at the same time. Gandhiji added:

I have got to give them milk or buttermilk in all cases without exception and advise the adoption of a diet which would enable them to survive the disease. I am convinced that diet is more important than drugs and good food better than constant drugging.

An interesting piece of information which Gandhiji gave out in this connection was that he had hardly taken drugs except on two occasions.

R. Would you suggest a six-month plan for Congress members of the Legislatures on these lines of rural work as the Legislatures, apparently, will have a holiday for the period?

G. Jawaharlal can prescribe one.

Gandhiji then answered a few questions about khadi. At first, he said, he was inclined to think that enthusiasm for it had abated. But the monthly increases in the sales of khadi made him hesitate to pronounce any opinion that love of khadi had abated. It was certainly true, he said, that whereas formerly "a forest of khadi caps" was visible, one did not see such demonstrations now. That, however, was no test of the real love of khadi. Gandhiji added:

I do notice this happy result of the increase in the wages of spinners that it has not affected the demand for khadi, as some workers feared it might affect, and I should be surprised if, at a date not very distant, we do not adopt a further rise in the spinners' wages.

Whilst therefore Gandhiji had absolutely no sense of despair about the progress of khadi, he could not, he said, conceal from himself or from the Press and the public his desire for much greater progress than what made so far. Conceived as a supplementary occupation for the millions of underfed villagers of India, Gandhiji said:

Khadi should command the sympathy and support of town-dwellers and others who required a certain amount of clothing for covering themselves.

The Hindu, 29-3-1937

36. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

MADRAS,
March 30, 1937

Having brooded over the refusal of the Governors to give the assurances asked for by invited Congress leaders in the majority Provinces, I feel that I must give my opinion on the situation that has arisen in the country. I have had three cables from London shown to me asking for my opinion. Friends in Madras too have pressed for its publication. Though it is departure from my self-imposed rule, I can no longer withstand the pressure especially as I am the sole author of the office-acceptance clause of the Congress resolution[1] and the originator of the idea of attaching a condition to office-acceptance.

My desire was not to lay down any impossible condition. On the contrary, I wanted to devise a condition that could be

[1] *Vide* pp. 3-4.

CWMG-LXV

easily accepted by the Governors. There was no intention whatsoever to lay down a condition whose acceptance would mean any the slightest abrogation of the Constitution. Congressmen were well aware that they could not and would not ask for any such amendment. The Congress policy was and is not to secure an amendment, but an absolute ending of the Constitution which nobody likes. Congressmen were and are also aware that they could not end it by mere acceptance of office, even conditional. The object of that section of the Congress which believed in office-acceptance was, pending the creation, by means consistent with the Congress creed of non-violence, of a situation that would transfer all power to the people, to work the offices so as to strengthen the Congress which has been shown predominantly to represent mass opinion. I felt that this object could not be secured unless there was a gentlemanly understanding between the Governors and their Congress Ministers that they would not exercise their special powers of interference so long as the Ministers acted within the Constitution. Not to do so would be to court an almost immediate deadlock after entering upon office. I felt that honesty demanded that understanding.

It is common cause that the Governors have discretionary powers. Surely there was nothing extra-constitutional in their saying that they would not exercise their discretion against Ministers carrying on constitutional activities. It may be remembered that the understanding was not to touch the numerous other safeguards over which the Governors had no power. A strong party with the decisive backing of the electorate could not be expected to put itself in the precarious position of being in dread of interference at the will of the Governors. The question may be put in another way. Should the Governors be courteous to the Ministers or discourteous? I hold that it would be distinctly discourteous if they interfered with their Ministers in matters over which law gave the latter full control and with which the Governors were under no legal obligation to interfere. A self-respecting Minister conscious of an absolute majority at his back could not but demand the assurance of non-interference. Have I not heard Sir Samuel Hoare[1] and other Ministers saying in so many words that ordinarily the Governors would not use their admittedly large powers of interference? I claim that the Congress formula has asked for nothing more.

[1] Secretary of State for Home Affairs

It has been claimed on behalf of the British Government that the Act gives autonomy to the Provinces. If that is so, it is not the Governors but the Ministers who are during their period of office responsible for the wise administration of their Provinces. Responsible Ministers sensible of their duty could not submit to interference in the pursuance of their daily duty. It does therefore appear to me that once more the British Government has broken to the heart what it has promised to the ear. I doubt not that they can and will impose their will on the people till the latter develop enough strength from within to resist it, but that cannot be called working provincial autonomy.

By flouting the majority obtained through the machinery of their creation, they have in plain language ended the autonomy which they claim the Constitution has given to the Provinces. The rule therefore will now be the rule of the sword, not of the pen, nor of the indisputable majority. Anyway that is the only interpretation which, with all the goodwill in the world, I can put upon Government action. For I believe in the cent per cent honesty of my formula whose acceptance might have prevented a crisis and resulted in a natural, orderly and peaceful transference of power from the bureaucracy to the largest and fullest democracy known to the world.

The Hindu, 30-3-1937

37. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

ON THE TRAIN,
March 30, 1937

MY DEAR IDIOT,

This is being written in the moving train. You must have had the letter I asked Mahadev to write to you. In Madras I had no time for anything but the work before me. And I worked to the breaking point. The reason was a discovery of great impurity in the Secretary of the Sabha—Pandit Harihar Sharma.

Ammu Swaminathan was not in Madras.

You did well in sending me the wire about your foot for your letter was alarming. I hope you are now completely free. You should discover the cause of it.

Yes, I would like you to give up even the spoonful of dal and equally give up vegetable or anything cooked or fried in

ghee or oil. I know you do not touch oil. Do take raw onion with raw garlic, tomatoes and some green leaf. Increase the quantity of milk. If you have a good cow, once during the day try raw milk.

I evidently forgot to send you Dinshaw Mehta's address. It is Dr. Dinshaw Mehta, Healthatorium, near City Station, Poona City. Did you ever get from him the steaming kettle? I have asked him to send it to you per V. P. P. Jullundur City address.

Heat has commenced in these parts. But it is not unbearable as yet. Mira says they had a bad storm in my absence. Wardha weather seems to have changed.

Your Hindi attempt was good. With the Hindi Sammelan Ambujam[1] had got up a Mahila Parishad. Ba was nominally President. As A's address was short, I send you a copy of it. It would be good exercise for you. It has a few mistakes which you should be able to detect.

Love.

TYRANT

From the original: C.W. 3770. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6926

38. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

ON THE TRAIN,
March 30, 1937

CHI. PRABHA,

I have your letter. I am writing this in a train that is carrying me to Wardha. Amtul Salaam has gone to her home in Patiala. Navin had come to Madras. Paparamma[2] also had come. But Saraswati could not. The work in Madras was quite heavy. Do you know Kamalabai of Madras who was doing publicity work? She is here. Anna[3] has fallen with her. So for the time being she has to give up publicity work[4]. Most probably she and Gomatibehn will stay with me. I will test her then. A man falls if he is a little careless. You don't have to think much about staying with Mridula. When you get sufficient self-confidence to be able to work in Bihar independently, you can take up such work. If you have such self-confidence now, you needn't go to Mridula. There is, thus, nothing to worry about. If one does the work that comes to one

[1] Daughter of S. Srinivasa Iyengar
[2] Padmavathi, sister of G. Ramachandran
[3] Harihar Sharma
[4] *Vide* also "Hindi *Prachar* and Purity", pp. 45-7.

CWMG - INDIA

unsought, without worrying about things and with single-minded attention, one is bound to be at peace with oneself.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3496

39. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

March 31, 1937

MY DEAR REBEL,

Still on the train. I wrote[1] yesterday but forgot to tell you that when I saw the cartoon[2] I felt what you felt. The joke was quite innocent. Only a suspicious mind could find a sinister purpose behind the cartoon. But the suspicion is there and has to be taken account of. Therefore you were wholly right in drawing Devdas's attention to the cartoon.

Yesterday's letter was posted in the train without late fee. Mahadev thinks that therefore it will be delivered to you a day later. This is being posted with the late fee. You will tell me if this reaches you earlier.

Hope the toe is in order and you are having your walks. No dal at all and no ghee in cooking vegetables, no fried things, as much milk as you can possibly take, raw onion and raw garlic.

Dr. Dinshaw Mehta, Nature Cure, 6 Toddiwala Road, near City Station, Poona City.

That is Mehta's address. The latter part is a summary of yesterday's letter.

Love.

TYRANT

From the original: C.W. 3771. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6927

[1] *Vide* pp. 38-9.

[2] Published in *The Hindustan Times*, 22-3-1937, while Devdas Gandhi was its Managing Director. The cartoon by Shankar which caricatured a biblical saying from First Epistle of St. John, Chapter I, verse 3, referred to Sri Prakasa's speech in Legislative Assembly debate on the Finance Bill. Sri Prakasa who described the Finance Member, J. P. Grigg, as "the God of Capitalism and Imperialism" was shown to be praying to the 'trinity' J. C. Nixon, Finance Secretary, J. P. Grigg and J. B. Taylor, Governor of Reserve Bank of India in the following words:

"To the Glory of our Lord J. C.
For the Love of Grigg and
The Fellowship of Holy Taylor.
—Amen"

CWMG - INV

40. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEGAON,
April 1, 1937

MY DEAR IDIOT,

I got your two letters, one yesterday and one today. Of course the Punjab khadi work must be put right. You should go into it thoroughly and let me know the result of your enquiry.

The Hindi books have to be paid for. I am glad you and Vasumati[1] like the selection. Will you write to Brijkishan Chandiwala, Katra Khushalrai, Delhi, for the bill? I got them through him but examined them personally. I told you, you need not keep them all but keep what you and V. like. What about Pierre?

Why should you not drive out and walk barefoot on soft ground? You must have exercise in the fresh air. Bare-foot walking will do good to the toe. Of course if you had been with me the toe would have been set right without difficulty. Quackery is a good thing at times.

I do not know why Mira says the weather here is bad. Of course it has rained here outside the season. I am well. Weight 114.

Love.

TYRANT

From the original: C.W. 3772. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6928

41. LETTER TO MOOLCHAND AGRAWAL

April 1, 1937

BHAI MOOLCHANDJI,

I do remember having quoted quite a number of sayings from *Satyarth Prakash* but I do not desire any public discussion now. Even when I wrote them, it resulted in considerable harm and the Arya Samaj suffered some injustice. If you send me

[1] Vasumati Pandit, daughter in-law of Navalram Pandya, a Gujarati writer

a copy of *Satyarth Prakash*, I shall certainly be able to extract the remarks in support of my contention. My opinion has undergone no change. Still it does in no way imply that my reverence for Swami Dayanand has lessened, only it is not blind.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 763

42. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

April 1, 1937

CHI. BRAJKRISHNA,

I got your letter yesterday on my return from Madras. It is unworthy of you to hold that I discourage you from joining me because of your faults; moreover, it is unjust to me. I have forbidden you from coming simply because I think living with me would be an idle waste of time. But if you have no peace otherwise, you may certainly come here and stay as long as you deem it fit. What would happen if your health suffered? Even this point may be overlooked for the time being. This much then for your living with me.

Now for your predicament. I think you should get married. There is no grave error attached to marrying; every widower does it, which is certainly better than continually harbouring lustful thoughts.

It is difficult to pronounce any opinion on wealth. I would only say this much that even the earning of wealth can be a mode of service, and in that too some ethical restraints must be observed and the prescribed rule should be applied to money-making and the wealth should be as far as possible used for the benefit of society.

Your anguish increases as you try to work beyond your strength. Ethics should not be misinterpreted in any way. The rest on meeting you. Your letter is being returned.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2455

CWMG-LXV

43. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

April 1, 1937

DEAR DAUGHTER AMTUL SALAAM,

I write this letter in Urdu for I know that you find my Urdu letters less difficult to decipher. I have your letter. Convey the following to your brother's wife[1]: "Although I know you people only through Amtul Salaam, she has made me so well acquainted with you that I feel as if you were my relatives. How good it was that Amtul reached there in time! I hope you are better now. May God grant you a quick recovery."

The food you give to her is quite good. She should be given greens too. Give her hip-baths. I had a letter from Kanti. He is to go to Mysore. For the time being he will be in Rajkot. He will go to Mysore at the end of April. Possibly he might go to Trivandrum for a few days. Devdas has permitted him. Manu's marriage will take place in Segaon and Kanti is bound to come there then. I leave here on the 14th instant returning on the 25th. You may come over whenever it suits you. I am very glad to learn that you are keeping well. When you are perfectly fit I shall be able to extract work from you to my heart's content. I returned yesterday from Madras. There was a lot of work there this time.

Let your brother's wife have abdominal mud-packs at night; they ought to benefit her a great deal. Paparamma came to Madras but Saraswati could not come. She is happy, though. I shall not read this again.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Urdu: G.N. 377

[1] She was ailing in Indore.

44. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

SEGAON,
April 2, 1937

BAPA,

You did very very well in writing to me. Your letter came to me as a surprise. I had a talk with Malkani, though Ghanshyamdas had asked me not to tell him, and suggested to him to be ready to leave Harijan Niwas. I then informed Ghanshyamdas. Of course I made it clear that I did not find Malkani's work altogether useless, but that there would be no difficulty at all in removing him. He then said he was himself doubtful but he would see and think over it. I am sending your letter to him. I am not insisting at all [on keeping him]. You also may discuss the matter with him.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1175

45. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

April 2, 1937

BHAI GHANSHYAMDAS,

What is this! I do not in the least insist on keeping Malkani. If his leaving brings greater benefit to the Harijan Niwas it is our duty promptly to remove him from there. Hence whatever is good may be done.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Hindi: C.W. 8030. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

CWMG - LXV

46. *HINDI PRACHAR AND PURITY*

On the 26th ultimo there was the convocation of the Hindi Prachar University for giving certificates to those young men and women who had passed its final examination. I was invited[1] to present the certificates to the graduates. They had to take a threefold vow which pledged them to the spread of Hindi-Hindustani, service of the motherland and personal purity for the good name of the University. I drew the special attention of the graduates to the last two parts of the pledge. The authors of the pledge, however, had a special intention in inserting the clauses about service and personal purity. They were evidently of opinion that if the young men and women who passed through the institution spread Hindi in the spirit of service, and if their personal purity was assured, these two factors would enhance the prestige of the graduates and they would themselves be the best advertising media for popularizing Hindi-Hindustani. I therefore reminded them of the pledge that they had just taken. In order to enforce my argument, I quoted to the graduates the instance of the reported fall of a Hindi teacher who had already damaged the cause of Hindi *prachar*. When I referred to this report I had little thought of what was in store for me.

For the morning following I had a letter placed in my hands giving detailed information of the fall from purity of Pandit Harihar Sharma,[2] the prime author of the pledge and the Secretary of the Sabha. He is also a member of the Satyagraha Ashram from its foundation. He and his wife qualified themselves for Hindi *prachar* work. He has been for years the soul of the Hindi movement in the South. At the Ashram he was held in high esteem. He was easily among those who were always regarded above suspicion, above reproach. I could not therefore believe the letter. I spoke to him the next morning; and though he resisted the imputation for a while, the concealment became too unbearable for him and he confessed everything. According to the Ashram code he gave me permission to refer

[1] *Vide* "Speech at Dakshin Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha, Madras", pp. 19-22.

[2] *Vide* also "Letter to Prabhavati", pp. 39-40.

to the sin in public. I at once broke the news to the executive. They were unprepared for the stunning news. Pandit Sharma tendered resignation on the ground of the fall. The executive will have accepted the resignation and the administration will have been overhauled. Kakasaheb stayed in Madras to advise the executive of the Hindi Prachar Sabha.

But for me the matter does not end there. It may be thought that events like this do not need publicity. Those who think so evidently do not know the full facts. The institutions with which I am intimately connected have to deal with masses of mankind, both men and women. They work through hundreds of volunteers. These have no authority but the moral. The volunteer workers inspire confidence because purity of personal life is assumed about them. Their influence will wane immediately they lose credit for purity. Publicity has never harmed the institutions or the persons involved in sin.

It behoves the workers throughout India to learn the lesson from Pandit Sharma's fall that they must be ever watchful of themselves and not be found napping and unready to resist when the enemy assails them. This remark applies perhaps with greater force to Hindi teachers in the South than to others. There is no purdah there. Girls there have been found to be more interested in Hindi than boys. Teachers by reason of their very occupation exercise over their pupils a moral authority which disarms suspicion and creates a confidence which would ordinarily be wanting.

Indeed a suggestion has already been made to the effect that in order to be fool-proof the Hindi Prachar Sabha should stop private tuition of girls altogether. I have not been able to subscribe to the view. Lapses will take place no matter how careful one is. There cannot, therefore, be overcarefulness. But to stop private tuition of girls is to admit moral bankruptcy. There is no warrant for panic. So far as I know, the Hindi teachers in general have done their work without blemish in the matter of personal purity. I have not suppressed from the public any proved lapses. We may not invite temptations nor may we shut ourselves in iron cages in order to avoid them altogether. We must be prepared to face them when they come uninvited. Sharma fell because he invited temptation. He trusted himself too much.

Let the public that is interested in Hindi *prachar* work not be curious about the future of Pandit Sharma or about the details of his error. He will be with me whilst he is reforming

himself. His disappearance from the organization does not mean the close of a career of service. Indeed if this fall has taught him the lesson of his life, he will have lost nothing nor Hindi *prachar* a worker of his calibre. To err is human, to own up one's error and to so act as to be proof against it is manly. Let us hope that he has the manly quality necessary for the task and pray that he may become a better servant for the fall. Some of the saints of the world had been notorious sinners.

Harijan, 3-4-1937

47. AN UNFORTUNATE DOCUMENT

Fourteen highly educated Indian Christians occupying important social positions have issued a joint manifesto setting forth their views on the missionary work among Harijans. The document has been published in the Indian Press. I was disinclined to publish it in *Harijan*, as after having read it more than once I could not bring myself to say anything in its favour and I felt that a critical review of it might serve no useful purpose. But I understand that my criticism is expected and will be welcomed no matter how candid and strong it may be.

The reader will find the manifesto published in full in this issue. The heading[1] is also the authors'. They seem to have fallen between two stools in their attempt to sit on both. They have tried to reconcile the irreconcilable. If one section of Christians has been aggressively open and militant, the other represented by the authors of the manifesto is courteously patronizing. They would not be aggressive for the sake of expedience. The purpose of the manifesto is not to condemn unequivocally the method of converting the illiterate and the ignorant but to assert the *right* of preaching the Gospel to the millions of Harijans. The key to the manifesto is contained in paragraphs 7 and 8. This is what one reads in paragraph 7:

> Men and women individually and in family or village groups will continue to seek the fellowship of the Christian Church. That is the real

[1] "Our Duty to the Depressed and Backward Classes". The signatories were: K. K. Chandy, S. Gnanaprakasam, S. Gurubatham, S. Jesudasen, M. P. Job, G. V. Job, G. Joseph, K. I. Matthai, A. A Paul, S. E. Ranganadham, A. N. Sudarsanam, O. F. E. Zacharia, D. M. Devasahayam, G. V. Martyn.

CWMG - INDIA

> movement of the Spirit of God. And no power on earth can stem that tide. It will be the duty of the Christian Church in India to receive such seekers after the truth as it is in Jesus Christ and provide for them instruction and spiritual nurture. The Church will cling to its right to receive such people into itself from whatever religious group they may come. It will cling to the further right to go about in these days of irreligion and materialism to awaken spiritual hunger in all.

These few sentences are a striking instance of how the wish becomes father to the thought. It is an unconscious process but not on that account less open to criticism. Men and women do not seek the fellowship of the Christian Church. Poor Harijans are no better than the others. I wish they had real spiritual hunger. Such as it is, they satisfy by visits to the temples, however crude they may be. When the missionary of another religion goes to them, he goes like any vendor of goods. He has no special spiritual merit that will distinguish him from those to whom he goes. He does, however, possess material goods which he promises to those who will come to his fold. Then mark, the duty of the Christian Church in India turns into a right. Now when duty becomes a right it ceases to be a duty. Performance of a duty requires one quality—that of suffering and introspection. Exercise of a right requires a quality that gives the power to impose one's will upon the resister through sanctions devised by the claimant or the law whose aid he invokes in the exercise of his right. I have the duty of paying my debt, but I have no right to thrust the owed coppers (say) into the pocket of an unwilling creditor. The duty of taking spiritual message is performed by the messenger becoming a fit vehicle by prayer and fasting. Conceived as a right, it may easily become an imposition on unwilling parties.

Thus the manifesto, undoubtedly designed to allay suspicion and soothe the ruffled feelings of Hindus, in my opinion, fails to accomplish its purpose. On the contrary, it leaves a bad taste in the mouth. I venture to suggest to the authors that they need to re-examine their position in the light of my remarks. Let them recognize the fundamental difference between rights and duties. In the spiritual sphere, there is no such thing as a right.

Harijan, 3-4-1937

CWMG - LXV

48. OBSTACLES IN THE WAY OF A GOSEVAK

The secretary of a goshala writes:[1]

It is my firm belief that by making good use of the hide of a dead animal religion is not violated, nor should sanatanist Hindus feel offended over this. Yes, it is certainly a lapse of religion if full use of the hide of a dead animal is not made because it increases cow-slaughter. The price of a cow decreases day by day and so cows are easily sold and taken straight to slaughter-houses. If we consider *goseva* as an inseparable part of Hindu religion, we can neither look down upon the tanners' profession nor consider them untouchable. The cow dies solely from our ignorance. Dharma cannot be protected by merely talking about it; that can be done only by understanding the meaning of the Shastras and by practising it. I have written several times that if the goshalas in India know their duty and adhere to it faithfully, then cow-slaughter can be done away with and cow's milk will be easily available to everyone. There is no exaggeration of any kind in this statement. Almost all cows are owned by Hindus. If they adhere to their dharma and refrain from selling cows which is the cause of cow-slaughter, there can be no cow-slaughter. Let every goshala become an ideal dairy, that is, self-reliant, and let experts on dairying and animal husbandry work in it. A self-reliant goshala must prosper from day to day. It can also make proper use of the hides of the dead cattle. This amounts to saying that with the increase in cattle wealth, our knowledge will also grow; and this will be a great help to us in reducing unemployment in the country. Even if one goshala will accomplish this task, other goshalas will follow it.

[From Hindi]

Harijan Sevak, 3-4-1937

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had said that till then the practice of the goshala was to give away dead cattle without any charge. However, in that year they had had the hides removed and sold, which had resulted in great dissatisfaction among orthodox Hindus.

49. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

[SEGAON,]
April 3, 1937

MY DEAR IDIOT,

I hope you are following my prescription about your toe. Local earth bandage should also be applied.

Of course you won't sign the big book[1], if it degrades you in your own estimation. The A. I. V. I. A. meeting accepted Jajuji's[2] resignation and did not appoint anyone else. Kumarappa did not shine at the meeting. But it is all right. The things will shape themselves.

Here it is like monsoon.

Love.

TYRANT

[PS.]

You have not replied to Kishorelal's letter.

From the original: C.W. 3773. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6929

50. LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA

SEGAON,
April 3, 1937

MY DEAR KU.,

I have glanced through the report. I have removed the paragraph about bread-making. It is trivial. Otherwise it is readable though it still does not answer the picture I drew of an ideal report. But that can only happen in the next [report].

I return, too, Shah's note. As soon as you are ready, you will let me have your note. I shall announce that none is fit enough for the prize, if such is your joint finding.[3]

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 10115

[1] The reference, presumably, is to the report on the Punjab khadi work.

[2] Shrikrishnadas Jaju

[3] *Vide* Vol. LXI, pp. 367-8. K. T. Shah, V. L. Mehta and J. C. Kumarappa, the board of examiners, found that none of the three essays that were

CWMG - LXV

51. LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA

April 3, 1937

MY DEAR KU.,

I have seen both Bhagwandas and Shankerrao. I have not yet reached the bottom. Shankerrao is not of the School. He is Choudhury's find. Bhagwandas won't go just yet. He assured me he won't go without my permission.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 10116

52. LETTER TO KOTWAL

SEGAON,
April 4, 1937

BHAI KOTWAL,

I had received your letter. Your eyes must have been completely cured.

There was nothing in the Bharatiya [Sahitya] Parishad[1] to make it a success. One may, therefore, console oneself as one likes.

I shall see what you do after your eyes are completely cured. Let alone an order by me, if you can remember to have yielded to any request of mine, tell me when you did so. I do not recollect any such instance.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3600

---

received fulfilled the conditions laid down. *Vide* also "Essays on Barter System", 1-5-1937.

[1] Held at Madras on March 27 and 28, 1937; *vide* pp. 27-9 and 30-3.

CWMG - LXV

53. LETTER TO PRABHASHANKAR H. PAREKH

April 4, 1937

BHAI PRABHASHANKAR,

As I myself was not in a position to do anything, I had sent your letter to Bhai Nanalal[1]. There was, therefore, no need for me to write anything. It is not at all true that your position is like that of a nut held in a nut-cracker. Or if it is, then as a nut renders more service by letting itself be held in a nut-cracker, so let the case be with you.

Vandemataram from
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI PRABHASHANKAR HARCHANDBHAI
DERASHERI
RAJKOT (KATHIAWAR)

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8768

54. LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI

April 4, 1937

BHAI MUNSHI,

What happened to the committee appointed by the Gujarat Sahitya Parishad to revise its constitution? The matter should be finalized. The Governors say that the condition demanded by Congress leaders is not in conformity with the Reforms Act. Have you examined what legal validity their objection has? If you feel that what the Governors say is right, then you will have to convince me. If you think that the Governors could have accepted the Congress condition without violating the Act, you ought to publish that opinion under the signatures of some good lawyers there. Please attend to this urgently.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 7613. Courtesy: K. M. Munshi

[1] Nanalal Kalidas Jasani

55. LETTER TO JETHALAL G. SAMPAT

April 4, 1937

CHI. JETHALAL,

I have received your well-composed letter. You seem to have got properly involved in the ghee trade. Do not let that business ruin you. It is good that you have begun with butter. Ultimately you will have to begin with milk and I have no objection if you do so. I have to some extent even put into practice what I am thinking at present. You will know more when I can implement all the ideas. If you are coming to Hudli you can ask me further. I take it you will be coming.

If you cannot get money from anywhere to meet the expenses of the case, write to me for it.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 9861. Courtesy: Narayan J. Sampat

56. LETTER TO RAJENDRA PRASAD

[*April*][1] *4, 1937*

BHAI RAJENDRA PRASAD,

I have your letter. What has been done regarding Hindi-Hindustani has been well done. A start should certainly be made towards putting into effect the statement that has been issued. The suggestion about a conference is good but in the atmosphere that prevails I have some doubt about its success. But what can one do about it? Success is bound to come sooner or later if we make the effort. So you must continue your endeavours as and when you find the opportunity.

There is no cause for worry on account of my health.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Hindi: C.W. 9881. Courtesy: Rajendra Prasad

[1] The letter appears to have been written after the meeting of the Bharatiya Sahitya Parishad at Madras; *vide* pp. 27-9 and 30-3.

57. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEGAON, WARDHA,
April 5, 1937

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your letter. Mahadev has gone to his step-mother about his sister's marriage. He returns tomorrow.

Mahadev had a very long chat with Subhas Chandra Bose who was looking none too well. Have you not written to him after he became free?

Your Hindi writing is excellent. Never mind the speed, it will come by practice. You should persevere as you have begun.

I am stupid at remembering things. You will now have to bear the burden of my forgetfulness. "Bear ye one another's burdens."

All the accommodation here is proving too small for those whom I must take. Vasumati is here, Bal[1] is coming and Amtul will soon follow.

Yes Kanu was with me in Madras and will be with me when I go to Belgaum. Manu will be married in Belgaum. My address there would be: Hudli, District Belgaum, which I reach on 15th, latest 16th. I leave here 13th, latest 14th.

Love.

TYRANT

From the original: C.W. 3774. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6930

58. LETTER TO AGATHA HARRISON

April 5, 1937

MY DEAR AGATHA,

I write after ages as it were. Even this is being written against time. But I have not starved you for the news you should know. I have used the cable.[2]

Herewith two enclosures. They may be of use.

[1] Bal Kalelkar, son of D. B. Kalelkar
[2] *Vide* pp. 1 and 26.

I do not mind the Governors not having done the thing. But it has been done in such a shabby manner! And the toy ministries![1] What a lie! Almost without exception the Anglo-Indian Press had welcomed the resolution[2]. What has happened now to change their attitude? The dishonesty of their argument is transparent. It has acerbated almost every Indian whose opinion counts. Bhulabhai's is a lawyer's opinion. This autonomy is still-born. But the teachers of the world teach us to pray when human effort proves vain. I believe in them and therefore do not lose hope but am praying. Jawaharlal is on a sick-bed.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 1496

59. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Unrevised *April 5, 1937*

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

Why should you become ill? Having become ill, why will you not give yourself rest? I thought you were going to steal away somewhere after Indu came. Please give my love to her when she arrives. I must send her a line with this.

Now about your grouse. Somehow or other everything I say and even perhaps do jars on you. Silence was impossible. I thought in the context the words courtesy and discourtesy came out all right. Yours is the first note of complaint from the Congress side about the statement[3]. I could not help myself if the complaint was universal. I am glad you have written. You must bear with me till my understanding becomes clear or your fears are dispelled. I apprehend no harm from my statement. Is there anything at the back of your mind that I do not understand?

Kamaladevi travelled with us from Wardha to Madras. She was coming from Delhi. She came to my compartment twice and had long chats. At last she wanted to know why

[1] As the Governors had refused to give the "assurances", the majority party in the six Provinces had declined the invitation to form Government and as a result the Governors formed interim ministries with the help of non-Congress members.

[2] Of March 16; *vide* pp. 3-4.

[3] *Vide* pp. 36-8.

Sarojini Devi was excluded[1], why Laxmipati was being kept away by Rajaji, why Anasuyabai was excluded, and so on. I then told her of my part in her exclusion, and told her almost all that [I] could remember of the note I wrote for you on that silent Monday. Of course, I told her I had no hand in Sarojini's exclusion at first or inclusion after. I told her also that Rajaji, so far as I knew, had nothing to do with L's exclusion. I thought you should know this.

I hope this will find you fully restored. You don't say anything about Mother.

Love.

BAPU

Gandhi-Nehru Papers, 1937. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Also *A Bunch of Old Letters*, pp. 223-4

60. LETTER TO INDIRA NEHRU

April 5, 1937

CHI. INDU,

You must have grown quite plump by now. Write to me. You will certainly see me, won't you? May God grant you long life—a *sevika* you already are.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Hindi original: Gandhi-Indira Gandhi Correspondence. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

61. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

April 5, 1937

CHI. PRABHA,

What a disappointing letter? What is wrong with you? Why should you be unhappy. Why need you worry? How can one have one's way in everything? Dharma requires us to go on doing cheerfully whatever service we get an opportunity of doing without seeking it. What then will be happiness and misery? Is there anything in this world which can be done with any security? When life itself is short and extremely uncertain,

[1] From the Congress Working Committee

CWMG-LXV

what can we say of our activities? Only dharma abides; it is imperishable because it is related to the *atman*. And dharma lies in truth and ahimsa. Whatever we do while following it is proper. And what if, in doing it, we get daily something new to do or have to wander from place to place every day? What difference does it make whether we have a broom in our hand or a pen? We should be content with whatever comes to us unsought. We should bring credit to whatever work we do. Stay there as long as Father desires. Go to Sitab Diyara if you think it necessary and to Ahmedabad when Jayaprakash permits you to do so. Who would force you to stay on if you did not feel happy there?

I have written to Poona regarding *Harijan*. Vasumati arrived yesterday. She will stay for some time. Amtul is at Rajpura. Khan Saheb has come. Bal will come the day after tomorrow. Manu will be married at Belgaum. I have to reach Belgaum on the 15th or the 16th. [Address:] Hudli, Belgaum District.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3490

62. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

April 5, 1937

BAPA,

Here is a telegram from Ghanshyamdas. What is this? Whatever it is, get it clarified. Probably Ghanshyamdas has already done so.

You are transferring the responsibility regarding Bharuch to me,[1] but I do not mind. I am not the person who will feel ashamed of anything. I do not know, though, what I shall be able to do. I will have to consider how far my intervention would be proper.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1176

[1] The addressee had been appointed an arbitrator consequent upon a strike by the sanitary workers of Bharuch Municipality; *vide* also letters to Vallabhbhai Patel of June 19, 1937, and July 22, 1937.

63. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

April 5, 1937

CHI. BRIJKRISHNA,

It is not as if I did not understand what you said. I have only given you the natural solutions.[1] If marrying and money-making seem more painful and you are not indulging in self-delusion, you have to bear the mental conflict. Lasting peace can be attained only by *satsang*. You should not live as a recluse. There are two kinds of *satsang*: one the company of good men and second the reading and study of good books and conducting oneself on the pattern enjoined therein.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2454

64. LETTER TO RAJENDRA PRASAD

April 5, 1937

BHAI RAJENDRA BABU,

The Harijan brethren have evinced great courage and sacrifice.[2] I cannot adequately congratulate them. On my part I feel that all that has happened has happened for the good. How has it affected our people?

Blessings from
BAPU

From Hindi: C.W. 9879. Courtesy: Rajendra Prasad

[1] *Vide* p. 42.

[2] According to Mahadev Desai (*Harijan*, 17-5-1937), Jagjivan Ram and Raghunandan Ram had refused to accept office in the Bihar Ministry formed by Mahommed Yunus, leader of Independent Muslim Party.

CWMG - LXV

65. LETTER TO BAHLOL KHAN[1]

[Before *April 6, 1937*]

Do not fear I can ever oppose Urdu. Of course I know not how and in what other way I can help or work for its progress. But I think the very fact that I am not opposing it is enough—I don't think I could do anything more beyond that.

The Bombay Chronicle, 6-4-1937

66. LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI

SEGAON, WARDHA,
April 6, 1937

BHAISHRI MUNSHI,

The performance of the Bharatiya Sahitya Parishad was nothing to be proud of. And how could it be that you, the father of the Parishad,[2] did not attend? I was only in the background and Kaka was busy at that very time with many other things. In these circumstances, I feel that it is nothing but sinful to propose a big scheme. Personally I would be ready to wind up the Parishad even on my own responsibility. Or we should remain satisfied with whatever we three can achieve with our own sincere efforts.

I did not at all blame you for not being able to come to Madras.

Do invite suggestions regarding the constitution of Gujarat Sahitya Parishad. Have you received any from those for whose satisfaction the committee is formed? It would be better to announce a date for the meeting of the committee.[3]

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 7614. Courtesy: K. M. Munshi

[1] According to the source, the letter was "reported to have been written by Gandhiji in Arabic script". The addressee, Munshi of Jaipur State, had appealed to Gandhiji "not to oppose the Urdu language in its 'legitimate claim of being India's only lingua franca'."

[2] The first Akhil Bharatiya Sahitya Parishad, held at Nagpur, on April 24 and 25, 1936, was a result of the efforts of the addressee and D. B. Kalelkar.

[3] *Vide* also letter to the addressee, p. 52.

CWMG-PXV

67. LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI

SEGAON,
April 7, 1937

CHI. KANTI,

I got your letter. I am replying to you at the Rajkot address. Paparamma was not in a position to go to Belgaum. Ramachandran is quite ill. He had an attack of pleurisy. He is better now but is taking rest. His nerves also have become weak. He did not permit Saraswati to come because he is still afraid that her studies may be disturbed.

It is surprising that your thumb is still not cured. Did you try mud treatment? If the thumb is bandaged while writing, you will find it much easier to write. I myself had tried a mud bandage as help in writing with the tired thumb, and I had been able to continue working.

Manu has spared you and so it will not be necessary for you to come to Belgaum just for the sake of the wedding. But you probably know that Ba herself is coming there. If, therefore, your stay there for a few days is likely to satisfy your aunts, you can come to Belgaum. And from there you can go to Mysore. If it can be arranged this way, you can be present at the wedding and, after the function at Belgaum is over, you can go to Mysore.

Devdas's letter is all right. I do not remember to have used the word 'strong', though I cannot say, either, that I didn't use it. Even if I did, what is the harm? Even if your desire is no more than a simple wish, there is no harm in satisfying it. Going to Mysore should depend on your own will. It should be enough if Devdas gives his consent. If you do not wish, why should you go? I am firm in my view. I personally prefer Mysore to Bombay, both from the point of view of the climate and of peace of mind. I do not know whether education there will be of the standard of Wilson College. But according to me that depends more on the student. I have come across many dullards educated in Wilson College and very intelligent Mysoreans who have never gone out of Mysore. But the

best course is that you should go to Mysore and see things for yourself and then decide as you like.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7319. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

68. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

April 7, 1937

CHI. PRABHA,

I got your letter just now. How can I console you? Why are you frightened? Can you see anybody who has no worries? Everybody has some trouble or other. Is even Jayaprakash at peace? Is Jawaharlal? Or Rajendra Babu? What more worries have you than they? Whether you stay with Father or with in-laws or with me, everywhere you have to do service, haven't you? If you think that their cases are different in that they invite worries voluntarily, then even that is not proper. They also have to submit to others' wishes. We are all dependent on others even as much as we are independent. In fact you are very fortunate. Stop worrying now. As for going to Mridula, do as Jayaprakash says. If he permits you, then go. Don't go if he says no.

I understand as regards Patna. Go to Siwan soon. But if you find that your duty requires you to stay in Patna, then do so and remain calm. From Anna's fall, we should only learn to remain vigilant. Amtul's address is: Judge Wahid Saheb, Rajpura, Patiala State.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3497

69. LETTER TO BHUJANGILAL CHHAYA

April 7, 1937

CHI. BHUJANGILAL,

I have your letter and also the copy of your letter to Chandulalbhai. You are very ambitious. If you wish to be successful you must improve your handwriting. One who makes

an effort and is careful even about very small matters will remain so about bigger things also. But the belief that one who is careless about little things can be careful about bigger things is a fallacy.

You are a worshipper of non-violence. Politeness is an integral part of non-violence because impoliteness causes pain, politeness does not. A boy who addresses his mother as his father's wife is telling the truth but as his language is rude it is violent and is frowned upon in good society.

If you really approve of my way of working, you should be well versed in the science of khadi. You should know what is *goseva* and put it into practice and daily serve the so-called untouchables. If you do these and such other things in which I am engaged, you will clearly see your path.

From a copy of the Gujarati: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

70. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEGAON, WARDHA,
April 9, 1937

MY DEAR IDIOT,

You are struggling bravely to set things right with the A. I. S. A. branch there. No one can be sent from here to put things straight. You should have Bhatia also in front of you and then advise Gopichand. I see no other way. You must not strain yourself in the attempt to undo the tangle.

Your Hindi is going forward by leaps and bounds. I see that very soon you will write correct and chaste Hindi. The few sentences you have written are really perfect and the handwriting is equally good.

Tell me, do you read and understand *Japji*[1] in the original? If so I would like you to translate literally one verse every day. I am using both the translations you left for me. None satisfies my taste. This work ought not to take you more than five minutes daily, i.e., if you know *Japji* thoroughly. If you do not, you need not trouble yourself about it.

What you tell me about the Tanning Institute is interesting. If they have a prospectus, send it on to me.

It is decided that we leave on 14th for Belgaum. The station

[1] A Sikh prayer book

CWMG - LXV

is Suldhal. Khan Saheb will go with us. Manu will be married there on 18th.

Have you tried my remedy for the toe?

I do hope this writing will not fade before it reaches you. I have added too much water.

Love.

TYRANT

From the original: C.W. 3600. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6409

71. LETTER TO AGATHA HARRISON

April 9, 1937

DEAR AGATHA,

Of course you should be absolutely frank. That is the only way you will serve. Of course you will have the fullest information from here.

The situation is undoubtedly dangerous. Lord Zetland's speech[1] will be bitterly resented. But you may depend upon my doing everything possible to prevent a crisis. But the speech invites a crisis. Mr. Heath[2] has sent a cable advising interview with the Viceroy. Lord Z's speech seems to bar the Government.

[1] In the House of Lords, Lord Zetland, Secretary of State for India, in answer to Lord Lothian, who was a member of the Round Table Conference and who had been associated with the framing of the Act of 1935, had *inter alia* said: "Under Section 52 of the Act, certain obligations are imposed on the Governors (among them being the obligation to safeguard the legitimate interests of the minorities). . . . Governors could not give, within the framework of the Constitution, the assurance which was asked of them, and that Mr. Gandhi is in error in assuming they could." (*A Decade of Indo-British Relations, 1937-47*, p. 33) "Mr. Gandhi's statement dated March 30 [*vide* pp. 36-8], was so astonishing that it appeared to be explicable only on the assumption that either he never read the Act and the instrument of instructions or the report of the select committee, or that, if he had done so, he had completely forgotten, when he made his statement, the provisions embodied in this document respecting the special responsibilities vested in the Governors. It was all the more unfortunate that he should have made such a statement, for large numbers in India were accustomed to accept any statement made by Mr. Gandhi as necessarily correct." (*Mahatma*, Vol. 4, pp. 183-4)

[2] Carl Heath, a British Quaker, President of Indian Conciliation Group, London

And in any case it has to be with Jawaharlal. I have shown in my statement the only possible way out.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 1497

72. LETTER TO RABINDRANATH TAGORE

April 9, 1937

DEAR GURUDEV,

I have just received your letter of 5th instant. Had I not to go to Belgaum on the very date you will have opening ceremony[1], I would most certainly have come not only for the ceremony but also to see you and Santiniketan which I have not seen now for years. As it is I shall be with you in spirit when Jawaharlal will be performing the ceremony. May the Chinese Hall be a symbol of living contact between China and India.

The letter you wrote to me over that momentary misunderstanding lies in my jacket as a treasure. [2] It brought tears of joy to my eyes. It was so worthy of you.

With love and respects,

Yours,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 4647. Also *Twenty Years of the Visva-Bharati Cheena Bhavana, 1937-1957*, p. 16

73. LETTER TO TAN YUN SHAN

[*April 9, 1937*][3]

DEAR FRIEND,

Many thanks for your letter. I have written to Gurudev expressing my sorrow over my *utter* inability to attend the function. Yes, indeed, we want cultural contact between the two nations. Yours is a worthy effort. May it bring fruit.

Yours sincerely,

Twenty Years of the Visva-Bharati Cheena Bhavana, 1937-1957, p. 16

[1] On April 14, of the 'Cheena Bhavana', a research department of Visva-Bharati

[2] *Vide* Vol. LXIV, pp. 410-1.

[3] From the reference to the letter to Rabindranath Tagore; *vide* the preceding item.

74. LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI

April 9, 1937

BHAI MUNSHI,

You finished the job very quickly and did it very well. I made the best use of it immediately yesterday and will do so again in future.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI KANAIYALAL M. MUNSHI
26 RIDGE ROAD
BOMBAY

From Gujarati: C.W. 7615. Courtesy: K. M. Munshi

75. LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI

SEGAON, WARDHA,
April 9, 1937

BHAI MUNSHI,

I had no intention at all of rebuking you. But about the Bharatiya Sahitya Parishad when we meet. From the 16th to the 22nd I shall be in Hudli near Belgaum. On the 24th I shall be back at Wardha. We can meet thereafter. You may, if you like, fix a meeting of the committee then. I am returning U. Joshi's[1] letter. We want to convene a meeting of the committee without laying down any conditions. Ask the members what dates will suit them. I have to leave this place on the 14th.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 7616. Courtesy: K. M. Munshi

[1] Umashankar Joshi, Gujarati poet and man of letters

76. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

April 9, 1937

BHAI BAPA,

Your explanatory letter is incomplete. Where was the room for misunderstanding? As desired by you,[1] I had sent to Ghanshyamdas your letter regarding him. You say that he was not as much pained as you had thought. He writes that not only was he not pained at all but that you two held the same view. Thus Ghanshyamdas's letter would suggest that a mountain ought not to have been made out of a molehill. Moreover you say, "Please forgive me if you have been pained in regard to this matter." Suppose, being a votary of the *Gita*, I have not been pained at all, still should not one who has made a mountain out of a molehill apologize? This is for your entertainment, as also by way of philosophy.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1177

77. LETTER TO SARASWATI

April 9, 1937

CHI. SARASWATI,

I have your letter. You have become very lazy. Did you not promise to write regularly? You have not kept the promise. I am getting your letter corrected and returning it. Understand all the errors well and rectify them. Paparamma came and I was happy to meet her though I was unhappy that you could not come. But I got over the disappointment on understanding the reason for your not coming.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 6156. Also C.W. 3429. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

[1] *Vide* p. 44.

CWMG - LXV

78. WONDERFUL IF TRUE

During our morning and evening walks, Khan Saheb Abdul Ghaffar Khan and I often talk on matters of common interest. Having travelled in the Frontier territories as far as Kabul and beyond and knowing the Frontier tribes well, he often describes to me the habits and customs of these simple folk. He tells me that these tribesmen who are untouched by the so-called civilization live principally on maize and barley, bread and lentils supplemented at times by buttermilk. They get meat but rarely. The only way I could account for their well-known hardiness was their open-air life and invigorating climate. Khan Saheb promptly added:

> That is not enough. The secret of their strength lies in their chaste lives. They marry, both men and women, after full maturity. Unfaithfulness, adultery or unmarried love are practically unknown. Union out of wedlock is punishable by death. The injured party has the right to take the life of the wrongdoer.

If this chastity is so universal as Khan Saheb describes it, it furnishes us in India a lesson that we should take to heart. I suggested to Khan Saheb that if the fine physique of the tribesmen was largely due to their continence, there must be perfect co-operation between the mind and the body. For, if the mind hankered after satisfaction of the flesh and the body resisted, there must be tremendous waste of vital energy, leaving the body thoroughly exhausted. Khan Saheb agreed that that was a fair deduction and that, so far as he was able to judge, he felt that the tribesmen were so habituated to continence outside marriage that young men and women never seemed to desire sexual satisfaction outside marriage. Khan Saheb also told me that the women in the tribal areas never observed the purdah, there was no false prudery there, the women were fearless, roamed about anywhere freely, were well able to take care of themselves and defend their honour without seeking or needing male protection.

Khan Saheb, however, admits that this continence not being based on reason or enlightened faith breaks down when these men and women of the hills come in contact with civilized or soft life where departure from the custom carries no punishment

and public opinion looks upon unfaithfulness and adultery with more or less indifference. This opens up reflections which I must not discuss just now. My purpose in writing this just now is to seek corroboration and further light from those who know these tribesmen, as Khan Saheb does, and to suggest to young men and women of the plains that observance of continence, if it is really natural to the tribesmen, as Khan Saheb thinks it is, should be equally natural to us, if only we would inhabit our thought world with the right kind of thoughts and deal summarily with the intruders. Indeed, if the right kind settle down in sufficiently large numbers, the intruders will be crowded out no doubt. The process requires courage. But self-restraint never accrues to the faint-hearted. It is the beautiful fruit of watchfulness and ceaseless effort in the form of prayer and fasting. The prayer is not vain repetition nor fasting mere starvation of the body. Prayer has to come from the heart which knows God by faith, and fasting is abstinence from evil or injurious thought, activity or food. Starvation of the body when the mind thinks of a multiplicity of dishes is worse than useless.

Harijan, 10-4-1937

79. KHADI IN SWADESHI EXHIBITIONS

In all other parts of India where swadeshi exhibitions permitting mill-cloth are held the A. I. S. A. has as a rule refused to exhibit khadi. And the rule has answered the purpose for which it was framed. From U. P., however, the pressure has come to relax the rule. But I have hitherto resisted the temptation. U. P. khadi workers made a special reference for their guidance. They are almost all Congressmen no less ardent than the others, but they have dedicated themselves to the Congress service through its constructive and the most difficult programme, khadi. Appreciating their difficulty I referred the question to Shri Jawaharlal Nehru for his opinion. I have received the following reply[1] from him:

> I have your letter of the 5th March enquiring about khadi at exhibitions. This matter has been repeatedly discussed by us in the course of the past year ever since my return from Europe. . . .

[1] Only extracts are reproduced here.

The question you have put is not easy to answer. The average khadi worker seems to be of opinion that khadi should not be exhibited if mill-cloth is allowed there. Other Congress workers are usually of a contrary opinion on the ground that at such exhibitions there is usually a good sale of khadi. Obviously the opinion of the khadi worker, who is presumed to be an expert at his job and who is anxious to push khadi, should be almost final. I would therefore hesitate to give my decision against him unless I succeed in convincing him. I imagine that from a certain long-distance view it is better even to incur some loss now so as to avoid producing any confusion in the public mind as to what khadi is and what it is not. This can only be done by adherence to the present policy of banning certified khadi sales in such exhibitions.

At the same time, I find that uncertified khadi is sold at such exhibitions and plenty of people patronize it. There are quite large numbers of people as you know who are not particularly keen on buying certified khadi, but who are prepared to do so if it comes their way. The point is: are we to cater for the people in any especial measure, or are we to concentrate on holding fast to those who desire to use pure khadi only? This question has not only its business side but its psychological side. Khadi has on the one hand built up a firm foundation for itself, and there is a body of men in the country who must have pure khadi whatever the cost or the trouble. At the same time khadi does not spread as rapidly as it might among other classes who only occasionally patronize it. For khadi workers the object should be to develop the khadi habit in the latter. That habit comes largely from appeals, to the mind or heart and partly from sheer habit. Ordinarily speaking, it would be a good thing to have as many casual purchasers as possible so that they may get used to buying and wearing khadi and thus develop the real habit. The present policy to some extent keeps away this casual purchaser and thus reduces the field from which regular khadi buyers might be drawn. . . .

Therefore, if you want my final opinion, I cannot give it very definitely, and because of my not being so definite I must respect the opinions of others who are working for khadi. I am, however, inclined to think that it might be preferable to allow khadi to be exhibited and sold in these exhibitions under certain conditions which would prevent as far as possible (1) something else being mistaken for khadi and the distinction between khadi and mill-cloth being clearly preserved; (2) the exclusion of partly foreign stuffs from the exhibition.

In the absence of final opinion which he is unable to give, he would respect the opinions of others who are working for khadi.

He is, however, "inclined to think that it might be preferable to allow khadi to be exhibited and sold in these exhibitions." My own experience, however, tells me that it is dangerous to befog the mass mind by putting khadi in juxtaposition with the gaudy mill-made cloth. It is very like putting human beings side by side with robots. Human beings may be worsted in the competition if they allow themselves to be compared to robots. Even so will khadi fare, in comparison with mill-made cloth. The planes of the two are different. The aims are opposite. Khadi gives work to all, mill-cloth gives work to some and deprives many of honest labour. Khadi serves the masses, mill-cloth is intended to serve the classes. Khadi serves labour, mill-cloth exploits it. My experience is backed by that of the khadi workers throughout India. I hope therefore that with Shri Jawaharlal Nehru the Congressmen of U. P. will respect the experience and the policy of the A. I. S. A. in preference to their own opinion, if it be against that of the A. I. S. A.

Harijan, 10-4-1937

80. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

WARDHA,
April 10, 1937

I have read Lord Lothian's appeal[1] to me with the respect it deserves. I have a vivid recollection of the talks with him among other friends. The provincial autonomy then pictured was a real stuff unlike what the present Constitution is supposed to give. Lord Zetland's elaborate statement[2] confirms my view and hardens the universal suspicion of the British statesmen's intentions. So long as they wish to bolster up imperialistic designs, India, which the Congress represents, will never reconcile itself to them. I believe in friendship with Britain, not with imperialistic exploitation.

I am free to confess ignorance of the Government of India Act and a greater ignorance of the Select Committee's Report. My advice to the Congress to adopt my resolution on a conditional acceptance of office was based on an assurance of lawyers among

[1] The reference is to Lord Lothian's letter to *The Times*; *vide* Appendix II.

[2] *Vide* footnote 1, p. 63.

CWMG - LXV

Congressmen that the Governors could give the required assurance without an infringement of the Act.[1] I do not, therefore, need even Sir Samuel Hoare's past declarations to support me. If, therefore, he disclaims having ever made the statement which I aver having heard him make, I accept his disclaimer without argument. The dismal fact stares India in the face that British statesmen imposed an Act on India against her declared wishes and then instead of leaving its interpretations to impartial tribunals impose their own upon her and call this transaction autonomy. Lawyers, Mussalman, Parsi and Hindu, whom the Government have hitherto honoured with their patronage, declared that the Governors can without an infringement give the required assurance. I regard the British statesmen's interpretation as non-judicial, arbitrary and interested.

At the same time I recognize that other lawyers give an interpretation favourable to the British Government. Therefore I invite them to appoint an arbitration tribunal of three judges of whom one will be appointed by the Congress, another by the British Government with power to the two to appoint a third to decide whether it is competent for the Governors to give the required assurance described by me. And since the legality of the present Ministries has been questioned, I would refer that question also to the proposed tribunal. There is precedent for such a course. If they would accept my proposal I would advise the Congress to do likewise.

I mean every word of my previous statement[2]. I want right to prevail. There is here no question of diplomacy with India. It is a question of life and death. Office will be accepted if only progress towards her goal is accepted, not otherwise. It, therefore, pains me to find Lord Zetland playing upon the old familiar tune of divide and rule. The Congress cannot exist for two days if it disregards the interests of minorities. It cannot bring about mass rule by dividing India into factions. The Congress Ministries, if they ever come into existence, will dig their own graves without the Governors' safeguards the moment they trample upon the rights of the minorities or resort to injustice otherwise. I regret to have to say it but, to be true, I must say that Lord Zetland's speech is that of one who is conscious of his sword rather than of his right. His Lordship is again misleading when he says that the Congress wants to be treated as a privileged body. It does not. Anyone representing a most decisive majority

[1] *Vide* also the following item.

[2] *Vide* pp. 36-8.

like the Congress would want the gentlemanly assurance that the Congress has asked for.

The Hindustan Times, 11-4-1937

81. CABLE TO AGATHA HARRISON

WARDHAGANJ,
April 10, 1937

AGATHA HARRISON
CARE KALOPH
LONDON

MY STATEMENT[1] GIVEN AFTER GREATEST DELIBERATION IN STRICTEST TERMS NON-VIOLENCE. SEE NO CAUSE WITHDRAW SINGLE WORD. CONSIDERED LEGAL OPINION INCLUDING BAHADURJI EX-ADVOCATE-GENERAL TARAPORE EX-HIGHCOURT JUDGE ENTIRELY ACCEPTS MY INTERPRETATION AND CONDEMNS PRESENT MINISTRIES AS WHOLLY ILLEGAL. NO SETTLEMENT POSSIBLE WITHOUT SIMPLE ASSURANCE FORTHCOMING.

GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 1498

82. INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT OR DISSIPATION?[2]

During my recent wanderings in Travancore and Madras I found that most of the students and 'intellectuals' who came into touch with me were an instance of intellectual dissipation rather than intellectual development. The fault lies in the modern system of education which encourages this vicious tendency, misdirects the mind, and thereby hinders its development instead of helping it. My experiments in Segaon have only confirmed this impression. But they are as yet too incomplete to be cited as evidence. The views on education that I am now going to set forth have been held by me right from the time of the founding of the Phœnix settlement in South Africa in the year 1904.

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

[2] The Gujarati original of this appeared in *Harijanbandhu*, 11-4-1937. This is a translation by Pyarelal.

CWMG - LXV

I hold that true education of the intellect can only come through a proper exercise and training of the bodily organs, e.g., hands, feet, eyes, ears, nose, etc. In other words, an intelligent use of the bodily organs in a child provides the best and quickest way of developing his intellect. But unless the development of the mind and body goes hand in hand with a corresponding awakening of the soul, the former alone would prove to be a poor lop-sided affair. By spiritual training I mean education of the heart. A proper and all-round development of the mind, therefore, can take place only when it proceeds *pari passu* with the education of the physical and spiritual faculties of the child. They constitute an indivisible whole. According to this theory, therefore, it would be a gross fallacy to suppose that they can be developed piecemeal or independently of one another.

The baneful effects of absence of proper co-ordination and harmony among the various faculties of body, mind and soul respectively are obvious. They are all around us; only we have lost perception of them owing to our present perverse associations. Take the case of our village folk. From their childhood upward they toil and labour in their fields from morning till night like their cattle in the midst of whom they live. Their existence is a weary, endless round of mechanical drudgery unrelieved by a spark of intelligence or higher graces of life. Deprived of all scope for developing their mind and soul, they have sunk to the level of the beast. Life to them is a sorry bungle which they muddle through anyhow. On the other hand what goes by the name of education in our schools and colleges in the cities today is in reality only intellectual dissipation. Intellectual training is there looked upon as something altogether unrelated to manual or physical work. But since the body must have some sort of physical exercise to keep it in health, they vainly try to attain that end by means of an artificial and otherwise barren system of physical culture which would be ridiculous beyond words if the result was not so tragic. The young man who emerges from this system can in no way compete in physical endurance with an ordinary labourer. The slightest physical exertion gives him headache; a mild exposure to the sun is enough to cause him giddiness. And what is more, all this is looked upon as quite 'natural'. As for the faculties of the heart, they are simply allowed to run to seed or to grow anyhow in a wild undisciplined manner. The result is moral and spiritual anarchy. And it is regarded as something laudable!

As against this, take the case of a child in whom the education of the heart is attended to from the very beginning. Supposing he is set to some useful occupation like spinning, carpentry, agriculture, etc., for his education and in that connection is given a thorough, comprehensive knowledge relating to the theory of the various operations that he is to perform and the use and construction of the tools that he would be wielding. He would not only develop a fine, healthy body but also a sound, vigorous intellect that is not merely academic but is firmly rooted in and is tested from day-to-day by experience. His intellectual education would include a knowledge of mathematics and the various sciences that are useful for an intelligent and efficient exercise of his avocation. If to this is added literature by way of recreation, it would give him a perfect, well-balanced, all-round education in which the intellect, the body and the spirit have all full play and develop together into a natural, harmonious whole. Man is neither mere intellect nor the gross animal body, nor the heart or soul alone. A proper and harmonious combination of all the three is required for the making of the whole man and constitutes the true economics of education. To say that this kind of education can only be given after we have attained our independence would, I am afraid, be like putting the cart before the horse. The advent of independence would be incredibly hastened if we could educate millions of our people through an intelligent exercise of their respective vocations like this and teach them that they live for the common good of all.

Harijan, 8-5-1937

83. MESSAGE TO ASSOCIATED PRESS OF AMERICA

WARDHA,
April 12, 1937

You ask me to give you a special message for the readers of your 1,300 American newspapers, whom you serve. I would like Americans first of all to know my limitations and our internal politics. They should know that I am not even a primary member of the Congress. Whatever influence I possess is purely moral. Congressmen recognize in me the author of purely non-violent action and its technique and, therefore, so long as the Congress retains its creed of truth and non-violence, Congressmen are likely to be guided by my advice whenever it has

anything to do, directly or indirectly, with non-violent action, but those who can speak with authority are the President of the Congress, i.e., Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, and the Working Committee, i.e., the Congress Cabinet. I function purely as a humble adviser.

For me the present issue is not political, but moral. It is a fight between truth and untruth; non-violence and violence and right and might; for I hold that Lord Zetland could not have uttered the speech[1] he did, unless he was conscious of the might of the sword behind him.

It seems as if British statesmen are repenting of even the limited electorate they have created in India. If they were not, they ought to have bowed to the will of the majority as represented by their elected leaders. Surely, it is violence to impose nominated Ministries on the electorate of their creation.

The crisis is of their own making. It is presumption on their part to interpret Acts of their Parliament. Their jurisprudence has taught us that no man can take the law into his own hands, not even the King. Evidently, the maxim does not apply to the British Ministers. Proof of the pudding is in the eating.

I have offered[2] an honourable way out. Let a judicial tribunal of joint creation give the interpretation. It will be time for them to plead incompetence when the tribunal finds in favour of the interpretation. Till then Congress demand for assurances must be held valid.

I must repeat that the latest gesture is one of the sword not of goodwill; certainly not of democratic obedience to the will of a democratic majority.

The Bombay Chronicle, 15-4-1937

84. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEGAON, WARDHA,
April 12, 1937

MY DEAR IDIOT,

I shall see if I can give something to Manu on your behalf. If I fail you may send something made of khadi of Punjab make, nothing expensive.

The envelopes you left are still unexhausted. They will last till your return. But the lot you have sent will be welcome.

[1] *Vide* footnote 1, p. 63.

[2] *Vide* "Statement to the Press", pp. 70-2.

Khan Saheb, his son Wali, Ba, Manu, little Kanu, big Kanu, Mahadev, Durga[1], Nirmala[2], the bride, Bablo[3] and Balvantsinha will accompany me. Bal also. He is Kakasaheb's son.

The weather everywhere seems extraordinary, we had a fierce storm here. The mango crop is all but ruined, and I am afraid of the seasonal rains holding out.

Your Hindi letters are daily improving. If you continue the practice, you will acquire good speed when you come.

Love.

TYRANT

From the original: C.W. 3775. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6931

85. LETTER TO CHANDAN PAREKH

April 12, 1937

CHI. CHANDAN,

Chi. Shankar[4] has sent me your letter to him. I see that the . . .[5] affair still troubles you. The one per cent that I have reserved is not to be dismissed as of no consequence. Open your heart and write frankly about whatever you are harbouring in it. If you mean to, you can do much. I wish that either you should be proved completely truthful, or that you should purify your heart thoroughly. You are perfectly right in saying that one who admits one's faults rises. I wish you well.

Blessings from

BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 942. Courtesy: Satish D. Kalelkar

86. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

April 13, 1937

CHI. AMTUL SALAAM,

I got both your letters today, just now. Kanu got the letter of the 5th the day before yesterday. Yesterday he didn't come. He got the letter of the 9th yesterday.

If you want to come to Belgaum, you may. Most probably I will stay there till the 21st. I will return here latest by the 24th

[1],[2]&[3] Wife, sister and son of Mahadev Desai

[4] Satish D. Kalelkar, addressee's fiance

[5] The name has been omitted.

CWMG-LXV

Kanti will come from Rajkot. Probably he will go back to Rajkot. Then he will go to Mysore and from there to Trivandrum. There is thus no question of Saraswati's coming to Belgaum.

You are out and out a fool. I didn't write to Kanti. He wrote on his own. You are needlessly suspicious that I don't trust you.

We will discuss your future when we meet. About the land also, we will decide then. The wedding is fixed for the 18th.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 379

87. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

SEGAON, WARDHA,
April 13, 1937

CHI. PRABHA,

I got your letter. I did not have any talk about you with Jayaprakash. He had no time, nor had I. I only inquired about your health. That was enough. Mridula keeps on inquiring about you. I suppose you are not likely to go to Ahmedabad now. Or will you? Won't you most probably have to stay now with Father in Srinagar? You ask for my orders. What orders can I give you? You should do there what you think to be your duty. You may come here only when it is convenient. How much will you have to worry about Sitab Diara now?

Amtul Salaam will be coming shortly now. Take care of your health. Mirabehn has arrived. It is good that she has come. Kanti is at Bangalore. Address: C/o Y. M. C. A., Bangalore City.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3498

CWMG LXV

88. LETTER TO HARIBHAU UPADHYAYA

April 13, 1937

CHI. HARIBHAU,

I have your letter. You have made a big change as regards hip-bath. Really useful changes can be made by the patient himself, with the help of Kuhne's and Just's books. Nature-cure remedies are not like ordinary drugs. A patient can say that a particular drug does not suit him, but only the vaidya who is treating him can say which one is likely to suit. In nature cure, on the other hand, the patient himself knows which remedies benefit him and, after he has submitted himself to several restrictions, can himself decide as to what kind of remedies to employ and in what measures. The reason is that the guide can never know as well as the patient can, the changes that take place in the latter's body. Do make whatever changes seem necessary. But keep me informed, as you did this time. I certainly wish that if no definite change is clearly visible this month, then you may spend a day in Delhi. Saraswati Gadodia owes her job to this remedy. Her guru is a kind maulvi. The only attraction for going to Delhi is that you can have the benefit of the advice of both. I carefully went through Bhandari's book for five minutes. I was not attracted by it. What I want is Indian equivalents for technical terms, not definitions. A definition of a motor-car can be given, but I heard it described as air-car only in Champaran. I cannot, therefore, give my opinion all at once. If you or somebody else tells me its special merits, then only can I express an opinion. There was a telegram from Bhandari to which I have not been able to reply, since I did not have a dictionary. Please convey this to him so that I need not write to him.

What you have written about surgery is quite correct.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 6085. Courtesy: Haribhau Upadhyaya

89. DISCUSSION WITH A MISSIONARY[1]

[Before *April 14, 1937*][2]

MISSIONARY: I have been following your comments on the statement regarding mass movement made by the Indian Christians. I wonder if those who made the statement were thinking of anything in the nature of a *legal* right. It is, I think, a moral right they claim here rather than a legal one.

GANDHIJI: My criticism would apply even if they had used the word 'moral right'. But it is clear that they mean a legal right, because for one thing there is no such thing as a moral right, and secondly because in the very next para of the manifesto, in which they have referred to the Karachi Resolution[3] on Fundamental Rights, they make it clear that they mean by 'right' legal right. A moral right, if there is any such thing, does not need any asserting and defending.

The main purpose of the manifesto was to check the agitation that is going on in certain quarters. I admit that if it was meant to be a protest, it was not properly drafted.

That is why I have called it "an unfortunate document". And is there anything like a moral right? Give me an illustration.

Have I not a moral right to speak?

It is not a moral right, but a legal right. There is no right but is legal. Divorced from legality moral right is a misnomer. And therefore you either enforce a right or fight for it. Whereas nobody asserts one's duty. He humbly performs it. I shall take an illustration. You are here. You feel like preaching to me the Gospel. I deny the right and ask you to go away.

[1] This is extracted from "Weekly Letter" by Mahadev Desai, who had reported: "An Indian Christian missionary had a long talk with Gandhiji the other day during which he put to Gandhiji questions arising from Gandhiji's recent criticism of a joint manifesto issued by several influential Indian Christians." *Vide* "An Unfortunate Document", pp. 47-8.

[2] Gandhiji left Wardha for Hudli on April 14, 1937.

[3] *Vide* Vol. XLV, pp. 370-2.

If you regard praying for me a duty, you will quietly go away and pray for me. But if you claim the right to preach to me, you will call the police and appeal to them for preventing my obstructing you. That leads to a clash. But your duty no one dare question. You perform it here or elsewhere, and if your prayers to God to change my heart are genuine, God will change my heart. What Christianity, according to my interpretation of it, expects you to do is to pray to God to change my heart. Duty is a debt. Right belongs to a creditor, and it would be a funny thing indeed if a devout Christian claimed to be a creditor!

You have objected to Christian propaganda on the ground that Harijans are illiterate and ignorant. What would you say of propaganda amongst non-Harijans?

I have the same objection, because the vast mass of people of India would not understand the pros and cons of Christianity better than a cow. I repeat this simile in spite of the fact that it has been objected to. When I say I do not understand logarithms any better than my cow, I do not mean any insult to my intelligence. In matters of theology the non-Harijan masses can understand no better than Harijans. I would take you to Segaon and show you that there is no distinction, so far as capacity to understand such things is concerned, between Harijans and non-Harijans. Try to preach the principles of Christianity to my wife. She can understand them no better than my cow. I can, because of the training that I have had.

But we do not preach any theology. We simply talk of the life of Christ and tell them what a comfort His life and teaching have been to us. He has been our guide, we say, and ask others also to accept Him as their guide.

Oh yes, you do say that. But when you say I must accept Jesus in preference to Ramakrishna Paramahamsa, you will have to go into deep waters. That is why I say, let your life speak to us, even as the rose needs no speech but simply spreads its perfume. Even the blind who do not see the rose perceive its fragrance. That is the secret of the Gospel of the rose. But the Gospel that Jesus preached is more subtle and fragrant than the Gospel of the rose. If the rose needs no agent, much less does the Gospel of Christ need any agent.

But then your objection is to the commercial aspect of the Christian propaganda. Every true Christian will agree that no baits should be offered.

But what else is Christianity as it is preached nowadays? Not unless you isolate the proselytizing aspect from your educational

and medical institutions are they any worth. Why should students attending Mission schools and colleges be compelled or even expected to attend Bible classes? If they must understand the message of Jesus, why not also of Buddha, Zoroaster and Mahomed? Why should the bait of education be offered for giving education [*sic*]?

That was the old way, not the modern way.

I can cite to you any number of modern examples. Is not the Bishop of Dornakal a modern? And what else is his open letter to the Depressed Classes of India? It is full of baits.

He represents a type of Christianity which I do not approve. But where there is no compulsion to attend the Bible classes, and only education is given, what objection is there to educational institutions run by Missions?

There is a subtle kind of propaganda when you expect students to attend Bible classes.

As regards hospitals, I think philanthropy without the dynamic[s] of some religious teaching will not tell.

Then you commercialize your gift, for at the back of your mind is the feeling that because of your service some day the recipient of the gift will accept Christ. Why should not your service be its own reward?

But leave alone these. I think I can cite instances of exceptionally fine people who attract people to them by the example of their lives.

I too can cite such instances. Andrews is one such. But they are exceptions.

But then you must judge Christianity by its best representatives, and not the worst.

I am not judging Christianity as a religion. I am talking of the way Christianity is being propagated, and you cannot judge it by exceptions, even as you may not judge the British system of Government by some fine specimens of Englishmen. No, let us think of the bulk of your people who preach the Gospel. Do they spread the perfume of their lives? That is to me the sole criterion. All I want them to do is to live Christian lives, not to annotate them. I have come to this view after laborious and prayerful search, and I am glad to say that there is a growing body of Christians who accept my view.

Then, I should be obliged to hear from you your attitude to the personality of Jesus.

I have often made it clear. I regard Jesus as a great teacher of humanity, but I do not regard him as the only begotten son of God. That epithet in its material interpretation is quite unacceptable. Metaphorically we are all begotten sons of God, but for each of us there may be different begotten son of God in a special sense. Thus for me Chaitanya may be the only begotten son of God.

But don't you believe in the *perfection* of human nature, and don't you believe that Jesus had attained perfection?

I believe in the *perfectibility* of human nature. Jesus came as near to perfection as possible. To say that he was perfect is to deny God's superiority to man. And then in this matter I have a theory of my own. Being necessarily limited by the bonds of flesh, we can attain perfection only after dissolution of the body. Therefore God alone is absolutely perfect. When he descends to earth, He of His own accord limits Himself. Jesus died on the Cross because he was limited by the flesh. I do not need either the prophecies or the miracles to establish Jesus's greatness as a teacher. Nothing can be more miraculous than the three years of his ministry. There is no miracle in the story of the multitude being fed on a handful of loaves. A magician can create that illusion. But woe worth the day on which a magician would be hailed as the Saviour of humanity. As for Jesus raising the dead to life, well, I doubt if the men he raised were really dead. I raised a relative's child from supposed death to life, but that was because the child was not dead, and but for my presence there she might have been cremated. But I saw that life was not extinct. I gave her an enema and she was restored to life. There was no miracle about it. I do not deny that Jesus had certain psychic powers and he was undoubtedly filled with the love of humanity. But he brought to life not people who were dead but who were believed to be dead. The laws of Nature are changeless, unchangeable, and there are no miracles in the sense of infringement or interruption of Nature's laws. But we limited beings fancy all kinds of things and impute our limitations to God. We may copy God, but not He us. We may not divide Time for Him, Time for Him is eternity. For us there is past, present and future. And what is human life of a hundred years but less than a mere speck in the eternity of Time?

Harijan, 17-4-1937

90. CABLE TO "THE TIMES"

WARDHA,
[*April 14, 1937*][1]

I HAVE CAREFULLY READ "THE TIMES" COMMENT ON MY STATEMENT[2]. IT SEEMS A BIG QUESTION WHEN IT INVITES THE CONGRESS TO TEST THE BONA FIDES BY TAKING OFFICE UNCONDITIONALLY. MY ADVICE TO THE CONGRESS HAS ALWAYS BEEN THAT OFFICE-ACCEPTANCE WOULD BE A FATAL BLUNDER WITHOUT A PREVIOUS UNDERSTANDING REGARDING SAFEGUARDS WHICH ARE WITHIN THE GOVERNORS' DISCRETION. IN THE TEETH OF FIRST-CLASS LEGAL OPINION TO THE CONTRARY I REGARD LORD ZETLAND'S INTERPRETATION UNACCEPTABLE. A REFUSAL TO SUBMIT HIS INTERPRETATION TO EXAMINATION BY A LEGAL TRIBUNAL WILL RAISE THE STRONG PRESUMPTION THAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAD NO INTENTION OF DEALING FAIRLY BY THE MAJORITY PARTY WHOSE ADVANCED PROGRAMME THEY DISLIKE. I PREFER AN HONOURABLE DEADLOCK TO DISHONOURABLE DAILY SCENES BETWEEN CONGRESSMEN AND GOVERNORS. FOR IN THE SENSE THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT MEAN THE WORKING OF THE ACT BY THE CONGRESS SEEMS IMPOSSIBLE. IT IS THEREFORE FOR THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TO SHOW THE CONGRESS BY EVERY MEANS OPEN WITHIN THEIR CONSTITUTION THAT THE CONGRESS CAN ADVANCE TOWARDS ITS GOAL EVEN BY TAKING OFFICE. I WISH EVERYONE CONCERNED WOULD BELIEVE ME THAT WITH ME THERE IS NO QUESTION WHATSOEVER OF FALSE PRESTIGE. MY FUNCTION IS THAT OF A MEDIATOR BETWEEN THE CONGRESS AND THE GOVERNMENT, WHICH UNLIKE MANY CONGRESSMEN, I BELIEVE TO BE CAPABLE OF BEING CONVERTED UNDER MORAL PRESSURE, AS IT IS OF BEING COERCED UNDER PHYSICAL PRESSURE. AFTER THE ABOVE HAD BEEN PREPARED A

[1] From *Mahatma*, Vol. IV, p. 184
[2] *Vide* pp. 70-2.

TELEGRAPHIC SUMMARY OF LORD LOTHIAN'S RECENT LETTER[1] TO "THE TIMES" WAS PLACED IN MY HANDS. HIS ARGUMENT IS BASED ON AN ASSUMED POSITION TO WHICH INDIA IS AN UTTER STRANGER. ONE SEES NOT THE SLIGHTEST REGARD FOR THE MAJORITY VIEW. I REGRET THEREFORE HIS LETTER CALLS FOR NO ALTERATION IN MY OPINION AS STATED ABOVE.

The Hindustan Times, 16-4-1937

91. CABLE TO "THE TIMES"

[On or before *April 15, 1937*][2]

LORD LOTHIAN'S SUGGESTION TO REFER DISPUTES TO THE ELECTORATE IS SOUND IF IT CAN BE PROVED WORKABLE AND NOT PROHIBITIVELY EXPENSIVE. THE PRECEDENT I HAD IN MIND OF ARBITRATION WAS THAT OF THE REFERENCE BY THE TRANSVAAL AND THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT ON THE GRIEVANCES OF BRITISH INDIANS IN TERMS OF THE TRANSVAAL LAW 3 OF 1885 TO THE THEN CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE ORANGE FREE STATE AS THE SOLE ARBITRATOR. THE CALCUTTA "STATESMAN" SUGGESTION[3] AS TO GOVERNORS INVITING CONGRESS TO GO AHEAD WITH THE

[1] In this, Lord Lothian had said: " . . . If . . . the Governors could constitutionally give the assurance which the Congress Committee asks for, would not the minority in each Province protest vehemently against their giving this promise and would not such an undertaking conflict with the basic principle of constitutional democracy, namely, that neither the party in a majority nor the Governor should be able to exercise arbitrary power without appeal to anybody?

". . . The discretion which a Governor has to exercise is whether his special responsibility will better be discharged by accepting or rejecting the advice of his Ministry when attempts at agreement have failed. His decision, as all past history shows, largely depends on whether the majority in the Legislature is united and resolute and whether it can count on the support of the electorate in the event of a dissolution . . ." (*The Hindustan Times*, 14-4-1937).

[2] This cable was reported under the date-line: "London, April 15".

[3] In its issue dated April 10, which read: "The Congress put before the electors the definite statement that the safeguards and special powers in the present Act make it absolutely impossible for a Congress majority to put through its social programme for dealing with poverty and unemployment.

PROGRAMME OUTLINED IN THE CONGRESS ELECTION MANIFESTO[1] WOULD GO A LONG WAY TO SATISFY ME IF THE MANIFESTO BE REGARDED AS MERELY ILLUSTRATIVE. IT SHOULD, HOWEVER, BE UNDERSTOOD THAT ALL MY STATEMENTS ARE PURELY PERSONAL TO ME AND MADE WITHOUT CONSULTATION WITH FRIENDS AND ASSOCIATES.

The Hindustan Times, 17-4-1937

92. *LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR*

April 15, 1937

CHI. LILAVATI,

If you steady your mind, you can do much. Steadiness will come only if you do everything after careful thinking.

I have no time just now to write to anybody else. Keep an account of every minute.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Mahadev tells me that Dwarkadas has had a relapse. My purpose in telling you this is to suggest that you also may go there if you feel concerned.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9358. Also C.W. 6633. Courtesy: Lilavati Asar

---

. . . If the Act is really such that there is the slightest difficulty in the Governors' telling Congress leaders that there is nothing to prevent them going ahead with the programme outlined in the election manifesto, then we have to admit that we too have been mistaken about the Act."

[1] Adopted by the A. I. C. C. in Bombay on August 22, 1936, the manifesto aimed at Complete Independence and a Constituent Assembly. For the extracts from the manifesto, *vide* Appendix III.

CWMG - LXV

93. INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS OF INDIA[1]

KALYAN,
April 15, 1937

Interviewed by the Associated Press as regards Lord Lothian's letter[2] to the London *Times*, Mahatma Gandhi said that he had nothing to add to what he already stated in his cable[3] to the London *Times* (which Reuter had cabled to India). He added, however, that if he had anything to say further he would do so at Poona.

On his attention being drawn to the cable from South Africa about the withdrawal of the anti-Asiatic Bill from the South African Parliament, Mahatma Gandhi said that he wanted to study the cable before he expressed any opinion.

The interviewer referred to Mr. Rajagopalachari's statement, in which he said that Mahatma Gandhi was "in the thick of it" and, before Mahatma Gandhi could be asked whether this meant his coming back to the Congress, Gandhiji forestalled the interviewer and said:

It means nothing more nothing less than what it says. I am in the thick of it. I am not rejoining the Congress at present if that is what you mean.

The Hindustan Times, 16-4-1937

94. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

POONA CITY,
April 15, 1937

MY DEAR REBEL,

I got your last letter yesterday as I was leaving Wardha. I am glad you were able to go to the villages. It is certainly good news that the surrounding villages are voluntarily taking village reform. No good work but spreads like the perfume of a rose.

[1] Gandhiji, accompanied by Kasturba, Mahadev Desai and others passed through Kalyan *en route* to Hudli. According to *Gandhi 1915-1948–A Detailed Chronology*, Gandhiji "alighted at Kalyan and drove to Parnakutir".

[2&3] *Vide* pp. 83-5.

You will take the additional man carefully. Please do not take more work than you can without ruining your body.

Love.

ROBBER

[PS.]

We leave tonight for Belgaum.

From the original: C.W. 3601. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6401

95. INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS OF INDIA

POONA,
April 15, 1937

I have no set schemes. I respond to the situation as it arises.

Regarding the future course of action Gandhiji said there was nothing to add to the former statements as nothing fresh had occurred.

Later when he was shown the statement of the Madras leader, Mahatma Gandhi after a cursory perusal opined that it needed careful study before he could give his opinion on it. He added that he would do so as early as possible tomorrow after carefully going through it. All he would say was that the suggestion contained in the statement, which had the backing of all communities, needed great consideration.

A large crowd turned out at the station for *darshan* and Mahatma Gandhi taking the opportunity started collecting funds for Harijans.

The Hindustan Times, 17-4-1937

96. SPEECH AT GANDHI SEVA SANGH MEETING, HUDLI–I[1]

April 16, 1937

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

Please speak up if my voice does not reach you. I shall speak a little louder. I have agreed to say a few words before the President starts the discussion. During the next six days I shall try to participate in the meetings as much as I can.

One thing I wish to mention right at the outset. When I arrived in the morning, someone remarked that if the Faizpur Congress was Jawaharlal's, the Hudli Congress was going to be Gandhi's. It was conveyed to me by the President or someone

[1] A report of this speech appeared in *Harijan Sevak*, 1-5-1937.

else. I know it was said in jest. But it pained me that such a thing should be said even in jest. It is a sin to imagine even in jest that there can be any rivalry between Jawaharlal and me, or the Congress and the Gandhi Seva Sangh. The Gandhi Seva Sangh is not opposed to the Congress. It is meant to serve the Congress. How could the Sangh be opposed to the Congress when it was conceived in order to carry out the constructive programme of the Congress? But I would go even further. The Congress represents the millions. The Sangh represents us. The members of the Sangh are either their own representatives or the representatives of truth and non-violence. You can say that the whole world should be the representative of truth and non-violence. But that is a different matter. The members of the Sangh would, under the present situation, represent only themselves. But do we not want to be the representatives of the millions as well? And it is the Congress which is pledged to be the voice of the suffering millions. How, then, can there be any opposition between us and the Congress? I would go to the extent of saying that the Sangh can have rivalry with none at all. Let no one suggest even in jest that there can possibly be any rivalry between the Sangh and the Congress. For, it would be an untruth. And it is forbidden to speak an untruth even in jest. Anyone who hears it must promptly stop it. I wish to give you a warning. Surely, we do not intend to indulge in a fight with anyone. We cannot even talk in such terms.

Another thing which I wish to suggest is whether it would not be better to change the name of the Gandhi Seva Sangh. You have associated my name with the Sangh. This does not mean that my field of operation is limited only to this. I wish to make the whole of India my field of activity. I have suggested a way and you have accepted it. But it is not good for us to worship an individual. Only an ideal or a principle can be worshipped. You have agreed to carry out the programme I placed before the country in 1920. Only that part of it which you have assimilated and digested belongs to you. My faith in that programme is brighter than ever. But will you abandon the programme if I say that my faith in it has dwindled? You cannot give it up even if I do so. You should not become my worshippers. You can worship truth and non-violence. When you have accepted a thing, it belongs to you independently. And only what independently belongs to you can be really yours. Like food, only what you have assimilated would serve you any purpose. When we accept someone's ideas but do not

digest them, absorb them intellectually but not emotionally and do not translate them into practice, it is a kind of indigestion. It is an intellectual luxury. Ill-digested ideas are much worse than ill-digested food. There is a cure for ill-digested food; but ill-digested ideas harm the spirit and there is no cure for it. It is right that I should help you. You have a right to pick up a quarrel with me if I say anything which is contrary to what I said in 1920. You must consider independently whether I have improved upon those ideas or allowed them to degenerate. Let me tell you that day by day I am marching ahead in the direction of progress and the application of my principles covers a wider field. You will have to judge if I am progressing in the right direction. You cannot do so if you do not exercise your power of independent judgment. The world will ridicule you if you keep on sticking to my name. But there is another and graver danger. I have a fear that the Sangh may degenerate into a sect. If such a thing is possible while I am still alive, what may not happen when I am gone? Whenever a difficult situation arises, you would refer to my writings in *Young India* and *Harijan* and swear by them to support your own argument. It would be proper to cremate all my writings with my body. I am not saying this out of any sense of modesty. Have I not already said that the world is not going to lose anything even if all our Vedas are destroyed and only the first *mantra* of *Ishopanishad* survives? And what purpose would be served even by that *mantra* if we do not understand it and follow it in our actions? Whatever I have said or written is useful only to the extent that it can help you in understanding and digesting the principles of truth and non-violence. Hence you must give a serious thought to what I am saying today.

My faith in truth and non-violence becomes stronger every day. And as I go on applying these principles to my life, I go on making progress, and with that my ideas acquire a fresh quality. This does not mean that I am disorganized and my mind is not steady, or that my intellect is becoming shaky. I claim that my intellect has not lost its sharpness even though I have aged. It is not as if I was making thoughtless statements. My intellect continues to grow and in the matter of truth and non-violence it comes face to face with new things every day. And I find new light in them. I find new meanings in them every day. Hence, I continue to give new suggestions to the organizations like the Spinners' Association, Harijan Sevak Sangh, Village Industries Association etc. This means that these organizations

and their organizers are very much alive. And like a tree they will go on acquiring a changing quality assuming ever new forms. Their merit is that they should grow and progress. They would meet their downfall if they do not do so. I for one do not feel at all that I am going down. I want you to march with me in the direction of progress.

I am not keen to know what would happen when I am dead. My only desire is that the Sangh should always grow like a tree. If you worship the ideals—not me—you should remove my name from the name of the Sangh. You should not be so much attached to my name. You must measure each action of yours with the yardstick of truth and non-violence. If you make this your yardstick, you will be able to deliberate on all problems without any fear even after I am gone. All of you who have come here should always be fully awake. You are going to face problems which will demand from you a fresh outlook. I hope that with the light of truth you will be able to do so.

[From Hindi]

Gandhi Seva Sanghke Tritiya Varshik Adhiveshan (Hudli, Karnatak)ka Vivaran, pp. 8-10

97. SPINNERS' WAGES

The Council of the A. I. S. A. passed the following important resolutions at its meeting at Wardha on the 23rd and 24th ultimo:[1]

When the scheme was inaugurated many workers had grave doubts about its success. They had thought that the consequent rise in the price of khadi will adversely affect the sales. Experience has dispelled the fears and the Council is anxious to take a further step forward, if it can at all be taken, at an early date. Whilst, therefore, there need be no haste about taking the further step, workers may not be lazy about it either. They should know that the goal is eight annas per day of eight hours. We have only nominally reached three annas which are evenly distributed between increase and efficiency. The efficiency earnings do not directly affect the sale price. If anything, the efficiency of spinners improves the quality of khadi. The direct increase in the wages undoubtedly raises the prices, but its burden is broken by the improvement in quality. Then the increase

[1] The resolutions are not reproduced here.

is so judiciously regulated as to affect the poorest buyer not at all or very slightly. I have no manner of doubt that if only the workers will themselves be more efficient, more vigilant and more faithful, they will hasten the day when spinners can easily earn eight annas per day of eight hours' work without involving a phenomenal rise in the sale price. More scientific knowledge must improve the capacity of hand-gins, carding-bows and spinning-wheels. Greater observation of spinners' work must result in their being more skilled and more efficient. Greater grasp of administrative detail and greater faithfulness must mean a substantial decrease in overhead charges. In other words, our ignorance of the science of khadi is at the bottom of our present inability to reach the goal of eight annas per day. The resolution is intended as a spur to effort. God helps only the ever-watchful.

Harijan, 17-4-1937

98. BAD IF TRUE

Shri P. O. Phillip of the National Christian Council has received the following complaint from Travancore:

> Many thanks for your letter. I am consoled by the fact that the Mahatma will use his influence in removing the ill-feeling of the caste Hindus in Travancore towards Christians and the Depressed Class converts. Last week, while my evangelist Jacob was returning from a Church in North Travancore after the baptism of eight Pariahs, he was stopped by a Hindu Excise (Government) peon and was seriously assaulted. One of his eyes is injured by the blows. The peon said the evangelist had no business to teach and prepare people for baptism after the Temple-entry Proclamation. I have written about this to the *The Madras Mail* and the *Manorama*, but my note has not appeared in the papers. Will you please give publicity to the hideous act? Such acts are not isolated ones, but are perpetrated with the knowledge of influential caste Hindus who want to suppress if possible the progress of Christianity. You may forward a copy of this note to Mr. Gandhi. Communal hatred is on the increase after the Temple-entry Proclamation!

A similar complaint was received by me a few weeks ago through the same source. I have forwarded the papers to the Travancore Harijan Sevak Sangh for investigation. Meantime I have the foregoing. The brief postcard contains most serious allegations. The writer claims that

1. the acts are not isolated;
2. they are perpetrated with the knowledge of influential caste Hindus;
3. caste Hindus want to suppress if possible the progress of Christianity;
4. communal hatred is on the increase after the Temple-entry Proclamation.

Now these statements ought not to be lightly made. I advise the writer to furnish proofs to the Harijan Sevak Sangh who, I promise, will thoroughly investigate the whole complaint. The Sangh has a retired High Court judge as its President and a most conscientious and cultured man as its Secretary. I myself will have no hesitation in denouncing the slightest departure by caste Hindus from the strictest non-violence. It is difficult for me to see why communal hatred should be on the increase because of the Temple-entry Proclamation. Certainly I observed none during my recent tour in Travancore. And in so far as specific charges of molestation are concerned I would advise Shri Phillip's correspondent to file complaints in the local courts. I may mention that I received complaints of a contrary nature from caste Hindus alleging that Harijans living in or near Christian *cheris* were molested by Christians. I refused to publish the statements and referred the writers to the local courts. I would have likewise treated the foregoing postcard but for the very serious allegations contained in it. They could only be dealt with publicly and by a public investigation.

Harijan, 17-4-1937

99. A. I. V. I. A. TRAINING SCHOOL

This school has gone through several vicissitudes because of the inexperience of the management. The A. I. V. I. A. has to cut its way as it proceeds through an unbeaten track. A year's experience and experimenting have made the management less ambitious. The teachers themselves are training themselves through experimenting. And when the next term commences, there will be greater preparedness than hitherto. Here is the unambitious but more realistic prospectus of the school:[1]

> The academic year of the All-India Village Industries Association Training School for Village Workers will begin from 1st July 1937. . . .

[1] Only extracts are reproduced here.

1. Hindi will be the medium of instruction.

2. The course will be as far as may be for a period of 12 months, of which two months will have to be spent in village-uplift centres for practical study. In the first 10 months training in the following industries, together with some theoretical knowledge for village work, will be given:

1. Paddy-husking and grinding
2. Paper-making
3. Oil-pressing by *ghani*
4. Date-palm *gur* making
5. Bee-keeping

Students will have to select one of the above industries and devote six hours every day to it.

3. Students will be examined at the end of the year and, if found necessary, the course may be prolonged.

4. Applicants for admission should not be less than 18 years of age and should possess a healthy body. On arrival, such of those as the School Committee requires will undergo preliminary examination and will be expected to pass a test equal to what is known as the Vernacular Middle Course, and may be rejected if they do not possess adequate knowledge. They should have a working knowledge of Hindi, should be habitual wearers of khadi and should be prepared to do manual work such as sanitary service, kitchen work and spinning, and such other work as may be required under the discipline of the School. . . .

Let the applicants study the prospectus carefully. Those who are disinclined to do manual labour and apply themselves to the practical learning of the industry of their choice will be disappointed. Those who appreciated the necessity of mastering the industries mentioned will find ample scope for their talents.

Harijan, 17-4-1937

100. FOR STUDENTS

Though this letter[1] was received about the end of February last, I am able to deal with it only now. It raises issues of great importance, each demanding large enough space for two columns of *Harijan*. But I must be brief.

The very difficulties the student raises, though serious in their setting, are of his own making. The very mention of them must show the falsity of his position and of the educational system in our country. It turns education into a purely commercial product to be converted into money. For me education has a much nobler purpose. Let the student count himself as one among millions and he will discover that millions of young men and women of his age cannot fulfil the conditions which he will have his degree to do. Why should he make himself responsible for the maintenance of all the relatives he mentions? Why should the grown-up ones, if of sound body, not labour for their maintenance? It is wrong to have many drones to one busy bee—though a male.

The remedy lies in his unlearning many things. He must revise his ideas of education. His sisters ought not to repeat the expensive education that he had. They can develop their intelligence through learning some handicraft in a scientific manner. The moment they do so, they have development of the mind side by side with that of the body. And if they will learn to regard themselves as servants of humanity rather than its exploiters, they will have development of the heart, i.e., the soul as well. And they will become equal earners of bread with their brother.

I might as well discuss here his sister's marriage to which reference has been made in the letter. I do not know what is meant by marriage taking place 'sooner rather than later'. In no case need it take place before they are 20 years old. It is no use thinking so many years in advance. And if he will revise the whole scheme of life, he will have the sisters to choose their

[1] The letter is not reproduced here. The correspondent said that Gandhiji had not done justice to "a student" in his reply; *vide* Vol. LXIV, pp. 219-20. He also asked for a "detailed, practical and comprehensive solution" to some of his personal problems.

partners and the ceremony need never cost more than five rupees each, if that. I have been present at several such ceremonies. And the husbands or their elders have been graduates in fair circumstances.

It is pathetic to find the student so helpless as not to know how and where to have spinning lessons. Let him make a diligent search in Lucknow and he will find that there are young men enough to teach him. But he need not confine himself to spinning, though it too is fast becoming a full-time occupation able to give a village-minded man or woman his or her livelihood. I hope I have said here sufficient to enable him to dot the i's and cross the t's.

And now for contraceptives. Even here, the difficulty is imaginary. He is wrong in underrating his wife's intelligence. I have no doubt whatsoever that if she is the ordinary type of womanhood, she will readily respond to his self-restraint. Let him be true to himself and ask himself whether he has enough of it himself. All the evidence in my possession goes to show that it is man who lacks the power of self-restraint more than woman. But there is no need for belittling his own inability to exercise restraint. He must manfully face the prospect of a large family and discover the best means of supporting them. He must know that against the millions who are strangers to the use of contraceptives, there are possibly a few thousand who use them. The millions are in no dread of having to breed their children though the latter may not all be wanted. I suggest that it is cowardly to refuse to face the consequences of one's acts. Persons who use contraceptives will never learn the virtue of self-restraint. They will not need it. Self-indulgence with contraceptives may prevent the coming of children but will sap the vitality of both men ad women—perhaps more of men than of women. It is unmanly to refuse battle with the devil. Let my correspondent resolve upon self-restraint as the only sure and honourable method of avoiding unwanted children. What though he and his fail in the effort a hundred times? Joy is in the battle. The result comes by the grace of God.

Harijan, 17-4-1937

101. 'OUR PARTIAL SIGHT'

The reader will remember Rajkumari Amrit Kaur's letter[1] to me published in these columns some weeks ago. She received on it, some time ago, a letter from an English friend. She sent it to me to read. It contained so much that was good that I asked for permission to publish the relevant portion. This she readily gave and copied it for me. Here are the passages:

> I have been meaning to write to you ever since I read in *Harijan* your fine letter to Mr. Gandhi. I want to tell you how very much I feel with you about what you said with regard to missionary work and to thank you for saying it in your own way to a man like Mahatmaji. When I was in India, first as a very undeveloped girl thrust into a C. M. S. atmosphere, very many years ago, I felt that the approach of the missionaries to the people of India was all wrong and I had lonely times of being up against the whole system and yet not exactly being able to formulate my idea or talk to others with any chance of being understood. I was also set wondering if we as British people had any right to be ruling India, and I remember expressing this in those early days and being firmly dealt with! But ever since those days as my thought life has developed I have been getting to feel that fundamentally the whole position of the British in India was wrong and that the missionaries as a whole were sharing in the superiority complex of those who ruled. I am regarded, I know, as a real black sheep in missionary circles. So I can thoroughly sympathize with criticism that I am sure you have met with from those quarters! But what you said needed saying by someone who was a Christian and who yet saw a different way of sharing her faith with others. And it makes all the difference when someone like you who is known and has a position in the country says these things.
>
> We sing in our Churches in England that grand hymn, whose words I expect you know, written by that inspired blind poet George Matheson:
>
> Gather us in; we worship only Thee
> In varied names we stretch a common hand;
> In diverse forms a common soul we see;

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXIV, pp. 325-7.

CWMG - LXV

In many ships we seek one spirit land;
Gather us in.
Each sees one colour in Thy rainbow light,
Each looks upon one tint and calls it heaven,
Thou art the fulness of OUR partial sight;
We are not perfect till we find the seven;
Gather us in.

Anyway it is a step beyond 'From Green Land's Icy Mountains'! But I sometimes wonder if the people here who sing this realize its implications.

Harijan, 17-4-1937

102. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

HUDLI, SULDHAL P.O.,
April 17, 1937

MY DEAR REBEL,

Your letter.

It is now just before morning prayer time. The night was quite cool. I slept on the beautiful soft ground. Gosibehn and Perin are here. Khan Saheb of course.

If we are to re-introduce village articles after being used to the Western style, we shall have to be patient and inventive. That the pen requires constant dipping is a good point. It lessens fatigue. That the fountain-pen saves time is not an unmixed blessing. The village pen and ink undoubtedly admit of improvement. That can only come when you and I use these things.

The rule to which you took objection has been altered so as to answer your objection.

There was a dispute between Transvaal and British Governments. The matter was referred to arbitration by the Governments.

Love.

Yours,
ROBBER

From the original: C.W. 3602. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6411

103. LETTER TO PARIKSHITLAL L. MAJMUDAR

April 17, 1937

BHAI PARIKSHITLAL,

I have not written to you at all recently. I wrote to the Hindu Mission. We should investigate. If the Christians are holding out inducements to win over Harijans, nothing more need be done beyond publishing the facts. It is of course our duty to remove the hardships the Harijans may be suffering.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3958. Also C.W. 143. Courtesy: Parikshitlal L. Majmudar

104. LETTER TO HASANALI SHAMJI

April 17, 1937

I received your letter. The questions you have asked[1] can be raised more or less about all [religions]. I am just telling you my impression after reading the whole biography of the Prophet. If I start looking for imperfections and faults, I can find many but while doing so a man begins to despair and there is no reason to despair.

I left out about the hearing of the inner voice because while replying I did not have your letter before me. One who wants to hear the inner voice should observe five *yamas*[2]. The rules laid down for the observance of *yamas* should be adhered to and in order to do that one should devote as much time as possible to the repetition of His name so that it becomes as natural as breathing and the repetition should become as orderly as the beating of our heart. We do not hear our heartbeats but the

[1] The addressee had been repeatedly writing to Gandhiji about the shortcomings of Islam.

[2] According to Patanjali's *Yogasutra*, these are: ahimsa (non-violence), *satya* (truth), *asteya* (non-stealing), *brahmacharya* (celibacy) and *aparigraha* (non-possession).

heart goes on beating. Similarly the repetition of His name should go on. I have written on the subject many times in my articles.

[From Gujarati]

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

105. SPEECH AT GANDHI SEVA SANGH MEETING, HUDLI–II

April 17, 1937

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

At the outset I wish to say a few things which are not relevant to the subject under discussion. Dr. Batra is here. I had requested him to give a helping hand in the sanitation arrangements. He told me a few things which I want to tell you about.

First, the soil here is sandy. For washing we need alkali in more or less degree. Sand contains no alkali. It is to be found only in earth. Therefore earth is our soap. We cannot wash our hands as effectively with sand as with earth. We should remember that there should either be earth placed in heaps outside latrines or members should use soap to wash their hands.

Second, it has been noticed that some people put their soiled utensils into the drums filled with water. This is bad for health and bad according to tradition.

Third, those who serve are sometimes seen to serve liquids with their hands instead of with ladles. We should always serve liquids with a spoon or a ladle. Devotees of Truth should pay attention to small things. If they do not, they are lazy and laziness is a form of violence.

Now take the subject under consideration. It is a good thing that this discussion is taking place. I have myself been confused and I am still not very clear. I do not wholly agree with what Gangadharrao[1] and Acharya Bhagwat have said. It is of course correct that a man cannot go by his own opinion in everything. Where we are not sure of the correctness of our opinion we should consult our elders. The consultation is necessary. But it is not so here. I myself wanted to know your opinion as to whether we should go into Legislatures. This is not something which we should decide for all time. I know that my opposition to going into Legislatures has now considerably softened. But there has been no loss of principle here. And where there is no loss of principle involved I like to know what people's wishes are. I

[1] Gangadharrao Deshpande, also known as 'Karnataka Kesari'

am a worshipper of Truth and I am also a servant of the people. I am affected by the atmosphere. My response is generally in conformity with the atmosphere. What I said at Patna was correct for the time. What I said at Faizpur was also correct. I keep myself equipped for meeting the needs of the season. If it rains I use an umbrella, if it is cold I can wrap myself in woollens and in summer there is muslin which is light as air or some such thing to cover me. People have agreed that this is right. There has been no change in my ideas. But I express them in keeping with the prevailing wind.

Now I take the question Kakasaheb has posed. He asks whether I am the same man who had advocated non-co-operation from 1920 to 1922 or whether I have changed. My answer is that I am the same man. If I was a non-co-operator then, I am a non-co-operator now. But the fact is that even at that time I was in reality a co-operator. A British magistrate had told me that, though I showed myself as a non-co-operator, at heart I sought co-operation. I told him that he was right. Non-co-operation is not something I have accepted for all time. When I find that India can advance through co-operation, I will accept co-operation. Following my 21-day[1] fast I had said in a statement that co-operation was my religion and that I would die for co-operation provided I got it with honour.

Today we are going into the Legislatures not to give but to take co-operation. The atmosphere today is changed. We will have to seek remedies to suit the change in the atmosphere. I must refer here to something Premabehn said[2] yesterday. Whether she said it in jest or as sarcasm does not matter. But I cannot understand what kind of jest it was. It was no occasion for jest. I could only conclude that she said it out of her experience. If that was so, it is not right. My own experience is the opposite. I have not become what I am in the sense it has been suggested. Truth came to me when I was yet an infant. Ahimsa came to me when I was eighteen. My intellect was not mature then. Even today I do not pride myself on my intellect. At school the teachers did not consider me a very bright boy. They knew I was a good boy, but not a bright boy. I never knew first class and second class. I barely passed. I was a dull boy.

[1] From May 8 to 29 in 1933; *vide* Vol. LV.

[2] She had spoken on the question of members of the Gandhi Seva Sangh standing for election to the Legislative Councils. On Gandhiji's explaining to her that her thoughts were immature, she had resolved not to make any public speech for a year. *Vide* also "Letter to Premabehn Kantak", 13-5-1937.

I could not even speak properly. Even when I went to South Africa I went only as a clerk. I did not go anywhere, like Pherozeshah Mehta, charging a thousand rupees as a day's fee. I was to get £150 annually. My knowledge of rules and regulations was nil. I am not a learned man. I am a worshipper of Truth. In South Africa I found myself in the midst of Muslims. Mohammed I knew only as a name. About Muslims I knew nothing. I told them the story of Harishchandra. Even this absurdity influenced them a great deal. Much later I took to politics. But the groundwork had been laid much before. When I saw that in the interests of Truth and non-violence I had to take part in politics I did so. But my experience is that my influence among people is not because of my political work. This is hundred per cent true. If at Saswad the experience is different, I do not know. But this has been my experience all along. I went to Champaran also at the request of Brijkishore Babu[1]. I had merely seen him. People also knew him only as a lawyer. He had not even heard of the Congress. I told them all not even to mention the Congress. Rajendra Babu never even dreamt of bringing him into the Congress. This occurred to me later. Even today there are thousands in India who have no need of swaraj. Take Segaon itself, where I live. It is in Maharashtra and people in Maharashtra are very political-minded. But even they don't ask for swaraj. I do not mention Congress to them, because they will not understand it. They understand the question of untouchability and they also oppose untouchability. To women I talk about the charkha, about children. If I speak to them about the Legislatures they may ask me if I would bring them a couple of bags of foodgrains from there. What is the condition of India as a whole today? The talk of bread is all that the people understand. They have no use for politics. I have led campaigns in all parts of India, but never in the name of the Congress. Nowhere have I worked in that fashion. Today in Champaran people in their thousands talk about the Congress. It is the fruit of those six months of work in the course of which the Congress was not so much as mentioned. They respect the Congress because they consider these gentlemen their well-wishers.

There may be some amongst you, too, who think that Truth and non-violence will advance only through politics. I must tell them very clearly that Truth and non-violence are not dependent on anything. They are independent forces. If you want

[1] Father of Prabhavati

to be the worshippers of what Khan Saheb calls Allah, what I call Rama and Christians call Christ or God, you may do so. If you don't wish so, no harm is done to Him. If God is independent of you and me, He does not need politics. He does not need you and me. There are millions who are in quest of Him. Very few have had a glimpse of Him. I myself have been worshipping Him for the last fifty years. In Him I find daily new strength, new things. If today I find it necessary to argue with you it means that I have not been able to imbibe all these things to the extent I should have. What is moral strength? Ramanama is the same thing for all. But when one man utters the name it makes an impact. Another's uttering makes none. What is the reason? The reason is that one has merged oneself in it. Another plays upon it as one might on a *sitar* or a violin. A parrot also utters Ramanama, but it does not touch its heart. It cannot understand its significance. I am not a worshipper of small things. Can a man who has been saying that no man is his guru, who has accepted no living person as his guru, be a worshipper of something that depends on polities? Truth and non-violence are precious commodities. They are neutral; they are unique things and the articles needed for their worship are also unique. Let Premabehn not forget all this.

Jamnalalji has said that if we go into the Legislatures today we cannot pursue Truth and non-violence. He has uttered something of great import. I don't agree with it. If Truth and non-violence cannot be pursued, then democracy also cannot be practised, for in that case it will be against Truth and non-violence. If you believe in democracy we shall have to work for the good of the millions. To do good to the millions we cannot all of us assemble in one place. We shall have to elect a few representatives. If they are true servants of the people, if they are true democrats, they will, with a pure heart, try to understand the wishes of the people and will voice them. When in 1920 the question arose of amending the objective of the Congress and Bipin Chandra Pal suggested democratic swaraj in place of swaraj, I opposed it because when I analyse swaraj I find that without democracy there can be no swaraj. What Pal intended was implied in the word swaraj itself. In swaraj, too, the Legislatures will retain more or less their present structure, though it is possible there may be some change in the external form. Let us sit as we are sitting here instead of in chairs and palaces. About one-third of the people who should have the right to vote have acquired the franchise. After some time the number of voters

may reach 120 million. It is no small thing that today 30 million people can vote. Thousands of our workers have approached them and this had never been done before. The Congress message has spread more widely. It is not a small thing. I had been thinking whether it is right for members of the Gandhi Seva Sangh to carry this message. I told those who asked me that there was no harm in doing so. So long as there is room in the Congress for Truth and non-violence, so long as it does not say good-bye to the programme of 1920, we shall continue to be an organ of the Congress. We are not an institution created under the Congress. We are a voluntary organization. The All-India Spinners' Association, and All-India Village Industries Association are organizations created by the Congress. But Gandhi Seva Sangh is not created by the Congress. It came into existence in 1923 to save the programme of 1920 at a time when I was undergoing six years' imprisonment and when there was no talk of my being released. Even if the Congress gives up the constructive programme tomorrow, the Sangh will not cease to exist. It will carry on that programme. Constructive programme is the permanent programme of Gandhi Seva Sangh. If it gives it up it will cease to be. In 1923 Motilalji and other leaders had taken the Councils programme in hand. It was not for us to quarrel with them. We also had to keep intact this real programme of the Congress because I know that if the Congress gives up the programme of 1920, it will be destroyed. What else could we have done in such a situation? Today also I say that there is no other programme besides this. But constructive programme is not, like Truth and non-violence, valid for all time. Take the charkha. If you go to the North Pole or to the Himalayan peaks or to Tibet, the talk of cotton won't do. Still I say that the constructive programme is for the good of our millions. Legislatures are only for a few. But the constructive programme is for all. Therefore it is right for me to stay with the thirty crores who stand apart from the three crore. Only a few will go, can go, into the Legislatures. I have told people who have written to me asking my advice not to get themselves into this. But they did the very opposite saying they couldn't help it. Sardar took away forcibly even those people whom we wanted to keep. The example of Dr. Gopichand of the Punjab is before you. The same thing happened with others. Sardar was responsible for this betrayal. I had to say that what he had done was right. If he had not done it he would have been defeated at any rate in Gujarat. If I had told Rajaji not to go, he would not have gone.

But if today I am asked, I shall say that what he did was right. The matter has an interesting history. Rajaji asked my opinion, but after going, not before. He considered it his duty to go and he went. I said I did not like it. But he did the right thing. Much work has been done in Madras. The workers there are members of the Spinners' Association. Most of the work was done through them. Today Rajagopalachari has left. Tomorrow if I ask Sardar Vallabhbhai, Rajendra Babu or Jamnalalji, they may also leave. But then our Sangh will be reduced into a small band.

We want that everyone should become a member of the Sangh. But the question before me today is, if we stop everyone who is with us from going into the Councils, will it not harm our own work? For where will the Congress find men? And members of the Gandhi Seva Sangh did just this. I feel that they have done their duty. If they had not done so the Congress would not have been victorious in the same degree as it is. The Sangh is of no importance as compared with the Congress. The Congress is of the millions. We cannot leave it. It has accepted this programme on a permanent basis. It is not that they have accepted it under duress. The thing is clear before us. We cannot give it up. Those who go into the Legislatures today do not go into Government's Legislatures. They go into their own Legislatures. What I have said is the truth. We have become the representatives of the people. Formerly only the representatives of the Government or of a handful of people went into the Legislatures. The representatives of the people have laid down their condition before the Government. If Truth and non-violence have to be practised in Legislatures, who will do so if not you? We have to increase the strength of the Congress. You may ask, well, why in that case have I gone out of the Congress? If I have gone out of the Congress, it is in order to be able to serve it better. So long as the Congress needs my services I shall continue to render them. I do not feel any disappointment. I have not gone to settle in Segaon out of any frustration. Whatever little strength I have is for the Congress. The Congress is mine. The ideas I am placing before you have been influenced by the opinions of you all. In brief, what I wish to say is that we have to find a place for this programme. But the restriction is that we shall continue our own work till then. If our leader, Kishorelal—not Vallabhbhai—orders us, we shall go into the Councils also.

Dharmadhikari asks whether as satyagrahis we can enter

institutions opposed to us to voice our opposition there. Yes, why shouldn't we? But you must always remember the limits of satyagraha. We shall not go to betray or to offer violence. It may even be our duty to go in order to offer our open opposition. But here this is not the question. Legislatures are not institutions opposed to us. I like Legislatures. They are mine. The Governor has been made the head. But the institution is mine. The Governor of Orissa knows this. With the help of Legislatures I wish to destroy this system. We are going into the Legislatures to gain strength. We are not going into the Legislatures to paralyse them. We go even to our enemy in order to change his heart. Supposing there is a meeting of drunkards and it invites us to go and speak on the evils of drinking. We shall certainly go. Someone may say they may burn us. Well, what of it? We shall die. What is important is, why we go. Do we go to advance Truth or to obstruct it? Let us go into the Legislatures to pursue Truth. After all the Legislatures are ours. Aren't they? The majority there is ours. Now that we have an opportunity to accept the challenge, shall we stay out? When we can openly go into the arena to meet our enemy, why shouldn't we? We do not go to beg, but to sap the enemy's strength. Have we spent five lakhs or seven lakhs of rupees for nothing? Today we have had to spend all this money. When the Congress has risen in people's esteem we will not have to spend even a cowrie. We boast of a constructive programme. I have been shouting in the pages of *Harijan*, how many charkha graduates are there? How many graduates for removal of untouchability? The answer is zero. Had conditions been different, the question of spending anything would never have arisen. We have to mobilize all our energies in order to serve. We have to march fully observing Truth and non-violence. We must always be armed with the two weapons of fearlessness and discipline. We will have to use them in Parliament. Carlyle once said that members of the House of Commons had not much need of common sense. This is bound to be so where there is democracy. The main thing is discipline. Obey your leader and ply your *taklis* there in silence. We need just such men. They need no legal or constitutional knowledge. Why should we not go into our own house? It is true everyone cannot go. Still everyone has to vote. I do not agree with Appa. Everybody has to be a primary voter. You may ask me why I have not become a voter. That is for a different reason. Not that I have not been given the right to vote, only I did not want to be a voter. My position is different

and it is valid only for myself. The members of the Sangh are votaries of Truth. He whom the Gandhi Seva Sangh orders to go will go. The question is not of individuals. It is not a question of temptation or self-interest. He who goes there out of greed or self-interest will be betraying not only the Gandhi Seva Sangh but also Truth. He who thinks of the charkha all the 24 hours can do so in the Legislatures also. He does not have to exercise his mind there. He has merely to raise his hand at a signal from his leader. It is not a predicament. It is our dharma. We are the servants of *Daridranarayana*. We shall go there as servants and if the Congress gives the call. If we can form ministries on our own conditions, then we have found the way to swaraj. If such men go into the Legislatures, we shall not meet with defeat even in one of the eleven provinces. If the Congress does not call us we should remain where we are. This is not a question of superior or inferior. The constructive programme and this programme are both equal.[1]

As regards the oath of allegiance, I should ask no one to go there who has a conscientious objection to the oath. It is not a religious oath, so far as I understand the Constitution, and it is wholly consistent with the demand for immediate and concrete independence.

[From Hindi]

Gandhi Seva Sanghke Tritiya Varshik Adhiveshan (Hudli, Karnatak)ka Vivaran, pp. 24-30

106. SACRIFICE OF RAS

At the instance of Sardar, Shrimati Bhaktibehn[2], Shri Ashabhai, Shri Ravishankar[3], who is the priest of the Dharalas and the Baraiyas, and Shri Ravjibhai[4] approached me on behalf of the Kaira district. Sardar also happened to be present. These representatives had heard that I was inclined to hold the Congress session in the Bardoli taluk. I had read the report of the enquiry committee. After a long and friendly discussion, I think I was able to persuade the representatives to shift the venue of the Congress session to the Bardoli taluk. I had only one strong argument to support me. Kaira is a strong district. No one

[1] What follows is from *Harijan*, 1-5-1937.

[2] Bhaktiba, wife of Darbar Gopaldas Desai

[3] Ravishankar Vyas, popularly known as Ravishankar Maharaj

[4] Raojibhai Patel

is ignorant of the sacrifice made by Ras. I also believe that Ras would do credit to whatever task it takes upon itself. However, when other districts or taluks wish to compete, it is the dharma of the strong competitor to withdraw in favour of the weak. I suggested such a sacrifice to the representatives, and they accepted my proposal. When Darbar Saheb heard of this decision, he was annoyed and he wrote to me an affectionate but strongly worded letter in which he justified by many arguments the worthiness of the Kaira district.

I would give only one reply to those who hold such a view: If you wish to add to the strength of the Congress, i.e., of Gujarat, will you allow those who are weak to become strong, or allow those who are strong to become even more so? Ras has become more famous for its strength in the already strong Kaira district. Hence the above was my first and final reply to the supporters of Ras. Many other things were discussed in the mean time because, where many side-issues have to be considered, a single consideration does not make a person act; there are many factors—palpable and less palpable—that must be considered.

In whichever village of Gujarat the Congress is held, all Gujaratis have to work for it on the understanding that it is being held in Gujarat taken as a whole. The most important task at the annual session of the Congress should be to make the exhibition impressive. It is an indispensable part of the session. We increase our efficiency by organizing a beautiful exhibition; hundreds of thousands of persons get valuable training; the entire rural area becomes revitalized as our primary purpose is to encourage cottage industries. Hence I hope that Gujaratis will forget that the Congress is to be held in the Bardoli taluk and keep reminding themselves that it is to be held in Gujarat and use all their energies in consolidating the constructive work of the Congress.

Gujarat is backward in many matters. In one matter it lags behind all other Provinces—in abolishing untouchability. The caste discrimination which is practised here is not seen in any other Provinces. That kind of discrimination should be totally done away with. Gujarat also falls behind other Provinces in so far as the production of khadi is concerned. In fact Bardoli had taken the pledge that within six months the spinning-wheel would ply in every home and no other cloth but khadi would be used there and untouchability would be totally wiped out. Will Bardoli and the entire people of Gujarat start making preparation from today so that khadi would be really introduced? Hundreds of thousands of rupees are spent by Gujarat in the name of *goseva*

but does anybody know the value of mother cow? How much cow's milk is produced? And how much difficulty is experienced in selling what little is produced! It is Sardar's pledge to supply cow's milk to everyone at the Congress session. If that pledge is to be kept, Bardoli taluk should start collecting cows right now and an exhibition of cows and bullocks, the like of which has never been seen, should be held at the time of the Congress session. Moreover, Surat district is notorious for drinking. If the evil is totally given up in that district before the Congress session, that would be a very creditable achievement. Women can play an important role in all these tasks. Will they do so? Will the Patidars, the Dharalas, Baraiyas, Thakores, whatever you call them, plunge into the tasks I have mentioned, looking upon the holding of the Congress in Bardoli taluk as if it was being held in the Kaira district or in Ras itself? The sacrifice of Ras is great; so is its renown. If, despite the Congress not being held there, Ras makes its own handsome contribution, it will add to its own prestige and to that extent strengthen it self also.

[From Gujarati]

Harijanbandhu, 18-4-1937

107. ADVICE TO NEWLY MARRIED COUPLES[1]

HUDLI,
[*April 18, 1937*][2]

You must know that I do not believe in ceremonies, except to the extent that they awaken in us a sense of duty. I have had that attitude of mind ever since I began to think for myself. The *mantras* you have repeated and the vows you have taken were all in Sanskrit, but they were all translated for you. We had the Sanskrit text because I know that the Sanskrit word has a power under the influence of which one would love to come.

One of the wishes expressed by the husband during the ceremony is that the bride may be the mother of a good and healthy son. The wish did not shock me. It does not mean that

[1] Extracted from Mahadev Desai's "Weekly Letter". The newly married couples were Manu and Surendra Mashruwala, and Nirmala and Ishwardas. The weddings took place on the same day. "All outward show and ceremony was eschewed, no invitations to friends or relations were issued. . . ." Gandhiji addressed his remarks to the parties privately.

[2] From *Gandhi—1915–1948*

procreation is obligatory, but means that if progeny is wanted, marriage performed in a strictly religious spirit is essential. He who does not want a child need not marry at all. Marriage for the satisfaction of sexual appetite is no marriage. It is *vyabhichara*—concupiscence. Today's ceremony, therefore, means that the sexual act is permitted only when there is a clear desire by both for a child. The whole conception is sacred. The act has therefore to be performed prayerfully. It is not preceded by the usual courtship designed to provide sexual excitement and pleasure. Such union may only be once in a lifetime, if no other child is desired. Those who are not morally and physically healthy have no business to unite, and if they do, it is *vyabhichara*—concupiscence. You must unlearn the lesson, if you have learnt it before, that marriage is for the satisfaction of animal appetite. It is a superstition. The whole ceremony is performed in the presence of the sacred fire. Let the fire make ashes of all the lust in you.

I would also ask you to disabuse yourselves of another superstition which is rampant nowadays. It is being said that restraint and abstinence are wrong and free satisfaction of the sexual appetite and free love is the most natural thing. There was never a more ruinous superstition. You may be incapable of attaining the ideal, your flesh may be weak, but do not therefore lower the ideal, do not make irreligion your religion. In your weak moments remember what I am telling you. The remembrance of this solemn occasion may well steady and restrain you. The very purpose of marriage is restraint and sublimation of the sexual passion. If there is any other purpose, marriage is no consecration, but marriage for other purposes besides having progeny.

You are being united in marriage as friends and equals. If the husband is called *swamin*, the wife is *swamini*—each master of the other, each helpmate of the other, each co-operating with the other in the performance of life's tasks and duties. To you boys I would say that if you are gifted with better intellects and richer emotions, infect the girls with them. Be their true teachers and guides, help them and guide them, but never hinder them or misguide them. Let there be complete harmony of thought and word and deed between you, may you have no secrets from each other, may you be one in soul.

Don't be hypocrites, don't break your health in the vain effort of performing what may be impossible for you. Restraint never ruins one's health. What ruins one's health is not restraint but outward suppression. A really self-restrained person grows

every day from strength to strength and from peace to more peace. The very first step in self-restraint is the restraint of thoughts. Understand your limitations and do only as much as you can. I have placed the ideal before you—the right angle. Try as best as you can to attain the right angle. But if you fail, there is no cause for grief or shame. I have simply explained to you that marriage is consecration, a new birth, even as the sacred thread ceremony is a consecration and a new birth. Let not what I have told you alarm you or weaken you. Always aim at complete harmony of thought and word and deed. Always aim at purifying your thoughts and everything will be well. There is nothing more potent than thought. Deed follows word and word follows thought. The world is the result of a mighty thought, and where the thought is mighty and pure the result is always mighty and pure. I want you to go hence armed with the armour of a noble ideal, and I assure you no temptation can harm you, no impurity can touch you.

Remember the various ceremonies that have been explained to you. Look at the simple-looking ceremony of *madhuparka*. The whole world is full of *madhu*—sweet nectar or honey—if only you will partake of it after the rest of the world has taken its share of it. It means enjoyment by means of renunciation.

QUESTION: But if there is no desire for progeny, should there be no marriage?

ANSWER: Certainly not. I do not believe in Platonic marriages. In certain rare cases men are known to have married women to protect the latter and not for any physical union at all. But those cases are very rare indeed. You must read all that I have written on pure married life. What I read in the *Mahabharata* is daily growing upon me. Vyasa is described therein as having performed *niyoga*. He is not described as beautiful, but he was the reverse of it. His form is represented as terrible, he made no amorous gestures, but he smeared his whole body with ghee before he performed the union. He performed the act not for lust but for procreation. The desire for a child is perfectly natural, and once the desire is satisfied there should be no union.[1]

Nurturing carnal desires is a transgression of the law. The desire for progeny is a natural desire. In woman, one finds that there is a desire to become a mother. That desire is not the same as sexual desire. Anyone who wishes to become a mother, once

[1] The two paragraphs which follow are translated from *Harijanbandhu*.

she has had sexual intercourse, will have no further desire for it. She will keep thinking only of her child, she will make efforts to see that her child is healthy, free from any diseases and is born with the best possible *sanskaras*[1]. This natural rule is practised among animals as well. The reason why lustfulness is increasing in the world is that no one is aware of this kind of marriage.

This pure dharma is not difficult to practise. Just as even dry *roti* arouses the interest of anyone who is hungry, similarly, the practice of dharma, self-control, also becomes interesting. Anyone who practises self-restraint finds it easy to develop his other senses. Manu calls the first son alone *dharmaja*, all the rest are *kamaja* (born out of desire). Our Shastras have been written from experience, not for the sake of writing. The practice of seemingly difficult rules (laws) would become easy if we keep purifying our thoughts and practising these.

That gives in a nutshell the law of sexual relations. And what is God but the Law? And to obey God is to perform the Law. Remember that you were thrice asked to repeat: "I will not transgress the Law in any respect." Even if we had a handful of men and women prepared to abide by the Law, we should have a race of men and women stalwart and true.

Remember that I really came to enjoy my married life after I ceased to look at Ba sexually. I took the vow of abstinence when I was in the prime of youth and health, when I was young enough to enjoy married life in the accepted sense of the term. I saw in a flash that I was born, as we all are, for a sacred mission. I did not know this when I was married. But on coming to my senses I felt that I must see that the marriage subserved the mission for which I was born. Then indeed did I realize true dharma. True happiness came into our lives only after the vow was taken.[2]

That dharma of restraint can only be practised when all the things which nurture sexual desires are renounced, when sharing the same bed as well as suggestive gestures are eschewed. I realized all this when I became awakened. If the satisfying of sexual desires is not the purpose of marriage, what then is its purpose? I realized that public service was the answer to this question and I was also able to convince Ba of this. Although she is illiterate she stood beside me in all that I did and became the object of praise, not because of me but in her own right. She may look frail but at the age of sixty-nine she can keep toiling day and

[1] Inherited innate tendencies

[2] The paragraph which follows is translated from *Harijanbandhu*.

night. If, however, we had given in to sexual craving, what would have been our plight?

And yet I woke up late in the sense that I had lived the married life for some years. You are lucky enough to be aroused in good time. Circumstances when I was married were as unpropitious as they could be. For you they are as propitious as they could be. There was one thing though that I possessed and that carried me through. It was the armour of truth. That protected me and saved me. Truth has been the very foundation of my life. *Brahmacharya* and ahimsa were born later out of truth. Whatever, therefore, you do, be true to yourselves and to the world. Hide not your thoughts. If it is shameful to reveal them, it is more shameful to think them.

Harijan, 24-4-1937, and *Harijanbandhu*, 25-4-1937

108. SPEECH AT THREAD CEREMONY, HUDLI

[*April 18, 1937*][1]

Do you know that from today you[2] have become *dwijas*? What does the word *dwija* mean? It means twice-born. Today you have taken a new birth, so you have acquired knowledge today of which you were ignorant so far. The *shastri* has told you that you are now worthy of studying the Vedas. That, of course, you will do, but the fuller meaning of "studying of the Vedas" is a life in conformity with dharma. So far your life was devoid of the consciousness of dharma and *adharma* but now you have acquired that consciousness. During a famine, the sage Vishwamitra stole meat out of hunger. Having done that, he had to perform many ceremonies before eating it. No meal can be taken without taking a bath and performing the *sandhya*. Hence he began these ceremonies. But, while in the middle of these activities, he realized how low he had fallen! He had committed theft merely to appease his stomach, and that too of meat. He who was satisfied with fruit and vegetables and had reached the *vanaprastha* stage of his life had coveted meat! These thoughts made him aware of his dharma. He took the piece of meat back to the butcher from whom he had stolen it and begged forgiveness. The latter was embarrassed at the sage seeking his forgiveness and said, "King among sages, this shop is yours, satisfy

[1] From *Gandhi—1915–1948*

[2] Brother and son of Mahadev Desai

your hunger as much as you wish.'' This made a deep impression on the sage. He told the butcher that as from that day the latter was his guru. There follows a long conversation between the two which is narrated in the *Mahabharata*. However, it is irrelevant for your purpose. I narrated this story to you so that you would get an idea of what religious life is like. You have already taken a vow to keep your thoughts pure for twelve years and study while observing *brahmacharya*, but as from today you have begun thinking from the standpoint of dharma. You should not make the mistakes you have been making in the past as you have a new birth now. And, before you do anything you shall ask yourself whether what you are doing is right or wrong. The sacred thread is useful from this standpoint. Otherwise, there is no need to believe that *dwija* means a Brahmin. A Brahmin is one who has awareness of Brahman. If, after receiving the sacred thread, we do not take a new birth, if we do not begin a life in accordance with dharma, it makes little difference whether we wear it or not. I do not ask anyone to wear the sacred thread, as it has become a mere outward ceremony. But those who wish to imbibe consciousness of dharma from the ceremony may well wear the sacred thread.

[From Gujarati]

Harijanbandhu, 25-4-1937

109. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

KUMRI ASHRAM, BELGAUM DISTRICT,
April 19, 1937

CHI. MIRA,

I hope you got my letter[s] from Poona and Hudli. From the night of 17th we have been having continuous rain. The camp was not constructed for rains. We have been obliged to shift where there is cover. Therefore we are overcrowded. And yet there is no sign of rain stopping.

It is a pity Munnalal should have fever again. I hope you are having the papers and the post regularly.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

The wedding[1] went off well.

From the original: C.W. 6378. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9844

[1] Of Manu Gandhi with Surendra Mashruwala; *vide* pp. 108-12.

110. LETTER TO VIJAYA N. PATEL

April 19, 1937

CHI. VIJAYA,

Your bundle of saris has been safely conveyed. I hope you have been helping Mirabehn as much as you can. If you understand the reason behind every process, then you may be sure that your intellect will develop with surprising speed. Tell Vasumatibehn that I am not writing to her today. I hope she has been taking hip-baths regularly and taking milk without the cream. Here it has been raining since the 17th evening. Everything has been upset. Now only the discussions regarding the work of the Sangh which had been planned are going on.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7064. Also C.W. 4556. Courtesy: Vijayabehn M. Pancholi

111. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH[1]

April 19, 1937

CHI. MUNNALAL,

You have again fallen ill. How is that? You ought not to [impair] your health. . . . You must give up . . . for a long time. That means you should not take wheat. Fruit . . . Live on milk, curds. . . . You can eat dates. Do not overexert yourself. Go to bed at 9 p.m. Drink boiled water. You must learn the art of not falling ill.

Blessings from
BA[PU]

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8588. Also C.W. 7008. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

[1] The original is damaged at several places.

CWMG - LXV

112. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

April 19, 1937

CHI. LILA,

Dwarkadas seems to have committed some mistake in the diet. I would prefer that he should go to Rajkot. But it would be equally good if he came to Wardha. In any case it would be definitely good for him to leave Bombay. Possibly he may not get at Wardha the facilities he will have at Rajkot. Your bread was altogether ill-baked. Nobody could eat it. Everybody had to throw it away. You will learn in time by keeping on trying like this, but one should draw a lesson from every error. A mango tree does not bear fruit in a short time. Haste will not pay in learning cooking.

We shall reach on the 24th.

Here it has been raining all the time.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9585. Also C.W. 6557. Courtesy: Lilavati Asar

113. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

HUDLI,
April 20, 1937

DEAR C. R.,

Personally I think it is better to ignore Rajah's letter. But you may take notice of it, if you think it necessary in the public interest. No time for more as the bell for attending morning prayer has gone.

Love.

BAPU

SHRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI
49 FAZALULLAH ROAD
TYAGARAYA NAGAR
MADRAS

From a photostat: G.N. 2061

114. SPEECH AT GANDHI SEVA SANGH MEETING, HUDLI–III

April 20, 1937

For today you may consider me the President. For I shall have to do most of the talking particularly on the subject of Kishorelal's[1] intended resignation. He insists on resigning as President. I do not like it. I had no suspicion at all of his intention to resign. There is something in it which is contrary to dharma. He came to see me in the morning. That is why I have been late by a few minutes. In the course of our talk I asked him a few questions. From his answers I could only conclude that what he intends to do is contrary to dharma. It is impossible of course that Kishorelal should deliberately do anything which is contrary to dharma. He is a godfearing man. But even godfearing men sometimes do things, albeit unknowingly, which are contrary to dharma. I say this from my own experience as well as that of others. The intention always is to pursue dharma. The effect is violation of it. If Kishorelal persists in his intention to resign there is going to be a violation of dharma. I can cite many instances of the kind, only I do not wish to take up your time. I did not of course wish to press Kishorelal. I did question him thoroughly. From his own answers I could see that his resignation would bring no good either to the Sangh or to him personally. He himself is the best judge of his dharma. I cannot presume to judge for him. My duty is merely to help him in what he may consider his dharma. I would have done so in such a situation. But he was not able to say definitely that that was his dharma.

Gomati was with him. I have respect for her intelligence. I inquired from her. She could not say much, except that Kishorelal had been distressed during the last two days. In my opinion this was not a sufficient reason. It would not justify my telling Kishorelal to do as he contemplated. Then I sent for Nathji[2]. He is very intimate with Kishorelal. Kishorelal has great respect for him. I knew that in case of doubt Kishorelal would seek his

[1] Kishorelal Mashruwala
[2] Kedarnath Kulkarni

advice. I also know him well. I asked him. I saw that he was inclined to agree with me. He told me he would have a talk with Kishorelal. I had no intention of making use of Nathji's influence with him. If both Kishorelal and Gomati clearly felt that it was Kishorelal's dharma to resign I would ask you to let him go. But Nathji told me that he could not say anything in the matter and that I should order Kishorelal. Well, generally I do not like to order even children. But sometimes I order even old men. I agreed to do so. I told Kishorelal that he could not leave at this juncture. It will not distress Kishorelal to obey because he is conscious of dharma. He has agreed.

I have told you this because you must know. It is now for you and for me to remove the doubt that assails him. We are votaries of truth and non-violence. None of course can boast of fully pursuing truth and non-violence. To boast of any such thing would be conceit. But while we may not boast we have a right to try. Kishorelal fears we are giving up truth and non-violence. The parliamentary programme has created an enthusiasm amongst us. We have come to feel that swaraj will be more quickly obtained through that programme. Therefore the question of the means employed ceases to be considered. The brute in man is awakened. I concede that this possibility is there in our accepting the programme. And it is of course agreed that there is a good deal of the brute in man. Externally God has made us quite different from animals—for instance, we have hands which animals do not have. But the inner distinction is of much greater importance. A sign of this inner distinction is man's ability to judge between the essential and the inessential. The brute in us will show itself in any case. Maybe, in the Councils programme there are greater chances for the brute to manifest itself. But we have been born as men, which will be justified if we subdue the beast. We have to bring out through our conduct the distinction between us and the animals. In this lies our humanness. It is not godliness. I know the Councils programme is such that we may indulge in abusing the British. We may deliver harsh-worded speeches. There is a lot of room for conceit, too. We have to keep away from all this. So we have to have a man who has an awareness of this. That is why we made Kishorelal our President. Gandhi Seva Sangh's work cannot be carried on with money. If it could, we would have proposed Jamnalalji as our President and he would have agreed. But he told us to look for a fitter person and withdrew. If

Jamnalalji collects a crore of rupees for the Sangh it will not benefit the Sangh, it will only harm it. Kishorelal does not have a pice he can call his own. He was considered fit to be the President.

Kishorelal's argument is that the parliamentary programme is full of temptations. But is that any reason why we should keep away from it? Should we not face the temptations? Kishorelal answers that so far we have remained untouched by temptations, that even today we look upon the thing with suspicion. Then there are a number of important things to do. Under the circumstances, why should we unnecessarily take upon ourselves this botheration? I say you are going at my instance. The responsibility is mine. So far we have not gone. But can anyone say our hearts, too, were untouched? From the point of view of truth and non-violence, it can be dharma to accept something that we had earlier rejected. Our dharma is not one-sided. So much for Kishorelal's doubts. Then he also says that the language of the resolutions of the Congress these days does not give expression to truth. This charge, too, is one-sided. He who proposes a resolution expresses his thoughts. The resolutions of the Congress also express the truth as the Congress sees it. We smell untruth in them. The resolution says that we are going into the Councils to wreck the Constitution. How can we show consideration for what we intend to destroy? Before 1920 the feeling was: why look towards a thing which we do not wish to accept?

Kishorelal feels that so far we had kept the flow of water blocked and that now we are breaking the dyke, which must release the water. So long we had talked of boycotting Councils, schools, courts, etc., and of destroying them. Today we are speaking a different language. There are others also who share this feeling. All this is being said with reference to the manifesto of the Congress. How can we consider the language of the manifesto? The manifesto is not that of Jawaharlal alone. Vallabhbhai, Rajendra Babu and I have our share in it. I have not forgotten it. I read it over two or three times. It is not contradicted by the Congress resolution concerning acceptance of office. The practical part of that resolution has been drafted by me. Jawaharlal thought that it was not in conformity with the remaining three-fourths of the resolution and with the manifesto. He interprets the manifesto in one way, I in another. I see nothing wrong in it. The language is open to two different interpretations; of this there is no doubt. But a satyagrahi can

use language which may be interpreted in two different ways. Truth, as I know it, does not demand that the words a satyagrahi utters should have only one meaning. What he says may have not two but several different meanings. The condition merely is that the meaning should not be hidden, words should not be used for deception and should be necessary [to convey the meaning]. The intention in using the language should not be to hide truth. When we frankly speak a language admitting two interpretations, we are not giving up truth. Sometimes it also happens that we intend only one meaning but those who hear us read two meanings in what we say. Here also truth is not violated. An outstanding instance is the Vedas. The *Gita* also has two meanings: one spiritual, the other material. There are also various other meanings. We cannot say the language of Tulsidas has only one meaning. So many meanings are read in his language that poor Tulsidas would never have imagined. But this does not prove either the authors or their commentators false. The language of the servant of truth does not always yield only one meaning.

There is nothing to fear if in the same resolution Jawaharlal reads one meaning and I another. I have told him that his own interpretation may not necessarily be true. I had a discussion with him on the subject of office acceptance. The resolution was an independent document. Jawaharlal's contention was that it was not in conformity with the background of the manifesto[1]. I told him that if he so desired I could make it conform to it. For when I say that I shall wreck the Constitution I mean I shall wreck it through non-violence. Please remember this condition of mine. I can bring about freedom by remaining inside it. If we have courage and independence of spirit, we can wreck the Constitution through non-violence. Jawaharlal does not think it is possible though he would of course be happy if this could be done. He mistrusts the human race a little. He says we would not be able to do anything there. He therefore places his faith in class struggle. This is the fundamental difference between him and me.

I say capital is insentient but the capitalist is not so. It is possible to change his heart. He says this has never happened before. He quotes instances from history in support of his contention. I hear what he says. But my contention is, if it is not possible through non-violence to do what has not been done so far, which is the other power with which it can be done? If it cannot be done, then non-violence loses all signi-

[1] *Vide* Appendix III.

ficance. Never till I die can I accept this—provided of course I retain my ideas till I die. Today it is my firm conviction that non-violence will triumph. Even if we are all defeated non-violence will still triumph. I shall continue to say it until my last moment. Personally I would want to change the heart of the Government also. That is why we are going into the Councils. If I accept office it will be to gain swaraj. If we cannot secure office no harm will be done. I lose nothing. In either case I win. He who considers it improper to accept office with a view to wrecking the Constitution will naturally not accept office. But if we come pledging ourselves to truth, non-violence, fearlessness and unselfishness and accept Ministerships on our own conditions, we can win the battle of swaraj and establish a constitution of our own making in place of the present one. Jawaharlal does not think so. There is no point in hiding the fact that he holds opinions which are different from mine.

Obviously Rajendra Babu, Vallabhbhai, Rajaji and others are inclined in one way, Jawaharlal in another. Nevertheless we are all working together. It is certainly a matter of wonder. But it is a necessity. After all we have to live in the world. We have to work with patriots holding views different from our own. Therefore we have to work in a spirit of co-operation and compromise. For this we shall have to take the initiative. There is no doubt that Jawaharlal is inclined to be rash. He says harsh things. Sometimes he calls people names. But he knows the worth of his colleagues. He understands discipline and restraint. Jawaharlal works with his colleagues in the belief that one day he will convert them to his view and he hopes that his contact with them will one day change their opinions. Three ideologies have thus been in conflict in the Congress. Even when I was in the Working Committee there was this conflict between two or three ideologies. I purposely made Vithalbhai the secretary. Even so the drafting of the resolutions always had to be done by me. They always admitted of two interpretations. I saw no objection to this because I have to carry the others with me. Truth and non-violence are the creed of the Congress. Still no one has accepted them as their creed. Those who have accepted them as a creed belong to this Sangh. Having admitted that we have so far pursued truth and non-violence, Kishorelal asks, supposing we adopt policies in future which would mean giving up of truth and non-violence in practice, what then? I say to him, "In that case your leaving the Sangh will not help. In that case you will have to wind up the Sangh, you will

have to bury it. You must then say that neither you nor anyone else can run the Sangh.''

He asks me, ''Who is he to say this.'' I tell him that it is his right. He is the chief of the Sangh. It is therefore also his duty. If the members of the Sangh practise untruth and violence, he will then have to say that it should be wound up. Others may persist in continuing the Sangh. But in that case it will have ceased to be a body wedded to truth and non-violence. I do not say this without deliberation. I have thought a good deal over the matter. I have ordered Kishorelal to continue at his post. He has agreed to stay and he is not sorry for it. This tale now ends here.

Let me now explain the policy we have adopted on the Councils question. The resolution does not mean that all of you are now free to go to the Councils. We have only one programme —the constructive programme. Swaraj depends only upon this. You have to devote yourself only to this. I do not even dream, no one ever does, that we can secure swaraj through Legislative Assemblies. But if we can promote the constructive programme even with the help of Legislative Assemblies, why should we not do so? We shall certainly further the constructive programme through these bodies. We shall also work outside. Then we shall certainly secure swaraj.

Jawaharlal believes that we can fight the Government there. Fight we certainly can and fight we may. But we shall not sacrifice truth and non-violence even one whit. We have to prepare for civil disobedience. Jawaharlal also says that we have to prepare for civil disobedience. But he does not consider non-violence the only means. To him non-violence is not the supreme dharma. If for the sake of the freedom of India he feels compelled to cut the throats of Englishmen, he will not hesitate. But he will do it openly, not in a clandestine manner.

This is not my policy. I have given the sovereign place to non-violence. Swaraj coming through violence will be no swaraj for me. I shall therefore never agree to it. You also share my view. To Jawaharlal violence may well not be dispensable, but if swaraj could be gained through non-violence he would be happy. He, therefore, co-operates with me in my experiments. We are adopting a new policy. We are going into the Councils to strengthen the old policy. We are going there to break the walls. What will happen if, in the name of the three crores of voters, other people go into the Councils and say that they do not want the charkha? I say that you have to go to Councils to

further the cause of the charkha. You go there as the representatives of the people. You will say that the charkha had been going on even before. It is true, but it has been going on without thought. If we had plied the charkha knowing its implications, we should have secured swaraj by now, and it would not have been necessary for us to go to the Councils. Let us ply the charkha with knowledge. I again affirm what I had said in 1920 that if we ply the charkha with knowledge, swaraj is in our hands. You will say that I make statements which have no meanings. I do say things which have many meanings. Here, too, the charkha has to be given a wide interpretation. I still say that if the whole country plies the charkha with deliberation we shall not have so much as to mention the Councils. Today that is not so.

Today we must come into close contact with the representatives of the three crores of voters. We must take from them as much as we can. Why should we not? It does not mean that all of us should go to the Councils or that all those who wish to go should be permitted to do so. We shall inquire fully into the merits of each case. We shall also need a parliamentary committee. It must have both Rajendra Babu and Vallabhbhai on it. This means that we are not opening the doors of the Legislatures for all the members of the Sangh. Nor are we opening the doors of the Sangh. We are opening the doors of the Legislatures only for those who have pledged themselves to the constructive programme and without whom the Congress risks losing seats. Let us leave Kishorelal to decide the matter. No one else can decide this.

If tomorrow Satyamurti asks me if I would admit him into the Sangh, I shall say no. My relations with Satyamurti are excellent. Sometimes out of consideration for me he lets his daughter ply a charkha. But he does not believe in the charkha and he cannot be a member of the Sangh, however much help he may render us. This is by way of an instance. This shows that we have not opened our doors to everyone. We have opened the doors for our own people. Supposing we want that Jethalal should not go, shall we give up the Anantpur seat? If Dr. Khare says that he has to be sent, I may say that he is an uncouth person, that he does not know anything beyond the charkha, cannot even speak properly. But if nevertheless Dr. Khare insists on Jethalal being sent, I shall say to Jethalal: 'Please go and ply your charkha there. At least one votary of charkha was found necessary there. I am glad of it. If

everyone going there believes in the charkha, the effectiveness of the charkha will increase.'

Let us therefore try and see that everyone going there should be a votary of the charkha. But we must not appease the people. We must not flatter them. Such people have gone. Sardar tells me that if Dr. Gopichand had not gone, we would have lost the seat. There have been several such people. If it has not been the case everywhere it is a matter of shame. If everywhere we can send representatives of the charkha and the villagers, we should do so. You will become really capable when you develop for your work a thousand times the love that you feel for it today. Then you will not go on your own but under popular pressure. If you have a socialist rival he will withdraw in your favour. Only then is there any point in your going. If the socialist has a chance of going and he does not see any need for you to go, you should let him.

I do not wish to cause mutual quarrels. I am one who left the Congress in order to avoid quarrels. When I was in the Congress I said I wanted Kelkar. I had sufficient faith in my own skill to feel that he would do the least harm if he worked with me. I want that it should be made impossible for anyone else to go except those who have faith in the charkha. If Vallabhbhai gives up the charkha, he will no longer remain the Sardar of Gujarat. And if in that case he fights the election on his own and wins, it would be a matter of shame for the Sangh, it would be a matter of shame for Bardoli, a matter of shame for Gujarat. It would also be a matter of shame for us. Whom then shall we send? One is told that the charkhawalas have no intellect. This is true to some extent. If we ply the charkha like automatons, it is no discipline.

There is the story of Ekalavya in the *Mahabharata*. Think over it. It is not mere poetry. There is truth in it. Clay is not sentient and an image has no strength, but for Ekalavya, the image of Dronacharya was not clay. He saw in it Guru Dronacharya himself. How could his indomitable faith fail? If we have such a faith in the charkha, it can become for us a living image. We can then put into it all our resolve. The charkha is for us a symbol of ahimsa. The real thing here is not the image, but our attitude towards it. In one sense the world is real, in another God alone is the one thing real. Both are true in different ways. If we can see God in our symbol it represents truth for us. Non-violence is not for fools. We will have to use our intelligence. Non-violence has place both for

knowledge and action, that is, both for the intellect and the organs of the body. Today these are used for the destruction of non-violence. What we want is that these should become hand-maidens of non-violence. Only when we make the organs of our body hand-maidens of non-violence will they acquire strength. If non-violence cannot be effective in this field, where else can it be so? I shall not leave any field out of fear. If I leave any field fearing that non-violence will be of no use, then there can be no such thing as non-violence. And what field shall I give up? My body will continue to function, the organs of the body will continue to be active. I do not wish to commit suicide. I shall not block my ears and my nose. What then shall I do? There is only one way open to me and that is to make all the limbs of my body hand-maidens of non-violence.

The other method was tried by Kishorelal. That was many years ago. He went into solitude to discipline himself. When a train whistled past, it broke his solitude. One day when I went to him on my usual visit, he told me that the whistling of the train troubled him and that he was thinking of plugging his ears with cottonwool or rubber. I told him to try that method also. But it was only an external aid. He was not able to concentrate on God, so he heard the sound of the whistle. Kishorelal himself saw this and so when the next day I told him to put cotton-wool or rubber into his ears he said that that was no longer necessary. We have ears but they are not for misuse. The same is true of the other organs. The organs are there to sustain the body. Our mouth eats to nourish the body. If we eat for the pleasure of the palate we shall not be pursuing non-violence.

Even if someone forcibly sends us to the Councils we shall have our own views. Kishorelal fears once we go there we shall forget all our ideas. I share his fear. But why should I shirk because of it? If you do not have a living faith in the charkha and the rest of the constructive programme of the Congress, the fears of Kishorelal will prove true. But I have faith in you. If I did not have it, I would not have come here. Why should I distrust you? I have frankly told you everything. There is here no departure from policy. Last evening the language used was different but that is the way with language. Language acquires lucidity in the course of work. There is no doubt that harmony of thought, word and deed is the sign of truth. But ideas advance and language is left behind. I wondered why I was not able to convince Kishorelal. My language was vague. I listened to the discussion and my ideas became clear. But the language did

not become clear. When I meditate after giving thought to a matter my language becomes clearer and clearer each day. But I have not yet had time for this.

In accepting the Councils programme we are not getting away from non-violence. In taking this step, I am making you advance two steps in the direction of non-violence. If you can understand them and act accordingly you shall during this year make progress such as you have never been able to make before. The time has come when India must choose either this way or that. It seems to me that at this juncture you cannot keep yourselves shut up in a room. It is yet to be shown whether as a nation we are moving towards truth and non-violence or not. It would be cowardice for you to turn away from three crores of voters. Even if we have truth and non-violence on our tongues and something else in our hearts, what I have said will bear fruit. If you are not hypocrites you will go to the Assemblies with full faith in non-violence and advance towards the goal. If you prove to be hypocrites it will not distress me. It would do us good if hypocrisy is exposed. When life leaves the body we burn it, even though it be that of a person as dear as a father, and we cast the ashes in the Ganga. If the soul of the Sangh, which is truth and non-violence, leaves it, it will be the duty of Kishorelal to consign it to the flames. The Sangh will get vigour only if it is a living thing. If even today it has no life in it we are all hypocrites and it will be no use for the Sangh to continue to exist.

Shastris tell me that truth and non-violence are subtle things. They ask how one can form organizations out of abstract things. I assert that truth and non-violence can be organized. If non-violence cannot be organized, it is not a dharma. If there is anything special about me, it is only this, that I am organizing truth and non-violence. Otherwise they will cease to be the eternal verities that they are to me. To me truth and non-violence are not unreal things and if they cannot become our collective dharma they are false. What I want to do and want to die after doing, is to organize non-violence. And if it is not valid in every field it is false. I assert that in every walk of life, non-violence has its use. I speak the language of the Jains. They say that the rule should admit of no exception. This is also the language of geometry. A right angle must have 90 degrees. If there is any sphere of life in which non-violence is ineffective it is false. Please remember this. If you all take the opposite path and give up the charkha and non-violence, I will say that you never had faith in truth and non-violence. Believe it that though

it may be without your knowing it, you were all votaries of violence. I do not condemn you. You have come to the Sangh after careful thought and in the name of truth. Remember that truth and non-violence are not for hermits. These eternal principles apply in courts, legislatures and other spheres of human endeavour. Your faith is going to be put to a severe test. Do not run away in fright.

You are being given today a difficult question paper. Neither you nor I know whether you will pass or not. Even so, why should I fear? I do not want to render you impotent and stupid. Truth and non-violence are not for the stupid. Why cannot Kanti, Bal, Tansukh[1] and others develop their minds by plying the charkha? Why do they have to go to the college? If those of us who ply the charkha cannot show the intelligence that Kanti, Bal and Tansukh do, I shall say that we should also go to colleges. But in truth in Kanti and others there has not been a development of the intellect, only a play of intellect. The inquiry into our pursuit of truth and non-violence makes for development of the intellect. If they do not, then either they or we are false. Since it is impossible for truth and non-violence to be false, we ourselves are proved to be false.

The whole of the constructive programme is a research into us. I continue to ply the charkha. I am now 69 years of age. Therefore it cannot be said that my intellect is not developing. What I am saying, I say deliberately and in full command of myself. Bal, Kanti and Tansukh are not developing their intellects by going to colleges. You may say that even those who work do not develop their intellects. The reason is that they work like automatons. My intellect will continue to develop till the moment I die. The charkha is also the prop for my intellect but it does not stray into wrong paths. I have no time to see, hear or read pleasurable things. I discover *Daridranarayana* through the charkha and have vision of God. This is the way my intellect has been developing and will continue to develop all my life. The testing of a man is not complete till he dies. If at the moment of death a man's intellect does not retain its brilliance I will say that he has not succeeded.

There is no rule that the intellect of those who ply the charkha cannot shine. Only you should do it intelligently. If you work as a carpenter, you must develop the science of carpentry. Today I am formulating some stiff questions for the science of the charkha. Because it absorbs all my faculties when

[1] Tansukh Bhatt

I am immersed in the charkha I am in a state of bliss. I am not yet able to say where the limits of the constructive programme lie. The instance of the clay image shows only this. In the constructive programme we have all-round development. The charkha is a *mantra*. When I see those who ply the charkha discouraged, I am baffled. Why is it that they are lacking in spiritual development?

What I am telling you concerns eternal truth, because I am able to experience it. If I have gone to settle in Segaon it is not because I feel frustrated. When the call comes I will even say that I shall not budge from Segaon. I do not work there like a machine. Truth and non-violence develop the body, the intellect and the spirit. If there is not all-round development of all our faculties through truth and non-violence we are hypocrites. What service I have rendered ever since 1920 has been only through the charkha, through Hindu-Muslim unity and through the campaign for eradication of untouchability. I have always said that these reflect truth and non-violence. These were the shortest path to their discovery.

Going into Legislatures is also a means towards approaching truth and non-violence. Otherwise Parliament for us is taboo. That can be the only reason and there is no other for any interest we may have in the Councils programme. Truth and non-violence are ends as well as means. If good and truthful men go into the Legislatures, those institutions can also become an effective means to furthering truth and non-violence. If this does not happen the failure will be ours and not theirs. It will only mean that our intellects have not developed. So much for the Councils programme.

Now I take Balubhai's question. The substance of the question is whether we should go to the villages to serve or for political awakening. I find it somewhat strange that after seventeen years of effort in furtherance of this programme such a question should be asked. To me there is no political education apart from the constructive programme. Our aim is merely the propagation of the charkha and such other things. This does not mean that we do not wish to give the villagers political education. But there is no such thing as political education by itself. We should keep in touch with them without harbouring any motive. We have to develop their strength. I go to them with the programme of eradication of untouchability and the like and give them education. Political education is just that. If I do something apart from this and go to the villagers seeking votes, I shall be doing

exactly what we blame the missionaries for doing. I shall never talk to them about what is to my interest even if it should be intimately connected with the politics of the country. Constructive programme is thus in itself a political education. This is what I did in South Africa. There also the question before me was not of numbers. I never talked to the so-called coolies about politics. I did not organize them from any political motive. The question of the £ 3 tax came later.

The organization came in useful for the satyagraha battle later. During that battle I saw God face to face many times, so many times that even if I were a dunce I should not forget it. I had not hoped that the organization I was building would bring such large results. This is the way I conducted political education in South Africa. It was not the whole of South Africa, only the Transvaal. What I want to show is that the way I carried on the work of political education was by rendering silent, selfless service. The people among whom I worked came of their own accord and began to shout 'Long live the Congress'. If the prestige that the South African Indian Congress today enjoys is not the result of political education, what else can it be? Hertzog is saying the same thing today.

I continued this policy on my return to India from South Africa. I worked in the Kheda district but did not so much as mention the Congress. I talked solely of land revenue. I worked among the labourers and did not mention the Congress. In Champaran again I did not work in the name of the Congress. My colleagues and I belonged to the Congress and that was enough, but when you go to Champaran today what do you see? Is the Congress anywhere else as strong today as it is in Champaran? On the strength of Champaran, Rajendra Babu rules Bihar today. But even today I would not talk about the Congress there. Knowledge is to be given where there is curiosity. Today they do not even have bread. What shall I gain by talking to them of things outside Champaran? What shall I gain by teaching them geography, or history, or politics? What shall I gain by talking to them about the problems of the whole country? Considering all things, I have come to the conclusion that we cannot give political education by trying to give such education. I have showed you through various instances what may be called real political education. Political education is not something apart.

In 1920 I made boycott an essential part of the political programme. I said: "Forget parliament, forget law courts, forget

even educational institutions.'' People started saying that this man who has undertaken such terrible work is quite ridiculous. In 1920 I made the charkha the centre of politics. I made it a weapon for a battle. In Bardoli also it was made an essential part of civil disobedience. That is why the condition was laid down that the whole of Bardoli should adopt khadi inside of six months. This was the language of the Congress at that time. Vithalbhai[1] cajoled me. But what shall I say of my shame? What shall I say of Sardar's shame? Even today Bardoli has not fulfilled the condition of the charkha. Prohibition has not been achieved nor has untouchability been eradicated. Today I would not launch a campaign on the strength of Bardoli. But this is my way of political education. If the Congress tries some other method it will not succeed. I am not saying this out of pride. It only shows how unshakable is my faith. If the Congress does not have faith in these things, why does it not give them up? I say with all the force I can command that if these things are bad or useless they should not be accepted out of consideration for Gandhi.

Balubhai has passed M.A.,LL.B., but that does not mean that he remembers what he read of politics. And he is not the only one. We, all of us, educated people, have proved ineffective in giving political education to the people. Our English education has made us useless. The heritage left by our forefathers has been squandered. But I must tell you that it is only through these things that political education can be carried on. It is not something separate. If it is our conviction that the charkha in itself constitutes political education we shall not get tired or accept defeat. If socialists come let them. They are my friends. They do not quarrel with me and I do not wish to quarrel with them. They want to conduct political education by a different method. Their means and mine differ. But our goal is the same. I put the same programme before them, too. I also say that all land belongs to God. But merely on the basis of this the socialists cannot claim all land as their property. I cannot today advocate taking away land from those who own it. I too want that we should all be possessors of Jamnalalji's wealth, but all the 30 crores of our people, not I alone. All land belongs to God, that is, to the people. But doesn't this mean that Jamnalalji's land should be partitioned in 30 crore little bits? How are these 30 crores to become owners of the land? Who should make them owners or make themselves the owners on their behalf is the

[1] Vithalbhai J. Patel

question. Someone has to come forward as their representative. Therefore if Jamnalalji becomes our trustee and remembers that this wealth belongs to 30 crores of people, what is the harm? He has given me all the Sevagram land. But I cannot take it, for I am a fool. I do not understand these things. His manager understands them better than I. Today I take all the profit, he takes all the loss. If you want to make use of the wealth of rich men like Jamnalalji and Rameshwardas Birla, make use of my talent. I cannot derive much profit from the Segaon property because I have neither men nor the intelligence. I do not want even a cowrie from outside Segaon. I have all the means; only I have been slack. Today if I build a house he has to pay for it. This is hundred per cent true. I grab as much as I can digest. What more can I ask from any rich man? Come, I invite you to go to some other village of Jamnalalji and settle there in the way I have settled in Segaon. But the man should be one approved by me and willing to carry out my programme. This however is an entirely different matter. My subject was the charkha.

There was a time when C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar thought that the charkha was a political weapon. Mohammed Ali called it our gun, Khadilkar cited a verse from the *Gita*.[1]

"Here no effort undertaken is lost, no disaster befalls." Even better than this is the second half: "Even a little of this righteous course delivers one from great fear."

I do not regret my friendship with Mohammed Ali. He was an honest and godfearing man. He used to say what he considered moral and true at that time. Yet he also said that in the path of God it is permissible for us to take up the sword and even to utter falsehoods. But people of all religions say this. Among Christians also there is no restriction. The sanatanists say it openly, and even cite a verse from *Manusmriti* as authority, that uttering of untruth is permissible for saving a cow, when talking to women and on such occasions as marriage, etc. Even *adharma* becomes established in the name of dharma. But it shows the majesty of dharma. Sanatanists tell me that I am a heretic, that I know nothing of dharma and *adharma*, that my truth is more harmful than untruth. This shows how far *adharma* can go in the name of dharma.

It is true that we go to the villages to impart political education to the people. But as I am trying to say, the way of political education is the furthering of constructive programme.

[1] *Bhagavad Gita*, II. 40

We should not even utter the word 'political' among the people. The same applies to dharma. We should not even mention the word 'dharma'. Tell them simply to clean their lavatories well and to bathe. But dharma is beyond their comprehension. This is not a result of their inferiority but of our littleness. I hesitate to talk to them about truth and non-violence. We have kept them suppressed. I can only talk to them about the way they should conduct themselves. How can I speak to them about *brahmacharya*. They cannot even pronounce the word. When they pronounce it as *bharamchar*[1] and cannot even understand it, it is *bharamchar* for them. I want to understand their morals. I want to win their confidence. If one of them comes to me and says he has relations with his sister-in-law how can I condemn him? The sin is on our heads. I want to teach them bit by bit without mentioning truth and non-violence. I know no other way.

If we want non-violent swaraj it can come only thus and here no one can oppose us, whether it be England or America. The question that Balubhai now asks was answered by me 17 years ago. In 1920 everyone was mad about the charkha—Motilalji, Mohammed Ali, Shaukat Ali, Abbas Tyabji and others. Everyone had started spinning. Everyone thought that nothing was to be gained through Parliament. Today I have become much more tolerant, so that I can even permit people going into Parliament. This is a well-tried method of giving political education. This is the way people can be trained. If Segaon tomorrow becomes self-sufficient, if people keep the village clean, do not covet even a pie of another's, what more will be lacking for their freedom ? They will say: 'Who is Jamnalal Sheth? We till the land and it is ours. The land was there before Jamnalalji was born. We shall not be frightened. We shall not resort to hooliganism. If Jamnalalji's manager comes we shall not assault him. We shall simply remove him from our land.' These things will have to be taught to them. Granted that people are the real owners of the land. But how am I to get it accepted? There are only two ways. Force and persuasion. The way of persuasion is the way of dharma. If you cannot adopt it, then what Kishorelal says is true. Then the socialists will prove that they had been in the right. Then I shall have to tell you to follow them. They also stand for the good of the people. If they cannot influence the people it would be a matter of shame to me. But you came into the field of service before they did.

[1] Pursuing confusion

You have also worked very hard. If you cannot influence people it would be a matter of greater shame to me.

But how is this to be done? Merely repeating 'constructive programme' like a parrot will not do. Your programme is more vigorous than that of the Spinners' Association. In the Spinners' Association there are some people who fulfil the tasks allotted to them. But among you there are those who have intelligently and thoughtfully developed it into a science. The spheres of work of the Spinners' Association and the Village Industries Association are limited. The same is true of bodies like Goseva Sangh. Your sphere of work is wider. The Gandhi Seva Sangh is a large organization. It is not a rival of the Congress. The Congress too is a large organization. But it has been built by the people. It reflects the strength as well as the weakness of the people. But your organization is voluntary. It is a coming together of those who have undertaken to fulfil the entire programme issuing from truth and non-violence. It is a mighty tree of which Spinners' Association and Village Industries Association are branches. The Sangh is indicative of your strength. Or should I say the power of truth and non-violence will find expression through it? Jamnalalji may well have built it up, but it is not his organization. He himself became only an ordinary member and said that he would never become an office-bearer. This shows not only his humility but also his wisdom.

We want to bring about an all-round advancement of India through what we call constructive work. There are various organizations which have taken up each a separate item of the programme. Your work should be an example to them. Today one cannot say it is. We must, therefore, very clearly declare that our work is constructive work and that we are going into Parliament for furthering that work.

If what I have said has not satisfied you entirely, the reason can only be that I have not been able to couch my language in legalistic phraseology. But it is clearer than day before yesterday. My language is imperfect. The language of one who is himself imperfect must be imperfect, too. If after 17 years of explaining I have not been able to explain myself, then I am imperfect and so are you who cannot understand. Thakkar has sent me a letter. It is an interesting letter worth reading out. I have not the time but I must read out to you just one sentence from this letter. He says: "Last year I had to be in Dhulia itself and I may have to live there in future,

too, but my faith in village work has not diminished one jot and no desire has arisen in me for life in a city."

The workers who have not wholly given up the love for city life have had their faith in the charkha somewhat slackened. This gives rise to doubts. To me the charkha is everything. I am living in a village and devote most of my time to the charkha. About political matters I merely offer advice and then forget about it. I do my writing for the constructive programme and for it I work. I do not despair though the members of the Gandhi Seva Sangh have not been doing their work with full awakening. The charkha work does not end with giving women two pice or two annas. If through the charkha we cannot develop our minds, then we should let it go. It is my faith that the charkha will bring us swaraj. Kishorelal seems to fear that you have accepted the charkha for my sake and that you will give it up when I am no more. He therefore wants to keep you away from temptations.

Even if I should be the only one with faith in the charkha, I shall be proud to die working for it. My pride while plying the charkha or serving the Harijans will be pardonable. After all we have to commune with God through some means or other. Why not then through the charkha? You may say that I have worked for the charkha or that the charkha has worked for me. If the devotee is the slave of God, God also is the slave of the devotee's slave. It is in this sense I am speaking to you. If we cannot create an atmosphere in which the charkha can bring about the development of the mind, Kanti and Bal have no alternative but to go to the college. They do not have the originality of Ekalavya. If you understand what I am trying to say, there will be no reason for you to be in two minds. The main thing is concentration—one-pointedness of attention. Kishorelal prepared his speech with such concentration as if it was meant for the entire world. I was witness to it. To him the Sangh is the whole world. He also prepared a summary of it for your convenience. He works without attachment. He is another Yudhishthira, which I am not. I shall be happy if I can acquire the strength of even a Bhima or an Arjuna. People call me a karmayogi. I do not know whether I am a karmayogi or any other yogi, but I cannot live without work—this I know. When something sinks into my heart, I cannot be at peace till I have put it into practice. People may say I am mad in saying that I wish to die with the charkha in my hand. I do not wish to die holding a string of beads. For concentration the charkha is my beads. God appears to me

in thousands of forms. Sometimes I see him in the charkha, sometimes in Hindu-Muslim unity, sometimes in the eradication of untouchability. I move as my feeling draws me. When I wish to enter a room in an institution, I do so and I feel there the presence of God. In the *Gita* God has said that He looks to the well-being of those who worship Him. You must be firm in this faith if you have understood me.

[From Hindi]

Gandhi Seva Sanghke Tritiya Varshik Adhiveshan (Hudli, Karnatak)ka Vivaran, pp. 54-67

115. SPEECH AT GANDHI SEVA SANGH MEETING, HUDLI–IV

HUDLI,
April 20, 1937

Let me now come to Mama's proposal. The proposal is:

Since it is the aim of the Sangh to look upon the constructive programme of the Indian National Congress as a dharma and make it a success, in a programme like the removal of untouchability it is the duty of the members of the Sangh to come into direct contact with sweepers and other Harijan brethren and convince them as well as others that they make no distinctions in their treatment of the Harijans. Let them give a place to Harijans in their homes, receive Harijans in the same way as they would receive others, seek opportunities to eat with them. Let them keep some Harijan members in their houses, bring up some Harijan children, go to the Harijan colonies and serve them in various ways and lovingly participate in their work and prove thereby that none of the jobs the Harijans have to do is lowly.

VALLABHBHAI PATEL: This proposal justifies the fear of the sanatanists. . . . From removal of untouchability you want to proceed step by step to intermarriage. (Laughter)

GANDHIJI: For ordinary people, removal of untouchability is sufficient. But, for you, mere touch is not enough. You must continue to proceed further. Your field of progress is unlimited. Ordinary people can look up only to the sky. But scientists claim that they can look through the whole expanse of the milky way. It is not known if something exists beyond that. But truth pierces through the sky and reaches beyond. We have to imbibe

truth in our lives. We find that under the guise of truth, untruth is being respected by people. It is the aim of religion to strengthen the idea of brotherhood, to minimize the unnatural distinctions between man and man. But today, in the very name of religion, the Harijans are being treated with contempt. I have already said that untruth, by itself, is powerless, it is dependent. It can never stand on its own without the support of truth. But I wish to point out to you that if untruth can succeed so much in the name of truth, how much more would truth itself succeed? Who can measure the extent of its success?

For us, who are the members of the Sangh, there should be no place for any unjust distinctions in our hearts. It may seem strange, but as far as I am concerned, such a feeling of distinction disappeared from the day I ate a bit of mutton with a Muslim boy.[1] Eating mutton was and is a bad thing. But this small thing saved me from something else as well. By tasting a little mutton I realized that there was nothing particularly to rave about it. That saved me in England and I did not betray my mother. I have not spoken to the millions about inter-dining and intermarriage. We do not have inter-dining and intermarriage even with Brahmins. My mother, while observing some pious vows, would not take food even from my hands. The Hindu masses still follow quite a few restrictive practices in the matter of inter-dining and intermarriage. Even I have followed certain restrictions in this regard. That is the reason why I have not spoken to the masses about these.

But if I suggest to you that you should go to the extent of inter-dining and intermarrying with Harijans I would not be violating truth. Let me talk to you on a religious point. I am talking about religion as a matter of day-to-day practice. It is not something related to any particular occasion. You have really not much control in the matter of intermarriage. You should certainly not bring compulsion on your children in this matter. Inter-dining is a different matter. If your mother says that it is irreligion, you must tell her that you would take the food cooked by her as well as the food cooked by an untouchable, and it would not matter that you were forsaken by her on that account. You cannot compel your mother or even your wife. We must have two separate establishments in such a situation. If we cannot exercise force over them, we cannot do it over religion either. In other words, we cannot coerce

[1] *Vide* Vol. XXXIX, p. 23.

our own sons. Our mothers and wives may well consider it their duty to forsake us. Let us stay apart without being enemies of each other. In such a situation I would treat them more affectionately. I would try not to hurt their feelings. But at the same time I would not hurt the feelings of Harijans in order to please them. Only truth and Hinduism can teach me this. For me, religion, truth and Hinduism are inter-changeable terms. If there is an element of untruth in Hinduism, I cannot accept that particular aspect of Hinduism as religion. If, on this account, the entire Hindu community forsakes me and I am left all alone, I would still proclaim that I am not alone, they who forsake me are alone. For, truth is on my side. And truth is God Himself. . . .[1]

I would accept the hospitality even from a leper. But the manner of acceptance would be different. I would tell him affectionately that he should allow me to cook the food and fetch the water. As far as I am personally concerned, for the sake of love, I would even take the food and the water offered by a leper if he really insists. I would be even willing to die for his love. But the whole world cannot accept his hospitality in this spirit. Hence, I too would accept it in the same manner that the entire society can accept. I followed the same principle in the case of Parachure Shastri. But that is a different case. We should not confuse disease with the issue of untouchability. They are two absolutely different problems. The question relating to the sweeper is altogether different from the question relating to the leper. We have an opportunity of teaching the sweeper habits of cleanliness if we come in greater contact with him. And, is it not also true that if any sweeper invites me or you for a meal he would himself be concerned about washing himself clean and donning clean clothes and offer us cleanly prepared food?

Please do not confuse the issue of poverty with this. The problem of poverty is economic, whereas the problem of abolition of untouchability is religious or spiritual. My religion will not be destroyed if I do not solve the problem of poverty of a poor peasant. But if I allow the untouchability to persist even in the case of a wealthy Harijan, my religion will cease to exist. That is the reason why the beginning of an act of service should be only with the Harijan.

[1] Someone had interposed that Harijans would have to be careful about cleanliness if others were to eat with them, for one could not accept hospitality from a leper.

Then Gandhiji moved the following resolution pertaining to *goseva*.

> Economic and moral uplift of India is one of the aims of the Sangh and the protection of our cows is non-violence in its concrete form and it implies economic benefits to millions of people. That is why the attention of the members of the Sangh is being drawn towards *goseva*. It is the duty of the members of the Sangh to study animal husbandry as much as possible and try their utmost to protect our cows. The least they can do is to use cow's milk and its products instead of buffalo's milk, etc., as far as possible, and make cow's milk and its products popular.

I am not laying any particular stress on this resolution today. If there is doubt in your mind and you wish to discuss it, we may as well abandon it. For, this is a novel thing. Its language is distinct from that of the Congress. The things Kishorelal mentioned in the course of his introductory speech are easy no doubt; but they cannot provide enough work. As the issue in this form concerns none but the Hindus, I did not bring this proposal before the Congress. This is an inseparable part of Hinduism. The sanatanists consider my way of *goseva* as a thing to be shunned and patronize *goseva* organizations. But this is their gross ignorance. I have described the popular practice of *goseva* as the devouring of cows. And, I have still not withdrawn my words. People are terribly angry with me on this account. But, even if they sever my head, I would say only what is truth. Our religion exhorts us first to protect the cow and then the Brahmin. Cow-protection is an inseparable part of our religion. But today we do not protect, but rather devour our cows. We should lay down our lives for the sake of the cow. But today we are allowing the cow to die for us. Hinduism generally regards suicide as a sin. But in certain situations, our religion not only permits but also exhorts us to resort to suicide. In view of this, we must kill ourselves if it is necessary in order to save the cow.

All that this resolution lays down is that the members of the Sangh should insist on using only cow's milk and ghee. It is not a question of taking a vow. Insisting on cow's milk means that if it is necessary to take buffalo's milk or ghee to save life, it should be taken. But if it is a vow, it leaves no such scope. If you wish, instead of saying "insist on using" you may say "as far as possible use" which would soften both the language and the sentiment. Tomorrow if I go to Dhotre's house, I would insist and I must. I would do the same everywhere. For me "as far as possible" is a meaningless phrase.

VALLABHBHAI PATEL: One who is ill or has to be always travelling, cannot even insist.

GANDHIJI: In such a situation, insistence would include taking buffalo's milk or ghee. Saying "as far as possible" is a different thing. It commits you to nothing. I look at it from the point of view of religion. And for me, service of religion and service of the country mean the same thing.

That is the responsibility of persons like Jamnalalji. I have got a ready-made plan for cow's ghee.[1] Why can't they throw away a couple of lakhs in that experiment?

Discussing the next annual meeting of the Sangh and invitations from Bengal, U. P. and Utkal for this Gandhiji said:

I am particularly partial to Orissa. We can also expect to raise larger funds there than at Hudli. But, in my view, it would not be proper to give travelling expenses. The members must attend the convention at their own expense. As for those who cannot spend their own money, Gopa Babu can collect the necessary sums to be given to them on the recommendation of the office. And, if even he cannot make such an arrangement, those members should not be invited. But under no circumstances should the Sangh give travelling expenses. Gopa Babu has agreed to all the conditions. There is one more reason. The Congress has done the least amount of work in Orissa. It is a miracle that the Congress has won a majority there. Only one of the Congress candidates was defeated there, and even that on my account. He was such a naive person that it was good for the Congress that he was defeated. The poor Oriyas are considered to be slack people. When they are giving an invitation, we must forget about Bihar and Bengal. I had followed the same principle in deciding in favour of Gujarat for the Congress. It was a tussle between Ras and Bardoli. I said that Ras had a stronger case and should give in. Hence the partiality to Bardoli even at the cost of hurting Ras.

[From Hindi]

Gandhi Seva Sanghke Tritiya Varshik Adhiveshan (Hudli, Karnatak)ka Vivaran, pp. 67-71

[1] Someone had observed that cow's ghee was too expensive.

CWMG-LXV

116. LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI

HUDLI,
April 21, 1937

BHAI MUNSHI,

Do come on the 25th. If the meeting of the Working Committee is to be held in Prayag and I have to go there, you will know. Then do not come. As yet I have received no information.[1]

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 7617. Courtesy: K. M. Munshi

117. LETTER TO DR. JAWAHARLAL

NEAR HUDLI (BELGAUM),
April 21, 1937

MY DEAR DR. JAWAHARLAL,

Thank you very much for your detailed letter of the 14th. You are right in thinking that the recent attack of influenza had something to do with the extinction of life in the child. I suppose she will have to stay there for about a fortnight before she is in a condition to travel. How is it that there is no kitchen attached to the maternity hospital? Please remember me to Mrs. Jawaharlal who I hope is steadily improving.

Yours sincerely,

DR. JAWAHARLAL, M.L.A.
SWAROOP SADAN
CAWNPORE

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] In the postscript, Chandrashanker Shukla had added that a telegram was since received to say that the meeting of the Working Committee was to be held at Allahabad on the 26th and that Gandhiji would reach Poona on the 22nd, Wardha on 23rd and Allahabad on 25th night, and that he would not be at Wardha on the 25th.

CWMG - LXV

118. INTERVIEW TO "THE HINDU"[1]

POONA,
April 22, 1937

CORRESPONDENT: You say you do not seek any the slightest abrogation of the Government of India Act. Do you not thereby mean that you do not want an immediate amendment but that you contemplate it at some time?

GANDHIJI: That is wholly a mistaken view. I want no amendment whatsoever, immediate or distant. For the Congress insists, so do I, on the complete repeal of the Act so that it might be substituted at the earliest possible moment by an Act of the people themselves. What I want, before Congressmen accept office, is an assurance which I still hold is within the power of the Governors to give, that they will not interfere with the day-to-day administration of the Province. For, under the Act, it is not they but the Ministers who are responsible for the administration of the Province within the sphere prescribed by the Act. All talk, therefore, of the constitutional inability of he Governors to give an assurance baffles me and makes me suspect the motives of the British politicians who have the working of the Act within their power.

Do you mean that under no circumstances whatsoever can a Governor interfere if an emergency of a grave nature in his opinion arises?

That is a fair question. I certainly do not mean any such thing. I can conceive of the possibility of a Minister making a stupid blunder, so as to harm the people in whose name he is acting. The Governor's duty will then be plain. He would reason with the Ministers and if the Ministers do not listen, he will dismiss the Cabinet. The assurance contemplates non-interference, not non-dismissal. But dismissal when there is a clear majority in the Assembly would mean dissolution and fresh election. That will always be open to the Governor to precipitate,

[1] The special correspondent had reported: "In the last two or three days, I have had the privilege of fairly long conversations on the political situation with Mahatma Gandhi. My purpose was to try and clarify and, if possible, to determine the precise scope of the assurances demanded of the Governors by the leaders of the Congress in the six Provinces where the Congress has been returned in a majority in the last elections. The final interview which I had this morning on reaching Poona, and of which a report is given below, sums up the present position of the Congress in this matter."

as it would be open to the Provincial Cabinet to do. But such a crisis cannot occur from day to day. What, therefore, I want is an absolutely honourable understanding which is incapable of a double interpretation by honourable parties.

May I then take it that you would not mind such assurances being given even in Provinces where the Congress is not in a majority?

So far as I am concerned, not only would I not mind it as a confirmed democrat, I would not have for the Congress what may not be given to other parties where they enjoy a clear majority.

I take it you are aware of the special responsibilities of the Governors.

I am afraid I must confess my ignorance.

May I then tell you that they are responsible when there is a grave menace to peace and tranquillity or to the legitimate rights of the minorities or to Service rights, Indian States, etc.?

But if the Governors are responsible, Ministers who are worth their salt are surely still more responsible for peace and tranquillity, for the actual protection of the rights of the minorities, rights of the States—if by States is meant the people of the States as well as the Princes. I cannot imagine rights of Princes against the people within their jurisdiction. And even in all these, the pity of it is that the so-called autonomy has been boiled down so much by statute that the Governor's discretion is extremely limited. There is one thing, however, if I were a Congress Minister I would not be willingly responsible for, as I would be for other things you have mentioned—I mean the rights of the Services. By that one guarantee, in my opinion, the framers of the Act have reduced autonomy to a farce. But under the assurance I have contemplated, I have not envisaged a reduction of those rights which are guaranteed by the Act itself. While the Act remains in force the Congress Ministers will take office knowing well the handicap under which they will labour from the very commencement of their career. I nevertheless feel that, if the assurance contemplated by the Congress resolution is given, the Ministers can, in spite of the handicap, so consolidate their position that they can, even acting within the Constitution, compel the repeal of the Act and hasten the day of the meeting of the Constituent Assembly whose Act will be accepted by the British people—unless they want to govern India by the naked sword.

The Hindu, 22-4-1937

119. INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS OF INDIA

POONA,
April 22, 1937

When interviewed by the "Associated Press" regarding the Madras leaders' appeal to the Congress and the Government for solving the present impasse, Mahatma Gandhi said:

I read it with respectful attention and so far as I am concerned I hope I have made my position so clear as to leave no room for any misunderstanding. I have also shown now, according to my interpretation, that the office-acceptance resolution is so eminently reasonable. Therefore, their appeal needs an answer more from the Government than from me.

The Hindustan Times, 23-4-1937

120. INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS[1]

April 22, 1937

Having been buried in out-of-the-way Kumri all these days, I had not seen the papers that you have kindly shown me. It is very difficult for me to believe that the Maharaja of Cochin has passed the orders[2] described in the cutting before me. I can understand his and his family members' discontinuing worship in the Koodalmanikkam Temple, but I cannot understand the order that clearly interferes with the rights of the Maharaja of Travancore and the rights of priests who would be presumed to know religion as much as the Maharaja of Cochin himself. And if it is true that the *savarna* Hindus who have visited Travancore temples are prohibited from entering the Cochin temples and having access to wells, etc., apart from its being unworkable it is unsurpassed in irreligiousness. I cannot understand how Sir Shanmukham Chetty could have failed to dissuade the Maharaja from the action which seems to me to be indefensible even from the point of view of staunch sanatanists. I can only

[1] This appeared under the title "Irreligious".
[2] *Vide* Appendix V.

hope that the reports in the papers fail to give the correct version of the situation; and in any case I hope that better counsels will prevail in Cochin.

Harijan, 24-4-1937

121. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEGAON, WARDHA,
April 23, 1937

MY DEAR REBEL,

Your letters before me. Returned this morning. This will go to Simla.

I have the prospectus, etc. That letter was over-weight and carried a fine of two annas.

It is so hot that we are melting. I am in no mood to write at length.

Yes, I leave for Allahabad on 25th and return on 29th.

The weather this time has been cruel in so many parts of India.

What is this eczema again? Do you mean the same patches?

Love.

Yours,
ROBBER

From the original: C.W. 3776. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6932

122. CURSE OF DRINK

A sister writes:

> On going to the village, I was more than grieved to hear of the havoc drink is working among these people. Some of the women were in tears. What can they do? There is not a woman who would not like to banish alcohol for all time from our midst. It is the cause of so much domestic misery, poverty, ruined health and physique. As usual it is the woman who has to bear the burden of this self-indulgence on the part of man. What can I advise the women to do? It is so hard to face anger and even cruelty. How I wish the leaders in this Province would concentrate on the removal of this evil rather than expend time, energy and brain on the injustice of the Communal Award. We are so apt to neglect the things that really matter for such trivialities as would settle themselves if the moral stature of our people were raised.

CWMG - LXXV

> Can't you write an appeal to the people on the question of drink? It is sad to see these people literally going to perdition because of the curse.

My appeal to those who drink will be vain. It must be. They never read *Harijan*. If they do, they do so to scoff. They can have no interest in being informed of the evil of the drink habit. They hug the very evil. But I would like to remind this sister, and through her all the women of India, that at the time of the Dandi march the women of India did listen to my advice and made the fight against drink and the plying of the wheel their speciality. Let the writer recall the fact that thousands of women fearlessly surrounded drink-shops and often successfully appealed to the addicts to give up the habit. In the prosecution of their self-imposed mission they put up with the abuses of the addicts and sometimes even assaults by them. Hundreds went to gaol for the crime of picketing drink-shops. Their zealous work produced a marvellous effect all over the country. But unfortunately with the cessation of civil disobedience, and even before the cessation, the work slackened. Into the reasons for the slackening I need not go. But the work still awaits workers. The women's pledge remains unfulfilled. It was not taken for a definite period only. It could not be fulfilled until prohibition was proclaimed throughout India. The women's was the nobler part. Theirs was to bring about prohibition by emptying drink-shops by an appeal to the best in man. Could they have continued the work, their gentleness combined with earnestness would most assuredly have weaned the drunkard from his habit.

But nothing is lost. The women can still organize the campaign. If the wives of those of whom the writer writes are in earnest, they can surely convert their husbands. Women do not know what influence for good they can exert on their husbands. They wield it unconsciously no doubt, but that is not enough. They must have that consciousness, and the consciousness will give them the strength and show them the way to deal with their partners. The pity of it is that most wives do not interest themselves in their husbands' doings. They think they have no right to do so. It never occurs to them that it is their duty to become guardians of their husbands' character, as it is the latter's to be guardians of their wives' character. And yet what can be plainer than that husband and wife are equal sharers of each other's virtues and vices? But who but a woman can

effectively awaken the wives to a sense of their power and duty? This is but a part of the women's movement against drink.

There must be enough women with proper equipment to study the statistics of drink, the causes that induce the habit and the remedies against it. They must learn the lesson from the past and realize that mere appeals to the addicts to give up drink cannot produce lasting effects. The habit has to be regarded as a disease and treated as such. In other words, some women have to become research students and carry on researches in a variety of ways. In every branch of reform constant study giving one a mastery over one's subject is necessary. Ignorance is at the root of failures, partial or complete, of all reform movements whose merits are admitted. For every project masquerading under the name of reform is not necessarily worthy of being so designated.

Harijan, 24-4-1937

123. THE CAUSE OF IT

A Bangalore correspondent asks:

> You say that a married couple may have sexual union only when there is a mutual desire for a child and on no other account. Please let me know why one should wish for a child at all. Many people wish for children without fully realizing the responsibilities of parenthood, and many more wish for children fully knowing that they are incapable of discharging the responsibilities of a parent. Many persons who are physically and mentally unfit for parenthood wish for children. Don't you think that it is wrong for these persons to procreate?
>
> I would like to know the motive behind the desire for children. Many people wish for children to bequeath their possessions and to break the monotony of their life. A few people wish for a male child lest the gates of Heaven would not be opened for them. Are not these people wrong in wishing for a child?

It is good to seek causes for things. But it is not always possible to discover them. The desire for children is universal. But I do not know any convincing cause, if to see oneself perpetuated through one's descendants is not a sufficient and convincing cause. My proposition, however, is not vitiated if the cause I give for the desire is not found sufficiently convincing. The desire is there. It seems to be natural. I am not sorry for

having been born. It cannot be unlawful for me to see the best in me reproduced. Anyway till I see evil in procreation itself and till I see that the sexual act for mere pleasure is justifiable, I must hold that the sexual act is justified only where there is desire for children. I understand that this was so clear to the makers of *Smritis* that Manu described only the first-born as children born of dharma and the rest of *kama*—lust. The more thought I give to the subject as dispassionately as is possible, the more convinced I feel about the correctness of the position I have taken and am enforcing. It is becoming clearer to me that the difficulty lies in our ignorance of the subject with which needless secrecy is being associated. Our thought is clouded. We dread to face consequences. We resort to half-measures as if they were perfect or final and thus render them most difficult of execution. If our thoughts were clear, if we became sure of our ground, our speech and action would be firm.

Thus if I am sure that every morsel of food I take is for building and sustaining the body, I shall never desire to take food for the pleasure of the palate. I shall further realize that if I have any desire to eat things because they are tasty, and apart from hunger or the thought of sustaining the body, it is a token of disease and I should seek to cure myself of it and not satisfy it as if it was lawful or healthy. Even so if I am quite clear that the sexual act, apart from the unquestioned desire for progeny, is unlawful and detrimental to the body, mind and soul, surely resistance to the desire will become easy—far easier than when I am not clear whether the gratification of mere desire is or is not lawful and beneficial. If I am quite clear about the unlawfulness of the desire, I shall treat it as if it were a disease and repel its attacks with all my vigour. I shall feel the stronger for the resistance. They are wrong, even untruthful, who claim that they do not like the act but are helpless and therefore resistance leaves them weak and defeated. If all such people were to examine themselves, they would discover that their thoughts deceive them. Their thoughts cherish the desire and their speech is a false interpreter of their thoughts. If on the other hand the speech is a true interpreter of the thoughts there can be no such thing as weakness. Defeat there may be. Weakness never.

The correspondent's objection to procreation by unhealthy parents is perfectly valid. They can have or should have no desire for progeny. They are deceiving themselves and the world if they say that they perform the sexual act for progeny. In an

examination of any subject truthfulness is always assumed. Desire for progeny must not be feigned in order to cover the pleasure of sexual union.

Harijan, 24-4-1937

124. TELEGRAM TO HASRAT MOHANI

MAGANWADI, WARDHA,
April 24, 1937

MAULANA HASRAT MOHANI
CAWNPORE

JUST READ ABOUT BEGUM MOHANI'S DEATH. CONDOLENCES.

GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

125. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

April 24, 1937

MY DEAR REBEL,

How did you fare in your fight about the extraordinary step ordering change in the report[1]. Really these things are enough to make one lose patience. But then these incidents test our faith in ahimsa. And there must be an innocent, non-violent, gentle as opposed to noxious, violent, ungentle way of dealing with such difficulties.

What answer did you get, if any, from Devdas about that cartoon[2] in which a Biblical verse was caricatured.

Did I tell you yesterday I was returning from Allahabad on 29th at the latest?

Love.

ROBBER

From the original: C.W. 3777. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6933

[1] *Vide* p. 50.
[2] *Vide* footnote 2, p. 40.

CWMG - DVV

126. LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA

April 24, 1937

MY DEAR KUMARAPPA,

You will do with the Amalner man what you think best. You will take him if he is of use.

I understand what you say about Shah's note.[1]

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 10117

127. LETTER TO MESSRS PAYRE & CO.

April 24, 1937

GENTLEMEN,

I have your letter for which I thank you. I have been travelling to inaccessible places, hence the delay in acknowledging your letter. If you will forward the one lakh of rupees, I will forward the amounts to institutions that I may select. Meantime, if the cheque for one lakh is received by me I shall bank it and send you proper receipts from the institutions concerned as the money is disbursed from time to time. If, however, the amount is held by you it should begin to bear interest not less than the current bank rates from the time that I can be considered responsible for its distribution. So far as half the amount is concerned there would be no difficulty. As for the other half I am entering into correspondence with the Jeeva Daya Mandal.

Yours faithfully,
M. K. GANDHI

MESSRS PAYRE & CO.
SOLICITORS AND NOTARIES PUBLIC
BOMBAY

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] *Vide* "Letter to J. C. Kumarappa", p. 50.

CWMG-LXV

128. LETTER TO BHAGWANJI A. MEHTA

April 24, 1937

BHAI BHAGWANJI,

I got both your letters only yesterday. I returned from a tour of the villages yesterday and saw your letters. You did very well indeed in writing to me but if I cannot make use of your letters, how can I solve the matter? I advise you to call both Nanalal and Prabhashankar[1] and guide them properly, shedding all fear. There was a time when Prabhashankar used to treat your advice as sacred word, and that lightened my burden, too. Your letters throw a new light on the situation. You should now put this business on the right lines as Ratilal's lawyer, friend of the Mehta family and lover of justice. I shall be able to do very little from here. Think over this. Ratilal and Champa[2], both are completely under the influence of Prabhashankar. They will do exactly as he desires. To Ratilal he is in the place of a father. Irrespective of what we consider to be right, how can we shake Ratilal's and Champa's faith in what they believe to be right? Please think over all these factors and then guide me. If you are unable to do anything besides writing to me, then please permit me to make use of your letters or write to me a letter such as I can use. I do not wish to take any step till I have your reply to this letter.

Vandemataram from
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5832. Also C.W. 3055. Courtesy: Bhagwanji A. Mehta

[1] Prabhashankar Harchandbhai Parekh, father-in-law of Ratilal, the eldest son of Dr. Pranjivandas Mehta

[2] Ratilal's wife

129. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

April 24, 1937

CHI. NARANDAS,

I had got your letter. I had a talk with Shankerlal[1] at Hudli about Jaisukhlal. Shankerlal says that there is no connection between the charge against him and his being relieved. But he is of the opinion that there is not sufficient work in Kathiawar to justify payment of Rs. 75 to Jaisukhlal and that his work would not be worth that much anywhere else either. Jaisukhlal has not mastered the art of running a store, or of producing khadi, nor that of working in a spirit of co-operation with others. But he has no doubt at all regarding Jaisukhlal's integrity. If this statement of Shankerlal is correct, then no injustice is done to Jaisukhlal. If you do not agree with Shankerlal's explanation, then you may employ him in the work you are doing for the spread of khadi. Take from him such work as will enable him to earn Rs. 75 or something more if he can. You can do this and, if he has the ability to earn Rs. 75 through khadi work, may help him to develop in.

I myself am observing the extremely suspicious nature of Jaisukhlal and it has caused me much pain. He sees Chhaganlal Joshi at the back of all his misfortunes, while I myself have been able to see no such thing in any matter. I know Chhaganlal's merits and defects very well. I have even lived with him. I have seen in him no such failing that he would be after a man and do him ill just out of spite. His opinions are very often baseless. I also know that he lacks the capacity to cite evidence in support of his views.

I have not informed you till now and on inquiring I find that Kanaiyo also has not done so. He was fairly ill during the Hudli trip. Either from over-exertion or for some other reason, he had got fever. He had got it as soon as we arrived there and it came down after four days. But he did not suffer in the least. The treatment also was the best possible. It consisted in his drinking as much water as he could—he took hot water with lime-juice

[1] Shankerlal Banker

and salt, then he was put on water mixed with honey, and then he was given fruit and then milk. He is still on milk and fruit. He used to get good sleep. It can practically be said that he did not require any nursing. He was not given any special comfort apart from a cot. He was given no privacy at all, nor was there any such facility.

Today he has come riding five miles on bicycle of his own free will. There was no necessity for him to come for the sake of any work. But once he feels well he cannot sit idle. And I do not stop him from exerting himself within the limits of his strength. The matter was not at all worth writing to you about. There was no cause for worry. We had an experienced doctor with us. But even his help was not taken. He did wish to give some medicine, but I emphatically forbade any medicine.

Kanaiyo also has great faith in fasting as of course I too have. This time a special feature of my treatment was that I did not try enema at all. It could have been given with some special arrangement, but he used to pass stools in the normal course. I, therefore, did not insist on giving him enema. He did not suffer in the least; no doubt it was thanks to his fast and also to the purity of his life.

At the time of giving away Manu and Nirmala, he had insisted on attending, and had joined in singing "*Vaishnava jana*". Kanti also arrived exactly on the day of *kanyadan*[1]. Manu was therefore very happy, although she spared Kanti, having persuaded herself to be content with Kanti's presence.

How is Kumi's work going on? If she gets her daughter admitted in the National School, exempt her from payment of fees.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8517. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

[1] Giving away of the bride

CWMG-LXV

130. LETTER TO SHARDA C. SHAH

April 24, 1937

CHI. SHARDA[1],

Received your letter. Nothing is permanent. Stick to the treatment so long as you feel that it is doing you no harm. Both of you must take onions and garlic. It is my opinion that nature-cure, if intelligently taken up, is bound to benefit. Write to me in detail about the treatment you are taking and about your diet.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 9975. Courtesy: Shardabehn G. Chokhawala

131. LETTER TO CHANDRANI SACHAR

April 24, 1937

DEAR SISTER,

Thanks for your cheque for Rs. 500. A well can be constructed for Rs. 500 and even Rs. 1,500. We have to bore a well in the Thana district, which will cost Rs. 1,200. If you can, please send the balance, too, otherwise your money can of course be utilized for some other place.

Vandemataram from
M. K. GANDHI

SHRIMATI CHANDRANI SACHAR
C/O SHRI J. S. SACHAR
NAYA BAZAR, DELHI

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4090

[1] Daughter of Chimanlal N. Shah, an Ashram inmate

132. INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS[1]

NAGPUR,
April 25, 1937

Q. Do you think that there is any real anxiety on the part of the Britishers to establish a contact between the Viceroy and the spokesman of the Indian National Congress?

A. I do not think there is any.

Will you of your own accord seek an opportunity to meet the Viceroy?

No.

Will you go if the initiative comes from the Viceroy?

I have no status. The only party to be invited is the President of the Congress.

Will you be satisfied if the Viceroy gives you the necessary assurances and asks you not to press for assurances from provincial Governors?[2]

Do you not think that if the Congress does not accept office, the minority Ministries will win over the electorate by their ameliorative measures?

I should not be surprised.[3]

The Hitavada, 28-4-1937

[1] The correspondent had reported: "Mahatma Gandhi passed through Nagpur on Sunday, 25-4-1937, by the Grand Trunk Express. He was accompanied by Mr. Mahadev Desai. Huddled up in a third-class crowded compartment sat the Mahatma, with files and books piled about him. His secretariat was with him and even in the train typing was being done. One wonders if it was not a new formula for the Working Committee. On the arrival of the train a set of questions was handed in to Mahatmaji to which he wrote his replies."

[2] The reporter had explained: "In view of his reply to the previous question Gandhiji gave no reply to this question."

[3] In "Interview to Associated Press of India", *vide* p. 156, Gandhiji said that this answer was reported "just the contrary to what I meant".

CWMG - LXV

133. INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS[1]

NAGPUR,
[*April 25, 1937*][2]

Q. Would you be satisfied with the assurance from the Governors on the lines given by Sir Samuel Hoare and quoted[3] by you?

A. I would be satisfied with the assurance with a definition of the word 'ordinarily' which everybody can understand.

Will you kindly give me your own definition of the word 'ordinarily'?

A definition has really to come from those who want to introduce the adverb. I have not introduced the word 'ordinarily' in the Congress resolution[4]. Congress meaning is quite clear. For, it asked for an assurance in connection with a definite programme. If that programme and everything similar to that programme is pursued by the Congress there should be no interference on the part of the Governor. If in the opinion of the Governors the worst happens as Lord Lothian has suggested, the Governors can dismiss the Cabinet, dissolve the Assemblies and appeal to the electorate to find out whom the electorate will support. If the Congress aim is to create deadlocks, what point is there in asking for any assurance from the Governors? As I have already said and as I have read the Congress resolution, the aim of the Congress is not to create deadlocks, but its aim undoubtedly is to make Congress position so irresistible as to replace the present Act, which nobody likes, by an Act which will represent the will of the masses. This will be brought about by constitutional means permissible under the Act itself. And if the Congress by force of its majority and by skill of Congress Ministers advances its own constitutional position to such a pitch that the British Ministers cannot possibly resist it except by force of arms, surely there can be nothing to grumble at.

[1] Gandhiji gave the answers to questions submitted to him by the correspondents of *The Times of India*, Bombay, and *News Chronicle*, London.

[2] On his way to Allahabad Gandhiji passed through Nagpur on this date.

[3] *Vide* "Statement to the Press", pp. 36-8.

[4] *Vide* pp. 3-4; also "Interview to *The Bombay Chronicle*", pp. 158-9.

You have said[1] that the Congress wanted non-interference not non-dismissal. Will you please explain the difference between the two?

As a gentleman I cannot possibly ask for a promise that the Cabinet may never be dismissed. But I can ask that there should be no interference in the day-to-day administration. I do not want the Cabinet to be in a position of having to resign on the slightest pretext; for honourable resignation there must be honourable cause that anybody could see. If I have no assurance of non-interference the Governor may submit his Ministers to pinpricks which they would feel but which may not give them understandable cause to take to the public in justifying resignation. I would never put the Congress Cabinet in such embarrassing and humiliating position. The same thing would apply to the Governors. They would look incredibly foolish if on the slightest pretext they dismissed the Cabinet. Therefore, if Governors are gentlemen and want to preserve the honour of the nation whom they represent they will think fifty times before dismissing the Cabinet. I want to put them in that position so that there shall be no pinpricks from the Governors as all Ministers who worked under the Montford reforms have testified. Their position was made unbearable and humiliating and yet they were unable to resign, perhaps they would not. I do not know which was the case.

The Hitavada, 28-4-1937

134. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

ALLAHABAD,
April 26, 1937

MY DEAR REBEL,

Your note awaited me as I reached Allahabad.

Jawaharlal looks very much pulled down, looks almost an old man. His voice is feeble. Enough to make one weep to see him so pale. Indu is quite nice though she looks the same fragile thing she was before. Old Mrs. Nehru is bed-ridden though better than she was a few days ago. Subhas has arrived but I have not yet seen him. It is presently to strike 12 when I break silence.

Subhas sees me at 1 p.m. The Working Committee sits at 2.30 p.m. I leave here on 28th and reach Wardha 29th. The

[1] *Vide* p. 140.

weather seems to have been abnormal everywhere. It is very hot here. Mahadev, Pyarelal and Radhakrishna are with me. Love.

ROBBER

From the original: C.W. 3778. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6934

135. INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS OF INDIA

April 26, 1937

Interviewed regarding the editorial comments of *The Times* and *The Manchester Guardian* on his Poona statement[1], Gandhiji said:

So far as I am concerned, any bridging the gulf has to come from the Government side. It is to be hoped therefore that representative papers like *The Times* and *The Manchester Guardian* will influence the British Government rather than seek to influence me or the Working Committee. The latter will take care of itself and speak for itself.

I have made my position absolutely clear. It is for the Government to decide whether they have meant provincial autonomy by the Constitution they have framed or they have meant something the reverse of Autonomy. But to the man in the street who knows nothing of legal quibbles or even of the Constitution that is the only question.

With reference to Press report[2] from Nagpur stating that to a question whether he thought, if the Congress did not accept office, the minority Ministries would win over the electorate by their ameliorative measures, Mr. Gandhi was reported to have said, "I should not be surprised," Mr. Gandhi says:

Whoever is the party concerned for the Nagpur telegram, he has reported just the contrary of what I meant or at least what I intended to mean. My answer was that I should be surprised if minority Ministries would win over the electorate by their ameliorative measures in case Congress did not accept office. A slip of paper containing questions was handed to me through the crowd into the railway compartment which was none too empty. I hurriedly wrote out the answer in pencil. If the reporter maintains that I wrote the word 'not', I would very much like to see the original.

The Hindu, 27-4-1937

[1] *Vide* pp. 140–1.
[2] *Vide* p. 153.

CWMG-TXV

136. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

ALLAHABAD,
April 27, 1937

CHI. MIRA,

I got your postcard and letter about Lali here.

It is settled that we leave here tomorrow evening reaching Wardha in the evening 29th. You may expect me in Segaon about 8 p.m. or thereabouts.

The weather is very hot here but quite cool on the terrace at night.

Hope you understood what I said during the morning walk. But I do not want to blame you for what you can't alter in a moment.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6379. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9845

137. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

April 27, 1937

CHI. LILA,

Your disorderliness must go. It will go by and by. Talk less and think more. Do everything patiently. There should have been a washer in my spinning-wheel but I did not find it. You mislaid it while removing the yarn. This is just an example.

You must have sent the ghee to Radhakrishna.

Stop worrying about Dwarkadas. If you are keen on going, you may go.

I hope you are keeping a diary.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9359. Also C.W. 6634. Courtesy: Lilavati Asar

138. TELEGRAM TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

ALLAHABAD,
April 30, 1937

SETH JAMNALALJI
WARDHA

REGRET INABILITY PERSONALLY BLESS BRIDE[1] BRIDEGROOM[2]. PLEASE APOLOGIZE RAMESHWARDAS. REACHING SATURDAY NOON. INFORM MAGANWADI SEGAON.

BAPU

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 185

139. INTERVIEW TO "THE BOMBAY CHRONICLE"[3]

April 30, 1937

Questioned whether he still adhered to the view that if Governors gave assurance to the effect that "ordinarily" they would not interfere with constitutional activities of the Congress Ministers, the Congress would accept office, Gandhiji said, in this matter his position should be properly understood. Gandhiji did not think that mere addition of the word 'ordinarily' to the formula would satisfy him or the Congress. Such assurance would be acceptable to him only if the qualifying word was "properly interpreted to our satisfaction". Gandhiji further declared:

We should know the meaning of 'ordinarily' beforehand.[4]

Our correspondent then drew Gandhiji's attention to Prof. Keith's[5] latest constitutional pronouncement published in today's *Leader* and asked him about the Congress position vis-a-vis Governor's special powers.

Gandhiji smiled and said it was a stale news and he had read it already in some paper yesterday.

As I read Professor Keith's statement I saw that he entirely endorsed the Congress position that the Congress does not seek any abrogation of the Act.

[1] Laxmi, daughter of Janakidevi Bajaj's brother, Purushottamdas Jajodiya
[2] Shriram, son of Rameshwardas Poddar of Dhulia
[3] Gandhiji gave the interview in the train *en route* to Wardha.
[4] *Vide* also "Interview to the Press" pp. 154–5.
[5] A. B. Keith, a constitutional lawyer of England

Asked whether it would not be unconstitutional for the Congress Ministry to attempt to trample over the legitimate rights of the minorities, Gandhiji declared that it would not only be unconstitutional but "suicidal".

The Bombay Chronicle, 1-5-1937

140. HARIJANS ON BEGAR

The newspapers have given publicity to the threat of certain Harijans in certain villages to transfer their allegiance to the Christian Missions seeking to wean them from Hinduism under promise of better treatment, and especially freedom from *begar*[1] to which they are subjected by *savarna* Hindus. It seems that representatives of the Hindu Mission and of the Harijan Sevak Sangh visited the aggrieved Harijans and got the *savarna* Hindus to promise better treatment. The storm has abated for the time being. I do not know what would have been the gain to the Missions concerned if the Harijans had gone over to their fold and how far the Harijans could have been claimed as *bona fide* converts. This I know that such proselytizing efforts demoralize society, create suspicions and bitterness and retard the all-round progress of society. If, instead of wanting the so-called conversion as the price of better treatment, Christian Missions co-operated with Harijan sevaks in their effort to ease the burdens of Harijans, their help would be welcomed and the evolution of society would be hastened.

But I write this more to awaken *savarna* conscience than to criticize the Mission methods brought to light. The system of forced labour exacted by petty land-owners from Harijans and other classes called backward is almost universal in India. The petty landlords are mostly Hindus. Harijans and others can legally resist forced labour. They are slowly but surely being awakened to a sense of their rights. They are numerous enough to enforce them. But all grace will be gone when *savarna* Hindus impotently resign themselves to their merited fate. Better surely by far if they will recognize their duty of regarding Harijans as blood-brothers, entitled to the respect that belongs to man and to receive due payment for services voluntarily performed.

It is the privilege of Harijan sevaks, no matter to what organization they belong, to befriend Harijans, to study their condition in detail, to approach *savarna* Hindus and show them

[1] Forced labour without any wages

as gently as possible what their duty is towards those whom they have treated as outcastes of society and deprived even of legal rights.

From the papers before me I further find that in Ode and some other villages in Gujarat the *savarna* Hindus take from Harijans who dispose of their dead cattle half the hide. This is unlike the usual practice of allowing the Harijans to own the dead cattle they remove. In some cases Harijans not only retain the dead cattle they remove, but receive a payment for the labour of removing carcasses. The matter demands more investigation and fair adjustment. If Harijans were better treated and if *savarna* Hindus had no horror of dead cattle and had no superstitious laws of pollution, they would learn the art of flaying the dead cattle and turning every part of the carcasses into wealth, both to the benefit of themselves and the Harijans whom they may invite to help them in the process of disposing of their dead cattle.

Harijan, 1-5-1937

141. ESSAYS ON BARTER SYSTEM

Readers will remember that a prize of Rs. 500 was announced for the best essay recommending a barter system. The terms were also given. The time for sending the essays having elapsed, the Board of Examiners entered upon their task and have reported that none of the essays fulfil the conditions laid down. The following is their report[1]:

The prize has not been withdrawn by the donor. The examiners, Prof. K. T. Shah, Shri Vaikunth Mehta and Prof. J. C. Kumarappa, have kindly signified their readiness to examine any further essays that may be sent. I would, however, advise competitors, if any are willing, to strictly conform to the requirements laid down by the examiners. It is clear from their note and it is but natural that no essay will pass muster unless it reaches the level expected by them, and none will reach that level unless writers are industrious enough to study the necessary literature on the subject and build on their study an original thesis. It may be that the prize is not sufficiently tempting for such an effort. If that is so, I can only say that those who write for the mere monetary

[1] This is not reproduced here; *vide* also "Letter to J. C. Kumarappa", p. 50.

value of prizes hardly ever realize the expectations of donors. Without love of the subject itself, high merit is not to be expected in difficult competitions like the one about the system of barter. The time for handing in the essays is fixed at 31st December, 1937. All essays should be addressed to Prof. J. C. Kumarappa, Maganwadi, Wardha. No further extension of time will be given, and if no effort succeeds the prize will be finally withdrawn.

Harijan, 1-5-1937

142. A MORAL DILEMMA[1]

A friend writes:[2]

> About two and a half years ago this city was convulsed by a social tragedy. A Vaishya gentleman had a sixteen-year old daughter. She had a maternal uncle aged twenty-one years studying in college in the same city. The two fell secretly in love with each other. The girl is said to have become pregnant. When the true state of affairs at last became known, the lovers committed suicide by taking poison. The girl died immediately but the boy died a couple of days afterwards in the hospital. . . . At the time when the storm was at its height and nobody had a kind word to say about the deceased unfortunate lovers, I shocked everybody by expressing my opinion that under the afore-mentioned circumstances the young lovers ought to have been allowed to have their way. But mine remained a voice in the wilderness. What is your opinion in the matter?

I have deliberately kept back the name of the correspondent and the place at the request of the writer as he did not want old sores to be reopened by a revival of an old controversy. All the same I feel that a public discussion of this delicate topic is necessary. In my opinion such marriages as are interdicted in a particular society cannot be recognized all at once or at the will of an individual. Nor has society or relatives of parties concerned any right to impose their will upon and forcibly curtail the liberty of action of the young people who may want to contract such marriages. In the instance cited by the correspondent both the parties had fully attained maturity. They could well think for themselves. No one had a right forcibly to prevent

[1] The Hindi original of this was published in *Harijan Sevak*, 1-5-1937. This appeared as "abridged by Pyarelal".

[2] Only extracts are reproduced here.

them from marrying each other if they wanted to. Society could at the most refuse to recognize the marriage, but it was the height of tyranny to drive them to suicide. Marriage taboos are not universal and are largely based on social usage.[1]

These alliances are not taboo in every society. The Christian, Muslim, Parsi and other communities do not observe this taboo. It is not even taboo in all Hindu varnas. The same varna has different customs in different Provinces. Among the so-called high caste Brahmins of the South, such alliances are not only not tabooed, but on the contrary are considered commendable.[2]

The usage varies from Province to Province and as between different divisions. This does not mean that the youth may ride roughshod over all established social customs and inhibitions. Before they decide to do so, they must convert public opinion to their side. In the meantime, the individuals concerned ought patiently to bide their time, or, if they cannot do that calmly and quietly, to face the consequences of social ostracism.

At the same time it is equally the duty of society not to take up a heartless, step-motherly attitude towards those who might disregard or break the established conventions. In the instance described by my correspondent the guilt of driving the young couple to suicide certainly rests on the shoulders of society if the version that is before me is correct.

Harijan, 29-5-1937

143. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

SEGAON, WARDHA,
May 1, 1937

BIBI JAN ALIAS MY DAUGHTER AMTUL SALAAM,

I got your letter as soon as I returned. You seem to be doing excellent work. If you can preserve good health even while doing so, by all means stay on. I am enclosing a bank-note for Rs. 50. Kanti is still at Rajkot. He is not going to Trivandrum. It appears certain, however, that he will go to Mysore. I have no time just now to write more. We returned from Allahabad today.

Your belief that Hindu men and women stood in the way of your serving Harijans is not correct. In any case, don't worry. You should first get well and serve wherever you can do so quietly.

[1] The following paragraph is translated from *Harijan Sevak*, 1-5-1937.
[2] *Vide* also "My Mistake", 6-6-1937.

CWMG-LXV

If you can do good work living on your own farm, by all means do it. If you need still more money, send for it.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I am leaving for Gujarat on the 9th.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 380

144. KATHIAWAR COWS

Shri Narahari Parikh, Secretary of the Goseva Sangh, has sent me a brief description of his tour in some Kathiawar States which he undertook for examining the cattle wealth there. I hope to publish it in *Harijanbandhu*, in two instalments. The following [item in this issue] is the first of these.[1] There was a time when Kathiawar cows were highly praised. That variety still exists but it is gradually disappearing. This wealth, which is being destroyed, may still be saved and fresh additions made to it if the rulers of Kathiawar and their officials put in the effort. There is room for improvement in all industries. Each one of these could be made more paying. But this possibility is perhaps the greatest in animal husbandry. Knowledge, diligence and patience are all that is required. According to our present knowledge, it is even claimed that the health of the human race is especially dependent upon our cattle wealth, i.e., on cow's milk. India is a country where one expects the cows to be of the highest quality. But they are of the poorest quality and are at present a burden on the land.

Shri Purushottam Joshi of the Bhavnagar institution, who is an expert in animal husbandry, suggests the following three ways of looking after cows:

1. Vagrant bulls should be castrated and used as bullocks.
2. Good pedigree bulls should be kept in every village and these should be well cared for.
3. Every farmer should have his own cow.

All the States in Kathiawar can readily do this without incurring any loss. But the reader should now read the statement made by Shri Narahari Parikh.

[From Gujarati]

Harijanbandhu, 2-5-1937

[1] The articles, which appeared under the title "Cow-protection in Kathiawar", are not translated here. The second instalment appeared in the issue dated May 9.

145. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEGAON, WARDHA,
May 2, 1937

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your letter awaited me yesterday when I reached Wardha.

Allahabad was a taxing time. There was no wrangling. But the discussions in which I had to engage was a strain. The heat was terrible. The nights on the terrace delightful. Jawaharlal was pale and weak. He must have sailed for Burma by now. The trip will do him good. I have asked him to take no less than a month. After it he, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and I are to meet for a few days.

You should write to Prabhavati, if you have not already. Her address is: C/o Brij Kishore Prasad, Srinagar, Sewan, Bihar.

The heat is growing here. It is not trying for me. But I have to go to Gujarat for 20 days to fix up Gujarat affairs. My address will be Tithal, Bulsar, B. B. & C. I. Railway. Tithal is on the sea. On 10th and 11th I am in Bardoli. I leave here on 9th and reach Bulsar on 12th.

I could not get anything to give to Manu on your behalf. So you have to think of something inexpensive and useful.

Love.

TYRANT

From the original: C.W. 3779. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6935

146. LETTER TO P. G. MATHEW

May 2, 1937

MY DEAR MATHEW,

I returned yesterday. I leave here on Sunday, 9th. If you desire to come during the time, you may.

Yours,
BAPU

PROF. P. MATHEW
LEONARD COLLEGE
JUBBULPORE

From a photostat: G.N. 1542

CWMG - LXV

147. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

May 2, 1937

CHI. PRABHA,

I was eagerly waiting for your letter. I found two letters yesterday on returning from Allahabad. If you don't write your address and as a result don't receive my letters, is it my fault? I had written to you at Patna C/o *The Searchlight* since I had forgotten your residential address there. Thereafter I went to Allahabad. I waited for your letter but didn't get any. And I also thought I would write to you after returning to Wardha. Now, tell me, who is to blame for this? Certainly not you, but am I to blame, either? Please remember this, that you should give your complete address in every letter.

I have already given you Rajkumari's address. Here it is again: Shri Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Manorville, Simla.

As Jawaharlal was not well, the meeting was arranged at Allahabad. I would have been happy if you could have come there.

How is your health? Is the pressure of work heavy? What do you eat? Vasumati is here. Amtul is in her hometown. She is getting a well dug there.

I shall have to go to Gujarat on the 9th, Bardoli on 10th and 11th, Tithal, Bulsar, B. B. & C. I. Railway between 12th and 30th.

I am all right.

When are you going to Ahmedabad?

Any news about Jayaprakash ?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3499

CWMG - LXV

148. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

May 2, 1937

BHAI GHANSHYAMDAS,

Regarding the mill affairs, ethics demand that the labourers should be told that unless they behave properly the mill will remain closed and no new recruits will be made. You can work with fresh labour only when the old lot vacate the quarters without giving trouble. I think this way is not only ethical but also economic. Do question further if this does not cover the whole problem. I go to Bardoli on the 9th and shall reach Tithal (Bulsar) on the 12th. The Working Committee of the Harijan Sevak Sangh can meet at Tithal.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Hindi original: C.W. 8031. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

149. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEGAON, WARDHA,
May 4, 1937

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your letters are before me. It is hot here but I do not feel it much. The nights are cool.

I quite agree with you that Lionel[1] should give up the present job and do what he can in England. I wish you could persuade him to give up the job and go back to England.

Shummy[2] is right about his fear of infection. You may not expose your dear ones to risks which they and their parents will not willingly run.

I am glad you have resumed Sanskrit study. You won't give up Hindi on any account.

I have already told you about my movements. Departure 9th 10 p.m., Bardoli, 10-11, Tithal, Bulsar, 12 to 30 May.

[1] Lionel Fielden, first Director-General, All India Radio; *vide* also Vol. LXIII, p. 301, and Vol. LXIV, p. 205.

[2] Addressee's brother, Lt. Col. Kanwar Shumshere Singh, a retired surgeon

CWMG - LXV

Mira has been down again with fever. She can't live without me. So she accompanies me this time and I suppose will insist everytime I go out. It is no use my striving against it any more than I did against her coming back to Segaon.

Love.

TYRANT

From the original: C.W. 3780. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6936

150. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

May 4, 1937

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

Where do you intend to take me? Wherever you take me, you will have to look after a big crowd. I won't be able to dissuade anybody from joining. I personally don't mind, but we must consider the convenience of the owner[1] of the bungalow in which we are lodged. Mirabehn has already served notice. She will accompany me wherever I go this time. I myself don't think that I need sea air. You may certainly keep me in Bardoli for as long as you wish, or in Surat, if you like. If, you don't mind a big crowd accompanying me, please don't think that I am objecting to it, though of course I do feel very hesitant about it. Here is the list as at this moment:

Ba, Kano, Mira, Pyarelal, Mahadev, Radhakrishna, Kanu, Manoharlal, Sharda.

I hope you are taking rest.

Blessings from
BAPU

SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL
DR. KANUGA'S BUNGALOW
ELLIS BRIDGE, AHMEDABAD

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 200

[1] Bhulabhai J. Desai

CWMG - LXV

151. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

May 4, 1937

CHI. NARANDAS,

I have your letter. I have written to Jaisukhlal. Probably he will settle down where he is. If he studies the science of *goseva* and helps in increasing cow-wealth in Porbandar State, he will have done much. He can do khadi work, too, simultaneously. Guide him as well as you can.

Kanaiyo is all right now. For some time he was very eager to spend a few days with you, but the desire has weakened now, though it is still there. Let him, therefore, go there. When would you like him to come? He wishes that Purushottam and Vijaya should be there when he goes.

I had understood the reference correctly as regards the fees to be paid by Kumi's daughter. It is but befitting that she should follow in the footsteps of her mother.

Amtul Salaam is in Patiala State. Lilavati is keeping quite well. Her lethargy is well known.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8518. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

152. LETTER TO MANUBEHN S. MASHRUWALA

May 4, 1937

CHI. MANUDI,

I got your letter. Letters from Manilal and Sushila are enclosed. All of you please read them and send them to Kishorelal.

I will send you the *sitar*, as also the pair of shoes meant for Surendra.

I hope you are doing well. Take care of your health. Observe restraint in eating. Don't forget spinning and prayer.

Ba misses you, of course. If you want to know about myself, I am also sailing in the same boat. But I will be satisfied if you write regularly.

CWMG - LXV

I shall be going to Gujarat on the 9th and will spend the whole month there. We shall reach Tithal on the 12th, where we shall spend about a fortnight.

Blessings to both from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 1565. Courtesy: Manubehn S. Mashruwala

153. LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI

May 4, 1937

CHI. KANTI,

I have your letter. Your programme is good. The earlier you reach Bangalore, the better will it be from the point of view of the weather.

It is good that you learnt from Bali the history about your mother. It is not an ordinary history. And Chanchi was the most modest among all the sisters. She had the strength to live creditably in any condition.

I wrote to Amtul Salaam only two days ago and told her that she might by all means stay in her town. I doubted whether she would be happy there. But I see that she will experience no difficulty in staying anywhere there because of her father's influence. Moreover I learnt an extraordinary thing about her that she rides. But since I have permitted her she might not stay. Let us now see what she does. I have not seen Saraswati's letter addressed to you. Surendra and Manu are likely to come tomorrow. I will make enquiries. There was a letter from Paparamma[1], which I had asked them to send to you. The letter was opened through oversight. I could not understand who this Khan[2] was. After that I saw Paparamma's signature and understood.

If someone can show you, see the houses where we stayed at Rajkot. One house was near the fort and the other was at some distance in the *mhad*[3]. Perhaps it might have been demolished by now. It had caught fire.

Blessings from
BAPU

[1] Padmavati, mother of Saraswati

[2] In the source this name is written in Roman script.

[3] A group of houses approached through a common gate separating them from the rest of the locality

[PS.]

I am going to Bardoli on the 9th and to Tithal on the 12th.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7320. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

154. LETTER TO BENARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

SEGAON, WARDHA,
May 5, 1937

BHAI BENARSIDAS,

The purpose of the tour of Mauritius, etc., is quite different from the purpose behind the tour of Sumatra and other countries. Burma, Sumatra, Java, Siam, etc., have some connection with Eastern culture and it seems natural enough for them to have links with Indian languages. It does not of course imply that they will all learn Hindi, yet one need not be surprised if some of them do study it.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2559

155. LETTER TO CARL HEATH

SEGAON, WARDHA,
May 6, 1937

DEAR FRIEND,

I have been too overwhelmed with work to answer your letters and your cable though they have all been attended to. I know that Agatha Harrison has been keeping you in touch with things as they are shaping here.[1] Everything that is possible to bring about peace is being done but it is not an easy job. My special contribution, therefore, is negative. The Congress leaders have, in my opinion, been acting with the greatest restraint in the face of grave provocation. I should have no hesitation in seeking an interview with Lord Linlithgow under ordinary circumstances but at the present juncture, if I made any such attempt, it would be wrong. For, the right person to interview the

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Agatha Harrison", pp. 63-4.

CWMG - LXV

Viceroy is naturally Jawaharlal Nehru. But he has no faith whatsoever in seeking such interviews because he thinks that nothing good can come out of them. Nevertheless if he was invited he would certainly go. I am myself considering ways and means of ending the deadlock in an honourable manner. And if I can find it in me to approach any of the responsible people, you may depend upon my not standing on dignity.

I prized your letter written by you to me just before your departure for England. I wanted to send you a line before embarkation but it was not possible and I was sorry. But that letter revealed to me with what care you had been labouring during your stay in India to bring about a better atmosphere.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

CARL HEATH, ESQ.
WHITE WINGS
MANORWAY
GUILDFORD

From a photostat: G.N. 1030

156. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

May 6, 1937

MY DEAR C. R.,

I have gone through your statement[1]. It is quite good and effective. We might let the thing ripen. I have sent a statement[2] for publication. You will see it if it is published. I hope you are organizing constructive work. I hope you are keeping well.

Love.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 2062

[1] According to Jagdish Saran Sharma's chronology, *India Since the Advent of the British*, on May 16 " C. Rajagopalachari, in a Press statement, explained the Congress viewpoint regarding the suggestion that there was no serious difference between a Ministry's resignation and dismissal."

[2] Presumably, of May 12, 1937; *vide* p. 190.

CWMG - LXV

157. LETTER TO S. AMBUJAMMAL

May 6, 1937

CHI. AMBUJAM,

Harihar Sharma is here and so is Kamala, and now appears on the scene Kamala's husband. I am confounded. Lakshmanrao, the husband, says he served as Father's chauffeur and that you know him well. I want you to tell me all you know about him, his adoptive mother and Kamala. There is a mystery hanging over this affair which I cannot unravel without further light. Throw, therefore, what you can on the problem.

I hope your studies are going on and that you are all keeping perfectly well.

I leave here for Gujarat on 9th instant. But you should write Care Maganwadi, Wardha.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

Do you know if Lakshmanrao drank or gambled? How did you find him as a man?

From a photostat: C.W. 9611. Courtesy: S. Ambujammal

158. LETTER TO MANUBEHN S. MASHRUWALA

May 6, 1937

CHI. MANUDI,

If my stars are unfavourable, what can you do? I had already written a letter to you before you could demand one. Just then I got the letter informing me that both of you were coming here. I, therefore, kept back my letter. Now you have cancelled your coming here altogether. I am, therefore, posting that letter.

We shall pass through Akola on the 9th on our way to Bardoli. We shall be there at about 1 o'clock. At that time somebody should collect the *sitar* and the pair of shoes, or the station-master may be requested to take charge of both. If you are

CWMG - LXV

ready on that day, you also should come along. And we shall take the *sitar* with us if you so desire. Since you are coming to Tithal, I think we had better take it with us. We shall be going to Tithal on the 12th or the 13th.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 1566. Courtesy: Manubehn S. Mashruwala

159. LETTER TO DAMODAR

May 6, 1937

CHI. DAMODAR,

I have sent Rs. 1,000 to Gangabisan. Send it to Thakkar Bapa at Harijan Nivas, Delhi, for *Harijan*.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3074

160. LETTER TO M. SATYANARAYANA[1]

May 6, 1937

BHAI SATYANARAYANA,

. . .[2] Let me give you one more idea. I am of the opinion that we have attempted nothing original in our method of teaching, i.e., we have hardly made any efforts for making the learning of Hindi easy and interesting as has been done in the case of English. Who amongst us can tell how many days it takes to teach Hindi, or in how many days the script may be taught? We have not evolved a model self-teaching primer in any of the Indian languages. Some little effort has been made in Tamil, etc., but I see nothing original, nothing extraordinary in it. If we can do something on these lines the spread of Hindi will be greatly expedited and lakhs of rupees saved. We do have a good many teachers in the South because of the Dakshin Bharat [Hindi] Prachar [Sabha] but do we have

[1] Of the Dakshin Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha
[2] Omission as in the source

someone who can take up this kind of task? I think that such an experiment must find a place in one of our schemes.

Blessings from

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 10993

161. INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS OF INDIA

WARDHA,
May 6, 1937

Q. I take it that you had much to do with the latest resolution[1] of the Working Committee on office-acceptance. If so, is there any truth in the suggestion that you have yielded to the left-wingers?

A. As a matter of fact there were no left-wingers and right-wingers this time. The only question discussed was about the form the resolution had to take.

Do you not see that there is very little difference between Mr. Butler's[2] statement and the Working Committee's resolution?

If that is so, why is there the slightest difficulty about Mr. Butler's instructing the Governors to offer office to the Congress leaders in terms of the Congress Resolution ?

Leaving Lord Zetland's speech[3] aside for the moment, what is the discourtesy you detect in Mr. Butler's statement?

[1] Passed at Allahabad on April 28, which read: "The past record of the British Government as well as its present attitude show that without the specific assurances as required by the Congress, popular Ministers will be unable to function properly and without irritating interference. The assurances do not contemplate abrogation of the right of the Governor to dismiss the Ministry or dissolve the provincial Assembly when serious differences of opinion arise between the Governor and his Ministers. But this Committee has grave objection to Ministers having to submit to interference by the Governor with the alternative of themselves having to resign their office instead of the Governors taking the responsibility of dismissing them."

[2] Under-Secretary of State for India; addressing the House of Commons on April 26, he said: "His Majesty's Government have no intention of countenancing the use of special powers for purposes other than those for which Parliament intended them. It is certainly not their intention that the Governors, by a narrow or legalistic interpretation of their own responsibilities, should trench upon the wide powers which it was the purpose of Parliament to place in the hands of Ministers and which it is desired they should use in furtherance of the programmes they have advocated."

[3] Of April 8, in reply to Lord Lothian, it read: "The demand made of the Governors was one which without amendment of the Constitution

I have never known a great party, commanding a majority that the Congress does, having such a thing as office thrown at it, and its leaders treated as if they were petitioners. If they were Ministers would they have to send applications to the Governors for interviews and run the risk of their applications being summarily rejected? I had thought that in autonomy the Ministers got the audience of their Governors for the asking and often the Governors had to give in to the Ministers where the latter had felt displeased or offended. The British Government know that the Congress is out for complete independence. It seems to me that the British Cabinet resent this attitude of the Congress. If so, they should plainly tell the Congress and the world that they will not tolerate complete independence and should cease to play with the word 'autonomy'. If on the other hand they do not mind natural evolution of India to its destiny, whatever it may be, they must treat the Congress with the consideration its position demands and disarm suspicion that, owing to their speech and action, is deepening.

The Hitavada, 7-5-1937

162. INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS OF INDIA[1]

[After *May 6, 1937*][2]

So far as the tone is concerned, it is an undoubted improvement upon his last speech on the subject. But I fear it is no contribution to the removal of the deadlock.

The last resolution[3] of the Working Committee is the clearest possible annotation of the All-India Congress Committee's resolution, in accordance with which assurances were asked for. Now the world knows what was meant. Surely, it is no

---

they could not possibly accept. . . . I would add that even if the Constitution admitted a pledge of this kind being given, the giving of it would have involved a grave breach of faith with the minorities and others in India. . . . Opinions might differ as to the extent and necessity for such safeguards but it could not be doubted that the minorities in India themselves attached the utmost importance to them."

[1] & [2] The interview was on Lord Zetland's address to the House of Lords on May 6; *vide* Appendix IV.

[3] *Vide* footnote 1, p. 174.

CWMG LXV

strain upon the Constitution Act for the Governors to give the assurance that whenever a situation is created which to them appears intolerable, they will take upon their shoulders the responsibility of dismissing the Ministers which they have the right to do, instead of expecting them to resign or submit to the Governor's wishes.

Citing the performances of Ministries formed by Governors in the face of universal opposition does not improve matters but strengthens suspicion. In my opinion, the Congress is in earnest and wants to make a serious effort, if it takes office, to make a substantial advance by that method towards its unequivocal goal of complete independence in so far as it is constitutionally possible to make that advance.

The Indian Annual Register, 1937, Vol. I, p. 258

163. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

SEGAON, WARDHA,
May 7, 1937

CHI. NARANDAS,

Give the accompanying letter to Kamu. The letter to which it is a reply is also enclosed. If you take from her all the work she can do, what would be your assessment of its value at the market rate? You need not consider whether your school can bear the burden.

You have read in *Harijan*[1] about Anna. Kamalabai, the person with whom he fell, is here at present. She says that she is repenting now. I have myself brought Anna here. I think he is repenting. I am not sure about Kamalabai. She says that she has felt so deeply that she is not likely to commit a similar mistake again. It does not seem desirable to keep both of them at Segaon. I think it will be for Anna's good to keep him with me. I, therefore, feel inclined to put Kamalabai under your care. I will bear the expenses on her account. You may give her any work you like. She has some ability. Her mother tongue is Kannada and she is a Hindi teacher. She is ready to learn whatever other work we may teach her. She can teach sewing, etc. If you feel hesitant, please let me know. Send me a wire if you are ready to take her under your care. We start from here on the 9th. 10, 11 and 12 at Bardoli, and after the 12th in Tithal, near Bulsar. Send the

[1] Dated April 3, 1937; *vide* pp. 45-7.

wire to Bardoli. [I shall be accompanied by] Ba, Mira, Pyarelal, Kano, Mahadev, Radhakrishna, Kanaiyo. Manu may join at Akola. Sharda also will come there. There will be one or two more.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8519. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

164. COCHIN- TRAVANCORE

My worst fears have come true and Cochin and Travancore are at war with each other. The pity of it is that the war is over a matter of vital interest to Hinduism and therefore to the whole of India. It is a war between light and darkness. I am loath to think that the population of Cochin is behind the Cochin Maharaja's action. He may regulate worship in the Cochin temples under his jurisdiction in any manner he likes. But even the most orthodox Hinduism would hardly permit him to regulate the private conduct of the visitors to the Cochin temples. In no temple in India where Harijans are not permitted to worship are trustees authorized to scrutinize the actions of *savarna* Hindus who are entitled as a matter of right to visit the temples.

In Cochin the Maharaja has interfered in respect of a temple[1] over which he has no exclusive control. The Maharaja of Travancore, too, possesses substantial rights over the temples in question. The Cochin order is clearly an interference with that right. If Travancore has sinned, it is no concern of Cochin. The Cochin order is an interference with the right of private judgment.

In this crisis the duty of the public seems to me to be clear. Meetings should be held all over the country condemning the Cochin orders and asking for their withdrawal. The most orthodox Hindus can surely join such protest meetings even though they may not be in favour of throwing open all temples to Harijans. Seeing that the Cochin public is directly interested in the action of its Maharaja, they may lead the agitation. The pundits of

[1] Koodalmanikkam Temple; for details of the controversy, *vide* Appendix V; *vide* also the following item and "Cochin Untouchability", 5-6-1937.

India should dispassionately examine the orders and express their unbiased opinion. I am inclined to think that the Travancore Durbar may well invite the opinion of pundits on the single question of the religious propriety of the Cochin order and undertake to abide by their opinion. In other words, Travancore may well offer to abide by the verdict of an arbitration tribunal consisting of unbiased pundits who will be universally accepted as such. The opinion of an assembly of such pundits would be the nearest approach to an arbitration tribunal. For, whilst the Travancore Durbar had a perfect right to open to Harijans the temples within their sole jurisdiction and ownership and without reference to the opinion of pundits, it would hardly be right to propound a new *Smriti* in respect of temples where there is joint jurisdiction. The Harijan cause must be always and everywhere above suspicion. Travancore's glorious action is capable of standing meticulous scrutiny on the ground of moral correctness.

Harijan, 8-5-1937

165. THE COCHIN TEMPLE-ENTRY BAN

Since the foregoing[1] was written the following was received from Shri C. K. Parameswaran Pillai, President, Kerala Harijan Sevak Sangh. . . .[2]

> In a letter to *The Madras Mail* from somebody from Ernakulam, dated the 20th April, 1937, it is stated that considerable resentment is felt here at the criticisms in Travancore of the Cochin Government's order regarding the Koodalmanikkam Temple at Irinjalakuda, and the vast majority of the Hindus in the State support the Government's action. . . . Again on the 23rd April *The Madras Mail*'s own correspondent wrote to that paper that "leading citizens of Irinjalakuda support the Cochin Government's declaration that the temple was defiled by the participation in its ceremonies of *tantris* who had officiated in temples to which *avarnas* were admitted. . . ."
>
> The Cochin Legislative Council has been passing resolutions year after year recommending to Government the abolition of untouchability. Resolutions were also passed at public meetings on several occasions in

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

[2] Only extracts from Parameswaran Pillai's letter, reporting his interview to the Associated Press of India after a study tour of Cochin, are reproduced here.

> support of temple-entry for Harijans. Having reasons, therefore, to doubt the correctness of the statement in *The Madras Mail*, I went to Ernakulam on the 25th April accompanied by Sjt. M. Govindan, B.A.,B.L., retired Judge and the President of the Trivandrum District Committee of the Harijan Sevak Sangh, to study the real situation of affairs in Cochin. I interviewed several important persons including the Thachudaya Kaimal, the administrator of the Koodalmanikkam Temple, and the President of the S. N. D. P. Yogam. I am now in a position to say definitely that there is no foundation for the statement in *The Madras Mail* that the majority of the people of Cochin support the action of the Cochin Government in excommunicating the *tantris*. *The Hindu* of the 23rd April has published two statements . . . denouncing in unmistakable terms the action taken by the Cochin Government against the Nedumpally Nambudiri, the *tantri* concerned. . . .

From the social and moral standpoint the action of the Cochin Government is unjustifiable and inconsistent. The dharmashastras clearly lay down that anybody who takes a sea voyage—even a person who remains in the sea for three consecutive days—becomes a *patita*. It was for this reason that Professor (now Sir) Ramunny Menon was ostracized by the Cochin Government and prohibited from entering into Cochin temples. A few years later when the Cochin Maharaja's son returned from England after his education, the rule was abrogated and admission was given to all England-returned men to temples. The Cochin temples became polluted then, and the Travancore Government might have taken such steps against the Nedumpally Nambudiripad at that time which the Cochin Government have now taken.

If in fact we apply strictly the rules of the dharmashastras to the present day, the *savarna* Hindus will all have to be treated as *patitas* and they cannot enter the temples there. But in these progressive days no reasonable Government will think of doing such an unreasonable thing. I hope, therefore, that the Cochin Government will reconsider their order and withdraw the same. The Dewan, Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chetty, is a cultured man of modern views and a supporter of the Justice Party. I have no doubt that he will do what is proper and restore public confidence in his administration.

Harijan, 8-5-1937

166. SELF-INFLICTED UNTOUCHABILITY

The letter[1] is printed to show the freshness with which this grand old man of Bengal approaches great problems. The first letter referred to in the foregoing was inadvertently destroyed. Happily the reader has the gist of it in this. Shri Hara Dayal Nag says, truly, that if the temple untouchability is not destroyed, the temples have to be; and if temples go, with them must disappear Hinduism as we know it.

Harijan, 8-5-1937

167. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEGAON, WARDHA,
May 8, 1937

MY DEAR REBEL,

This is being written on paper prepared by Prabhu Dayal. He has brought a fair lot of paper and has been showing it to me with great pride. I thought therefore that I should let you see his handiwork. This is not the best specimen but it was a convenient size for me to cut.

Well, normal men are just as good and as bad as normal women. You have been known to have behaved just as badly as if not worse than Lionel. And I see from your letter to Mira that you do not give me any news about your health thus leaving me to infer that you are keeping quite well. But now I understand you are not keeping extra well. Why should I not know all this? And you have been taking medicines too! You *must* let me know accurately what the matter is with you.

Balkrishna[2] is just as you left him. I thought I had told you as much.

I am glad you are giving so much time to Sanskrit. Your Hindi writing is a trifle too large but you are erring on the safe side; when the hand has settled you will soon begin to write the natural size.

[1] The letter from Hara Dayal Nag is not reproduced here.

[2] Balkrishna Bhave, Vinoba Bhave's younger brother

CWMG - LXV

I have not had a bill from Mehta. He was given the full address. But an evil fate hangs about your address which no one but I would write correctly. I hope you had to pay nothing extra. I hope it will be of use. You should write to Dinsha Mehta to send you the bill for the kettle.

Love.

TYRANT

From the original: C.W. 3781. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6937

168. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

May 8, 1937

CHI. BRIJKRISHNA,

I have your letter. I am now going to Gujarat and shall reach Tithal on the 12th[1]. The best thing would be to obtain a full account from the gentleman and forward it to me. After reading it, I shall, if I think it necessary, send for him.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2453

169. LETTER TO SARASWATI

May 8, 1937

CHI. SARASWATI,

I had your letters but could not reply for lack of time. You seem to be paying good attention to your studies. If it is a fact, tell me in detail how far you have progressed during this period. How is Ramachandran? What headway have you made in music? When do you expect to visit us again? These days it is quite hot here though the nights are still cool, which reduces the discomfort caused by the heat.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI SARASWATI
C/O G. RAMACHANDRAN
HARIJAN SEVAK SANGH
THAIKAD, TRIVANDRUM

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 6159. Also C.W. 3432. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

[1] The source has "13th", a slip.

CWMG - LXV

170. DUTIES OF GANDHI SEVA SANGH

Kumri is a small village, about seventeen miles from Belgaum. Shri Gangadharrao has built an ashram there. The annual meeting of the Gandhi Seva Sangh was to have been held in Hudli but the rain-god intervened and the members of the Sangh ran from the pandal and took shelter under the roof of the weaving-school of the Kumri Ashram. After a great deal of discussion, some important resolutions were passed there, of which the following are the most noteworthy. I give these[1] in the original Hindi language.

The Hindi is so simple that no reader will need a translation. Despite this, if anyone fails to understand them, he should get them translated by someone who knows Hindi.

As regards the first [three] resolutions, it would be sufficient to say that the changes made have been introduced with a view to the expansion of constructive work. These are not made as alternatives or additions to constructive work. The object of the permission[2] is merely to assist it. If this objective is not clearly understood, the fears of Shri Kishorelal may perhaps prove true. The Sangh exists for the very purpose of keeping constructive work alive, for making it interesting and for spreading it from Kashmir to Cape Comorin and from Karachi to Dibrugarh. This is because constructive work has been regarded as the mark of truth and non-violence. For its success contact has to be established with three crores of voters. In order to make this contact effective, if some members of the Gandhi Seva Sangh have to enter Legislatures, it becomes a clear duty of the Sangh to make provision for it.

The fourth resolution is almost self-evident. No matter how many wells and ponds are added, they will prove useful. They increase the country's wealth and, moreover, wells, ponds and such other water-reservoirs constructed by the Sangh, will of course be open to all Harijans. Hence if these are built

[1] Not translated here. The resolutions dealt with the constructive programme through charkha, wells for drinking water, use and propagation of Hindi, eradication of untouchability, and cow-protection.

[2] For Sangh members to stand for election to the Legislative Assembly with the approval of the Working Committee; *vide* also pp. 116-21.

at appropriate sites, they will provide water to innumerable thirsty Harijans and the donors as well as the Sangh will earn the blessings of the beneficiaries. Hence, those who wish to do so should send contributions, without a second thought, to the Sangh for the purpose of digging wells for Harijans.

The fifth resolution is an all-embracing one. The assumption behind it is that village welfare work begins with the service of Bhangis, i.e., with village sanitation. How this can be done is explained in the resolution. It is worth noting that the task of providing medicines and running schools has not been considered essential. There is no mention in the resolution of spinning and such other crafts. The implication is that these things will have to be done, but the stress is laid on what one has to start with. This is because the aim of the resolution is to remove the fear entertained by some members of being boycotted while doing the work of sanitation.

In the sixth resolution the propagation of Hindi has been advocated and the methods indicated. As long as leaders feel it *infra dig* to appear for an examination in Hindi, others will not be very enthusiastic about it. So long as public institutions do not carry on their business in Hindi or so long as Hindi translations are not made available where the use of English is found indispensable, Hindi cannot be propagated on a large scale. Here Hindi includes Hindustani. There is no distinction between the two from the point of view of the Sangh.

The Sangh has through the seventh resolution demonstrated its zeal for national education, but the national Vidyapiths have been entrusted with the task, and that is as it should be.

By the eighth resolution, the meaning of the abolition of untouchability from the standpoint of the Sangh has been clarified. The limits which have been accepted by the Harijan Sevak Sangh for crores of persons so far as the abolition of untouchability is concerned, are in no way sufficient for members of the Sangh who regard truth and non-violence from my standpoint. So long as there are restrictions as regards inter-dining and intermarriage, untouchability is bound to survive to some extent. It is necessary for members of the Sangh to give up these restrictions. Anyone who sincerely serves Harijans cannot possibly observe such restrictions.

Although the ninth resolution is not related to the constructive work of the Congress, it is closely connected with the economic condition of India. Crores of rupees are lost because

of our indifference towards our cattle wealth. The struggle between the cow and the buffalo on the one hand and between cattle and man on the other can continue only to the detriment of all the three. This is because if cows are allowed to perish, buffaloes are bound to follow suit and drag human beings behind. The latter will survive if cows do, but buffaloes have either to return to their original wild state or continue to survive in a very small number. The Sangh has pointed out the easy, straight and consequently inexpensive way of escaping such an untimely death; and that is to insist upon using cow's milk and nothing but cow's milk and its products. This objective will probably be achieved without much difficulty if an all-out effort is made. The appeal to study the cow problem scientifically has been made with a view to justifying what has been said in the above resolution about cattle wealth and helping those engaged in *goseva* propaganda.[1]

[From Gujarati]

Harijanbandhu, 9-5-1937

171. MESSAGE TO INTER-RELIGIOUS STUDENTS' CONFERENCE[2]

WARDHA,
May 9, 1937

The thing I would like to say in the forthcoming Inter-Religious Students' Conference is that before they enter upon their deliberations the students assembled should realize that they meet on a common platform where all the religions represented by the students are treated with equal respect. If they approach their task with mental reservations there will be no heart-fellowship.

The Hindu, 17-5-1937

[1] *Vide* also pp. 137-8.

[2] The conference was held at Alwaye on May 15. The message was read out by the President of the Session.

CWMG - LXV

172. LETTER TO HARIBHAU UPADHYAYA

SEGAON,
May 9, 1937

BHAI HARIBHAU,

I have read your letter. I was indeed happy that the day before yesterday night you went on foot. But I was also afraid that perhaps you would get exhausted. Please do not exert yourself beyond your strength—physically or mentally.

Powerful people very often get away with misdeeds and so we cannot hope to convince anybody if we criticize such conduct for there is considerable truth in the popular maxim. That is why even Tulsidas wrote: "The powerful are never guilty." But the big may do whatever they like; how does that concern us? What reply can we give to those who take cover behind the misdeeds of big people to hide their own?

I have read your article[1]. I have not been able to spare the time to study it carefully and ponder over the matter. I have made a correction at one place. Please see it. The correction explains itself.

I hope to reach Wardha at about half past seven.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 6086. Courtesy: Haribhau Upadhyaya

173. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

BHUSAVAL,
May 10, 1937

CHI. MUNNALAL,

It pains me very much that there is no harmony among you all at Segaon. Lilavati's shortcomings are numerous but she has as many virtues. Either she should win you over or you have to win her over. Please think over this.

[1] *Vide* pp. 201-3.

Introduce order in your work. Find out customers for separated milk. Please regard that as your field.

I have talked over everything with Chiranjilal. Jamnalalji also was present. The secretary also was present, and so were the new Diwan and Shri Jawlekar. Please keep me informed.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8587. Also C.W. 7009. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

174. LETTER TO VIJAYA N. PATEL

May 10, 1937

CHI. VIJAYA,

I certainly felt unhappy for not bringing you with me. But I am sure that your good lay in not coming.

You have been a little hasty in forming your opinion about Lilavati. She is proud and is prone to anger, but has no malice at all. You have to learn much from everybody. One should see the virtues of all and not their shortcomings. Please remember the couplet. . . .[1]

If you don't follow the meaning of this, please learn it from Anna. Master the secret of serving everybody silently.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7065. Also C.W. 4557. Courtesy: Vijayabehn M. Pancholi

175. LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI

May 10, 1937

CHI. AMRITLAL,

I have told Anna to supervise Mirabehn's work like spinning, etc. She is not yet proficient in that work. Please, therefore, explain to her as much as you can. But don't tax yourself.

[1] Here in the source, Gandhiji again quotes the verse from *Ramacharitamanas*, Balkand; *vide* p. 3.

CWMG-LXV

Everybody should spare half an hour for *goseva*. Develop the children's intelligence by making them spin on the *takli*. Teach them the new method of turning the *takli*.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]
Look after Kamaladevi. Anna is the oldest inmate of the Ashram. Have full trust in him. He has committed a serious error. But I hope that he will learn from it and will cast out the evil from himself.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10729

176. LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA

May 10, 1937

CHI. BALVANTSINHA,

We had a good talk together. You have to learn the art of living with others. Look to the good qualities of Lilavati and others and overlook the bad ones. I hope you have started your *yajna* of *goseva*.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1899

177. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

BARDOLI,
May 10, 1937

CHI. NARANDAS,

Do you still receive every three months or six months the remittance on Mirabehn's account? If so, what is the amount? How much in all must you have received ?

You must have got my letter regarding Kamalabai. Manu has joined me from Akola. I, therefore, have a big enough crowd accompanying me. One or two more may still join. Kanaiyo of course is in the party, together with his *dilruba*. Manu has brought her *sitar*.

Blessings from
BAPU

CWMG - LXV

[PS.]

We reach Tithal on the 12th. Address your reply there.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8520. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

178. LETTER TO ANNAPURNA

May 10, 1937

May all your aspirations that you told me of today be realized and may you prove a selfless servant of the people.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9423

179. DISCUSSION WITH WORKERS[1]

BARDOLI,
[*May 11, 1937*][2]

CONGRESS WORKER: But it is 11 miles from the Railway Station, and you have said that the place should not be more than seven miles from the Station. Sydla is two furlongs and Afwa only two miles.

GANDHIJI: If I said seven miles, I meant seventy. At any rate that should be our aim. We have ultimately to reach the villages which are considered inaccessible today. And where else can you have this vast supply of water and so much open space for the thousands of people we are going to have, as also for the numerous cows we shall need for them? And then what a charming name is Haripura! Hari meaning God.

[1] Some Congress workers who disapproved of Haripura ('town of God') as the Congress venue, met Gandhiji at Swaraj Ashram This is extracted from the "Weekly Letter" by Mahadev Desai, who had reported: "We spent two days in Bardoli . . . Ever since we have decided to hold the Congress in villages, the selection of the venue . . . becomes an additional problem . . . There are several villages in Bardoli taluka that have made themselves famous during recent years by their sacrifice and suffering . . . But Gandhiji showed them that we could not afford to go by that consideration alone. The place selected should be in the heart of villages and it should have natural advantages. . . . Haripura, therefore, which is beautifully situated on the river Tapti, with vast stretches of unarable land right on its bank easily captured Gandhiji's heart."

[2] From *The Hindu*, 13-5-1937, and 19-5-1937

CWMG - LXV

It will be frightfully expensive, everything having to be carried ten miles by motor-lorries and buses. It is not in the centre of the taluk, as are other places, and the village people will be hard put to it in going from one end of the taluk to the other.

Why should we fight shy of the distances and why should we have motor-lorries? We have any number of bullock carts in the taluk.

If we have the Congress at Afwa, we can have water from Bardoli at little expense. The ginning companies would readily oblige us with their engines for electricity and something like Rs. 15,000 would be saved.

That means that we should always have our Congress in the vicinity of towns and cities! Why should we not do without electricity? And while people from Surat and the neighbouring villages will flock to Afwa near Bardoli, what about the Raniparaj people—the hill people—whom we want to acquaint somewhat with the Congress?

You must not be swayed by my argument unless it appeals to your reason and experience.

Harijan, 22-5-1937

180. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

ON WAY TO TITHAL,
May 12, 1937

CHI. PRABHA,

It was in Bardoli I got your letter. I do not blame you, but is it not our misfortune, both yours and mine? Otherwise how could a letter sent to you C/o *Searchlight* go astray? But take a lesson from this, that I don't forget to write to you. I reply to you as soon as I receive your letter.[1]

I didn't have the courage to send for you at Allahabad.

Sardar believes that Jayaprakash is sure to be released today. It is good indeed that he has started learning Urdu. Nobody can doubt his capacity for hard work.

I understand about Father. He is getting old, too. Free him completely from the burden of work. He will listen to you.

We shall be staying in Tithal up to the 31st. Then I shall go to Segaon and I wish to stay there till the Congress session.

[1] *Vide* also p. 165.

CWMG - LXV

My diet is the same that you saw. The weight is nearly 112 which can certainly be described as good. Tithal is right on the sea-coast, so it will be sufficiently cool. We shall reach there at about 3 o'clock today. Just now we are in Navsari. Manilal Kothari is very ill and we have come here to see him.

The party in Tithal will be: Ba, Kano, Manu, Mahadev, Pyarelal, Mirabehn, Kanaiyo, Radhakishan, Manohar (Shankerlal's sister's son) Sardar and Manibehn. Some others also may come.

I understand about you. I see that you will go to Mridula only when you can be free from there. I suppose you will come and see me before going.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3500

181. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

TITHAL (BULSAR),
May 12, 1937

I am surprised at my remarks[1] being misunderstood. I still maintain that whilst Lord Zetland's statement is agreeably worded, it does not remove the deadlock in the sense that it gives no specific answer to the specific Congress demand, namely, that the method in which the Governors will use their powers of interference whenever they fear an emergency would be that of dismissal of the Ministry rather than expecting the Ministry to resign or submit to the Governor's wishes. I hold that this is perfectly constitutional and equally honourable for both parties. The Governors will reason with their Ministers. The Ministers would be bound courteously to listen to what they say. But if reason fails to carry conviction the only proper course for both parties would be for the Governors to dismiss such Ministers and dissolve the Assembly or take whatever measures may be open to them constitutionally.

The Hindu, 13-5-1937

[1] The Editor of *The Hindu*, referring to the "Interview to Associated Press of India", pp. 175-6, had sent the following telegram to Gandhiji: "Your observation 'I fear it is no contribution to removal of deadlock' misunderstood in local official quarters as refusal to recognize valuable admissions by Lord Zetland in favour of Congress demand. Request removal misapprehension."

182. LETTER TO VIJAYA N. PATEL

TITHAL, BULSAR,
May 12, 1937

CHI. VIJAYA,

I met Naranbhai[1]. Sardar also was present. We had a long talk. His love for you is boundless. When I talked about Manubhai[2] he started crying. He said: "If she wants to marry only with our consent, why does she bring up Manubhai's name every time? We will never be pleased with that marriage. She has taken a pledge to remain unmarried. Let her keep it. But if at all she wants to marry, then there are two or three good young men in our community; she may select one of them." This is the substance of what he said. I pacified him. I told him that you were not bent upon marrying him. If you at all marry, I said, you would marry Manubhai, but that if your parents would not gladly give you their blessings you would be prepared to remain unmarried. I also told him that you certainly wished that they should not press you to marry anybody else. Sardar also spoke in favour of Manubhai. He said that now in this age girls should be given some freedom; after having educated them we should not expect that they should always obey our wishes. But all this had no effect on Naranbhai. I have assured him that I would not marry you off to Manubhai secretly.

Now my advice is that if you wish you may send this letter to Manubhai. Even if you don't do that, you may, if you think it proper, write to him and tell him that your marriage is likely to be delayed and may not even come off. I am sure you would not wish to marry after the death of your parents. Both of you should wish that they may live long. It would be a different matter if your patience, your blameless conduct and Manubhai's purity should melt their hearts. But I do not think that in this case anything except time and the conduct of you both can have any effect. If occasion arises I would certainly be ready to say more. But I shall not have the courage to hurt them. Sardar is going to try.

[1] Addressee's father

[2] Manubhai Pancholi, one of the founder-members of Lokbharati, Sanosara

I see that Manubhai has become impatient. He should have patience.

You must have got my last letter[1]. I hope you have again become friendly with Lilavati.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I do not see my penknife with two blades which used to be kept on my inkstand. Please keep it safe if it is left behind there. If it is not found, it will have to be given up as lost.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7066. Also C.W. 4558. Courtesy: Vijayabehn M. Pancholi

183. LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI

TITHAL, BULSAR,
May 12, 1937

CHI. KANTI,

Only today I got your letter. We reached here just today. Bal has come. Tomorrow he will leave for that side.

You have been travelling a good deal and also gathering a lot of experience. Did you carefully see the old family houses in Porbandar? Each and every room has a history.

I didn't know at all that Navin was there. You may by all means stay in Bangalore. Both places are the same to me. Ramachandran's[2] company, too, will be a good thing. Perhaps you will get more experience in Bangalore. Devdas says that your letters to him are very short. Write in detail. Describe your daily programme also.

Harilal has again become unbalanced. He has again written a letter to the newspapers saying all kinds of things. He has left the Swami with whom he was staying. It is difficult to say what he will do now. I have put my trust in God. He may do as He wills.

I am accompanied by Ba, Kano, Manu, Kanaiyo, Mahadev, Pyarelal and Radhakishan. Sharda (Chimanlal's) is expected to come. You may come whenever you wish. There is enough room here. I am getting good experience of Bachu. I am

[1] *Vide* p. 186
[2] G. Ramachandran

convinced that the intellect can be fully developed while learning different crafts. This is not to forbid literary studies, but only to say that the intellect can be best developed through crafts. Literary studies then become a very easy task and take their proper place. At present literature has merely become a means of self-indulgence and we are suffering the consequences of that.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7321. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

184. TELEGRAM TO NANDALAL BOSE

BULSAR,
May 13, 1937

NANDALAL BOSE
SANTINIKETAN

COULD YOU COME EARLY INSPECT SITE NEXT CONGRESS AND ADVISE REGARDING PLAN ETC.? INFORM DATE. REACH BARDOLI VIA BHUSAVAL.

GANDHI

From a photostat: C.W. 9825

185. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

TITHAL, BULSAR,
May 13, 1937

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your two letters of 7th and 11th respectively have just come in. We arrived here yesterday 3 p.m.

Whether four days' gap is too long or not is a matter of opinion. I certainly missed your letter in Bardoli as also here yesterday. But you are always excused. I do not want your letters at the cost of your health or your work. But I want them when you can give them to me without strain and stress.

Your letter to the Municipality is good. If no relief is immediately given, you should certainly expose the Municipality. Why not write to Lady Linlithgow? Invite her to visit the quarters.

CWMG - LXV

I am not going to issue a certificate of merit until you possess excellent health. And you can do it, if you will be carefree and take plenty of milk, juicy fruit and salads. What is the quantity of milk you take now?

I do not believe in your reserving things to be told to me when we meet. You either forget them or the things are too stale to bear telling or there is no time.

When you have a hailstorm, why can't you say "God knows best?" If He does not, who does? When we have what we call magnificent weather, why should we thank God, and why not when there is uncomfortable hailstorm? I can understand not thanking at all. But we do, whether we say it in so many words or not, every time we feel pleased. To be pleased is to express thanks by action.

Here comes the meal and I must stop.

Love.

TYRANT

[PS.]

The Hindi letter is first class.

From the original: C.W. 3603. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6412

186. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

May 13, 1937

MY DEAR GHANSHYAMDASJI,

Your letter[1] about Cochin awaits a reply. We may not make light of the matter. It is serious enough in Bapu's opinion, and will need a considerable amount of propaganda. But it is clear that we may not finance it. This sort of spoon-feeding cannot last long. However Bapu thinks you may ask Parameswaran Pillai to submit you a detailed budget. We can then examine it and be in a better position to decide. We shall expect you here on the 20th.

Yours affectionately,
MAHADEV

Birla Papers. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

[1] In his letter dated May 7 to Mahadev Desai, the addressee had written: "Parameswaran Pillai wants financial help for carrying on propaganda work. I don't know how Bapu thinks about it, but personally I should not like to give undue importance to Cochin order. Perhaps thereby we would not help the cause."

CWMG - LXV

187. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

TITHAL, BULSAR,
May 13, 1937

CHI. PREMA,

Only today I got your letter and I am replying to it immediately. Your previous letter is still lying in my file. But let me dispose of this. I will see about the other later.

Tell Sushila that, if all of you had come here, I could have accommodated you but wouldn't have been able to give you the privacy you had there. Nor the cold of that place, if your description of it is correct. Here we do feel the heat.

I don't know if injustice has been done to Nariman.[1] Why should it be assumed that the leader of Bombay should become the leader of the whole Presidency? And can anybody misguide or coerce all the representatives of three Provinces? If injustice has been done, why do all those representatives, who are still alive, put up with it? I, therefore, don't understand this talk about injustice. I don't even understand what Sardar is believed to have done. I felt that the whole agitation was got up. But if I don't understand this matter properly, you may reason with me and convince me. I have no antipathy to Nariman. My attitude has nothing to do with the charges which have been levelled against him. The truth or falsehood of these charges can be inquired into whenever Nariman wishes. I learnt only today that he is your friend. I have expressed my opinion in a perfectly objective spirit.

I was pained to read about . . .[2] I have published only what both of them told me, and that, too, because she wanted me to publish it. It seems to me that . . .[3] makes no distinction between truth and falsehood. You may show her this.

I had written to Dev. I have received his reply. I did not write immediately.

[1] K. F. Nariman, President, Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, who was defeated in the Bombay Legislature leadership election, had charged Vallabhbhai Patel with bringing about his defeat. This led to a prolonged controversy which was finally settled by arbitrators, who declared Vallabhbhai Patel free from blame.

[2&3] The names have been omitted.

I was glad to learn that the work in Saswad has not been given up. I believe in the saying, "Not to embark upon a thing in the first instance." If you take up any other work now, cling to it.

It would have been better if you four had asked me to give you an appointment. I accept your argument that I wouldn't have been able to say much without knowing the position at Saswad. You are also right in saying that this is only the beginning of my experience of village life, and that, therefore, all of us are equal in that respect. Even so, my ideas have an element of originality in them, and the power behind them comes from ahimsa. I think, therefore, that all four of you would have learnt something from me.

I like your effort to learn the art of thinking for I had found your speech[1] at Hudli lacking in thought. Your ideas there seemed to me like so much smoke emitted by your brain. They were not outpourings of the heart. I wanted to spare some time and discuss them with you and convince you, as clearly as two and two make four, that there was no real thinking behind them. But you left in a great hurry and so I did not get any opportunity. Since I was in no hurry to prove to you your lack of thought, I didn't hold you back. I was sure that you yourself would sooner or later see this deficiency in you. And now I see your admission of it in this very letter of yours. It is understandable that you do not see this deficiency in the ideas you expressed at Hudli. But if you really learn how to think, you are bound to see the deficiency in those ideas.

I, therefore, like your having given up the thought of asking for my views regarding principles. I will like it better still if you resolve to make no speeches till you have mastered the art of thinking, and you will acquire the art the sooner if you make no speeches.

Blessings to you all
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10389. Also C.W. 6828. Courtesy: Premabehn Kantak

[1] *Vide* footnote 2, p. 100.

CWMG-LXV

188. LETTER TO MOTILAL ROY

TITHAL, BULSAR,
May 14, 1937

DEAR MOTI BABU,

Arun Chandra Dutt has my blessings and so his partner. I assume that this celibacy means freedom from every form of sexual contact, mental or physical, and that they are husband and wife only in name and are truly partners in service.

I hope you are keeping fit.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 11049

189. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

May 14, 1937

MY DEAR GHANSHYAMDASJI,

I have your full letter of the 10th with the enclosure. Bapu read both the letter and the enclosure and said you are wrong in thinking—as you seem to do with *The Statesman*[1]—that he is now making an additional demand. He has made Government's work definitely easier by making the Congress demand free from ambiguity and no one can now say as Lord Zetland has done[2] that if an assurance were given it would lead to endless discussions about interpretation and allegations of breach of faith. If the bare assurance[3] that Bapu has now reduced the Congress demand to is granted, there will be no questions of interpretation and no fear of breach of faith. I am surprised that you do not see this.

You seem to have read more meaning in my sentence than I had meant.[4] I meant to say that if the speech had been made two months ago it would

[1] In his letter dated May 13, the addressee referring to the leading article in *The Statesman* had written: "It appears that an impression is gaining ground that there is something more subtle at the bottom of the simple utterances of Bapu than what could be read in the language itself."

[2] In his speech at the House of Lords; *vide* Appendix IV.

[3] *Vide* "Interview to Associated Press of India", pp. 175-6; also "Statement to the Press", p. 190.

[4] In his letter dated May 10, the addressee had written: "When I read Bapu's interview (*vide* pp. 175-6), on Zetland's speech, I felt that either I had mis-

CWMG - XXV

have gone a long way in bringing about an understanding. That is to say, from that statement to the assurance asked for by Bapu would have been a very easy step. He has publicly recognized the conciliatory tone in which the speech was couched, but it leaves him enough loop-hole to say that he meant nothing more than is laid down in the Government of India Act. They must be prepared to face the fact that a new convention is being asked for by the party commanding the biggest majority in the country and it must be given.

Lord Lothian's letter[1] contains nothing new. He wrote a much longer letter to Bapu on similar lines.

But more when we meet.

Yours affectionately,
MAHADEV

Birla Papers. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

190. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

May 14, 1937

[CHI. LILA][2] VATI,

You insisted on walking. . . . Anna writes and says that . . . considerably. Even then you walked with me. What happened was only . . . For this must have . . . your heart. You must have received my previous letters.

Give Anna Rs. 13 and Kamalabai the fare up to Rajkot plus Rs. 2. If she is ready to go to Rajkot, please prepare for her whatever she wants for tiffin. The fare to Rajkot comes to about Rs. 13.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9586. Also C.W. 6558. Courtesy: Lilavati Asar

---

understood Bapu all along or perhaps his attitude has recently been stiffened. . . . You also say that 'had he, viz., Zetland, said this right in the beginning, there would have been no impasse.' That shows that there is nothing wrong with the speech itself . . . it was delivered at a wrong moment."

[1] This was an enclosure to the addressee's letter dated May 10 to Mahadev Desai.

[2] The original is damaged at several places.

CWMG - LXV

191. THE CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME

The Working Committee has emphasized the necessity of the members of the Legislatures and other workers taking the constructive programme of 1920 to the three crore villagers between whom and their representatives a direct contact has been established. The representatives may if they choose neglect them, or give them some paltry or even substantial relief from financial burdens; but they cannot give them self-confidence, dignity and the power of continuously bettering their own position unless they will interest them in the fourfold constructive programme, i.e., universal production and use of khadi through universal hand-spinning, Hindu-Muslim or rather communal unity, promotion of total prohibition by propaganda among those who are addicted to the drink habit, and removal by Hindus of untouchability root and branch.

It was announced in 1920 and 1921 from a thousand platforms that attainment of swaraj by the non-violent method was impossible without these four things. I hold that it is not less true today.

It is one thing to improve the economic condition of the masses by State regulation of taxation, and wholly another for them to feel that they have bettered their condition by their own sole personal effort. Now this they can only do through hand-spinning and other village handicrafts.

Similarly it is one thing to regulate communal conduct by means of pacts between leaders, voluntary or imposed by the State; it is wholly different for the masses to respect one another's religious and outward observances. This cannot be done unless the legislators and workers would go out among the villagers and teach them mutual toleration.

Again it is one thing to impose, as we must, prohibition by law, and another to sustain it by willing obedience to it. It is a defeatist, arm-chair mentality which says that it cannot work without an expensive and elaborate system of espionage. Surely if the workers went out to the villagers and demonstrated the evil of drink wherever it is prevalent, and if research scholars found out the causes of alcoholism and proper knowledge was imparted to the people, prohibition should not only prove

inexpensive but profitable. This is a work essentially for women to handle.

Lastly, we may banish by statute, as we must, the evil consequences of untouchability. But we cannot have real independence unless people banish the touch-me-not spirit from their hearts. The masses cannot act as one man or with one mind unless they eradicate untouchability from their hearts.

Thus this and the three other items are a matter of true mass education. And it has become imperatively necessary now that three crores of men and women have rightly or wrongly power put into their hands. However hedged in it is, Congressmen and others who want the suffrages of these voters have it in their hands either to educate the three crores of mankind along the right lines or the wrong. It would be the wrong line to neglect them altogether in matters which most vitally concern them.

Harijan, 15-5-1937

192. WHOSE IS THE BLAME?

With reference to my note[1] in *Harijan* of 17th April, 1937, about the alleged ill-treatment of Christians by Hindus, I have received two letters. One is from Shri C. K. Parameswaran Pillai, President of the Kerala Harijan Sevak Sangh, and the other from Dr. M. E. Naidoo of Nagercoil. Shri Pillai writes:

> I read in the *Harijan* your statement regarding the complaint made by Father Petro about the interference of an Excise peon with some new converts to Christianity. As soon as I returned from Madras I wrote to this priest for detailed information regarding the incidents referred to in his card. Having received no reply from him I sent a reminder yesterday. If he gives me sufficient materials, I will enquire into the matter and make a report.

Dr. Naidoo writes a long letter sending me counter-complaints. He cites 12 cases of disturbances by Christians during the last two years. They are taken from his periodical reports made to the Kerala Provincial Harijan Sevak Sangh. I take the following extracts[2] from his letter.

Of course the counter-complaints cannot disprove the charges brought by Father Petro. I hope, therefore, that he will

[1] *Vide* pp. 91-2.

[2] Not reproduced here

reply to Shri Pillai's letter and enable him to deal with or refute the charges brought by him. It is the duty of the Harijan Sevak Sangh to promote harmony between Harijans and others with whom they come in daily contact. It is equally its duty to protect Harijans from ill-treatment as also to protect others from being molested by them.

Harijan, 15-5-1937

193. THE MARRIAGE IDEAL[1]

A friend writes:[2]

In the current issue of *Harijan Sevak* in your article entitled "A Moral Dilemma"[3] you have observed, "Many marriage taboos appear to have grown out of social customs.[4] They are nowhere seen to rest on any vital, moral or religious principle." My own instinct based upon my experience tells me that probably these taboos were promulgated out of eugenic considerations. It is a well-known principle of the science of eugenics that the issue resulting from the crossing of exogamous elements is eugenically fitter than the product of endogamous unions. That is the reason why in Hinduism *sagotra* (सगोत्र) and *sapinda* (सपिण्ड) marriages are interdicted. On the other hand if we admit social custom with all its kaleidoscopic variety and change to be sole reason for these taboos, we are left with no strong reason why marriages between paternal uncle and niece, or for the matter of that between brother and sister, should absolutely be tabooed. If, as you say, the begetting of progeny be the only legitimate object of marriage, then the choice of partners would become purely a question of eugenic harmony. Are all other considerations to be ruled out of court as relatively unimportant? If not, what should be their order of precedence? I would set it down as follows:

1. mutual attraction or love;
2. eugenic fitness;
3. approval and consent of the respective families concerned; and consideration for the interest of the social order to which one belongs;
4. spiritual development.

[1] The Hindi original of this appeared in *Harijan Sevak*, 15-5-1937, of which this is a "slightly abridged" translation by Pyarelal.

[2] Only extracts from the letter written by Haribhau Upadhyaya are reproduced here.

[3] *Vide* pp. 161-2.

[4] In Pyarelal's translation, however, this reads: "Marriage taboos are not universal and are largely based on social usage."

What do you say to it? . . .

I entirely agree with you that a married person who confines the sex act strictly to the purpose of procreation should be regarded as a *brahmachari*. I also hold with you that in the case of a married couple who have practised the rule of purity and self-control before and after marriage a single act of union must lead to conception. In support of your first point there is in our Shastras the celebrated story of Vishwamitra and Arundhati, the wife of Vasishtha who in spite of her one hundred sons was greeted by Vishwamitra as a perfect *brahmacharini*, whose command even the elements were bound to obey because her connubial relations with her husband were purely directed to the attainment and discharge of the function of motherhood. But I doubt whether even the Hindu Shastras would support your ideal of having only one offspring irrespective of whether it is male or female. It seems to me, therefore, that if you liberalize your ideal of married life so as to include the begetting of one male offspring in addition to the possible female ones, it would go a long way towards satisfying many married couples.

I do not know what the scientific basis for the various taboos in respect of marriage relationships is. But it seems to me clear that a social custom or usage that helps the practice of virtue and self-control should have the sanctity of a moral law. If it is eugenic considerations that are at the root of interdiction of marriages between brother and sister, then they ought to apply equally to cousin-marriages. A safe rule of conduct, therefore, would be as a rule to respect such taboos where they exist in a particular society. I accept generally the conditions for an ideal marriage enumerated by my correspondent. But I would change their order of importance and put 'love' last in the list. By giving it the first place, the other conditions are liable to be overshadowed by it altogether and rendered more or less nugatory. Therefore, spiritual development ought to be given the first place in the choice for marriage. Service should come next, family considerations and the interest of the social order should have the third place, and mutual attraction or 'love' the fourth and the last place. This means that 'love' alone, where the other four conditions are not fulfilled, should not be held as a valid reason for marriage. At the same time, marriage where there is no love should equally be ruled out even though all the other conditions are fully complied with. I should score out the condition of eugenic fitness, because the begetting of offspring being the central purpose of marriage, eugenic fitness cannot be treated merely as a 'condition', it is the *sine qua non* of marriage.

Hindu Shastras certainly show a marked bias in favour of the male offspring. But this originated at a time when physical warfare was the order of the day and adequate man-power was a *sine qua non* of success in the struggle for existence. The number of sons that a man had was therefore then looked upon as a mark of virility and strength, and to facilitate the begetting of numerous offspring even polygamy was sanctioned and encouraged. But if we regard marriage as a sacrament, there is room in it only for one offspring, and that is why in our Shastras the first offspring is described as धर्मज [*dharmaja*], i.e., 'duty-born', all subsequent issues being referred to as कामज [*kamaja*], i.e., 'lust-born'. I make no distinction between son and daughter. Such distinction is in my opinion invidious and wrong. The birth of a son or a daughter should be welcome alike.

The story of Vishwamitra and Vasishtha is good as an illustration of the principle that the sexual act performed solely for the purpose of begetting offspring is not inconsistent with the highest ideal of *brahmacharya*. But the whole of that story need not be taken literally. Sexual intercourse for the purpose of carnal satisfaction is reversion to animality, and it should therefore be man's endeavour to rise above it. But failure to do so as between husband and wife cannot be regarded as a sin or a matter of obloquy. Millions in this world eat for the satisfaction of their palate; similarly millions of the husbands and wives indulge in the sex act for their carnal satisfaction and will continue to do so and also pay the inexorable penalty in the shape of numberless ills with which nature visits all violations of its order. The ideal of absolute *brahmacharya* or of married *brahmacharya* is for those who aspire to a spiritual or higher life; it is the *sine qua non* of such life.

Harijan, 5-6-1937

194. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

TITHAL, BULSAR,
May 15, 1937

MY DEAR REBEL,

Your note and the cutting. Of course you will miss your Hindi lesson or Sanskrit when you are tired or busy. These things ought never to be a tax on you. They must be your recreation. You will master these languages better and mentally

and physically flourish under recreative work. And on no account may you omit your daily walks.

The cutting you send is out of the ordinary. The writer is concerned about my soul more than about the loss of Harijans to the so-called Christianity.

Sardar has ensured perfect quiet for me. He does not allow visitors to come near me. This leaves me free to attend to correspondence with fair regularity.

Love.

ROBBER

From the original: C.W. 3604. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6413

195. LETTER TO S. AMBUJAMMAL

May 15, 1937

CHI. AMBUJAM,

You have sent me a full and businesslike letter. Lakshmanrao went as he came. He answered your description completely. He was quite docile.

Kamala gave birth to a still-born son. She was put in a maternity hospital at my instance in Cawnpore. She will now be sent to Rajkot where Narandas Gandhi, the Ashram Manager, will take charge of her. She has made lavish promises of exemplary behaviour. Harihar Sharma will be in Segaon. I do not just now need your assistance unless you and Mrs. Rangachari wish to contribute anything towards her maintenance. If she proves worthy she will earn her living. Meanwhile there is no difficulty about supporting her. You need not therefore go out of your way to send me anything.

Whenever your translation of [the] *Ramayana* comes out it must be first class and flawless. I do not want anything inferior from your pen.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: Ambujammal Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

CWMG - LXV

196. LETTER TO NANDALAL BOSE

May 15, 1937

DEAR NANDA BABU,

You cannot afford to have indifferent health. I hope, therefore, that you will be soon restored. I would not think of risking any damage to your health although your presence may be urgently needed.[1] But I understand what you mean. As soon as the site is finally chosen, I hope to send you topographical details and the draft plan that may be prepared. Sardar Patel is inviting Mhatre[2] and Ramdas, both of whom you know, to select the site and prepare the sketch plan.

I am in Tithal till the 30th instant.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: C.W. 9826

197. LETTER TO VIJAYA N. PATEL

TITHAL,
May 15, 1937

CHI. VIJAYA,

I got your letter. Certainly Lilavati is proud but she has no malice in her. One who has malice stings. Lilavati speaks out on the instant whatever she feels, but harbours no ill will afterwards. Anybody who has malice cannot tolerate the happiness of others and will never hesitate to harm him or her when an opportunity occurs. I have not seen Lilavati ever doing this. To speak sarcastically is not a sign of malice. It is just a way of speaking with some. It is a fact that she looks up to very few with respect. But that is only a sign of pride. One who is eager to have good relations with others should keep silent and serve them as much as possible. You have less thinking power and have, therefore, less capacity for weighing things.

[1] *Vide* also p. 193.
[2] Baburao D. Mhatre, an architect of Bombay

You should, therefore, practise writing and expressing your thoughts clearly so that you may learn to think clearly. And you must study some book of deep wisdom. Such a book is the *Ramayana* or the *Gita*. You have a very straightforward nature and a strong moral character, and they create a good impression about you. Your welfare is assured.

You are experiencing burning heat there. Here because we are just facing the sea we get cool and gentle breezes.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7067. Also C.W. 4559. Courtesy: Vijayabehn M. Pancholi

198. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

May 15, 1937

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I am very glad that you wrote the long letter. It will be enough for me if you and Lilavati only adjust yourselves to each other. It was certainly good that all the pent-up feelings came out that day.

I followed what you have written about Mirabehn. If she had no shortcomings at all, she would be a saint. We should only see everybody's virtues. Is there anybody who has no shortcomings? We should not, therefore, even think about them. If we look at people's shortcomings only, we would be sure to go mad and be left alone in the world.

I understand about Chiranjilal. If we bear in mind that we are servants, then anyone being a leader should not hurt us. We may not submit to anybody's order for our selfish interest, but for the sake of service we may make ourselves slaves of the whole world.

If you feel that Nanavati's[1] health is deteriorating, please find out the cause.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8586. Also C.W. 7010. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

[1] Amritlal T. Nanavati

199. LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI

May 15, 1937

CHI. AMRITLAL,

I got your letter. Take whatever rest may be necessary to recoup your health. If you have to give up any work, then do so. Cling to hip-baths. It is good that you have started sucking sugar-cane.

You are in no way responsible for Lilavati's suffering. Nor need you spare half an hour for her. She herself is the cause of her suffering. It is true that she feels lonely there. Give her as much love as you can.

Anna is a very experienced man. I had heard all that he had to say. I have requested him to console Lilavati. He can do it. Wait and see what he can do.

Two books pertaining to khadi are with Anna (with Mirabehn). The rest you will get from the library at either Nalwadi or the Mahila Ashram.

If Nanubhai and the worker from Khadi Karyalaya come, I will see them.

About the jaggery from dates, please write to Radhakisan. He had offered to purchase it. Write to Gosibehn[1], too. I have written to her.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10730

200. LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA

May 15, 1937

CHI. BALVANTSINHA,

The book on goshala has been located. It will come to hand.
Your *yajna* of *goseva* must be progressing well.

KANU
On behalf of Bapu

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1900

[1] Gosibehn Captain

201. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

May 15, 1937

CHI. BRIJKRISHNA,

I had your letter and a separate one from Deka[1]. Deka's letter along with my reply is enclosed herewith. Deka has written something about the socialists. Did you, too, understand the matter in the same way?

I am awaiting your letter regarding the Narela Ashram. I hope your health is all right.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2452

202. LETTER TO SARASWATI

May 15, 1937

CHI. SARASWATI,

You ought to write your letters only in ink. We are all living with the Sardar at a seaside village called Tithal, a hundred miles from Bombay. Ba, Manu, Kanu, Mirabehn and others are here. Kanti, too, will come down for a few days.

Why doesn't Amma[2] spin these days? We can do without food but never without spinning. It is a great *yajna*. Does not Amma know this? It is imperative that activities like spinning, carding, etc., should be a daily feature in your home.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 6160. Also C.W. 3433. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

[1] K. C. Deka, Assamese labour worker in Delhi
[2] Addressee's mother

203. INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS OF INDIA

May 15, 1937

It is unfortunate that His Excellency has walked round instead of walking straight to the resolution of the Working Committee. If he has only to repeat what he said to Mr. Kher, leader of the Congress Parliamentary Party of the Presidency, there is evidently no advance upon the old position and if the Belgaum speech[1] is a paraphrase of Lord Zetland's recent speech[2], the situation is certainly no better and it is possibly worse.

The Hindu, 15-5-1937

204. THE REED v. THE FOUNTAIN-PEN[3]

I am tempted to share with the reader the following letter[4] received by Mahadev Desai:

> Some time back in an article entitled "Wanted Rural-mindedness", you recommended, as a step in that direction, the adoption of the reed-pen in the place of the fountain-pen. I was struck by your argument, and after reading Bapu's interpretation of the A. I. V. I. A. membership pledge[5], I laid aside my fountain-pen and took to the reed, nine months

[1] On May 14, in his speech at Belgaum, Lord Brabourne, Governor of Bombay, had said: "The special responsibilities placed on the Governor by Parliament deal with matters on which it was hoped that no conflict would arise between a Governor and his Ministers. . . . The taking of office means hard work and the assumption of responsibility, but without these no country can govern itself; an attitude of mere negation leads nowhere and avails nothing. . . . My Ministers, whatever their political outlook, can rely not only on this understanding and sympathy but also on my doing everything in my power to avoid a situation occurring in which conflict of opinion would arise between us in the sphere of responsibilities."

[2] Of May 6, 1937; *vide* Appendix IV.

[3] The Gujarati original of this appeared in *Harijanbandhu*, 16-5-1937. This is a translation by Pyarelal.

[4] Only excerpts from the letter written by Prabhudas Gandhi are reproduced here.

[5] *Vide* Vol. LX, pp. 310-1 and 331-2.

CWMG LXV

back. I was not altogether unused to the reed-pen. . . . After a month of baffling experience, however, I was again forced to return to the fountain-pen a sadder and a wiser man. The reasons which compelled the change were as follows:

1. It took three hours to copy out matter, using a reed-pen, that could be done with the fountain-pen in one hour and a half. . . .

2. It took at least from a quarter of an hour to three quarters of an hour to mend one reed-pen by means of an indigenous village knife. . . .

3. The fountain-pen enables you to make short jottings and entries, so indispensable in the course of village work, while standing, or while you are on the move. When I reverted to the use of the reed-pen, I invariably found that my diary-writing and maintenance of other daily records and registers fell heavily into arrears . . .

Surely, it is no part of the policy of the A. I. V. I. A. to slave-drive its workers to the very limit of their capacity. . . .

At the same time it would be unconscionable to go on using the fountain-pen in the teeth of the clear injunction of the A. I. V. I. A. . . .

As I write this another argument occurs to me. Perhaps you will find it to be specious as the preceding ones. Bapu welcomes the Singer machine as an aid to the tailor's needle; why should he not extend the same welcome to other domestic tools and appliances that are no less helpful to the individual householder. . . . The A. I. V. I. A. does not oppose the use of the plough, the spinning-wheel and the fly shuttle loom in the place respectively of the hoe, the *takli* and the old-fashioned simple pit loom by the cultivator if he feels so inclined. Why stop at that and interdict the use, further, of more advanced and efficient appliances of a like nature? Is not your insistence on the use of the inefficient and fragile reed-pen in the place of a metal nib of a piece with asking people in this age of iron and electricity to discard all iron instruments and revert to primitive stone ones instead? You have applied yourself to the task of improving village tools. I would like you to suggest the nature and extent of the improvements which you would like to see effected.

The above letter is written partly in jest, partly in earnest and partly as a dialectical exercise for its own sake in which the writer obviously luxuriates. His whole argument boils down to this that modern appliances are capable of more speed than their earlier prototypes. If the consideration of speed were ruled out, there would hardly be left anything from his argument for me to answer. But the village movement, as I conceive it, does not discount speed or efficiency of production. Our village folk need all the efficiency that we can give them

CWMG - LXV

and more. The A. I. V. I. A. is doing its level best to increase the speed of production consistently with its ideal and self-imposed limits. Already the speed of the *takli* has been increased beyond the wildest expectations of its protagonists. But this was achieved without the slightest sacrifice of the principle of rural-mindedness. More, I claim that the marvellous ingenuity and skill which rendered this possible could only spring from a village brain. The limiting principle that was kept in view in effecting improvement in the speed of the *takli*, the spinning-wheel and other domestic tools should hold good in respect of the writing pen too. The rush and hurry of the town have no place in the village. The village-dweller has not to work under high pressure or to speed about from place to place in motor-cars and trams like the city-dweller. All this work is done by the easier and more natural modes of locomotion. Similarly the fountain-pen can have no place in his economy. I might, perhaps, reluctantly go so far as to admit the steel nib as a compromise, but that is all. The steel nib in my opinion has spelt the death of the calligraphist's art. The mending of a reed-pen was itself an art. It called into play the artistic skill and the personality of the scribe that was reflected in the characters which he traced. All that has gone with the advent of the steel pen. But the steel pen has not done even half the mischief that the fountain-pen is doing. The introduction of the fountain-pen in the village, to me, marks the beginning of the end of the existence of the village as such and its slow metamorphosis into the city.

The analogy of the Singer machine *v.* the tailor's needle adduced by the writer is misleading. The Singer machine was intended to supplement the work of the needle. It was never intended to be introduced into every hut and home. The purpose which it was calculated to serve and which it has actually served is to increase the speed of the individual needle to such an extent as to make hand-stitching a profitable whole-time avocation for the needy, unemployed of the cities. The fountain-pen has rendered an analogous service to the art of stenography, and as such it can certainly claim a place as a useful adjunct of city life.

The argument that I have used in connection with the fountain-pen applies *mutatis mutandis* to the other points raised by the correspondent in question. Clearly it is not possible to lay down hard and fast rules in all such cases. Let everybody strive to cultivate and practise the principle of rural-mindedness

as best as he or she can. Only let the worker from the city who goes out to work in the villages take care that he does not turn the heads and confuse the intelligence of the simple-minded village folk, whom ostensibly he is anxious to serve but whose requirements and standards of values and utility are altogether different from that of the city-dweller.

Harijan, 5-6-1937

205. MESSAGE ON OPENING OF ANNAKSHETRA

May 16, 1937

I congratulate the Thakore Saheb of Lathi on his throwing open the Annakshetra temple to Harijans. I wish the ceremony will be completed without any obstacle. I hope the public will accept with grace the Thakore Saheb's generous gesture and the Harijans will make their lives purer by taking advantage of this privilege.

As regards Thakore Saheb Gandhiji wrote:

I congratulate you for having decided to throw open your Annakshetra to the Harijans. I hope that untouchability will be completely eradicated from your State.

[From Gujarati]
Harijanbandhu, 23-5-1937

206. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

TITHAL, BULSAR,
May 16, 1937

CHI. NARANDAS,

I had duly received your wire. I have now written to Segaon. The exact date will be fixed there. Either they will inform you direct or I shall inform you.

The reason behind my enquiry[1] regarding Mirabehn's money was that I feel inclined to spend a part of the sum in Europe.

The trunk of papers which was lost has still not been traced.

I have provisionally decided in my mind that, when I leave this place, Kanaiyo will leave for Rajkot.

I understand about Vijaya.

[1] *Vide* pp. 187-8.

CWMG - LXV

I am enclosing a letter from Prema.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8521. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

207. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

May 16, 1937

CHI. MUNNALAL,

You have started thinking on the right lines. Continue to write to me as much as you wish. The two difficulties which you have mentioned are real, but only in the sense that they may hinder creation of a family spirit. However, I am sorry that the inmates at Segaon do not regard the world as one family. For a devoted servant of the people such a feeling is essential. Those in whom it is born are seen behaving with a family spirit wherever they go, although the other people might be utter strangers to them and all of them might have different spheres of activity. Moreover, family spirit does not require mutual co-operation. Among members of the same family, some may be so straightforward by nature that they live in harmony with other members of the family who are curt. There is truth in your complaint that Segaon has become a *dharmashala*. But what can I do? I feel helpless. Although I keep off many, there are some whom I simply cannot. But I do hope that we shall succeed in cultivating a family spirit in Segaon. If we do not succeed, then it is certain that we will be able to achieve nothing at Segaon. I will, of course, be vigilant myself and also keep a watch on all others. But the result will depend on the joint efforts of us all.

I had thought that you did not worry about Kanchan[1], but now I see that I was mistaken. There is no cause at all for worry. Let her do what she can while staying in the Mahila Ashram. Why need you worry?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8585. Also C.W. 7011. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

[1] Addressee's wife

CWMG - LXV

208. LETTER TO VIDYA A. HINGORANI

May 16, 1937

CHI. VIDYA,

Got a letter from you after a long time. One should not fall ill. And if one falls ill, one should not grieve. Sun-bath should be taken daily. So also friction-bath. Apply mud-pack on the stomach at night. Do not take anything except milk and water. Do write to me. It is good that you have sent away Mahadev[1]. Now he can certainly live away from you. Tell Anand, however poor his Hindi may be, he should try to write in Hindi. You should encourage him.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Hindi. Courtesy: National Archives of India and Anand T. Hingorani

209. LETTER TO AGATHA HARRISON

May 17, 1937

MY DEAR AGATHA,

Your letter has just come. And I hasten to answer.

Could I be more definite than when I said if Mr. Butler and Lord Zetland meant what the papers made out they did, why not straightway give the assurances in terms of the (Congress) resolution? I have now gone a step further and said in so many words that when there is an emergency dismiss the Ministers.

The Bombay Governor's speech[2], as I read it, is a denial of what Lord Zetland is supposed to have yielded in his recent speech[3]. You must have seen the text.

And why is my remark on complete independence a knotty point? Is it not in the Congress creed? Is it not in the very resolution which was shown to the Governors and to which they raised no objection?

[1] Addressee's son
[2] *Vide* footnote 1, p. 209.
[3] *Vide* Appendix IV.

CWMG - LXV

Perhaps you do not know the difficulties we have to combat here. It is impossible to have mental reservations when you have millions of mankind to deal with, especially when you are training them not for an armed rebellion but for a peaceful revolution as yet unknown to history. I want you therefore not to be agitated over what the diplomats say there or here. Your and my first and last care is to hold on to the anchor at all costs but say nothing in anger, nothing equivocal, nothing short of the whole truth and then leave the result to the unseen and uncanny Power that over-rules all our pet decisions at Its own sweet will.

No more, for the postal time is up.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 1499

210. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

TITHAL, BULSAR,
May 17, 1937

MY DEAR C. R.,

I did not like the last line of your letter to Ghanshyamdas. If what I am doing does not carry conviction to you, you should strive with me and resist me. For it is you who have to bear the brunt, not I. And if you act merely as an advocate—no matter how brilliant—but without conviction the battle will be lost. I write not a line without deep conviction. Zetland gave me some hope, Bombay[1] has shattered it if what he says is what Zetland meant. But my conviction about the rightness of our position grows with their double-dealing. I would far rather cancel our resolution and accept office without any condition than accepting office under the delusion that Zetland's speech with Butler's annotation was a near enough response to our resolution. Of course my conviction abides that unconditional acceptance would be fatal. The other would be still more so. The only honourable course therefore is to remain as we are till we get what we want and in the manner we want it. But if all this sounds hopelessly unreal to you, you should resist me for my sake and what is more for the sake of the cause.

[1] The reference is to the Bombay Governor's speech at Belgaum. *Vide* also the preceding item.

Hope Laxmi and you are doing well.
Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 2063

211. LETTER TO VIJAYA N. PATEL

May 17, 1937

CHI. VIJAYA,

I had a very long letter from Manubhai. He has given the whole history. For you there is nothing new in it. You must have got my letters.

Please let me know your [daily] programme.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7068. Also C.W. 4560. Courtesy: Vijayabehn M. Pancholi

212. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

May 17, 1937

CHI. LILA,

There is a letter from Anna today in which again I read about your keeping bad health. You should leave off eating wheat, etc. for a few months. For a few days you should give up even milk. Put mud-packs on the abdomen and take hip-baths. Take as much rest as you wish but improve your health anyhow. Why don't you listen to me in such a simple matter ?

I hope you do not worry about anything now and have made friends with all. Never mind if you cannot attend prayers. Sleep well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9360. Also C.W. 6635. Courtesy: Lilavati Asar

CWMG - LXV

213. LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI

May 17, 1937

CHI. AMRITLAL,

I hear from Anna and Munnalal that you are not keeping well. That ought not to be. Make whatever changes in your diet you think might help. Reduce your work. If this does not help, then go to some cool place. If you think it desirable to go to Malad, you may come back when the rains start. If your health is good, I will get plenty of work out of you. If you keep weak, I will hesitate to entrust any work to you.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10731

214. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

TITHAL, BULSAR,
May 18, 1937

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your letter. Yes, the sea breezes are fine. I wish you were here to share them. We walk through the sea water every morning and evening. It is a bracing walk. Kanu the little one enjoys it most. We are almost 25 strong now. And presently we shall perhaps double the record. Tithal is a little village. It has only a few bungalows. We are in Bhulabhai's. He has hired another to take in the overflow. He bears all the expenses. I expect to leave this on 30th. I do not mind the Segaon heat. I must not absent myself for any length of time.

I am glad you were able to make a collection from the Club for Harijans. Of course, the principal portion should go to the Harijans and khadi. But I know you cannot, may not, force the pace.

This suppuration of the toe I do not like. Nevertheless, it is good that the poison is coming out. Are you having the hip-baths? What about the friction-baths? I wish you could

CWMG - LXV

master them and do them correctly. Are you continuing garlic? What about onion? No fried things I hope. And about dal[1]? Even a spoonful is poison for you. Purest milk and butter if needed with green vegetables and juicy fruit is your food. What is the quantity of milk?

Have you written to Balkrishna?

Love.

From the original: C.W. 3782. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6938

215. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH

May 18, 1937

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

I have been meaning to write to you all these days but in the mean time I got your letter today. Sharda is fine. For the present she seems to be happy. If she can stay with me cheerfully, I am ready to relieve you of your responsibility regarding her. I will fix her up where and when I think proper. She will stay with me, of course, till she recoups her health. I will give her whatever treatment I deem fit. Just now she says she is quite ready to stay with me. She also says that both you and Shakaribehn[2] are ready to entrust her to me. She had not told me that she was suffering from leucorrhœa. She felt shy. It seems to have become chronic. But I think it can be cured. It will take time though. I also understand about her marriage. I have been thinking about the matter ever since she told me about it. But marriage is out of the question till her health improves. I would favour marrying her outside the caste and, if possible, even outside the Province. But that remains to be seen. Sharda herself is ready for this and she says that both of you also will be ready. So much about Babu[3].

Now regarding you two. Babu is 20; but in some matters she is wiser than her age. She seems to be much concerned for you both. You have—Shakariben has—Rs. 3,000, and it is on that that you live at present. I do not mind that. You need not worry even after that amount is spent. You ought not

[1] The source has "dholl".

[2] Addressee's wife

[3] Sharda, addressee's daughter

to care so much for possessions. But since you have the money, let it remain. I would not mind if, despite your having that money, you earn more somewhere by honest means. But so long as you have it, it would be more becoming of you both to do public work without accepting anything. But this is my personal view. If it does not appeal to you, you may certainly follow another path.

Babu also told me that Vijapur did not suit you and that you wished to go somewhere else. When I mentioned Rajkot, she said that that was the last place you would like to go to. The reason, that the estrangement between Narandas and you still persists, pains me. Being inmates of the Ashram, you two should be more than blood-brothers to each other. You ought to overcome your mutual antipathy. I am sure that there is no deeper cause behind it. You both have no personal interest to serve. Why this enmity, then? Hence, whatever disagreement you have must be one of principles only. Why be afraid of such disagreement? If you wish, I may go deeper into the cause of this disagreement. Whether you go to Rajkot or not, your antipathy to each other must end.

Babu says further that you prefer your own place. I think nothing would be better than that, if you could settle down there. If you stay there, the expenditure also would be less and you could serve the village more easily. If, therefore, you can decide to stay in your village, you should do so.

If you wish, you may come and see me after the 25th. I shall leave this place for Wardha on the 30th. Don't worry at all about Babu.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 21

216. TELEGRAM TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI[1]

[After *May 18, 1937*][2]

NO MEMBER OF THE CONGRESS PARTY IN MADRAS LEGISLATURE HAS SOUGHT PERMISSION TO ACCEPT OFFICE.

GANDHI

The Bombay Chronicle, 23-5-1937

217. TELEGRAM TO BABURAO D. MHATRE

BULSAR,
May 19, 1937

MHATRE
ARCHITECT
BOMBAY MUTUAL BUILDING
HORNBY ROAD, BOMBAY

PLEASE COME PLANNING NEXT CONGRESS CAMP. WIRE BULSAR.

GANDHI

From a copy: C.W. 9832. Courtesy: Baburao D. Mhatre

218. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

May 19, 1937

MY DEAR REBEL,

This is just to send you a sample of the lace now being manufactured in Andhra out of hand-spun yarn. The price is Re. 0-3-6 per yard. Do you, i.e., your customers, need any? Is it up to the mark? There is some for sale in the Bombay Depot.

Love.

TYRANT

From the original: C.W. 3783. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6939

[1] & [2] This was in reply to the addressee's letter dated May 18 inquiring whether any Congress member had written to Gandhiji seeking "permission to accept office on the basis of Lord Zetland's statement and pleading for a change of policy in this respect".

CWMG - LXV

219. LETTER TO N. N. GODBOLE

TITHAL, BULSAR,
May 20, 1937

DEAR DR. GODBOLE,

I have now gone through your book carefully. It is good so far as it goes. Its price is prohibitive. You have gone beyond the scope of the book which its title suggests but the chapters are scrappy. Thus your examination of vegetarian and non-vegetarian foods reproduces authorities quoted in vegetarian literature and contains nothing original. I should expect an original contribution from an Indian scholar. Then the chapter on breeding and feeding is very superficial. Dairy experts tell me that breeding is the only thing. Feeding is said to produce little impression on the milk yield. I miss a chapter on comparison between buffalo and cow. Can both be supported? Which is the more economical animal? As you may be aware, separated milk is being widely recommended by Dr. Aykroyd[1]. But I do not find in your book enough instruction as to the ways in which it can be used. I am myself making experiments within the limits of a villager and had hoped to find assistance in your book. Nor have you examined the indigenous methods of using milk.

Yours sincerely,

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

220. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

May 20, 1937

BELOVED DAUGHTER AMTUL SALAAM,[2]

I got your letter only this morning. Whose fault is it if I get your letters late and then in spite of my replying by return of post you also got my letters late? You yourself had asked for permission to live in a village, which I gave. What more could you do than riding, serving Harijans, lightening the burden of

[1] Dr. W. R. Aykroyd, Director of the Nutrition Research Laboratories
[2] The superscription is in Urdu.

the poor and helping in digging wells? So I readily consented. But I would certainly like it even if you went to the frontier and did something similar. I had to leave for Allahabad suddenly, for since Jawaharlal was ill the Working Committee could not be held anywhere else and they required my presence.

At Sardar's insistence, I am staying in a village called Tithal on the sea coast near Bulsar. I am accompanied by Ba, Mirabehn and others. I expect to return to Wardha on the 1st.

Why should asthma and cough trouble you even in such a dry climate as you have there? I hope you will have recovered by the time you get this letter, since I got your letters long ago.

It appears that Kanti will stay in Bangalore. He will have better facilities for study there.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 381

221. LETTER TO BHAGWANJI A. MEHTA

May 20, 1937

BHAI BHAGWANJI,

It has been left to my discretion to send the accompanying letter. My duty, of course, seems to be to send it.

Vandemataram from
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5833. Also C.W. 3056. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

222. LETTER TO VIJAYA N. PATEL

May 20, 1937

CHI. VIJAYA,

I got your letter. The weather here is, of course, comparatively cool. But it is not favourable for work. Here I am having more sleep. I just like to go on sleeping. All the same the heat of Segaon is certainly not here. You, however, should keep yourself cool with wet clothes.

CWMG - LXV

You did well in sending my letter to Manubhai. The spiritual benefit of not coming with me here was evident, for it was also your duty to stay there. There was pleasure and fun of a sort in coming with me. And one who can deny oneself even such innocent pleasures certainly advances one's spiritual welfare. You no doubt have strength of mind. You have added to it by not coming. Do you see this?

It is good that you and Indu go with Anna and hear the *Gita*. You do well too in helping in milking the cow.

The penknife could not be traced here, which means that it is lost.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: 7069. Also C.W. 4561. Courtesy: Vijayabehn M. Pancholi

223. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

May 20, 1937

CHI. LILA,

You may be 30 years old but to me you are still a child and will remain so. If you have patience everything will be all right. Everything would be all right if only you settled down. Nothing else is needed. Do you understand that one who wants to become orderly must have no pride in oneself? The orderliness that I want is both external and internal.

I have written about not sending *The Times* [*of India*]. I understand regarding your silence.

Radhakrishna ought not to return the ghee. He may buy some more, but should not return what he has.

Improve your health.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9361. Also C.W. 6636. Courtesy: Lilavati Asar

CWMG - LXV

224. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

May 20, 1937

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I got your letter. I am arranging about *Harijanbandhu*, etc. I do not understand why you do not get them.

Do not mind if milk is sold for two paise a seer. It is certainly a good thing that anyhow people get it. Who are the customers? Do people other than Harijans buy it? Lately your letters have been mirroring your mind quite well. I like that.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8584. Also C.W. 7012. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

225. LETTER TO HARIPRASAD

May 20, 1937

BHAI HARIPRASAD,

You did well in writing to me. I am thinking how to make the exhibition at the forthcoming Congress as good as it can be. Please make any suggestions you wish to. Do have a talk with Sardar. Ramjibhai always tries his best to do well any work in which he takes interest. I am therefore not surprised to learn that you liked his school and his garden.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4139

CWMG - LXV

226. LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI

May 20, 1937

CHI. AMRITLAL,

I continue to receive complaints about your health. Vijaya writes and tells me that you have been losing weight. Vasumati writes and says that you are not keeping good health. You yourself must find out the cause. You are not nursing any trouble in your heart, are you? Write to me in detail.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10732

227. LETTER TO KAPILRAI H. PAREKH

May 20, 1937

BHAI KAPILRAI,

It is good that you wrote. I am sending the letter itself to Jamnalalji. I will forward to you the reply that I receive from him. Perhaps he may even write to you direct.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI KAPILRAI PAREKH
SUNNY SIDE
BLOCK NO. 1, PLOT 253
MATUNGA, G. I. P., BOMBAY

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 9730. Courtesy: Kapilrai H. Parekh

CWMG - LXV

228. LETTER TO BHAGATRAM TOSHNIWAL

[As at] Segaon, Wardha,
May 20, 1937

BHAI BHAGATRAM,

Your letter is quite pertinent. One who believes in ahimsa dharma will not countenance the construction of a slaughter-house.[1]

M. K. Gandhi

[From Hindi]

Gandhiji aur Rajasthan, p. 308

229. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

Tithal, Bulsar,
May 21, 1937

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I got your letter. The value of your letters will be proved if they bring about perfect sweetness in your relations with Balvantsinha, Lilavati and others. Think less, speak less and write less, but work more and cultivate unity of thought, speech, writing and action. I have kept aside the letters that call for replies. I shall take them up if I can. Otherwise we shall talk over things there. At present the pressure of work here has become very heavy.

Blessings from
Bapu

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8583. Also C.W. 7013. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

[1] The addressee had asked Gandhiji to issue an appeal against the huge slaughter-house proposed to be put up in Lahore.

CWMG - LXV

230. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

May 21, 1937

CHI. LILA,

I got your letter. I know that you are getting impatient. But I have become helpless. I am hoping to reach there[1] on the 11th. The fruits of patience are sweet. You have come to suffer for the sake of service and not to enjoy yourself. "Those who plunge feel the highest bliss, but the onlookers burn with envy." Dhruva is believed to have suffered unbearable tribulations with a smile on his face. Joan of Arc entered the fire with a smiling face. This is a historical story. Do not some women even today jump into a pyre cheerfully in a frenzy of excitement? This is the only great lesson that is to be learnt from me. What else have I to teach?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9362. Also C.W. 6637. Courtesy: Lilavati Asar

231. LETTER TO K. B. MENON[2]

[Before *May 22, 1937*][3]

You tell me that the Conference[4] on civil liberties will be held in London on June 5. Whatever tends to preserve the civil liberties, no matter where, must command the sympathy and support of all sane people.

The Hindu, 22-5-1937

[1] Segaon
[2] General Secretary, Indian Civil Liberties Union
[3] The letter was reported under the date-line, "Bombay, May 22".
[4] Under the joint auspices of the National Council for Civil Liberties in England and the India League

The reader will find elsewhere an authentic and exhaustive note[1] on the Koodalmanikkam controversy prepared by Shri G. Ramachandran, Secretary of the Kerala Harijan Sevak Sangh. The note is authentic in the sense that it is based purely on official records. Add to this note the following from the Kerala Harijan Sevak Sangh's office in Trivandrum:

> In the issue of *Harijan* of 8th May in the article "Cochin-Travancore"[2] by Mahatmaji, in paragraph three, the following sentences are found:
>
> "The pundits of India should dispassionately examine the orders and express their unbiased opinion. I am inclined to think that the Travancore Durbar may well invite the opinion of pundits on the single question of the religious propriety of the Cochin order and undertake to abide by their opinion. In other words, Travancore may well offer to abide by the verdict of an arbitration tribunal consisting of unbiased pundits who will be universally accepted as such. The opinion of an assembly of such pundits would be the nearest approach to an arbitration tribunal. For, whilst the Travancore Durbar had a perfect right to open to Harijans the temples within their sole jurisdiction and ownership and without reference to the opinion of pundits, it would hardly be right to propound a new *Smriti* in respect of temples where there is joint jurisdiction."
>
> I am herewith forwarding a true copy of a judgment of the Chief Court of Cochin which discusses the Kaimal's position with regard to the Koodalmanikkam Temple. This judgment shows the Kaimal to be the supreme spiritual authority in all matters connected with that Temple, and therefore the opinion of the pundits in this instance seems to be unnecessary.

These enable the reader to form his own judgment as to the propriety or otherwise of the action of the Cochin Durbar. If the note and the Cochin Court judgment are to be trusted, evidently the Cochin Durbar's action was wholly wrong. This is not to say that the Kaimal's action was right in the religious sense. But if it was not, the only course open to the Cochin

[1] *Vide* Appendix V.
[2] *Vide* pp. 177-8.

CWMG - LXV

Durbar was to reason with the Kaimal, not to force his hands as was done. The Kaimal evidently becomes the supreme and final authority on spiritual matters after his appointment by the Travancore Durbar. Like the king he can do no wrong. But even he may not long resist the opinion of his peers. And the only way the Cochin Durbar or anyone else can influence the Kaimal's judgment is, I presume, by evoking the opinion of pundits learned in spiritual matters. And legally speaking even their opinion has no binding effect on the Kaimal.

Harijan, 22-5-1937

233. RELIGIOUS OATH AND NON-RELIGIOUS

Shri Shivaprasad Gupta, the great philanthropist of Benares, writes:

> After hearing the *Harijan* of May 1st read to me, I have been pondering over the note "Gandhi Seva Sangh and Legislatures". I re-read it today, I also read the Weekly Letter, but I could not give rest to the surging thought rising in my mind.
>
> The last paragraph[1] of the note reads: "It is not a religious oath, so far as I understand the Constitution, and it is wholly consistent with the demand for immediate and concrete independence." The following are the questions that arise in my mind:
>
> 1. Are oaths of several and different kinds?
> 2. Can an oath taken in the name of God, or in the alternative form where one has to affirm solemnly, be classed in two categories, "religious oath and non-religious oath"?
> 3. What is the governing idea behind a non-religious oath?
> 4. How can an oath of allegiance to the person of a king be consistent with "the demand for immediate and concrete independence"? This demand, at least to me, means depriving the same sovereign of his sovereignty.
>
> I would very much like your answer to these pertinent questions.

My answer to the first and the second questions is 'Yes'. The answer to the other two questions may be gathered from what follows.

An oath may be taken in the name of God and yet may not be styled religious. An oath that a witness takes in a court of law is a legal not a religious oath, breach of which would carry legal consequences. An oath taken by Members of Parliament

[1] *Vide* p. 106.

CWMG - LXV

may be called a constitutional not a religious oath, breach of which may involve mundane consequences. Breach of a religious oath carries no legal consequences, but in the opinion of the taker does carry divine punishment. This does not mean that any of the three varieties of oaths is less binding than the others on a conscientious man. A conscientious witness will tell the truth, not for fear of the legal consequence, but he will do so in every case. The legislator's oath has an interpretation in terms of the Constitution which prescribes the oath. The interpretation may be given in the Constitution itself or may grow up by usage. So far as I understand the British Constitution, the oath of allegiance simply means that the legislator will in pushing forward his policy or point conform to the Constitution. I hold that it is open to the legislator consistently with his oath under the British Constitution to adopt measures in the Legislature for complete independence. That to my mind is the saving grace of the British Constitution. I fancy that the members of the Union Parliament of South Africa take substantially the same oath as the members in India, but it is open to that Parliament today to declare complete independence without any violation of the oath of allegiance. It is because I have a profound conviction that the British Constitution in theory permits of the fulfilment of the highest ambition of an individual or the nation of which he is a member that I advised the Working Committee to accept my formula for office-acceptance. And it is in the same conviction that I am struggling to get the British Government to respond to it. I am painfully conscious that they would prolong the agony to the breaking point. But I know that if we have faith and grit we shall win at every point and reach our goal without shedding a drop of blood. The British people apply the same laws to the game of politics that they apply to the game of football which I believe is their invention. They give no quarter to the opponent and ask for none. The fundamental difference in our case is that we have abjured the use of arms. This has confounded them. They do not believe our protestations. They do not mind our agitation for complete independence so long as we keep it within the constitutional limit. What else can the legislators do or are they to do inside their Assemblies? They may not take there pistols in their pockets. That would be a flagrant breach of the oath and also the law. Shri Shivaprasad Gupta need not worry himself over the propriety of the oath by Congressmen. If the agitation for complete independence was inconsistent with the oath, surely the British

Government themselves would have raised that preliminary objection even to the candidature of Congressmen.

Harijan, 22-5-1937

234. LETTER TO M. A. JINNAH

TITHAL,
May 22, 1937

DEAR SHRI JINNAH,

Mr. Kher[1] has given me your message. I wish I could do something, but I am utterly helpless. My faith in unity[2] is as bright as ever; only I see no daylight out of the impenetrable darkness and, in such distress, I cry out to God for light.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

File No. 3001/H/IV-8/38. Police Commissioner's Office, Bombay. Courtesy: Government of Maharashtra. Also *Leaders' Correspondence with Jinnah*, p. 37

235. LETTER TO N. S. HARDIKER

May 22, 1937

DEAR DR. HARDIKER,

I got your letter[3] yesterday. My opinion is that you should confer with the Provincial Committee there and on its agreeing you should take possession subject to the protest that the Seva Dal for whose work the building was constructed still remains under the ban. Before you consult the Committee it might be as well to ascertain from the Government whether the delivery of the buildings is to mean the lifting of the ban on the Dal.

[1] B. G. Kher, who had been elected leader of the Congress Party in the Bombay Legislature

[2] Hindu-Muslim unity

[3] In his letter dated May 19, the addressee, Organizing Secretary of Hindustani Seva Dal, had sought Gandhiji's advice on taking over the Seva Dal building at Bagalkot. The building and other movable property used as training camp for the Seva Dal volunteers were attached by the Government in 1932. The property which belonged to A.I. C. C. was transferred to Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee in 1931, after Seva Dal's recognition as a subordinate body of the Congress. The addressee was doubtful of the use of the building as the ban on Seva Dal had not yet been lifted.

CWMG - LXV

By the time the possession is taken, Jawaharlal will have returned and he will decide what use to make of the buildings.[1]

I hope you are thoroughly restored to health.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From the original: N. S. Hardiker Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

236. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

TITHAL, BULSAR,
May 22, 1937

CHI. PRABHA,

I got your letter. Don't ruin your health. It is good that you paid a visit to Hazaribagh. Sardar took it for granted that prisoners sentenced to short terms would be released.

I didn't send for you at Allahabad because I thought Jayaprakash might not like it. I would not like to displease him unnecessarily. I consider it my duty to respect his wishes as far as possible.

It is quite proper that you should stay with Father as long as you can. You will certainly be a great help to him. You should give him courage and tell him that he should not at all worry. You should also try to understand why he keeps worrying.

Why have they called you to Sitab Diara? Is Sitab Diara hotter or cooler? In which of the two places can you have greater facility regarding vegetables? Manu has now gone to Rajkot. In Segaon, only Vasumati, Vijaya, Lilavati, Nanavati, Munnalal and Balvantsinha are left now. It is quite hot there.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

We shall leave this place on the 30th.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3502

[1] In his reply dated June 14, the addressee said that according to the Bombay Government the ban was "still in force". He also added that he had been authorized by the Council of K. P. C. C. "to take delivery of the building" as required by A. I. C. C. However, in his letter dated July 6, the addressee informed Gandhiji of his reluctance to take over the buildings which were found to be in bad shape. He had accordingly communicated to the Inspector: " . . . unless full and due repairs are carried out by the Government, I cannot take charge of the said property. . . ." *Vide* also "Letter to N. S. Hardiker", 13-7-1937.

237. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

May 22, 1937

CHI. NARANDAS,

Please pay Chi. Kamu Rs. 30 from this month, i.e., from the 1st. If you can debit part of the sum to the school, do so. Debit the rest to my account.

Kamalabai doesn't seem to have recovered completely. She has expressed a desire to stay on till I return to Segaon and I have agreed.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8522. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

238. SPEECH AT TITHAL[1]

May 22, 1937

If we want to impart education best suited to the needs of villagers, we should take the Vidyapith to the villages. We should convert it into a training school in order that we might be able to give practical training to teachers in terms of the

[1] This is extracted from "Weekly Letter" by Mahadev Desai, who had reported: "The convener of the small conference of the teachers in Gujarat national schools which met at Tithal on the 22nd May had sent to the invitees a questionnaire which speaks for itself: '1. What is the education best suited to the needs of our villages and most beneficial to them? 2. How to combat mass illiteracy and ignorance? 3. Is literacy indispensable for intellectual growth ? Is the system of starting instruction with teaching the alphabet and reading and writing prejudicial to intellectual growth? 4. The need of making vocational training the pivot of all instruction. 5. The future of the present national schools. 6. The possibility of imparting all education through the mother tongue of the children. 7. In what essentials of national education are existing schools lacking? 8. The necessity of making Hindi-Hindustani compulsory in the early years of primary and secondary education.' On Gandhiji being invited to give his views on these points, he made observations giving individual examples. I epitomize them below leaving out the latter, which while they were interesting to the few friends to whom he spoke are of little use to the general reader."

needs of villagers. You cannot instruct the teachers in the needs of villagers through a training school in a city. Nor can you so interest them in the condition of villages. To interest city-dwellers in villages and make them live in them is no easy task. I am finding daily confirmation of this in Segaon. I cannot give the assurance that our year's stay in Segaon has made of us villagers or that we have become one with them for common good.

Then as to primary education my confirmed opinion is that the commencement of training by teaching the alphabet and reading and writing hampers their intellectual growth. I would not teach them the alphabet till they have had an elementary knowledge of history, geography, mental arithmetic and the art (say) of spinning. Through these three I should develop their intelligence. Question may be asked how intelligence can be developed through the *takli* or the spinning-wheel. It can be, to a marvellous degree, if it is not taught merely mechanically. When you tell a child the reason for each process, when you explain the mechanism of the *takli* or the wheel, when you give him the history of cotton and its connection with civilization itself and take him to the village field where it is grown, and teach him to count the rounds he spins and the method of finding the evenness and strength of his yarn, you hold his interest and simultaneously train his hands, his eyes and his mind. I should give six months to this preliminary training. The child is probably now ready for learning how to read the alphabet, and when he is able to do so rapidly, he is ready to learn simple drawing, and when he has learnt to draw geometrical figures and the figures of birds, etc., he will draw, not scrawl, the figures of the alphabet. I can recall the days of my childhood when I was being taught the alphabet. I know what a drag it was. Nobody cared why my intellect was rusting. I consider writing as a fine art. We kill it by imposing the alphabet on little children and making it the beginning of learning. Thus we do violence to the art of writing and stunt the growth of the child when we seek to teach him the alphabet before its time.

Indeed in my opinion what we have reason to deplore and be ashamed of is not so much illiteracy as ignorance. Therefore adult education, too, should have an intensive programme of driving out ignorance through carefully selected teachers with an equally carefully selected syllabus according to which they would educate the adult villagers' mind. This is not to say that

I would not give them a knowledge of the alphabet. I value it too much to despise or even belittle its merit as a vehicle of education. I appreciate Prof. Laubach's immense labours in the way of making the alphabet easy and Prof. Bhagwat's great and practical contribution in the same direction. Indeed I have invited the latter to come to Segaon whenever he chooses and try his art on the men, women and even children of Segaon.

As to the necessity and value of regarding the teaching of village handicrafts as the pivot and centre of education I have no manner of doubt. The method adopted in the institutions in India, I do not call education, i.e., drawing out the best in man, but a debauchery of the mind. It informs the mind anyhow, whereas the method of training the mind through village handicrafts from the very beginning as the central fact would promote the real, disciplined development of the mind resulting in conservation of the intellectual energy and indirectly also the spiritual. Here, too, I must not be understood to belittle fine arts. But I would not misplace them. Matter misplaced has been rightly described as dirt. In proof of what I am saying, I can only cite the tons of worthless and even indecent literature that is pouring in upon us with the result which he who runs may see.

Harijan, 5-6-1937

239. REGISTER OF CUSTOMERS

Shri Jerajani writes to say:[1]

This suggestion is worth considering, and if a register of customers is maintained at each centre, it is likely to prove useful. The only doubt may be regarding its feasibility. I would regard it as practical if a complete list could be compiled speedily and at little additional cost. A list of workmen poses no difficulties. And, ordinarily it may be said that those workmen who are once registered continue to work for good. But customers keep changing every day. It cannot be said with certainty that the individual who purchases khadi worth one anna today is bound to come back for more. However, if the list is to be complete, even such a customer's name must be recorded. What is its utility? If a list is to be compiled, should it consist only of customers of a certain kind? In order that such

[1] The correspondent, whose letter is not translated here, had said that a register of customers with their full names and addresses would prove useful.

a list should prove useful, it should be maintained in alphabetical order. If this is attempted, it will necessarily entail some expenses. Should a list then be made of those who give a certain yearly subscription? If this be the case, what benefit do they get out of it? As I have no experience in this matter, I can only frame such questions. Shri Jerajani's suggestion has been published here in order to invite discussion.

[From Gujarati]
Harijanbandhu, 23-5-1937

240. VERY OLD QUESTIONS

I have received a letter. Its substance is as follows:

> Our country does not manufacture any dyes. But the khadi sold in our country comes in many coloured prints. Obviously the dyes used could only be foreign. I cannot understand how we can tolerate it. India can certainly manufacture its own dyes. Why then foreign chemical dyes on a sacred thing like khadi? For patriotic reasons khadi is of course best for wearing for Indians but why shouldn't it be as fine as muslin? There was a time when India used to produce muslin for the entire world.

All these three questions were discussed at length when *Navajivan* was first started. Ordinarily such questions are not raised these days. As the correspondent desires that replies should be given only through the columns of the *Harijanbandhu*, I give these here.

Ever since I accepted khadi as the focal-point of swadeshi in the year 1918, I have been repeatedly saying that we should keep the pledge of swadeshi not because we hate what is foreign but because the welfare of the country is rooted in swadeshi. Hence we should certainly accept those foreign products which we cannot produce immediately, which are needed by the country and the introduction of which would not harm the country in any way. Everyone can think of examples of such foreign goods. Regarding the propagation of khadi, the question of using [foreign] dyes arose at the very outset. The Spinners' Association did not exist at that time. I had given the opinion that wherever indigenous dyes were not available, there should be no bar to using foreign ones. But the utmost effort should be made for producing the best possible indigenous dyes. The same policy continues even

CWMG - LXV

now. Experiments with indigenous dyes are being made and they are being used whenever it is convenient to do so. The needs of those who would not use foreign dyes are met by white khadi. The propaganda for khadi is not for its own sake, nor is it unthinking. The following is the trend of thought behind the khadi shastra. If Indians use nothing but khadi, crores of women spinners, carders, washermen, dyers and such other persons could get a livelihood; and crores of rupees will remain in the country and go into the pockets of half-starved and wholly or partially unemployed villagers. The Spinners' Association by investing a negligible amount of capital has to date put almost three and a half crores of rupees into the pockets of such artisans. Had these earnings gone to a hundred or two or even ten or twenty thousand persons in cities, it would have been announced by the beating of drums. But no one is surprised because this amount has found its way, without any fanfare, into the homes of hundreds of thousands of starving villagers. But I regard it as a minor miracle. No one is deprived of his livelihood by the use of foreign dyes, no new industry is prevented from coming up because of this and khadi has been given an impetus. I do believe that chemical dyes can be made in India but that is a distinct and independent industry. However, it is the dharma of the wealthy to take up that venture. Such risks are beyond the scope of a khadi worker.

Even today mill-like khadi is produced in sufficient quantity to meet the demand. Even the *patolas*[1] of Patan are available today if anyone wishes to wear them. But there are few such generous persons who would pay the price. If anyone expects that the same quality of khadi should be available at a price comparable to mill-made mull, I would tell him that it is impossible, and it should be impossible, to have hand-made mull without the use of force against the workmen.

[From Gujarati]

Harijanbandhu, 23-5-1937

[1] Rich silk

241. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

TITHAL, BULSAR,
May 23, 1937

MY DEAR REBEL,

I am overwhelmingly busy just now. Wish I had the time to describe the interesting events. This is just to acknowledge your letter. Your reconstruction circular letter is good. I have not even been able to study it so carefully as to enable me to offer helpful suggestions.

Love.

TYRANT

From the original: C.W. 3784. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6940

242. LETTER TO STUDENTS OF VALLABH VIDYALAYA

May 23, 1937

CHILDREN OF THE VALLABH VIDYALAYA,

Live up to the name your school bears.

M. K. GANDHI

[From Gujarati]

Jivandwara Shikshan, Preface; also *Bapuni Ashrami Kelavani*, p. 81

243. LETTER TO VITHALDAS JERAJANI

May 24, 1937

BHAI VITHALDAS,

Please send on credit as much lace as you have or as much as you feel inclined to send to the following address. Most probably all will be sold. If any of it is not sold, it will be returned. If it is not much, wouldn't you send it by post parcel? The address is this: Shri Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Manorville, Simla.

I understand about Harjivan[1]. We may inquire at Calcutta, and ask what they would pay, etc.

Blessings from
BAPU

[1] Harjivan Kotak, a khadi worker; *vide* also "A Letter", p. 258.

CWMG - LXV

[PS.]

Wasn't a tailor to come for stitching clothes for Mr. Kallenbach?

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9793

244. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

TITHAL, BULSAR,
May 24, 1937

MY DEAR REBEL,

I have written[1] to Jerajani, A.I.S.A. Khadi Depot, Kalbadevi, Bombay, asking him to send you the lace for sale or return. You should send him your specimen or your criticism which he can understand.

You should similarly send your opinion to the Gandhi Seva Sena.

Poor Tofa! In spite of your references to him in every letter, I have not even thought of him. My apologies to you and him. In spite of my regarding dogs and human beings as equal, I cannot feel the same in respect of illness of dogs as of men. But I hope for your sake that he is fully restored. The moral from this domestic illness may be that you cannot serve man and dogs at the same time and therefore dogs should not be kept as pets. Hard lines, but there it is. You cannot divide your loyalty between two.

The pin's head may be far more dangerous than an open sore into which you can thrust your finger. Therefore don't disregard it.

Love.

ROBBER

From the original: C.W. 3605. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6414

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

245. LETTER TO MANUBEHN S. MASHRUWALA

May 24, 1937

CHI. MANUDI,

I got your letter with *pranams* from Surendra. How can I say now whether you should stay there or elsewhere and for how long? It is for you and Surendra to decide that. Wherever you stay, observe the rules [of the Ashram]. Whatever the temptations or pressure, don't break the rules you have accepted for yourself. Both of you should daily recite the 12th chapter[1] attentively and ponder over it. By now you both must have learnt it by heart. You should be methodical in everything. Do nothing in haste. For two days we were quite crowded. Today it is practically empty here.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 2668. Courtesy: Manubehn S. Mashruwala

246. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

May 24, 1937

CHI. MUNNALAL,

Your letter calls for a long reply. But nowadays there is such great pressure of work here that I could not get time to write a long reply. You should keep on writing, so that your thoughts may become clear. I shall then be able to understand you and guide you better. But I will say one thing here. My inability to visit Segaon more often has certainly pained me. My only consolation was that the cause was not my laziness but inability to get away from other jobs. But this is not to deny or extenuate my failure. I did not mean that we have not been able to do anything at all. But whatever we have done cannot be said to be of much value. I am not saying this by way of

[1] Of *Bhagavad Gita*

fault-finding. But we must think about the future. You are, of course, doing that. I expect I will learn more about the fast hereafter.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8581. Also C.W. 7014. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

247. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

May 24, 1937

BAPA,

If Jamnalalji agrees, you may hold the Harijan Sevak Sangh meeting in Wardha in July.

I got just now the note about the financial condition of the Sangh. Reading it today is, of course, out of the question. Recently we have had a meeting of nationalist teachers here, and so letters have piled up. I cannot promise to send you my comments before the 28th.

Viyogi Hari[1] writes and tells me that the *Harijan Sevak* continues to remain short of funds and asks what should now be done. I had a talk with Ghanshyamdas. He is unable to decide. Can you? If nobody does anything and the shortage of funds continues, then you know my opinion—close down.

BAPU

SHRI THAKKAR BAPA
HARIJAN NIVAS
KINGSWAY, DELHI

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1178

[1] Hariprasad Dwivedi, well-known Hindi poet and writer; Editor, *Harijan Sevak*

CWMG LXV

248. LETTER TO NATHUBHAI N. PAREKH

May 24, 1937

BHAI NATHUBHAI,

Kanti has given me your letter and it was only after reading it that I came to know about your *vanapravesh*[1]. When I wander, the letters also wander after me. Your letter could not come into my hands till now. All the letters cannot reach me on the very day they arrive. It is good that you have completed 50 years. Take everything that one may from this stage of life and march on. Jayanti[2] also came and saw me. Indu[3] is staying with me at Segaon.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6249

249. TELEGRAM TO CHHOTELAL JAIN

BULSAR,
May 25, 1937

CHHOTELAL
MAGANWADI
WARDHA

REGRET DEPARTURE POSTPONED TENTH JUNE. INFORM SEGAON. VASUMATI CAN GO MALAD OR COME HERE ON WAY SABARMATI. KAMALABAI SHOULD COME HERE VIA BARDOLI WAY RAJKOT. NANAVATI SHOULD GO MALAD FOR HEALTH IF NECESSARY.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 10733

[1] Or *vanaprastha*; literally means "the life of a forest-dweller". Here the word denotes completion of 50 years of life.

[2] & [3] Sons of the addressee

250. LETTER TO VIJAYA N. PATEL

TITHAL, BULSAR,
May 25, 1937

CHI. VIJAYA,

You have thinned down nowadays. Don't let that happen. Why are you lazy in writing letters?

Manubhai has started writing to me. Nanabhai[1] also was here. I had a talk with him also. I think Nanabhai approves of your self-restraint. He will, therefore, pacify Manubhai.

I was sorry that my return there had been postponed by eleven days. Wherever I am, there is always some work to do But my real work is there.

Please tell Balvantsinha that I got his letter. There is nothing special in it which calls for reply. I am, therefore, saving my time to that extent today.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7070. Also C.W. 4562. Courtesy: Vijayabehn M. Pancholi

251. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

May 25, 1937

CHI. MUNNALAL,

God's will be done. Sardar will not permit me to leave this place till the 10th June. My heart is there. The heat there seems pleasant to me and the cool breeze here seems hot, for I know that my right place is there. Today also I am not replying to your [earlier] letter, because there is no time and the pressure of work is heavy. I cannot be very happy that you are going to start eating wheat. You should pass two to three months without eating wheat, i.e., without starch. Not eating wheat is likely to do you no harm, and the benefit is obvious.

[1] Nrisinhaprasad Kalidas Bhatt of Dakshinamurti, Bhavnagar

I have sent a wire[1] today. It must have been sent to you by Chhotelalji. I, therefore, don't write about that here.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8582. Also C.W. 7015. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

252. LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI

May 25, 1937

CHI. NANAVATI,

It is not right that I have had no letter from you at all. I have written many letters to you. Do not pity me needlessly. If you are not keeping good health, then have a change of air. I am upset because my return there has been postponed. I was holding my patience thinking that I would positively return there on the 1st. I have already sent a wire.[2]

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10734

253. LETTER TO A. B. LATTHE

TITHAL, BULSAR,
May 26, 1937

DEAR MR. LATTHE[3],

It was good of you to write to me. My later statements do not in any shape or form alter my position. The formula about dismissal was enunciated in answer to the question as to how I would envisage interference by the Governors, since I admit that circumstances could be conceived when interference would be necessary, if the clause defining special powers of Governors was not abrogated. I then said that I did not contemplate an irremovable Ministry except by an adverse vote of the House, but that I contemplated also dismissal by Governors when a difference

[1] & [2] *Vide* p. 242.
[3] He was later the Finance Minister of Bombay.

CWMG - IXV

arose between them and their Ministers, which could not be got over by any reasoning. I preferred dismissal to voluntary resignation because I wanted the burden of dismissal to rest on Governor's shoulders. That would check or minimize opposition pinpricks and make the working of offices by a party which is frankly opposed to the Act and the British Imperial system tolerably smooth. Now, if the difference between dismissal and what Lord Zetland has offered is very little, surely it is up to the Government to make up the difference rather than for the Congress to yield. To show that my original position is not [at] all altered, I would be entirely satisfied if assurances were given as was contemplated by the resolution of the A. I. C. C. The latest resolution of the Working Committee is but an interpretation of the A. I. C. C. resolution, not an advance or improvement on it. I hope that this letter clears up all the points raised in your letter; but if there is anything more, please do not hesitate to write to me.

Yours sincerely,

From a copy: C.W. 7982. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

254. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

May 26, 1937

CHI. NARANDAS,

Kamalabai returned there rather suddenly. Give the accompanying letter to her. You may take from her whatever work you like, within her capacity. If she serves as she has promised to do, she will certainly be able to do much work. You need not hesitate to ask her any question.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I Shall be staying here up to the 10th. Shouldn't, therefore, Kanu also leave on the 10th?

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8523. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

CWMG-LXV

255. LETTER TO BHUJANGILAL CHHAYA

May 26, 1937

CHI. BHUJANGILAL,

You did very well in accepting Chandubhai's daughter. Your Father will be certainly happy over this.

I saw no fault in your conduct towards Manu. How could you help if you came to like her? You put the proposal before me in a manner befitting a young man. I don't think that you violated propriety in any way by doing so. Had I thought that your father would be pleased, I would have certainly suggested your name to Manu and she would have accepted my proposal. But, thinking that it would be impossible to obtain Father's blessings, you suppressed your desire and thereby enhanced yours and the Chhaya family's reputation. You may make any use of this letter that you like.

It is time to think what work you should take up in future. We shall do that when we meet.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I am here till the 10th of June.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2600

256. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

May 26, 1937

CHI. MAHADEV,

What do we know? Rama didn't know that he would have to go to the forest. Send Amtul Salaam. We will not give insulin and still cure diabetes. We will see about the tonsils. What a fuss I had made!

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11521

257. LETTER TO AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI

May 26, 1937

CHI. NANAVATI,

I got your letter after a long time. Nimu has been here for the last five days. For the present she will stay here. Nothing is decided about the future. If you have made up your mind to spend the whole summer in Segaon, then reduce your work and sleep at least for ten hours daily, full eight hours at night and full two hours during the day, either at one stretch or piecemeal. The weight must remain constant. The cause of the pain is obviously weakness. I hope you are taking hip-baths regularly. Take more milk if you can. Don't care even for bread.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

The time during which I intended to write the other letters was taken up by Gangabehn Jhaveri.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10735

258. LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA

May 26, 1937

CHI. BALVANTSINHA,

I had your letter. I shall enquire from Munnalal about milk. Your argument seems to be quite correct. I will not turn you out or anyone else. But I will not stop those who go away of their own accord. I shall extract from everyone as much work as possible. Although all are engaged in something or other, according to me it is still not sufficient. "Never to give up even at the cost of life" is also one of my mottos. To dismiss everyone after having permitted them to stay would be to admit defeat and prove oneself a fool. I don't mind looking a fool as I already am one but this will certainly be painful. So how can I stand discomfiture ?

CWMG - LXV

Today Kishorelalbhai and Gomatibehn left for Bombay.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1901

259. INSTRUCTIONS TO SPINNERS

[After *May 26, 1937*][1]

Revered Bapuji's instructions are that if the thread snaps while spinning it should be joined rather than thrown away. It will lessen the wastage. The best thing would be to spin in such a way that there would be no occasion for joining. Usually the thread snaps only because of its unevenness. There will not be any wastage if as soon as the thread becomes thinner than usual, the sliver is broken off and put along with the thin thread and spun again. Professional spinners follow this method.

At Bapuji's instance,
NANAVATI

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 10736

260. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

TITHAL, BULSAR,
May 27, 1937

MY DEAR REBEL,

One part of your letter has been dealt with by Mahadev.

Jawaharlal's letter to Ammu is inoffensive. It won't do for women to have tender skin. His viewpoint should be appreciated. You were right in not circulating the letter. It may be read, if necessary, at some meeting where you can watch and correct misunderstanding. But just as it is necessary to understand his viewpoint, it is also necessary for you to recognize your limitations. You stand midway between two forces. You will therefore never become a democratic organization.[2] Perhaps your title is a misnomer. You may retain it but define your limitations. This theme can be further considered when we meet in July.

[1] In the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi Sangrahalaya, this is placed after "Letter to Amritlal T. Nanavati", p. 247.

[2] The reference is to All-India Women's Conference.

CWMG - LXV

(Is it not?) I hope the pin-head has closed from the bottom. I am hoping that you will meet Kallenbach. You will love him.

Love.

TYRANT

From the original: C.W. 3785. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6941

261. LETTER TO VIJAYA N. PATEL

May 27, 1937

CHI. VIJAYA,

You have given your daily programme in sufficient detail. It is fine. It is through selfishness that you are grieving over grandmother's death. Her house had become dilapidated. Should she, even then, continue to stay in it merely for serving others? Why should you envy her if she goes to live in a new house? Just because we do not know the meaning of death, through our selfishness we grieve over it. If you understand this simple truth, then you will give up crying.

I have had two letters from Manubhai. I have preserved them for you. I intended to show them to you when I return there. But if you have lost patience, then let me know and I shall send them immediately by return of post. I have presumed that you are not impatient in such matters. I, therefore, did not send them immediately when they were received and today also I am not sending them. Now I will do as you wish. I hope you have regained your normal health.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7071. Also C.W. 4563. Courtesy: Vijayabehn M. Pancholi

262. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

May 27, 1937

CHI. MUNNALAL,

I cannot cope with your letters. I go on replying as replies to your questions occur to me. You have not at all been at fault in reminding me that I have hardly been able to go to the town. Your motive was pure. You have yourself understood my helplessness and thereby proved the justice of your criticism.

What does Balvantsinha write about milk? I think that he should be given as much separated milk for the cows as he needs. What could be your reason for refusing? It is certainly good that the he-goat was saved. But I cannot accept, without knowing more facts, that your intention of going on a fast was true satyagraha. Sometimes satyagraha seems to fail and *duragraha*[1] seems to succeed. Still satyagraha remains satyagraha and *duragraha* remains *duragraha*. In other words, we can judge nothing from the results. The counsel "You have no right to the fruit"[2] should always be kept in mind.

The relations with Jamnalalji and his house [at Segaon] should be no obstacle. It all depends on the manner in which we use them. We do hope that we shall always use them for a good purpose.

The meaning you have given of the *Gita* verse will do for you personally, but it assumes belief in the Divine incarnation of Krishna. "People cannot recognize me because I am in the form of a human being."[3] This statement is taken to refer to Krishna in human form and not to the God hidden in all beings. One is free to believe this. The ultimate result of both the meanings is the same.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8580. Also C.W. 7016. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

[1] Obduracy
[2] & [3] *Bhagavad Gita*, II. 47 and IX. 11

CWMG - LXV

263. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

May 27, 1937

CHI. LILAVATI,

Your letter is nice. Have I not given you freedom? But I would like it if you kept yourself bound voluntarily. You are, however, entrusting your welfare to me. But do I know my own? However, I value your faith. Even if I make mistakes in guiding you, still because of your faith your welfare is assured.

I have already written[1] to Munnalal regarding separated milk. I think Balvantsinha ought to be given milk. But you should ask Munnalal and understand his reason.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9363. Also C.W. 6638. Courtesy: Lilavati Asar

264. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH

May 27, 1937

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

Don't worry about Sharda. Her shyness will disappear. She has gained two pounds. She remains cheerful. If I am to choose a husband for her, in all probability he would be from some other Province. What about Manilal and Sushila who live far away in Phœnix? What meaning has far and near in this age? Please, therefore, overcome Shakaribehn's groundless objection.

The ill-feeling between Narandas and you must end. I will write to him. If you suspect breach of trust in regard to your brother's money, you should quietly return it at the earliest opportunity. In doing that you need not consider what my or anybody's opinion would be. A thing is certainly a sin for him to whom it appears so and he should wash it off as soon as possible.

You may use the remaining amount. For the future, both of you should have trust in God.

[1] *Vide* p. 186.

There is no doubt that it would be better to select a village in British territory than one in an Indian State.

Boiled onions act as a laxative. There will be no harm in eating a little of it raw while eating the rest boiled. You must take *bhajis*[1] such as *tandalja*, etc., boiled. That is bound to stop bleeding.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.G. 22

265. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

May 27, 1937

CHI. NARANDAS,

I send with this the material portion of a letter from Chimanlal for you to read and think over. Since he wishes to leave Vijapur, I casually suggested why he shouldn't go to Rajkot. Sharda replied to the question saying that that was the last place he would go to. This reminded me of the ill-feeling between you two. On my asking whether that was the only reason, she said, "Yes". I, thereupon, wrote[2] to Chimanlal admonishing him why two old inmates of the Ashram, whose relation should be closer than that of two brothers, should harbour such ill-feeling? The accompanying letter is his reply to my questions. Previously, too, I had tried to know the cause of this ill-feeling. I think you had written to me and given some explanation. But I have forgotten all that. Please, therefore, explain your point of view now.

Kamalabai must have arrived there.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8524. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

[1] Leafy vegetables
[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

266. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

May 27, 1937

CHI. BRIJKRISHNA,

I got your long letter. I have read it carefully. Deka also met me. I think he is a nice young man. There seems to be nothing wrong in what he has written and what he believes. So there is no need to harp on it. If he himself comes to work among the labourers, he would like to work in the labour office for a minimum of three months. Your need at present appears to be urgent as Raghunandan requires assistance in the Press. But in my opinion you should let Deka gain full experience. He will then be more useful.

Satyavati's case is pitiable. She mentions her weaknesses; what are they precisely? The help granted to her for her convalescence is quite proper. But it is difficult to say how far you are qualified to guide her. Know that it all depends on your self-confidence. I am quite partial to her, but she is as wilful as she is courageous. It will be for her own good if she listens to you. I return her letters. I hope Mother is all right.

I am here till June 10.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2451

267. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

TITHAL, BULSAR,
May 28, 1937

CHI. NARANDAS,

I got your letter. I was not concerned with Kamu's deserts, but only with her need. I do believe that she can afford to pay from her own resources. But I couldn't persuade her to do so. I didn't like to enter into an argument with her and, therefore, decided to pay her Rs. 30. I didn't know about

Rs. 10. You read the figure as 30 correctly. If you know who pays her Rs. 10, let me know. I will write to Kamu.

I have already written to you concerning . . .[1] Kusum[2] seems to have taken a vow of silence towards me. Does she keep good health?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8525. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

268. LATHI'S EXAMPLE

The reader will find a fair notice in Mahadev Desai's "Weekly Letter" of the opening to Harijans of its important temple by the ruler of Lathi State. The event is of great value to Kathiawar. And Thakoresaheb Prahladsinghji deserves the congratulations of all lovers of Hinduism and humanity. Published reports show that there was not a murmur against the act and that the *savarna* Hindus partook in the proceedings without any reserve. I draw from this the same inference I drew from the Travancore Proclamation. For the people religious proclamations of a ruler have the sanction of *Smritis*. I am unable on any other basis to account for the unanimous welcome extended to the generous action of the Thakoresaheb of Lathi. I have bitter experiences of the obstinacy of the *savarnas* of Lathi. They would not come to the Harijan quarters. There was difficulty in getting medical attendance for a Harijan woman who was dying of pneumonia. There were distinctions observed at the State dispensary. It must be said in passing that these disabilities were not peculiar to Lathi, they were common to all parts of Kathiawar and outside it in Gujarat. Indeed in some vital matters untouchability is worse in Gujarat than elsewhere and worst in Kathiawar. Nor do I imagine that with the opening of the temple in Lathi all the disabilities have disappeared in practice. Nevertheless in the ready co-operation of the *savarna* Hindus in the worthy action of the Thakoresaheb of Lathi, as in Travancore, one finds a quick solution of the untouchability problem. For if my reasoning is sound, the other Indian chiefs have but to copy the examples of Travancore and Lathi and untouchability will lose its sharp edge, even though it may not die out

[1] The name has been omitted.
[2] Daughter of Vrajlal Gandhi

altogether in the States of India. And if it does on that large scale, British India cannot but be affected by the phenomenon. One fails to see why the princes move so slowly in this matter which is one of life and death to a large portion of Hindu humanity. Would that the princes recognized their obvious duty of purging Hinduism of the virus of untouchability and took timely action.

The Thakoresaheb of Lathi is reported to have said in his address that as soon as he gets suitable priests and teachers he would like to open more temples and cover them with schools for all classes of children. I would suggest to him the same remedy I put before the authorities in Travancore. A small training school should be opened in Lathi for giving practical training in conducting services and schools in temples. There is no reason why both the offices should not be combined in one person. A school master has as much need to be pure in heart as a priest and vice versa. Nor need a priest be ignorant of the art of teaching. At the present moment the most deplorable thing is that the temple priests are as a rule ignorant men often devoid of character. The training course need not be long—not beyond six months. If the salary offered is attractive, the school should draw well-read youths of character beyond reproach. My suggestion no doubt implies that the reform of Lathi has its root in spirituality.

Harijan, 29-5-1937

269. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

TITHAL, BULSAR,
May 29, 1937

MY DEAR IDIOT,

I have already told you I leave here 10th June, reach Segaon 12th June, not to leave it (D. V.) till the meeting of the Haripura Congress. So I expect you in July and thereafter you will take your seconds, minutes or hours whatever you can get and have advice, guidance, and orders at your wish!

Yes, Kumarappa does feel that his interpretation was right and mine wholly wrong and misleading and when he told me that Bahadurji had agreed with him, I told him I must have his opinion in writing. He said he would get it. I do not know what happened after. I still maintain that he has no legal sense.

But what does that matter ? He has good sense, he is a faithful worker. I would therefore be pleased if he proves to be right in his interpretation. I shall then have to blow out my legal brain which people thought I had.

Your pin-head is an eternal pin-prick for me. You must not neglect it. You must worry Shummy's life out of him and get it right, your preoccupations notwithstanding.

Your dal is also a pin-head. I speak not from prejudice but experience. You cannot judge results from what ordinarily healthy men can eat seemingly without harm. I tell you a teaspoonful of dal has been known to upset delicate stomachs and yours is extra delicate. You do get enough protein from your milk and chapati when you take enough. I wish you would consult Menkel[1], the food specialist. I am not sure of the spelling of his name.

I would be sorry if you miss meeting Kallenbach. He has no desire to see anything in India. He has come just to be with me as long as he can. He is not sure how long he can stay. Although he has become a big architect and his firm has four branches employing 35 architects, he remains in his personal life just as simple as when I left him in 1914.

I hope you have the lace from Bombay.

Love.

TYRANT

From the original: C.W. 3786. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6942

270. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

May 29, 1937

CHI. PREMA,

I shall not probably be able to reply to the whole of your letter. I will try, though. I have certainly issued no order forbidding you to make speeches. And even if I have issued any, I withdraw it. I wish to order no one. What can I have to say if your views change? You will follow your nature, as everybody should do.[2]

The fact that pure love doesn't care for touch certainly doesn't mean that all touch is impure. I had pure love for my mother,

[1] Dr. Menkel of the Seventh Day Adventist Mission; the source has "Menckem".

[2] *Vide* also pp. 195-6.

but I used to massage her legs when they ached. There was no impurity in that touch. Touch prompted by lust is evil. I would, therefore, say that anybody who says that pure love is impossible without touch doesn't know what pure love is.

I still do not understand what you wish to suggest regarding Nariman. Who did him injustice and how? At least for the sake of truth you should come out frankly with what you have in mind. I find it intolerable that there should be a difference of opinion between us in a matter like this. If you are convinced that injustice has been done to Nariman, you should prove that to me, for, though unwillingly, I had to interest myself in the affair. I have, moreover, assured Nariman that I shall be ready to study his case whenever he wishes. But whether or not he comes, your duty is clear.

What you have assumed regarding . . .[1] is not correct. The evidence which you have got is of no value. Before believing in such a thing you should ask the person concerned. I don't wish to suggest that no such untruth has been practised. But the matter should be carefully investigated. If somebody tells me that Prema did a certain thing, should I believe it without asking you whether it is correct?

Maybe what you said at Hudli came from your heart. But what you said in your speech was different from what you say now. Will you admit this much? Be that as it may, I have told you that my experience was different from your reasoning. You are certainly entitled to attach more importance to your reasoning than to my experience. But what should I do?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10390. Also C. W. 6829. Courtesy: Premabehn Kantak

271. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

May 29, 1937

CHI. LILAVATI,

I got your letter. Did I say that when I wrote a letter to anybody in Segaon, there would always be a letter for you, too, along with it? If I have said that, you should regard it as impossible. For, sometimes I may have to write only two lines to

[1] The name has been omitted.

somebody, and I cannot decide in advance that I must write to you even when I have hardly time for that. But it has certainly been the case that I have written the largest number of letters to you and not a single week has passed without my dictating one to you. I think there has never been a gap of more than two days. You can find out the number from the diary.

It will certainly be good if you can stay without ruining your health. I don't feel the heat as much as the others do. Perhaps it is because I keep moving about and do not have to sit near the stove. So how can I feel the heat? But now it is decided. I am fixed up here till the 10th. Whether or not it is hot there after the 10th, we shall, God willing, meet on the 12th.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9364. Also C.W. 6639. Courtesy: Lilavati Asar

272. A LETTER

May 30, 1937

Shri Harjivan Kotak has been taken away from the All-India Spinners' Association Kashmir depot at my instance principally for reasons wholly unconnected with his conduct of the depot. So far as I know he has never acted in his conduct of the depot in any manner that would reflect on his honesty. His business capacity and his industry have never been questioned. And but for his unfortunate illness he would have joined any business and had more than can be paid in a wholly philanthropic organization like the A. I. S. A.

M. K. GANDHI

From a copy : Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

CWMG - LXV

273. LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA

TITHAL,
May 30, 1937

CHI. BALVANTSINHA,

A verandah may certainly be added to the front side of the cow-shed if it does not cost much.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1902

274. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

TITHAL, BULSAR,
May 31, 1937

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Your two letters remain unanswered. I am glad the dog is better but the pin-point still remains active. Can't you get some doctor to find out the cause?

You want Jawaharlal's letter back.[1] Did you ask for it in your first letter? I destroyed it after replying as it was clearly a type copy. The original must be in existence with Ammu. I should be sorry if the original is also destroyed. It cannot be. In future always mark "to be returned" when you want any writing returned.

You should teach men a lesson in punctuality by your leaving punctually even as you reach punctually. Did I tell you of an English friend beginning his meeting exactly at the advertised time, though the audience consisted of only one man or woman—I forget which?

It is not unlikely that Kallenbach would be in Segaon in July when you come.

Did I not tell you I was leaving here on 10th morning? Letters may come here till 9th June.

Love.

TYRANT

From the original: C.W. 3606. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6415

[1] *Vide* p. 248.

CWMG - LXXV

275. LETTER TO VAIKUNTHLAL L. MEHTA

May 31, 1937

BHAI VAIKUNTHBHAI,

Do come on Wednesday evening with the friend's message.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1364

276. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

June 1, 1937

CHI. NARANDAS,

I got your letter. I understand what you say regarding Chimanlal. I am sending your note to him. What else but a misunderstanding can there be behind this? I have deliberately placed Kamala's burden on you. I don't believe anybody else to be capable of shouldering it. Read my letter to her. Decide for yourself in regard to anything she demands and inform me after taking necessary action, so that if I have any comment to make I may do so. Ask me immediately where you have a doubt. After knowing all the details from her, give her permission to write letters where you think it proper. Keep every minute of hers occupied. She may study, sew, teach, spin, sweep, card—do everything that her strength permits. Point out to her any defect that you may observe in her.

As regards Kamu I hear that the payment of Rs. 10 will be stopped from this month.

There was a wire from Vijaya[1] from Chorwad: "Send Kanubhai." I have replied: "Wishes to stay here till tenth. Why do you send for him earlier?"

What you wrote regarding Kishorelalbhai's speech didn't seem to me to call for a reply. Personally I see nothing objectionable in the suggestion regarding the addition of cottonseed as a form of subscription for the Goseva Sangh nor can

[1] Vijaya Gandhi, addressee's daughter-in-law

CWMG - LXV

we find fault with anybody who may spin the whole quantity at a time rather than a little daily. It is possible that this will nullify our object in requiring everybody to pay subscription in the same form or some other object as well. We need not think that Kishorelal has committed any error because the way he looks at the matter differs from ours in accepting yarn as a form of subscription.

I don't see anything to criticize in what he has said regarding equal respect for all religions. If we see an error in any religion, why shouldn't we point it out when occasion demands? That we must make sure that the occasion is proper, is a different matter. If you have read any other meaning, let me know.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8526. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

277. *INTERVIEW TO "THE TIMES OF INDIA"*

TITHAL,
June 1, 1937

I am very anxious that Congressmen should take office—but only if Government show their willingness to conciliate the Congress.

If, as has been said, Lord Zetland has conceded all but the question of dismissal, the Congress asks Government to come a little way to meet it. The conciliatory moves so far have come from the Congress. It would have been easy at Allahabad to close the door by putting a narrow interpretation on the Delhi resolution. Instead it was kept open.

The only obstacle, so far as can at present be seen, is the Congress demand that in the event of serious disagreement between a Governor and his Congress Ministers, the Governor should dismiss them. I personally would be satisfied, however, if the Governor gave an undertaking that in such a case he would demand his Ministers' resignation.

Mr. Gandhi refused to agree that it was a small matter for the Congress, because his idea was to make the Governor think fifty times before he took the responsibility of dismissing his Ministries. In other words, Mr. Gandhi wished to "take advantage of the ordinary human virtue—it may

be weakness—of not wishing to look a fool". Congress critics had said that this demand was merely a trifle. [Mr. Gandhi asked:]

If it is so, why not give the Congress the trifle?

In any case, Mr. Gandhi affirmed, the object of the Congress demand was to test the sincerity of the British Government. Did they want the Congress in office, or did they not? In South Africa, Britain meticulously conciliated the Boer. In India, however, such a gesture was lacking. Indeed all the moves towards solving the impasse had come from the Congress.

Now the Congress did not demand any legal change. But it was being talked at instead of being talked to. It would appear that British statesmen and the provincial Governors were addressing the world and not the Congress. In fact, they might be accused of attempting as ever to discredit and *isolate* the Congress.

If Congressmen took office, they would be doing so with a full sense of their responsibility. Therefore, unless the Government recognized its policy of wrecking the Act and achieving independence by constitutional means as perfectly legitimate, they would not welcome the rule of the Congress majority.

Mr. Gandhi did not see any constitutional obstacle or impropriety in the Viceroy taking steps in an attempt to end the deadlock. It was known that the Viceroy had conferred with provincial Governors before they summoned the Congress leaders. Surely, then, there was no obstacle to his asking the Congress President to meet him. [Mr. Gandhi said:]

I do not say that this is necessary. It is enough if the Congress demand in accordance with the Allahabad resolution[1] is complied with.

If Government would not make a gesture, the deadlock must continue. The result might in the end be the application of Section 93, that is, the suspension of the democratic portion of the new Constitution. Mr. Gandhi was prepared for that and its possible consequences. He preferred open oppression under a state of autocracy to veiled oppression of, and interference with, Congress Ministers. Though he was ready to face it, oppression was the last thing he desired. It would increase the existing bitterness and hatred between Britain and India. He himself would die in an effort to prevent the tragedy, but there must come a time when his effort would be fruitless. Mr. Gandhi concluded:

Nobody has yet said that the present Congress condition for accepting office is unconstitutional. The Congress had gone as far as it could, consistent with self-esteem and with its avowed

[1] *Vide* footnote 1, p. 174.

CWMG-LXV

object. The next move must come from the Government, if they really want the Congress to take office.

The Times of India, 2-6-1937

278. A TESTIMONIAL

[As at] Segaon, Wardha (India),
June 2, 1937

Mr. P. N. Joshi, Superintendent, Bhavnagar Durbar dairy, has been studying the cattle problem in India for the last 14 years, and has done some work towards the improvement of the indigenous breed of cows in Kathiawar. Bhavnagar State is sending him to Denmark and the U. S. A. to study genetics and animal husbandry, so that his knowledge may be used for the betterment of the cattle wealth in this country. I shall be grateful for any facilities or guidance that may be given to Mr. Joshi in the countries he is visiting for the first time in his life.

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

279. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

Tithal, Bulsar,
June 2, 1937

MY DEAR IDIOT,

Congratulations. What a splinter![1] So, my anxiety was justified and so is your idiocy. You won't repeat the folly of disregarding pin-points. I hope when this reaches you, you would have recovered completely.

I understand your question about violence. Good results do not justify violence and they do not nullify the evil that violence works. It is not always possible to lay one's hands on the evil that violence works. Thus it is not possible to weigh the evil wrought by hanging a murderer, though we may heave a sigh of relief when he is put out. Faith would be meaning-

[1] In *Letters to Rajkumari Amrit Kaur*, the addressee explains: "I got a splinter in my foot while walking with Gandhiji in Sevagram. It remained inside for weeks and at last came out itself—a fairly large one—and I sent it to him to see!"

CWMG - LXV

less, if we were able always to account for everything. Have I understood your question correctly?

Love.

ROBBER

From the original: C.W. 3607. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6416

280. LETTER TO SHANTIKUMAR N. MORARJEE

June 2, 1937

CHI. SHANTIKUMAR,

May you live long and do great service. The sun of hope dwells not outside but within oneself. Search for it there, and you will surely find it. Tell Mother[1] and Gokibehn[2] that I think of them often. Blessings to Sumati[3] and Mani.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 4801. Courtesy: Shantikumar N. Morarjee

281. LETTER TO KAPILRAI H. PAREKH

June 2, 1937

BHAI KAPILRAI,

I got your postcard. I forwarded to you yesterday the reply received from Jamnalalji. But as I wrote a wrong address on it by oversight, it will go astray. I learnt about this just now. Here is the gist of that letter: A very experienced and capable expert is in charge at the main place. If, therefore, you are willing to accept a post under him, you should see Seth Keshav Devji Nevatia at Bachchharaj & Co., 395 Kalbadevi Road.

Blessings from

BAPU

SHRI KAPILRAI HARIVALLABH PAREKH
"SITA SADAN", ROOM NO. 8
LAKHAMSI NAPPU ROAD, MATUNGA (BOMBAY)

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 9731. Courtesy: Kapilrai H. Parekh

[1], [2] & [3] Grandmother, paternal aunt and wife of the addressee

CWMG - LXV

282. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

TITHAL,
[*June*][1] *2, 1937*

CHI. LILAVATI,

So you didn't send the letter with Indu? You are counting the days, aren't you? The date has now been advanced from the 12th to the 11th. There is no chance of its being brought earlier. Ba will stay back in Maroli. Kanu will go to Rajkot. So all of us who came from there will not return, but in their place we shall bring some others with us. They are Khan Saheb[2], Mehrtaj[3], Lali[4] and Mr. Kallenbach. See, therefore, that you look fresh and dignified. If you go on losing weight, you won't be able to cope with the cooking.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9587. Also C.W. 6559. Courtesy: Lilavati Asar

283. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

TITHAL,
[*June*][5] *2, 1937*

CHI. MUNNALAL,

Indu has given me your letters. After reading them, I wonder whether to laugh, weep or be angry and I was inclined to do these things in that order and I finally decided not to do any of them. I could not follow what Indu told me orally, nor have I been able to judge whose fault it must have been.

I hope to reach there on the 11th instead of the 12th. I shall listen to the story when I come there. Or perhaps by that time the cloud might have cleared. Therefore I wish to say nothing about the discord. Do what you can to settle it among

[1] Gandhiji was at Tithal in June 1937. The source, however, has "July" in this and the following two items.

[2], [3] & [4] Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, his daughter and son

[5] *Vide* footnote 1 above.

yourselves. You have written to me saying that I have thrust on you the burden of winning over Lilavati, Balvantsinha and others. If I had put on you the burden of village service for which you and others are in Segaon, you would have been able to carry it. But this very distinction that you have made is not proper. We have resolved that village service is not different from overcoming anger, etc. The equation would be: To win over Lilavati and others is to overcoming anger and that is equal to serving the villages. But so long as you regard them as two separate things, they will remain so from your point of view. I have, however, solved this problem, too. As I have already told you and Balvantsinha, you can have separate arrangements for your meals, etc. You will have to deal only with me. You should spend all your time in the service chosen by you. After careful thinking, you rejected the suggestion. And I also see that you were right in doing so. Nobody has ever been able to serve by living in this manner. We are not born independent. From conception to death we are and will remain dependent on others. But I will not go into all this philosophy here. We will discuss it when we meet and find time.

You don't have to think what your duty should have been as regards that goat.[1] It was simply obstinacy on your part. It is good if you can save even one goat by changing people's ideas. But if you save a million goats without their approval, it is of no value. If at all it has any, it is almost nil. In fact you should apologize to the people and tell them: 'My duty was to explain to you your dharma and not threaten you with a fast. I, therefore, apologize to you for having held out such a threat. Though I will not go on a fast to stop you, still I will continue to tell you that it is an evil custom. And will go on trying to prove that with arguments.'

I didn't follow anything regarding Balvantrai. I will be able to do so only when I go over there.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8578. Also C.W. 7018. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

[1] *Vide* p. 250.

284. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL N. SHAH

TITHAL,
[*June*][1] *2, 1937*

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

From your letter I sent to Narandas the portion concerning him. He has replied to it. What do you say about it? I have not shown that letter to Sharda. It is likely that being of sharp intellect she may start brooding and become sentimental and even start worrying. If I let her read it, I would even have to enter into discussion with her, and that is bound to have an adverse effect on her health. All this is not necessary. You should, therefore, send your reply directly to me, so that she may not have to get involved in this matter at all.

I see from Narandas's letter that there is nothing but a simple difference of opinion. And if it is only a case of honest difference of opinion, there is no reason for unhappiness or anger. If you give a reasoned reply meeting every point, send back Narandas's letter to me so as to enable me to think over the matter, for I might have forgotten the contents of Narandas's letter by the time I get your reply.

Sharda is keeping good health. She takes long walks and eats well. On Sunday she weighed 80 lb. I consider it a good sign.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.G. 23

285. LETTER TO BALVANTSINHA

June 2, 1937

CHI. BALVANTSINHA,

I hope you are well. All the people there write to me to have no worry on their account and to stay on in Tithal as long as I wish to. And yet they all—or rather many of them—create causes for worry and pass them on to me. But I refuse to worry

[1] *Vide* footnote 1, p. 265.

any more. I will not leave this place before the 10th instant, though I shall certainly try to leave on the 10th and expect to reach there on the 11th morning. And then I shall listen to the various problems, viz., water, milk, the bullock, the cow, the well, the farm and Munnalal's fast and give my decision on everything.

Is this all right?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1903

286. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

June 2, 1937

CHI. BRIJKRISHNA,

Perhaps you know Giriraj[1]. He was in the Sabarmati Ashram and has two children. His address is as follows:

Vidyashram, 157 Cloth Market, Delhi.

He has a teaching certificate and is willing to do any work like teaching, office work, sales or anything else. His requirement is Rs. 35 per month. Meet him and send me your impression. See if you need him for any kind of job.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2450

287. LETTER TO M. R. MASANI

TITHAL, BULSAR,
June 3, 1937

MY DEAR MASANI,

Your letter is superfluous. I have never known you to be disrespectful to anybody. In the speech referred to there was no disrespect. I am surprised Patwardhan thought I had said anything to resent the manner of your speech. My remark was directed to the matter. I instanced your speech as an act of indiscipline. You should not have criticized the action of

[1] Giriraj Kishore Bhatnagar

CWMG - LXV

leaders in pursuance of a mode of action decided upon by the A. I. C. C. I still hold that you were wrong.

I hope you had nice time in Almora.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: C.W. 4886. Courtesy: M. R. Masani. Also G.N. 4128

288. LETTER TO P. KODANDA RAO

June 3, 1937

MY DEAR KODANDA RAO[1],

Welcome. I hope you have benefited in every way by your long absence. I am not going to Bombay. Come here or come to Segaon after 10th instant.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 6284

289. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH

June 3, 1937

CHI. MUNNALAL,

Today I am trying to answer several letters of yours. Try to analyse and understand the reasons why you worry about Kanchan. She is now well settled and studies as much as she can. She couldn't be in a better place than where she is at present. What then is the point in worrying about her? Is it that you wish to live with her? If that is so, there is no real cause for your worry. It is simply a question of your desire. If you are trying to curb that desire, we should consider whether you ought to do so.

The villagers live on *jowar* and *besan*[2]. You will never be able to copy them in that. One should know one's limitations. Hence, the reasoning behind your decision to resume solid food is wrong. Whether from the economic or the moral point of view, which is economical in the long run for you—to eat solid food and fall ill or live on milk which is costlier and work regularly?

[1] 1890-1975; educationist, author and social worker; member of Servants of India Society from 1927 to 1958

[2] Gram flour

CWMG-LXV

There is only one golden key in being able to live a true life. One should plunge into whatever work of service comes to one unsought, surrendering everything to Shri Krishna, and being wholly engrossed in the work. Even the thoughts in one's mind should be about how to complete the task and not whether the work is proper or not.

That we have employed a Bhangi and are building a road is certainly a form of service. We are in a position to make people spend money in this way. If we don't use our advantage we would prove ourselves fools. And, besides, the money is given by the zamindar. That we thus make him take interest in the village, though it be indirectly, is no small thing. We need not postpone the cleaning of a village and wait for the village people themselves to start doing something. If we can melt the heart of the zamindar in every village, our task would be made very much easier. However, we have to keep in view all the limbs of society and the limits of each would be the limits of our strength.

My wish to live alone in Segaon did not mean that it was not possible to enlarge the field of service so long as other people lived there. I only wanted to see what one man could do, to see for my own sake whether I could carry on the work by myself. The plan could not be carried out and others joined me. I must then use their services and they should give them.

The relations with Jamnalalji should not be allowed to become an obstacle. If they make us soft and comfort-loving, we would fall off like dried leaves, and that deservedly. If we think of nothing but service every hour of the day and strive to remain pure, people will understand us even though a multimillionaire may be living with us.

I see from your letters that you spend most of your time in dreaming, and that prevents your work from shining out. Your motive is pure, but you start running before you have learnt to walk and even while running you dream of flying. The result is that you not only do not run or fly but cannot even walk. During your illness you could somehow carry on your work, but can you be satisfied with that?

I have now answered all your letters. I kept the letters in front of me and went on consulting them. I am sure you do not want me to reply sentence by sentence. The foregoing replies will help you to resolve all your difficulties. I would, however, advise you to stop thinking in this manner altogether and to complete fully whatever task you have undertaken. If you do so, all your problems will solve themselves by and by without

any effort on your part and you will be filled with such happiness as you have never known before.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8579. Also C.W. 7017. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

290. TELEGRAM TO BHARATAN KUMARAPPA

June 4, 1937

MAY YOUR UNION[1] PROVE HAPPY AND FRUITFUL FOR COUNTRY. LOVE.

BAPU

The Hindu, 4-6-1937

291. TELEGRAM TO NARANDAS GANDHI

BULSAR,
June 4, 1937

NARANDAS GANDHI
OPPOSITE MIDDLE SCHOOL
RAJKOT

GOD BE THANKED. HE[2] LIVED WELL DIED WELL. NO SORROW.

BAPU

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

292. LETTER TO EDMOND AND YVONNE PRIVAT

TITHAL, BULSAR,
June 4, 1937

MY DEAR ANAND AND BHAKTI,

It was a delight to hear from you after such a long time. *Harijan* tells you weekly something of my movement. Just now

[1] The addressee's marriage to Sita Devi, daughter of David Devadoss, was solemnized at the Kodaikanal English Church.
[2] Khushalchand Gandhi, father of the addressee

I am at a little sea-side place drawn there by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. Mira, Mahadev and Pyarelal are with me. We are leaving here for Wardha on the 10th. Khan Saheb Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Mr. Kallenbach, a South African friend who has just come merely to see me, are also with me. Of course, I shall be delighted to see Prof. Bovet[1] when he comes here in October. But I do not know that I shall be able to write the preface which you want from me for his book. However, I look forward to meet him and I shall see what can be done.

With love to both of you,

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 2340

293. LETTER TO B. S. GOPALRAO

June 4, 1937

MY DEAR GOPALRAO,

I have your letter. I should like to know what more you can show in Rajahmundry, if your experiment is the same as what you recommended to me during that unfortunate meeting[2] of ours, when I was tempted there and then to try your experiment which I did strictly according to your instructions. I feel convinced that mankind has not yet discovered a complete substitute for milk. I am also clear that farinaceous and nitrogenous foods ought not to be taken uncooked nor starchy vegetables such as potatoes.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. B. S. GOPALRAO
HYDRO CHROMOPATHIC RESEARCH AND NATURE-CURE ACADEMY
RAJAHMUNDRY

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] A member of New Education Fellowship Delegation, he, along with two other members, Prof. Davies and Dr. Zilliacus, attended the Educational Conference at Wardha on October 22 and 23 and commended Gandhiji's scheme.

[2] In 1929; *vide* Vol. XLI, pp. 34-6, 52-4 and 169-70. *Vide* also Vol. XLIX, p. 421.

294. LETTER TO P. K. CHENGAMMAL

June 4, 1937

DEAR CHENGAMMAL,

I have your letter as also your son's. If and when Gopalan comes to India, I shall see what can be done for him. If he has not left already let him know that life in India is difficult and the climate also may not be agreeable to those who have been born and bred in South Africa. If, however, Gopalan can lead a simple life and can accommodate himself to Indian manners and customs, he will have no difficulty.

Yours sincerely,

SH. P. K. CHENGAMMAL
19 DAWIS STREET
DOORN JOUTEIN
JOHANNESBURG
SOUTH AFRICA

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

295. LETTER TO BHAGWANJI A. MEHTA

June 4, 1937

BHAI BHAGWANJI,

How can I help it if you, though a lawyer, see the thing in an altogether wrong light and then are displeased with my actions? I can only put up with your displeasure. Please note that in none of the cases mentioned by you was I appointed an arbitrator. Should I have asked to be made one? It is possible that, if I ask for it, Devchandbhai, Narbheram and Prabhashankar would appoint me. But should I on that account become a judge? It is only in some exceptional cases that I agree to become an arbitrator, and whenever I have done so I have given clear-cut decisions. But it is outside my field to be an arbitrator. My special field is to find a solution by persuading the parties. But I do not always succeed in such efforts and, moreover, I have to take considerable pains. You should have compassion for me and not put before me complicated cases. I would have

to spare a lot of time for them. How can I manage that? Hence I can only put up with your [harsh] opinion.

Vandemataram from
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5834. Also C.W. 3057. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

296. LETTER TO TULSI MAHER

June 4, 1937

CHI. TULSI MAHER,

I had your letter. In this condition what can you do by staying there[1]? How much can you do even for the spread of the charkha? One wonders whether your living there is the right thing from the point of view of service. Think carefully about this and let me know.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 6550

297. COCHIN UNTOUCHABILITY

A Cochin correspondent writes:

I have just gone through your article[2] "Cochin-Travancore" in the *Harijan*, dated May 8, 1937. I find that you have, perhaps unwittingly, done a distinct disservice to the cause of truth.

The controversy about the Koodalmanikkam Temple can in no sense be regarded as a war between light and darkness; at any rate, there is not the slightest intention among the people of Cochin to hug darkness as a virtue in itself, worth putting up a fight for.

You seem to be labouring under a misapprehension when you say that "even the most orthodox Hinduism would hardly permit him (the Cochin Maharaja) to regulate the private conduct of the visitors to the Cochin temples. In no temple in India where Harijans are not permitted to worship are trustees authorized to scrutinize the actions of *savarna* Hindus who are entitled, as a matter of right, to visit

[1] In Nepal
[2] *Vide* pp. 177-8.

CWMG - IXV

the temples." So far as the Cochin Government are concerned, they have not sought to regulate the "private conduct" of visitors to Cochin temples. They have also not sought to exercise any scrutiny into the actions of *savarna* Hindus who are entitled, as a matter of right, to visit the temples.

What they have done is simply to declare as polluted, so far as Cochin temples are concerned, the *tantris* who have performed religious worship in the temples of Travancore thrown open to *avarnas*. There is no sort of ban imposed on *entry* into Cochin temples of *savarna* Hindus who have *worshipped* in Travancore temples.

Even this ban on *tantris* was imposed by Cochin not because of any spite or malice against a sister State, but solely at the instance of the *vaideekans* and *vadhyars* who, from time immemorial, have been recognized and acknowledged as spiritual directors in such matters.

You observe that "in Cochin the Maharaja has interfered in respect of a temple over which he has no exclusive control. The Maharaja of Travancore, too, possesses substantial rights over the temple in question. The Cochin order is clearly an interference with that right."

History, tradition, usage, custom—all these point to the fact that, while the right of the Maharaja of Travancore in respect of the Koodalmanikkam Temple begins and ends with the nomination of a Thachudaya Kaimal, the Maharaja of Cochin has always exercised, as President of the Yogakkars, enormous powers with regard to its affairs, both spiritual and secular. The very fact that the present Kaimal, when the recent troubles arose, solicited advice and guidance from the Maharaja of Cochin shows conclusively enough that the "substantial rights" alleged to be possessed by Travancore do not include, at any rate, the right to have a voice in the adjudication of spiritual affairs relating to the temple.

It may interest you, in this connection, to know that in a recent speech at Thiruvalla, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, the Dewan of Travancore, admitted that the Travancore Government had no complaint whatever to make in regard to what has happened in the Koodalmanikkam Temple. Is this not a proof that Travancore itself does not find any fault with the attitude of Cochin ?

Your suggestion that the opinion of pundits might be invited on the issues involved is certainly one that ought to commend itself to all. But how do you justify, I wonder, your appeal in the same breath to the people of Cochin to hold protest meetings against the order of the Maharaja and lead an agitation for throwing open all temples to Harijans? Why not wait till the pundits give their opinion at least?

"Whilst the Travancore Durbar had a perfect right to open to Harijans the temples within their sole jurisdiction and ownership and without reference to the opinion of pundits, it would hardly be right to

propound a new *Smriti* in respect of temples where there is joint jurisdiction. The Harijan cause must be always and everywhere above suspicion."

This is a perfectly sensible position to take up, and we in Cochin would certainly be glad if no attempt is made in Travancore "to propound a new *Smriti* in respect of temples where there is joint jurisdiction".

I gladly publish this letter. The order referred to of the Maharaja of Cochin reads as follows:

The Maharaja of Cochin is of opinion that proper purificatory ceremonies should be performed in the Koodalmanikkam Temple without any delay. His Highness considers that the temple has been polluted by entry into and participating in ceremonies by persons who have officiated in other temples where the entry of *avarnas* has been allowed. The Maharaja of Cochin has now definitely ordered that any person who has taken part in the conduct of ceremonies in temples which have been polluted by the entry of *avarnas* thereby becomes polluted and loses the right to enter temples in Cochin until proper *prayashchittams* are performed. Such persons are prohibited from entering temples, touching tanks and wells until they perform the required purificatory ceremonies.

My note was based upon a summary of the order above quoted. There is no mention in it of *tantris*. And are not *tantris savarna* Hindus? My contention was and is that *savarna* Hindus because they visit or officiate in temples visited by Harijans do not become Harijans. But I did err in thinking that the order applied to all *savarna* Hindus who had visited Travancore temples, whereas it is restricted to those who officiated at Travancore temples. Whilst, therefore, I gladly admit the error as to quantity, my argument remains unaffected. The Maharaja has surely extended the doctrine of untouchability by regarding *savarnas* as untouchables because they did not believe in untouchability.

But the authentic and exhaustive note[1] since published in *Harijan* disposes of most of the contentions of my correspondent. For, according to that note neither the Maharaja of Cochin nor of Travancore has any jurisdiction over the administration of the Koodalmanikkam Temple. When, therefore, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar said that Travancore had no complaint, he merely stated the legal position. The only party who has the right and whose duty it is to complain is the Thachudaya Kaimal. And one may hope that he will not rest content till he has secured complete freedom from interference with his exclusive right to regulate the admission of worshippers and officiating *tantris*.

[1] *Vide* Appendix V.

CWMG - LXV

The correspondent has surely confused the issue by suggesting that my advice to the Hindus of Cochin to agitate for the throwing open of temples to Harijans is inconsistent with my proposal to refer to pundits the question of the legality of declaring, as the Cochin Maharaja's order does, *savarna* Hindus as untouchables. And now that it is known that the Maharaja had no right to issue the order he did, the proposed reference becomes unnecessary except as an academic proposition.

Harijan, 5-6-1937

298. SHAMEFUL IF TRUE

Thakkar Bapa sends me the following statement which he received during his recent tour in the Nizam's Dominions:

> About six months ago an event which took place at Karepally, Warangal District, Nizam's Dominions, describes the methods adopted by the Christian missionaries to make conversions of Hindus and especially Harijans. Some days previous to the appointed date, the village teachers sent out news of the coming event into all the surrounding villages and made sure that the people of all castes of Hindus and especially Harijans were present on the occasion in large numbers. Then the pastor arrived at the place bringing with him a girl, about 12 years old, who he said would cure all that were presented to her of all sorts of diseases and also show them the real path to realization of God.
>
> The pastor then stood and said addressing those present: "You believe in gods who are dead and gone. Your Rama was born, behaved and acted like an ordinary mortal and then died. So was the case with Krishna also, who had many more vices to his credit. Here is before you a person who is the very incarnation of Christ. Christ is in her now, which fact you can verify yourself by being cured of your diseases at the mere touch of her hands. Why believe in gods who are past and no more effective? You should all believe in and follow the path of Jesus Christ who was born to Virgin Mary, preached the Gospel which leads to salvation, died outwardly but rose again on the third day to redeem the sinning millions of the world."
>
> A subscription of one anna per head and two annas for a metal cross were charged. They were told that unless they wore the cross at all times and believed in the truth and efficacy of Christianity, there would not be any good effect in the case of diseased patients.
>
> This happened on two occasions. On the third occasion, the Secretary of the District Committee and friends visited them and told

them that they could preach their religion as they wanted to, but they should not wound the feelings of the people by repeating unpleasant things which were not true. The local police then stopped the proceedings fearing there might be breach of peace in the place.

If it is true, it stands self-condemned. I would like the Mission concerned to investigate the complaint and throw light on it.

Harijan, 5-6-1937

299. LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI

TITHAL, BULSAR,
June 3/[5][1], *1937*

CHI. MANILAL AND SUSHILA,

I have liked your letter. It is indeed true that my statements contain several implications. Therefore, the meaning that you have read is possible. But the statement also implies the other meaning that you have suggested. Truth need not be made bitter. Nor need it be embellished. If one person wounds another with a sword and a witness describes the incident, such description by itself is not bitter, though the consequences of the testimony may be bitter for the assailant. But that doesn't make truth itself bitter. If, however, the description of the assault was full of exaggerations, we might say that truth had been made bitter. After saying this, I may add that if I had to make a choice, I would certainly prefer bitter truth to untruth. I wouldn't, therefore, mind if you can't learn to express truth agreeably. If, in trying to change bitter into agreeable language, you are likely to kill truth, you had better stick to bitter language.

You have always been unlucky in the matter of helpers. You have never had a really good man. But you have got a good helper in Sushila. I wonder how you could have managed to pull on if you didn't have her. Even from the point of view of self-interest, therefore, Sushila must improve her health with good food, exercise and water treatment.

Mr. Kallenbach has at last arrived. He is fine. For the present he is here. Tithal may be described as a small village about six or seven furlongs from the sea-coast. We are staying in

[1] From the postscript it is clear that this letter was completed by Gandhiji after he had received Narandas Gandhi's letter about Khushalchand Gandhi's death; *vide* the following two items.

CWMG - LXV

that village. We are leaving on the 10th, and shall reach Segaon on the 11th.

I have just got a letter from Harilal. I am enclosing it as a sample.

I have gone through the Phœnix Trust. There is no need to make any changes in it. But if you have any suggestion to make, it can perhaps be carried out. So it is you who should draft something and send it to me, instead of my drafting anything. I had a talk with Kallenbach. He says that there is no need to make any changes in the trust-deed or to increase the number of trustees.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

A copy of an account of Khushalbhai's beautiful death is enclosed.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4863

300. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

TITHAL,
June 5, 1937

CHI. LILAVATI,

Yesterday I got a telegram from Narandas informing me about Khushalbhai's death. Today I also got a beautiful letter from him. I am sending a copy with this. Show it to all the others there.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9365. Also C.W. 6640. Courtesy: Lilavati Asar

CWMG - LXV

301. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

June 5, 1937

CHI. NARANDAS,

You must have received my wire[1] in reply to yours. I got your wonderfully beautiful letter today—not a sentence more or less than needed. You are a man of boundless good fortune. I had discovered before your birth the special bond of love that bound your father closest among all the cousins to me. But you had the good fortune to be by his side when the end came, while I remained here, though this was of course but as it should have been. How could I have, yielding to my love, gone there to be by his side? It was your dharma to be by his side and you, therefore, took my place. You did perfectly right in not forcing medicine into his mouth or permitting them to give him injections during the last hour to enable him to take a few more breaths. We have learnt much from his life. May we, likewise, learn much from his death.

I suppose Kamala is getting along quite well. I hope Jamna[2] is perfectly calm. Kanaiyo is of course calm.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8528. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

302. LETTER TO MANUBEHN S. MASHRUWALA

TITHAL,
June 5, 1937

CHI. MANUDI,

I got your letter. You haven't used your brains properly. Why do you think that it was your aunt who tempted you or that only Surendra could tempt you? As soon as you were separated from me, you entered a vast field of temptations. You are a very credulous, simple-hearted and weak girl. All of us are

[1] *Vide* p. 271.
[2] Addressee's wife

so to some degree. That is why we voluntarily raise a hedge in the form of rules round ourselves for our protection. I think you have put up a few such hedges. I wish, and beg of you, that you should never cross them, no matter who tempts you, whether aunt or husband, mother, father or uncle, or an utter stranger.

We are leaving this place on the 10th.

Have you followed my letter? Your *sitar* and shoes have been sent to Bombay with Vasumati.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 1561. Courtesy: Manubehn S. Mashruwala

303. LETTER TO VIJAYA N. PATEL

June 5, 1937

CHI. VIJAYA,

Now that you have become mature, I need not write to you. And also because I am busy. Besides you have now started driving the carts that carry loads of manures, and have thus become a real Kanban[1]. And a Kanban does not need any letters. Still, since you want it here is one.

It is good that you get your letters revised by others. That will help you to make your thoughts clear if they are confused. The words left out by you [and supplied in the revision] will make your meaning clear.

How jealous of you that while all of you experience heat you don't want me to do that! I have made up my mind to return on the 11th. Generally it does not rain so early in Wardha and hence I will have some experience of the heat there.

Since even those who hadn't eaten food from our kitchen had vomiting, we should look for its cause in something other than the food. Probably it is water. Put some potassium permanganate in the well. Store boiled water as before and use it. It is also possible that the people had eaten more than they could digest in the excessive heat and that had caused the vomiting. We can find other such reasons also if we think about the matter carefully. For that, however, I will have

[1] Feminine of Kanabi, name of a community of peasant farmers

to examine things on the spot. I postpone that till I return there.

You have done well in closing the night-school for the present. If we attempt more than we can manage, we may do more harm than good.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7072. Also C.W. 4564. Courtesy: Vijayabehn M. Pancholi

304. MY MISTAKE

In the issue of *Harijanbandhu* dated 16th May, I have said in an article entitled "A Moral Dilemma"[1], that amongst South Indian Brahmins the marriage of a maternal uncle to his niece is permissible, and so, too, amongst Parsis and Muslims. Professor Balvantrai Thakore[2] has, in an interesting letter, corrected this error of mine. He points out that amongst the Brahmins of the South the children of a brother and sister are permitted to marry, but not a girl and her maternal uncle. Poet Chaman informs us that such an alliance is prohibited amongst Muslims. I am grateful to both these gentlemen for the correction. I was actually aware of such an alliance between the children of a brother and sister. And I regard it as unpardonable on my part to have come to the conclusion and to have made a categorical statement that an alliance would be permissible between a girl and her maternal uncle. I should have realized that in these matters presumptions such as mine have no place. If I presumed, I should have indicated the uncertainty. However, I categorically asserted something for which I had no actual evidence as if I had it. And, as a result, my fidelity to truth has been blemished. For this lapse I must beg forgiveness from readers. They will be generous and forgive me, but my conscience will not forgive me so easily. From this mistake I learnt the lesson that one has to exercise great care before coming to certain conclusions. I shall henceforth try to be more careful to avoid such mistakes.[3]

[From Gujarati]

Harijanbandhu, 6-6-1937

[1] *Vide* pp. 161-2.

[2] Balvantrai Kalyanrai Thakore, Gujarati poet and man of letters

[3] *Vide* also "My Notes", 27-6-1937.

305. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

TITHAL,
June 6, 1937

CHI. JAMNALAL,

About . . .[1] I feel confused in mind. I am in correspondence with him. But at the moment I am inclined to say this. Just as you don't need my opinion when deciding whether or no to give something to many others who may approach you for help, so also please assume that you don't need it in this case, too, and do what you think is proper. If you must have my opinion, then you will have to wait for some time.

I hope that you are able to get some rest, do a lot of walking and observe the necessary restrictions on food.

We are leaving this place on the morning of the 10th or the evening of the 9th instant. If you travel by this route, we can go together. But do what is convenient to you.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2984

306. LETTER TO LALJI PARMAR

June 6, 1937

BHAI LALJI,

I have your letter. I also went through the letter signed by the Bhangi brothers. If you have faith only in me and Jawaharlal and not in the other officials, it will be very difficult for us to work. I myself am not in the Congress and whatever we can do can be done only through Congressmen. I understand that the Chairman of the Municipality wants to fully implement Bapa's award. Chandubhai of course is there. Parikshitlal[2] is busy with the same, day and night. You can get help from all of them. But if you do not trust any of them, how can you get help? I shall leave for Wardha on the 10th. Anyone of you can come over before that. You will be able to see me and

[1] The name has been omitted.
[2] Parikshitlal Majmudar

Sardar also. I especially advise you not to ask for help after taking a hasty step. You had better seek advice before taking the step.

From a copy of the Gujarati: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

307. LETTER TO RUSTOM CAMA

June 6, 1937

BHAI RUSTOM CAMA,

Just as the gramophone goes on playing once we wind it up, the heart also with every breath would go on repeating the name of Rama once we wind it up. The heart would remain pure because of it just as the body stays pure because of the circulation of blood. This repetition of Ramanama should continue even while working or sleeping. The test of it is that we do not get a single impure thought. Only then can we say that the soul is progressing.

From a copy of the Gujarati: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

308. LETTER TO RAJENDRA PRASAD

June 6, 1937

BHAI RAJENDRA BABU,

I have your letter. My views[1] on Hindi-Urdu are clear. There must be a protest against the circular. But first meet Mr. Yunus[2]. Consult Dr. Mahmud. See other prominent Muslims too. Obtain a pronouncement from Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. It would be necessary to take Jawaharlal's opinion, too, in this matter. Were the Hindu members of the Bihar Cabinet in agreement with this circular? If so, why? Has any reason been given in the circular?

Have you read my interview[3] that appeared in *The Times of India* regarding the acceptance of office? My views are stated there. However, we may tone down our conditions, but if even then they are not accepted, we should refuse to form Ministries.

[1] *Vide* "Hindi *v.* Urdu", 3-7-1937.

[2] Mohammed Yunus, leader of the Independent Muslim Party group in the Bihar Legislature. He formed the Government after the Congress Party had rejected the Governor's invitation.

[3] *Vide* pp. 261-3.

CWMG - IXV

This is my firm opinion but it may be overlooked if the opinion and experience of the leaders of the six Provinces[1] differ from mine.

I hope you are well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Hindi: C.W. 9880. Courtesy: Rajendra Prasad

309. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

TITHAL, BULSAR,
June 7, 1937

MY DEAR REBEL, IDIOT AND WHAT NOT,

Your letter of 3rd not traced. It has evidently miscarried. But yours of 4th gives an indication of what was in that of the 3rd so far as the Sammelan is concerned. The matter is being dealt with in *Harijan*.[2]

Am glad there is no oozing. You know now how sinful suppression is. If you had told me, the splinter would have been out in Segaon if it was there that it entered the toe, as it must have. Call thou nothing mean or trifling!

Do you know anything about two Englishmen stealthily removing the Congress flag flying over the Khadi Depot of Simla?

Let us not anticipate my whereabouts when the Sammelan meets in Simla. You know that I shall want to come if I can.

Did I tell you I have a very good Gujarati translation with notes of *Japji* together with the original text? It is a shame if there is no such thing in Hindi. But you won't make a search now. The Gujarati translation meets my wants entirely.

Love.

ROBBER

[PS.]

Leave here 10th early morning, reach Wardha 11th about 7 a.m.

From the original: C.W. 3608. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6417

[1] Madras, the United Provinces, the Central Provinces, Bihar, Orissa and Bombay

[2] *Vide* pp. 294-5.

CWMG LXV

310. LETTER TO S. AMBUJAMMAL

June 7, 1937

CHI. AMBUJAM,

You have kept me waiting for your reply. But better late than never.

Yes, Gomati[1] may be helped from the Sabha, if she gives work to the Sabha, not otherwise. You should induce her to work. She can . . .[2]

Kamala is in Rajkot. She seems to be happy.

I will inquire about the merits of translation of the *Ramayana*.

It will be nice also if there was a Hindi translation of Kamban's *Ramayana*. I am told that it is a work of original beauty. . . .[3]

[PS.]

Your letter is undated, . . .[4] incomplete. Your last . . .[5] unfinished.

From the original: Ambujammal Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

311. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

June 7, 1937

CHI. PRABHA,

This time you made me wait long enough, but never mind. Pressure of work may cause such delay occasionally. If you get time, don't forget to put in some reading. And you must not in any case neglect spinning. It is indeed very good that you are able to serve Father. How far is Sitab Diara from Srinagar? Isn't it right on the banks of the Ganga? How is it hot even then? Why don't you grow some greens and other vegetables in the garden? There must be some open land around the bungalow.

[1] Wife of Kishorelal Mashruwala

[2],[3],[4] & [5] The source is damaged at these places.

CWMG - LXV

Vasumati is here. She will now go to Rajkot. Ba will stay in Maroli at present. In Segaon, therefore, in addition to those who are already there, there will be Babu (Sharda), Kallenbach, Mehrtaj, Lali, Khan Saheb, Lila, Vijaya, Munnalal, Balvantsinha and Anna. Nanavati of course is already there. We shall start from here at 3 in the morning of the 10th and shall reach Wardha at 7 a.m. on the 11th.

Tithal is beautifully cool indeed. A cool and gentle breeze blows all the time. Most of us sleep in the open under the sky. There is no dew. If you could have come here, I would have helped you to increase your weight and the quantity of milk, too.

I hope you are getting *Harijanbandhu*, etc.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3501

312. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

TITHAL,
June 8, 1937

MY DEAR REBEL,

The letter of 3rd came in today with that of 6th. Mahadev is inquiring.

Mira has been well and yet she gets fever now and then. She is ready to go to a hill station. I forget what you had said about her coming to you. My impression is that you had finally said 'No'; she has an impression that you might have said 'Yes'. If you feel like taking her, you must see Shummy and let him decide. She is an easy guest in a well-ordered home. But that is nothing. You must decide without the slightest reserve. Your 'No' won't be misunderstood.

You will see what I have said[1] in *Harijan*. If that is not enough you will tell me.

You may have political sense. I have none. But I claim the non-violent sense to which you from the camphorated[2] area must be a stranger! My solution is in furtherance of non-violence. That has been my policy and it has served me well. I

[1] Presumably, about the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan; *vide* pp. 294-5.

[2] Amrit Kaur explains: "This was a joke between him and me. I come from Kapurthala and Gandhiji maintained that *kapur* was a misnomer for *kafur* which means camphor."

seem to possess the requisite acumen when I am assiduously accused of lacking it. How else can they belittle my proposal?[1] But am I not a free lance? Congress can repudiate the suggestion, refuse office altogether or retrace its step and accept it unconditionally.

You should write to Vithaldas about the lace. It is made in Andhra. Send him specimens of what you would like.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

You may wire me about Mira at Wardha.

From the original: C.W. 3787. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6943

313. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

June 8, 1937

CHI. LILAVATI,

I have your letter. You are worrying needlessly. It is your right to accept others' service so long as you remain ill. To take tea is not such a great crime that you should leave the Ashram on that account. It is only for more important reasons that one should leave the Ashram. It would be a different thing, of course, if you yourself don't like staying there. As long as you are sincerely trying to observe the principal vows, there is no need at all for you to run away.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9366. Also C.W. 6614. Courtesy: Lilavati Asar

314. LETTER TO J. B. KRIPALANI

TITHAL,
June 9, 1937

DEAR PROFESSOR,

Sardar has handed me your letter of 31st ultimo for reply.

I entirely agree with you that the Congress has to think out a policy and give the lead on the reported kidnappings. We

[1] *Vide* "Interview to *The Times of India*", pp. 261-3.

must first of all be sure of the facts and therefore have an impartial inquiry. The burden must be thrown on the Frontier Congressmen of tracing and bringing back by such influence as they may possess on tribesmen the kidnapped girls. If the kidnappings are purely political, why do they kidnap only girls? If they are instigated by the Government, we must have some proof for the statement.

Whilst we may have resolutions on the Government Frontier policy we must express our disapproval of the kidnappings and appeal to the tribesmen and enunciate our policy for the guidance of Congressmen generally and of Frontier Congressmen, in particular.[1]

Yours,

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal. Also File No. 3001/H/36-37/IV-l. Courtesy: Government of Maharashtra

315. LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI

June 9, 1937

CHI. KANTI,

Though you didn't get a first, you got very near it. Your preparation was very inadequate and hence I think that your achievement is creditable.

Khushalbhai's death was such as fully became him. He passed away with his mind fixed on God till the end. Since today is the last day here, I will write no more.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7323. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

316. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

June 9, 1937

CHI. BRIJKRISHNA,

I have your letter. There is no need to bother much about Giriraj.[2]

[1]A statement was issued by Jawaharlal Nehru on June 22; *vide* also "Letter to Jawaharlal Nehru", 25-6-1937.

[2] *Vide* p. 268.

I shall reach Segaon the day after tomorrow and plan at any rate to stay there till the Congress session.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2449

317. SPEECH ON COW-PROTECTION, TITHAL[1]

[Before *June 10, 1937*][2]

The pity is that most of our cow-protection associations will keep cows and buffaloes both and try to run them and make them paying concerns by selling buffalo's milk. The cow, they think, is uneconomic, not knowing that if the cow was exclusively taken care of, and all attention concentrated on increasing her yield of milk, in making her a good breeder, and on making use of every bit of her carcass after she is dead, she would be more than an economic proposition. If someone could convince me that both the cow and the buffalo could be protected, without our having to feed on them or slaughtering them, I should be only too willing to include both in my scheme. The fact, however, is that the buffalo, apart from her milk, is an uneconomic animal. Except in a few wet regions of India the buffalo is useless for agricultural purposes, and so we either starve or kill the male progeny. Some of the best known dairies priding themselves on the wonderful milk-yield of their cows have been found to be doing away with the male calves. We have to make them good milkers and good mothers of fine plough-bullocks. It is no use saying that there is no demand for cow's milk. If we refused to supply any other milk, and if we ensured a supply of the richest and purest and safest milk, everyone would enlist himself as our regular customer. But the first thing is to eliminate the buffalo. It is like the exclusive emphasis on khadi. You cannot promote khadi by dividing your attention between khadi and mill-cloth. But we have not given the necessary attention to her feed and her upkeep. Show the best results and I tell you you will not have to complain of lack of patronage. Why is there such a mad run on a certain company's shares? Because people know that it is going to be a highly paying concern. If you could make people believe that yours also would

[1] This is extracted from Mahadev Desai's "Weekly Letter".

[2] Gandhiji left Tithal for Wardha on June 10; *vide* the two preceding items, also "Letter to Amrit Kaur", p. 285.

be a paying concern, they would rush to offer their patronage to you. Concentrate on one. Take a city like Bombay, take a census of the children, enlist the names of people who will buy only cow's milk for their children, and make your dairy an exclusive cow's milk supplier for children. Don't you know how they popularize an article like tea? They distribute free packets of tea, they run free tea-houses. You can do likewise and popularize cow's milk. Your ambition should be to cater to the needs of the whole of Bombay. There is a demand for cow's milk in a city like Calcutta. The best Haryana breed are imported to Calcutta, but as soon as the cows go dry they go to the butcher. The result is that the Haryana cow is getting scarce in the Punjab. No, the cow need not go to the butcher at all. She will have more than paid for her upkeep for her dry years by her rich yield of milk and progeny, and after death, she would fetch the same value as she did when alive. The cow can either be protected by the State or by those who are really religiously inclined. The State we may leave aside for the moment, it is the religiously inclined who should rise to the occasion and bring to bear knowledge and industry to the task. Humanitarianism without knowledge is futile and may even be harmful.

Harijan, 19-6-1937

318. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

WARDHA,
June 11, 1937

MY DEAR C. R.,

If the talk between us about Zetland and company had to be brought out there is nothing to be said against the presentation of the manner of it. Of course, you should not mind what Rafi says. I do, however, feel that your position is different from mine. I can speak and write as an intermediary from a detached point of view; you could not do so. I can be repudiated with safety; you cannot be.

I had your letter drawing my attention to a portion of Ghanshyamdas's letter[1]. I had observed it before but it did not

[1] In his letter dated May 26 to Mahadev Desai, G. D. Birla had written: "While I admit that we can get a lot more in dismissal than in resignation, I feel that even dismissal is not an interference-proof thing. . . . Everyone says it will be a great mistake not to accept Ministry after Zetland's speech . . .

make any appeal to me. Of course, there is force in his argument. But from my standpoint it is irrelevant. I want a sign from them before I take office, and I regard that sign as indispensable. Therefore, for me acceptance continues to be a fatal blunder till our condition, whatever it may be, is satisfied. The fact, therefore, that my condition may be demonstrably childish or meaningless does not affect my position.

What was this incident about asking for your ticket?

What do you say to the latest from Zetland?

I hope Laxmi is doing well.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 2064

319. LETTER TO H. RUNHAM BROWN

June 11, 1937

DEAR FRIEND,

I wish I could join you during the conference days. But you certainly have my good wishes. The success of your conference means the success of peace and the establishment of a warless because a hateless kingdom.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

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

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

I therefore still hold the same opinion that it will be a great mistake to break after Lord Zetland's speech which in my opinion meets the point. . . . I think it my duty to say this because perhaps Bapu may reconsider the situation."

CWMG - LXV

320. LETTER TO DANIEL OLIVER

June 11, 1937

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter of the 20th May last. I have no message to give except this that there is no deliverance for any people on this earth or for all the people of this earth except through truth and non-violence in every walk of life without any exceptions. And this is based on an unbroken experience extending practically over half a century.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

DANIEL OLIVER, ESQ.
HAMMANA
LEBANON, SYRIA

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

321. LETTER TO ABBAS K. VARTEJI

SEGAON,
June 11, 1937

CHI. ABBAS,

I got your letter. I am not happy that you had to leave Narandasbhai. But it is good that you have started working.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6313

CWMG - LXV

322. LETTER TO S. AMBUJAMMAL

SEGAON,
[On or after] *June* [*11*][1], *1937*

CHI. AMBUJAM,

I got your letter and the fruit too. Some apples had been pilfered during transit in the railway. The basket should be packed properly. Next time you happen to send me fruit do send sour limes. Good ones are not available here. The Wardha sunshine is hot and strong.

I have already written[2] about Gomati.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: C.W. 9610. Courtesy: S. Ambujammal. Also Ambujammal Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

323. NOTES

NOT A POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

As lovers of Hindi know the next session of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan is to take place in Simla. A correspondent who is working in Simla writes to say that there is a suspicion that the Sammelan is a political organization with anti-Muslim tendencies. Having been twice its President, I can unhesitatingly say that it is a purely non-political organization. It has Rajas and Maharajas as its patrons. It has numerous non-Congressmen who are identified with it. Rajas and Maharajas often attend the sessions. His Highness the Maharaja of Baroda has been one of its Presidents. So far as I know it has no anti-Muslim tendencies. I could not have presided if I had suspected any. I hope by anti-Muslim is not meant anti-Urdu. Many use anti-Urdu and anti-Muslim as synonymous terms. But that is a superstition. Urdu is the common language of many Hindus and Mussalmans in the Punjab, Delhi and Kashmir. It is also significant that at the session of the Sammelan held in Indore

[1] The original is damaged and the date is illegible. Gandhiji arrived in Segaon on June 11.

[2] *Vide* p. 286.

in 1935 it defined Hindi to mean that language which Hindus and Muslims of the North spoke and wrote either in Devanagari or Persian script. I hope, therefore, that even if anti-Muslim has been used in the sense of anti-Urdu, the suspicion to which my correspondent refers will be dispelled and that the work of preparations for the session of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan to be held in Simla will proceed without any suspicion about its object or attitude.

The Social Bait

A friend who has had occasion to study the work of the Salvation Army sends me the following interesting note:

> The Salvation Army is essentially a religious body with 'aggressive evangelism' as its main characteristic. The social work the Army does 'has from the first been regarded by the Army leaders as an organized warfare against social evils in order to clear the way for evangelization.' This is from the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (14th edition). It further says that 'It was realized that the physical and the environmental condition of many of the people, especially in great cities, made it extremely difficult for them to apprehend the spiritual message which the Army had to deliver. Therefore various social activities arose, diverse in character but all actuated by the same purpose', and General Booth himself in one of his letters to his son has said that 'the social work is the bait, but it is salvation that is the hook that lands the fish.'
>
> The object and the work of this Mission according to its Founder is 'to seek the conversion of the neglected crowds of people who are living without God and without hope, and to gather those so converted into Christian Fellowship.' It is also stated in the *Salvation Army Year Book* for 1937 that 'upon Salvationists everywhere was urged the importance of personal evangelism—that each one was responsible before God for the salvation of others. Personal touch, personal conversation, personal effort, it was pointed out, was of paramount importance, nay, was the duty of every wearer of our uniform.' Thus 'Every Soldier a Soul-winner' became and remains an inspiring slogan.

Of course what is true of the Army is more or less true of all Christian Missions. Their social work is undertaken not for its own sake but as an aid to the salvation of those who receive social service. The history of India would have been written differently if the Christians had come to India to live their lives in our midst and permeate ours with their aroma if there was any. There would then have been mutual goodwill and utter absence of suspicion. But say some of them, "If what you say

had held good with Jesus there would have been no Christians." To answer this would land me in a controversy in which I have no desire to engage. But I may be permitted to say that Jesus preached not a new religion but a new life. He called men to repentance. It was he who said, "Not everyone that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven."[1]

Harijan, 12-6-1937

324. HARIJANS

But as for Harijans themselves, I certainly do not agree that they are stupid, or unintelligent, or lacking in religious sense. They are not even unsophisticated. If we tried to use the high pressure methods of which you accuse us, I assure you, we would get no results among them. To me they are just nice people very much like myself and my brothers and sisters and friends. To be sure, they are oppressed and illiterate, even unkempt, but they are thoughtful, spiritual-minded, generous, kindly; in character they seem to me above, rather than below, the average of mankind. I like them better than *savarnas*—but that is my bad taste, perhaps.

Still, I cannot figure out how you can live among them and hold such a superficial attitude towards them. The only explanation that comes to my mind is that you either do not know them or you are insincere. The latter is unworthy of attention. But the former might be true—for we sometimes know least those who live in the same house with us. Harijans do have strong self-protective complex that is hard to get past. A reserve past which they will not readily let an outsider come. They may be in awe of your 'Mahatmaship' (as we all are, a little) or it may be because they think you are a reincarnation of Rama (as they do think). Maybe you begin by trying to 'uplift' them —it seems to be against human nature to appreciate being 'uplifted'. Maybe you still unconsciously have a little 'high-caste' attitude—*savarna* Christians have that trouble sometimes. It may be your city outlook. Whatever it is, you are not seeing them as I see them.

I admit I have certain advantages. I myself am a villager, so can enter into their life of farming, gardening, raising chickens, pigs, goats, cows. As a nurse I could help them in sickness and teach them how to have better health. I was an 'untouchable' to *savarna* Hindus, as they were, and was glad to be allowed to get water out of a decent

[1]*St. Matthew*, VII. 21

CWMG - LXV

cattle trough rather than the tanks the pigs and buffaloes wallowed in, when I toured in the villages. So I wasn't an outsider to their life —not even a 'visitor'. I was, as they said, a 'relative', one of themselves. It naturally followed that we would love and respect each other and that we would trust each other spiritually. Our spiritual communion was always on terms of equality. I received as much from them as I gave—maybe more. At least I can testify that some of the deepest spiritual thinking, the most exquisite spiritual attainment, that I have ever known, I have seen in the souls of Depressed-Class Hindus —and I don't mean exceptional, educated ones, I mean illiterate villagers. But would I have seen it if I had been haggling them to become Christians? I assure you I would not!

Occasionally for information I asked one who was thoroughly familiar with Christian doctrine, what he thought of it, pro and con, and he answered me as readily and frankly as if I had asked whether to feed an ox oil cake or *jowari* and why.

To be sure they talk politics and economics, but it is only the spiritual interest that holds them till midnight, brings them back at dawn, and in the hot noonday with the plea, 'If you knew how we want to hear that God loves us, you wouldn't want to rest.'

If you cannot meet that need, you cannot hold the Depressed Classes—if you can meet it you will hold them. For that is what they are asking—yes, and Shudras, too, and even some merchants and Brahmins.

This is an extract from a long letter[1] received from an American sister who has lived for years in India as a Missionary. I heartily endorse the last statement in the extract. Of course, if I cannot meet their spiritual needs, I cannot hold the Harijans. But I am not so stupid as to think that I or any single person can supply the spiritual needs of his neighbour. Spiritual needs cannot be supplied through the intellect or through the stomach even as the needs of the body cannot be supplied through the spirit. One can paraphrase the famous saying of Jesus and say 'Render unto the body that which is its, and unto the spirit that which is its.' And the only way I can supply my neighbour's spiritual needs is by living the life of the spirit without even exchanging a word with him. The life of the spirit will translate itself into acts of love for my neighbour. Therefore I have not a shadow of doubt that Hinduism will (and rightly) lose Harijans if the so-called caste Hindus will not love Harijans—the outcaste Hindus—even as themselves. If they will just do that

[1] In reply to Gandhiji's article "The Cow"; *vide* Vol. LXIV, pp. 440-1.

and nothing else, Hinduism is safe and so are Harijans and they. If they will not, they and Hinduism will surely perish. The so-called high-caste Hindus may spend millions for Harijans, but if they do not do the one thing needful, i. e., regard the Harijans as their spiritual equals, the material aid will stink in their nostrils and will be and deserve to be thrown away as so much waste.

But to admit that Harijans have the same spiritual need as the rest of us, is not to say that they would understand the intellectual presentation of Christianity as much as I would, for instance. I put them on the same level as my own wife. Her spiritual needs are no less than mine, but she would no more understand the presentation of Christianity than any ordinary Harijan would. The reason is obvious. We came together practically as children. My studies went on in spite of marriage. She never attended a school before marriage. I neglected her educational training. Presentation, with a view to conversion, of a faith other than one's own, can only necessarily be through an appeal to the intellect or the stomach or both. I do maintain in spite of the extract I have quoted that the vast mass of Harijans, and for that matter Indian humanity, cannot understand the presentation of Christianity, and that generally speaking their conversion wherever it has taken place has not been a spiritual act in any sense of the term. They are conversions for convenience. And I have had overwhelming corroboration of the truth during my frequent and extensive wanderings.

The writer has no warrant for suggesting that I do not know or love Harijans sufficiently because I attribute to Harijans inability to receive Christian teachings. My attitude is not 'superficial' as she will have it to be. Whatever it is, it is based on deep experience and observation dependent not on a day's or even a year's contact, but on close contact for years with tens of thousands of India's masses, not as a superior being but feeling as one of them. But she is wholly right when she says, 'whatever it is, you are not seeing them as I see them.' They are my kith and kin, breathing the same air, living the same life, having the same faith, the same aspirations, and the same earth sustaining us in life as it will in death! And for her ?

Harijan, 12-6-1937

325. HARIJAN QUARTERS IN JAMSHEDPUR

I commend the foregoing reasoned and reasonable statement[1] to the attention of the Tatas. A chain is no stronger than its weakest link. In spite of all its sanitary condition, if the Harijan quarters remain neglected, as they appear to be, Jamshedpur runs the risk of having nasty eruptions of diseases born of insanitation. Proper sanitation is impossible in hovels. To provide decent quarters for the most useful servants of society is the soundest investment in which there is always gain and never any loss. It is to be hoped, therefore, that the reform suggested by Vindhyeshwari Babu will be taken in hand without delay.

Harijan, 12-6-1937

326. LETTER TO RAMESHWARI NEHRU

SEGAON, WARDHA,
June 12, 1937

DEAR SISTER,

I have your letter. I want to give you all the consolation I can. Do come over in July.[2] We both shall talk over the matter.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 7981. Also C.W. 3080. Courtesy: Rameshwari Nehru

[1] By V. P. Varma, not reproduced here

[2] The punctuation in the original seems to be faulty, and the sentence reads: "Do come over both of you in July, we shall talk over the matter."

CWMG - LXV

327. LETTER TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

June 12, 1937

DEAR BROTHER ANAND,

Bapuji has got your and Vidya's letters of June 9, 1937. For lack of time he could not write himself.

He says if you feel it unavoidable you can certainly write any particular part of your letter in English, but since you have started writing in Hindi you should continue it. You should increase the practice of Hindi. Even if you find it difficult to express any thoughts, you should not care much. And as a last resort there is always the freedom to write in English.

Now [Bapuji] will write only if there is anything to write about after getting more news about Vidya.

Yours,
PYARELAL

From a microfilm of the Hindi. Courtesy: National Archives of India and Anand T. Hingorani

328. SPEECH TO VILLAGERS, SEGAON[1]

June 12, 1937

You must know that this work is for your own benefit, and not for the benefit of the *malguzar*. He had never even

[1] This is extracted from "Weekly Letter" by Mahadev Desai, who had reported: "When I was there last Saturday I found him addressing a little meeting of the villagers. There were very few women, but there was a good attendance of men. The occasion was the making of a road through the village to Gandhiji's quarters, and meeting a road that ran to Wardha. The Wardha road is being built at Jamnalalji's cost. The village road was proposed by the villagers themselves. They had given a written undertaking signed by no less than 70 people, each of whom had agreed to bring cartloads of stone for three days, the other expenses to be met by Gandhiji, at whose disposal Jamnalalji had placed all the profits accruing to him from the village, for the public good of the village. But when the work was actually begun the workers were hard put to it in persuading the signatories to keep their pledge. From 15 to 20 people had kept their promise. The rest had not. But Gandhiji could not break his pledge. He saw the thing through. He explained the whole situation to the villagers."

CWMG - LXV

thought of this. But you will not keep your promise and I have come to express my pain to you. You must remember that this is a recurring task. Every year the road will have to be renewed and stone will have to be supplied by you. If you do not co-operate with me, all the labour that we have put in this year will be wasted. This year the profits from the village have not been equal to the tasks we have undertaken, and it was never my purpose to draw upon Jamnalalji's other income for the purposes of this village. I shall therefore have to find the expense from the donations I receive for Segaon work. You will therefore understand the gravity of the breach of promise. I therefore appeal to those of you who have not kept their promises to cart the stones to the other road. I shall ask Jamnalalji to pay for the stones and use the proceeds for the welfare of Segaon.

But I am told that you are indifferent to all that is happening, that you do not care whether you have the road here or not. I ask you to put your heads together and decide whether you should co-operate with us or not. I do not refer to untouchability. There is no untouchability involved in this work, nor in the revival of your handicrafts. If you co-operate, I can assure you that your income will easily be doubled. Then there is the question of sanitation. I cannot make your village neat and clean and sweet-smelling without your co-operation. We have engaged a scavenger here. We pay for his service, but it is for you to keep your streets and lanes clean. We have quantities of human manure stored up here, but I am told that you would not give your carts on hire to cart this manure. Nowhere do we come across such apathy on the part of the people. Peasants everywhere in India and the world handle manure and turn it to good account.[1]

Harijan, 19-6-1937

[1] Mahadev Desai had concluded the report: "The old Patel, the leader of the village, said that what Gandhiji had said was all right, and he was grateful and happy that Gandhiji was in their midst. But two things they could not do. Untouchability they could not possibly give up and they could not cart human manure. In all other matters he would promise their co-operation."

329. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

SEGAON, WARDHA,
June 13, 1937

CHI. MIRA,

I hope you had no difficulty in reaching Dalhousie[1] and that you were met at the respective stations. How I wish you would be thoroughly restored and return with the body thoroughly renewed. You won't overstrain yourself in your anxiety to get well soon.

No more today.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6380. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9846

330. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEGAON,
June 13, 1937

MY DEAR REBEL,

Your letter.

I have no doubt that the *Harijan* article[2] will be copied elsewhere. It ought to give satisfaction. But as I have said, [if] anything more is required, you will let me know. The Muslim distrust and consequent opposition is difficult to remove. But if anyone can do it you are the person. You *must* therefore study the whole question so thoroughly as to be able to answer every objection. Whatever you cannot answer, you will pass on to me and I shall deal with it. I am afraid this writing is too faint to decipher. If it is, you will let me know. I would like you even to return the letter so that I can have the lesson imprinted on my memory. The ink was too thick. I added water. It has served my purpose but I doubt if the writing won't fade by the time this reaches you.

[1] Mirabehn explains: "I had gone to Dalhousie where Bapu had sent me on account of bad health. I stayed at the house of Dr. and Mrs. Dharmavir where Subhas Babu was also staying at that time."

[2] *Vide* pp. 294-5.

CWMG - LXV

We came in yesterday[1], early morning, and reached Segaon 7.30 a.m. It is fairly hot here still. The rain is keeping off.

Love.

ROBBER

From the original: C.W. 3788. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6944

331. LETTER TO N. V. RAGHAVAN

June 13, 1937

DEAR RAGHAVAN,

You are keeping me regularly posted with the doings of the Sabha. I have carefully read your letter to the members about the difficulty you are finding in coping with the responsibility that Rajagopalachari has thrust on you. Having put your hands to the plough, I would like you to hold on to it till you find a firmer hand yourself. Rajagopalachari when he mentioned your name was most enthusiastic about you and all I have since heard confirms what he told me. Is it not your experience that those who are most wanted for a particular cause have already several causes which they have to serve? Such is the paucity of true workers all the world over. But it is much more felt in our country. I, therefore, hope that you will not think of giving up what you have taken up without finding an efficient substitute.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI N. V. RAGHAVAN
DAKSHINA BHARAT HINDI PRACHAR SABHA
MADRAS

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] Evidently a slip; Gandhiji reached Wardha on June 11.

CWMG - LXV

332. TELEGRAM TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

WARDHAGANJ,
June 14, 1937

JAWAHARLAL
CARE DOCTOR BIDHAN ROY
WELLINGTON STREET
CALCUTTA

I HOPE YOU INDU WELL. COME WITH HER AND MAULANA DURING LAST WEEK WEATHER COOLING. LOVE.

BAPU

Gandhi-Nehru Papers, 1937. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

333. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

June 14, 1937

MY DEAR REBEL,

Having just got your letter, this is just to tell you I understand and appreciate your 'No'[1]. I had expected it. Mira went yesterday to Dalhousie, having got Subhas's wire. Why should you worry about explaining the 'No' to me? Must every 'yes' and every 'no' need explaining? Love that demands such explanations must be sorry stuff. Mine never is. It can stand many "no's" so long as there is a 'yes' interspersed.

No nonsense now. Time flies.

Love.

TYRANT

From the original: C.W. 3609. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6418

[1] Regarding Mirabehn's visit; *vide* p. 287.

CWMG - LXV

334. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEGAON, WARDHA,
June 14, 1937

MY DEAR REBEL,

Herewith Andrews's letter. Can't cheer those who won't be cheered. I am positive that you have no cause to feel depressed. You will feel depressed even when you do the right thing, if so doing you are likely to wound somebody's susceptibility. How are you to cheer such stupid people? Are they to be told to do the wrong thing in order to escape depression? Read Chapter 6 of the *Gita* or *Japji*. You will find in the latter many passages to dispel your depression which is a form of ignorance.

I suppose Jawaharlal wrote to me at the same time that he wrote to you. For in his letter to me also he alludes to his sore throat, etc. He is likely to be with me during the last week of the month.

Love.

ROBBER

From the original: C.W. 3610. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6419

335. LETTER TO G. RAMACHANDRAN

June 14, 1937

MY DEAR RAMACHANDRAN,

Nothing from you for a long time. Saraswati said the weather was hot there. Is it cool enough for Amtul Salaam to come? She is anxious to go there as soon as she can.

How are you? What about . . .[1] How is Saraswati faring?

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 6703

[1] Some words are illegible in the source.

336. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

June 14, 1937

CHI. MAHADEV,

Enclosed are a cheque for Rs. 90 and a bank note for Rs. 100. Amtul Salaam says that with these sums, the amount in her name goes up to Rs. 690. If that is correct, Rs. 600 is to be kept as fixed deposit and Rs. 90 is to be credited to her account. Despatch the accompanying wire. You must have despatched the wire to Subhas. Send some envelopes.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11522

337. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

June 14, 1937

CHI. PRABHA,

Your letter of the 9th I got today, the 14th. I have already written to you. I have also noted down the date. I see that our letters have crossed.

Yes, I arrived on the 11th. I had to stay for ten days more at Tithal. With me here are Amtul Salaam and Sharda. Ba and Kano are in Maroli. Kanu is in Rajkot. Take care of your health.

You have to look after both the elders. Do the best you can. Do not lose courage. Goon doing what you can.

It is good that Jayaprakash is profiting from his imprisonments.

You must be reading a good deal about Shri Kallenbach who is here. You won't be able to see him. I am afraid you will not be able to go to Ahmedabad now. Kanti has gone to Bangalore. He will study there. You probably get letters from him. I will not write any more today.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3491

CWMG - LXV

338. LETTER TO SARASWATI

June 14, 1937

CHI. SARASWATI,

I have your letter.

Study hard, spin well. Spinning is a must for Paparamma, too. You must ply the carding-bow.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 6703. Also C.W. 4449. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

339. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

June 15, 1937

CHI. MIRA,

I imagine your having just reached or just reaching Dalhousie[1]. Subhas Babu has given ample instructions regarding the route, expenses and timings. It is a perfect letter. Raizada Hansraj wired offering to take you in. But I have wired, you would be with Subhas Babu. And with the latter you would get good medical aid. I shall expect a wire today from you.

The heat is still oppressive here. I have dropped bread altogether.

Here is Rajkumari's letter.[2]

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6381. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9847

[1] *Vide* p. 302.
[2] *Vide* p. 304.

CWMG - LXV

340. LETTER TO MANUBEHN S. MASHRUWALA

SEGAON, WARDHA,
June 15, 1937

CHI. MANUDI,

You seem to be a tyrant. Is it that I am supposed to have written only if the letter carries your address and is written with my own hand? It was good, however, that you understood my meaning. Surendra met me in Bardoli and, therefore, I could have a long talk with him. I explained my meaning to him also.

I hope you keep fine health. Do you study? Let me know your daily programme.

Amtul Salaam is here. Mirabehn has gone to a hill-station because of her illness. Ba and Kano are still in Maroli.

Khan Saheb is expected the day after tomorrow. Mehrtaj and Lali also will be coming.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 1568. Courtesy: Manubehn S. Mashruwala

341. LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI

June 15, 1937

CHI. KANTI,

I got your letter just now. The description of the lady is interesting. Amtul Salaam is sitting beside me, fan in hand, while I am writing this. Mirabehn has gone to Dalhousie Hill in the Punjab. She couldn't get rid of her fever.

Your asking for exemption from fees does not seem proper. It was not proper either, that the lawyer should have been fined. If you can carry on without staying in a hostel, it would be worth while to save that expense. I had understood from what you said that you would stay with Ramji and thus save boarding and lodging expenses. If, however, you think that staying in a hostel will be of great benefit to you, never mind the expense.

CWMG - LXV

You did well in giving Devdas all the details. You cannot by any means be put in the category of the poor. Only those who have none to support them can be called poor. How much was the lawyer fined?

Take care of your health. Even when you don't get time to write, you should drop a postcard at least once in a week. But if you can write a letter as long as 50 postcards every week, then that is what you should do. Because of the rains the sultriness persists.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7322. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

342. LETTER TO KANU GANDHI

June 15, 1937

CHI. KANAIYO,

I got your letter written during the journey. I understand the state of your mind. I am not going to bind you in any way. You may think over the matter afresh and do as you think proper.

Bhansalibhai[1] has resumed coming here from yesterday. He has resumed taking milk since yesterday. Walking does not tire him. The wound has not yet completely healed. Mirabehn left yesterday for a hill-station.

I got Narandas's letter.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

343. LETTER TO NATHUBHAI N. PAREKH

June 15, 1937

BHAI NATHUBHAI,

The period of *vanapravesh* will last up to 58.[2] In these many years you can do a lot. When a man enters the forest he is bound to make friends with trees, leaves, birds and animals. He

[1] Jaikrishna Bhansali
[2] *Vide* p. 242.

would attain fearlessness, be acquainted with Nature, would live in the midst of men and animals and know what man's place in the world is and, by the time he emerges from the forest, would have gathered such knowledge which would be helpful to himself and which would enable him to guide his neighbours. We have to create such a forest in our heart. If physical desires lose their keenness and we become inward-looking, we shall have gained much.

You have done a bit of research to discover my mistake. I have also had letters from four or five other Gujarati friends from the South in that regard. Indu stayed for quite some time with me and we talked at length on many things. He is still a child. He is not yet aware of his responsibilities. But he does have some good qualities. He has great regard for Kanti. He wishes to share in lightening the burden that has fallen on you. Hence I hope that he will do something. Now he will be staying under the direct care of Kanti. Everything, therefore, will be well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6250

344. LETTER TO JETHALAL G. SAMPAT

SEGAON,
June 16, 1937

BHAI JETHALAL,

I have your letter. Now observe the 30th July but instead of the 30th you can observe the 31st because July has thirty-one days. Do send the book to Vinoba. I suppose the Mobile Weaving School of Travancore must be mentioned only in the pages of his book; I somehow could find no trace of it there. There is no explanation for my going to Gujarat. Of course, I was expected to go there for two or three days to inspect the site for the Congress. But then I also have no reason for not going either. I may say that Sardar's keen insistence dragged me. But this is no real defence. If Sardar's insistence can persuade me to do something wrong, his other importunities may persuade me to commit greater wrongs. In spite of knowing all this I could not withstand his insistence.

Now about cow's ghee. I charge Rs. 3 per seer or even two and a half. I charge according to the cost. I am able

to get this much because there are people like Jamnalalji and I am able to insist on their using cow's ghee prepared in Wardha. But I shall not be able to carry on this Rs. 3 per seer business for long. Your ghee of course cannot be sold even free of cost because we cannot accept an agency for buffalo's ghee. Moreover your ghee is adulterated. It is my firm belief that this business of yours is wrong. As you do not abide by the regulations of the Goseva Sangh, you do not get any help from them and therefore make adulterated ghee at home. Naturally it fetches lower price in the market. Nowadays ghee made out of pure buffalo's milk fetches a good price in the market. Ghee made from pure cow's milk fetches a lower price. So if at the moment you make no distinction between the cow and the buffalo, you should engage yourself in making ghee only out of buffalo's milk. You will surely succeed in it. I can understand that it will not give you mental satisfaction. But if you derive any mental satisfaction from mixing cow's milk with buffalo's, it is a false satisfaction. Hence it is my sincere advice that you should either make ghee out of pure cow's milk and sell it at the normal rate or, failing that, find some other occupation which would be beneficial to the villages. Obtain from the public whatever cannot be met by the income from the business.

But this after all is my opinion. There is no absolute rule that you have to follow my advice in such matters. Of course I would never insist. So think over my argument and do only what you think proper. Kishorelalbhai will of course read this, and, if possible, Vinoba, too. I shall try to send their opinions along with this.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 9862. Courtesy: Narayan J. Sampat

345. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

June 17, 1937

CHI. MIRA,

I had your letter yesterday. Third-class travelling is safe only with me. However, it is well that you reached Dalhousie[1] safely. Today's post might bring another letter from you though there is not much chance. I hope you have all my letters. Only yesterday

[1] The source has "Delhi", evidently a slip.

I could not send you anything. Dr. Dharmavir's wire of safe arrival was duly received. I am sure you will be restored there.

No rain here yet. The first cool night was experienced last night. It has become sultry again during the day.

Kallenbach is still on spare diet. He has added a few *khas-khas* and 8 oz. of *dahi* to his mangoes.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6382. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9848

346. A LETTER

MAGANWADI, WARDHA,
June 17, 1937

DEAR FRIEND,

I welcome your letter. I must admit that the decision, after meeting in Delhi and thereafter, I had forgotten. But the recollection does not affect what I said[1] at Hudli. My charge was against those who had come to induce me to preside at the meeting in Belgaum. I was most disinclined knowing well that my programme would not be popular nor my method of work. But Gangadharrao whom I knew very well bore down my opposition and assured me that Mr. Chikodi and others would whole-heartedly work out the scheme. Gangadharrao himself admits that he failed. He could not even personally confine himself to cow's milk, nor Mr. Chikodi who was to be active worker in the movement. As I said the collapse of the resolution of the big body was tragic, through no fault of anybody. But my fault was in not sufficiently realizing that my method of working out the cow-protection programme would not be popular and that I would have to show results by experimenting. That experiment is still going on. Tanning at Ahmedabad did not succeed, because the so-called experts were not really experts. But as it always existed in my imagination it has taken shape in Wardha and Bengal. In Wardha the experiment is being conducted under my direct supervision and in Bengal under the supervision of one of my colleagues. I can still show no striking results because the experiment is novel and difficult. This programme is not any part of the village movement, although it can be. It is being worked out independently as part of the scheme not of village improvement but of cow-protection. My point remains that those who

[1] *Vide* pp. 137-8.

CWMG-LXV

invited me in Belgaum to take up the cow-protection work were previously in that field and should not have given it up because I failed or seemed to fail.

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

347. LETTER TO KANU GANDHI

June 17, 1937

CHI. KANAIYO,

It seems you have taken the account book [by mistake]. I suppose the information as to the amounts given by different people will be there in that book. If so, please send the book to Mahadev by registered post. Or send a note showing the amounts credited into the accounts of the persons concerned.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

How is the heat there? It is quite hot over here.

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

348. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

[*June 17, 1937*][1]

CHI. VASUMATI,

You must have reached there. Let me see now, how you build up your health.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

[1] In the source this letter appears below "Letter to Kanu Gandhi", the preceding item.

CWMG - LXV

349. LETTER TO TULSI MAHER

SEGAON,
June 17, 1937

CHI. TULSI MAHER,

I have your letter. What a life! But I have nothing to say as long as you derive satisfaction by living there. Write to me whenever you find an opportunity. Give me an account of your activity.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 6551

350. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

WARDHA,
June 18, 1937

MY DEAR REBEL,

I have not kept you without letter two days running. Sometimes I have written two days running. As you must have seen I have declined to make any statement on the office issue. *The Times of India* interview[1] was exhaustive and the last word so far as I am concerned. Now the Working Committee has to have its say.

Your Hindi writing is getting scarce. But I don't grumble. You have your hands more than full. I therefore satisfy myself with what I get.

Khan Saheb, Mehr[taj] and Lali came in yesterday.[2]

ROBBER

[PS.]

Still steaming.

Love.

From the original: C.W. 3789. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6945

[1] *Vide* pp. 261-3.

[2] In "Letter to Mirabehn", p. 321, however, Gandhiji says that they came on the 19th. *Vide* also the following item.

CWMG - LXV

351. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

June 18, 1937

CHI. JAMNALAL,

If Khan Saheb is willing he may, of course, go. Send a telegram to Biyani[1] saying that he should not force Khan Saheb to make any speech. If he goes, what about Mehrtaj and Lali? They were to arrive here tomorrow?

It is good that Kamal has reached there.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2986

352. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

June 18, 1937

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

It is surprising that you do not notice the unity of thought between my current writings and what I wrote in *Anasaktiyoga*[2]. We creatures are not all *dharmaja* progeny, but *kamaja*. Let us suppose that a man in full control of his passion desires progeny and a suitable mate, too, who desires progeny only from him and is not moved by passion. Their son would be *dharmaja*. But this does not imply that none among their ancestors were *kamaja*.[3] Thus what I mean is that though we are full of imperfections we should make an effort at any rate to rid ourselves of them.

I cannot say from personal experience whether it is possible or not to procreate *dharmaja* offspring but I do hold that the remark in the *Adiparva* of *Mahabharata* regarding Vyasji stems from experience.[4] It is possible that it is only a poetic fancy

[1] Brijlal Biyani, President, Vidarbha Congress Committee; *vide* also "Letter to Jamnalal Bajaj", p. 322.

[2] *Vide* Vol. XLI, pp. 90-101.

[3] The sentence is obscure in the Hindi text and Gandhiji replaced it by another sentence in the letter dated July 2.

[4] *Vide* p. 110.

and not an actual experience. But this takes away nothing from my argument because if a couple come together not moved by passion but only for the sake of progeny, their *brahmacharya* is in no way lessened. But there can be only one single offspring of this kind. This is a description of the ideal state. And we must try to reach it to the extent we can.

Procreation is no obligatory duty, but the desire for it is no sin either. Thus marriage is impermissible for one who has no wish for progeny, i. e., satisfaction of passion should never be the ground for marriage. Married people should follow their duty keeping this ideal in view.

Write to me when all your efforts for securing a job have failed. Please bear in mind that I have no idea what resources I may have then. And in case you have to come here you should settle down contentedly because you should not limit your services on the basis of the amount of salary you may get.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4282

353. HOW THEY CONVERT

Thakkar Bapa had his attention drawn to the so-called conversion to Christianity in Shahabad District. He thereupon called for a report on the statements made to him. The following is the report[1] made by the local Harijan Sevak Sangh:

> In the district of Shahabad, about 40 years ago, a Methodist Episcopal Christian Mission was established at Arrah. Through its efforts a large number of Harijans, numbering about three thousand, were converted to Christianity up to the year 1931. . . . Last year a Roman Catholic Mission appeared on the scene. Since then, the activities of both the Missions have increased. . . . Enquiry has revealed that they have been successful in getting some new Christian converts from the Rabidas (Chamar) community amongst whom their activities are mainly confined. Roughly their method of work may be described as follows:
>
> After having visited the village and created familiarity with the Harijans they at once start a school and put it in charge of a Harijan teacher who either himself is an influential man or related to such a

[1] Only excerpts are reproduced here.

CWMG - LXV

one. Whenever they come to learn that some tension or actual litigation is going on between the Harijans and other villagers they at once seize the opportunity to take up the side of the poor Harijans and help them with money and advice. They are thus hailed as saviours and conversion follows as if to repay the obligation.

As their work is scattered throughout the *thana* in the remotest villages, the present enquiry could not be exhaustive. . . . The one remarkable feature of these recent conversions is that they take place *en masse*. Whenever a village Harijan leader accepts the new faith almost all belonging to his clan follow him. . . . In all cases of conversions new or old, not a single instance can be found in which the acceptance of the new faith was due to any religious conviction. . . . The reasons, therefore, of conversions may be roughly described as economic or socio-economic. Generally, the Harijans have to submit to a number of unjust exactions and to suffer from humiliating treatment which are now resented by them. . . . Those of the new and the old who are still continuing as nominal Christians are willing to return to Hinduism if their grievances are removed. Their grievances as disclosed during the enquiry are briefly indicated below:

1. They are forced to labour for their *maliks* and other caste Hindus of their villages at about half or even less wages than they would get for the same kind of labour in other villages.

2. They are forced to labour for their *maliks* and other caste-Hindu villagers on occasions of marriages and deaths in their families on almost no wages.

3. They are charged six annas per year per family as *mutharfa* (house rent).

4. They have to pay Re. 1, Rs. 2 and Rs. 3 or Rs. 4 for the hide of every dead cow, bullock or buffalo respectively to their owners if they fail to deliver a corresponding number of pairs of shoes to them.

5. Their wives are paid only four annas for a male or two annas for a female child born in the house of the caste-Hindu villagers where they have to work as midwives during confinement, and even these payments are not regularly made.

6. They are forced to work for their *maliks* and caste-Hindu villagers even at the sacrifice of their own agricultural needs or when they are ill or engaged in their social or religious functions.

7. The levy of the chowkidari tax on them is generally excessive.

8. They are not allowed to draw water from wells used by caste Hindus.

9. They are not allowed to enter temples nor are Brahmin priests available to recite religious *kathas* at their houses.

If what is said in the report about the conversions be true, it is from my standpoint reprehensible. Such superficial conversions can only give rise to suspicion and strife. But if a missionary body or individuals choose to follow the methods described in the report, nothing can be done to prevent them. It is therefore much more profitable to turn the searchlight inward and to discover our own defects. Fortunately the report enables us to do so. Nine causes are enumerated to show why Harijans are induced to leave the Hindu fold. Seven are purely economic, one is social, and one is purely religious. Thus they are reduced economically, degraded socially and boycotted from religious participation. The wonder is not that they leave Hinduism; the wonder is that they have not done so for so long and that so few leave their ancestral faith even when they do. The moral is obvious. Let us make every discovery, such as the one made in Shahabad, an occasion for greater self-purification, greater dedication to the Harijan cause, greater identification with the Harijans. It should result in the local Sangh collecting more workers than it has for doing on the one hand service among the Harijans and on the other propaganda among the so-called caste Hindus, not in the shape of reviling them but showing them that religion does not warrant the treatment that is meted out to Harijans by them.

Harijan, 19-6-1937

354. KHADI AT HARIPURA

Sjt. Dastane is anxious that something striking should happen at Haripura so as to make khadi much more popular than it is. There are other workers who no doubt anticipate great things from Haripura about khadi. Bardoli's promise to be wholly self-sustained about khadi made in 1921 still remains unredeemed. Painful to tell, Bardoli like other places falls back on Wardha for its cheap and well-coloured khadi. The khadi method excludes concentration. Wardha is in no need of outside patronage. And if it began to rely on it, it would harm itself and khadi in the long run. The secret of success in khadi is for each taluk or at least district to produce and use its own khadi.

But Sjt. Dastane says, though the Working Committee has re-emphasized the fourfold programme of 1920, there is hardly an M. L. A. who talks about it to his constituency. And if the khadi-lovers, too, do not show application or originality, khadi

has a poor chance of becoming universal. There is force in what Sjt. Dastane says. But things are not quite as bad as he perhaps imagines. In Nalwadi, Vinoba is practically concentrating the whole of his attention on khadi. He is making experiments to see whether the minimum of three annas per day of eight hours for spinners is an easily realizable proposition. It bids fair to succeed. There is a boy 16 years old who is a villager of quite the ordinary type. He is earning four annas per day. If the average villager has a sufficient ocular demonstration of the possibility of earning three annas per day, and if he or she knows that there is an organization that will take in all the standard yarn that can be produced, there will be a spontaneous response. Now this kind of very solid work does not admit of haste or a spectacular display. Then there is one great difficulty in the way. The spinners, weavers and other artisans engaged in khadi production are expected to use khadi for their own wear. This means popular education in the economics of khadi, a change in the mentality of the poor artisans who do not know anything of why they are so helpless and poor and still less of how they can help themselves to get rid of their ignorance and poverty. The spread of such education means again a large number of workers possessing love of khadi and an adequate knowledge of the economics and the technique of khadi.

Thus there are very natural difficulties to be overcome in the attempt to make khadi universal. Let Sjt. Dastane and others who feel like him about khadi make a deep study of the science and make their own experiments if they have any original contribution to make or pursue the beaten track and give to the work their exclusive attention.

Harijan, 19-6-1937

355. MAN'S INHUMANITY

Not many people know what is *phooka*. Still fewer know that there is an association in Calcutta called the Anti-phooka Association. Its patrons are Maharajadhiraja Sir Bijoy Chand Mahatab Bahadur and Justice Sir L. W. J. Costello. Its president is Shri Ramkumar Bangar. The office is at 65 Pathuriaghata Street. The Secretary thus describes the process of *phooka*:

> I have to inform you that the atrocities of *phooka* are perpetrated on each milch animal twice daily. The four legs of the animal are tied to four strong posts and two men hold the animal so tightly that

she cannot make any movement of her limbs whatsoever. A bamboo rod or pipe, 22 inches long and 8 inches in circumference, is then forcibly pushed into the generative organ of the animal, and then one man begins to blow air into the uterus, causing it to be fully distended thereby. This inflammation causes extra pressure on the glands which helps the milkman to extract the last drop of milk. The milking also is indescribably cruel, and it is continued to the great pain of the animal till blood comes out of the udder. Sometimes a few drops of the blood get mixed up with the milk. Unable to make any movements, the animal silently bears this inhuman torture and her great pain is manifested only by the copious perspiration and tears that flow down her body and cheeks. This is repeated twice daily and the animal invariably swoons after each operation.

It is difficult to conceive anything more torturing or revolting than the process described by the Secretary. From the proceedings of a meeting of the Association it appears that the practice results in the sterility of the cows and she-buffaloes subjected to the torture. They are therefore transferred to butchers after they cease to yield milk even in spite of *phooka*.

The Association undertakes the prosecution of the torturers. It engages plain-clothes detectives to discover the culprits. The activity of the Association is good as far as it goes. But it does not appear to me to go far enough. Punishment of a few criminals won't stop the inhumanity. It is necessary to carry on propaganda among the offenders and educate them to understand the evils of the system. Of course the surest way of dealing with the evil is for the Corporation to take charge of the whole of the milk supply of Calcutta and change the *gwalas* into its paid servants. They would then not be open to temptation as they are now. They will be under sanitary supervision. Milking will be done under proper control. The citizens will have a guarantee of having pure milk for their money. And there is not the slightest reason why the milk supply department should not be self-supporting. The citizens will gladly pay an extra pie, if an increase in the selling price becomes necessary. Of course the milk supply has to become a monopoly of a municipality undertaking the enterprise, even as the postal stamp is a monopoly of the State.

Harijan, 19-6-1937

CWMG-LXV

356. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

June 19, 1937

CHI. MIRA,

Your letter has just come. I hope the mountain air will set you right. Here is note for Dr. Dharmavir. My love to Subhas Babu to whom I have no time to write separately.

You will be grieved to know that yesterday the rain set in but destroyed the earth-work near the creek bridge, nearly destroyed the houses on either side. If the rain had continued for five minutes longer the houses would have gone. Now I am considering what to do.

Khan Saheb and Mehrtaj came in today.[1]

No more time to say more.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6383. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9849

357. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

June 19, 1937

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

It was good that the thorn[2] came out. The case is exactly like what had happened to Rajkumari.[3] When the doctors were at their wit's end, Nature became a doctor. I read about the Bharuch affair. Such falsehoods will go on. What other attitude could you have adopted towards a worker like Dinkarrai[4]? I can now attend the Working Committee meeting only between the 26th and the 29th. That is sufficient time. There is no doubt that the earlier the committee meets the better.

[1] *Vide* also p. 314.

[2] According to the source, Vallabhbhai Patel had suffered for a fortnight from a thorn which had pierced his foot while he was taking a stroll with Gandhiji on Tithal seaside.

[3] *Vide* pp. 263-4.

[4] Dinkarrai Desai, President of Bharuch Municipality, whose sanitary workers had gone on strike; *vide* p. 57.

CWMG-IXV

Kishorelal keeps indifferent health and so has not been able to come and meet me. I had called on him for a few minutes on the day of my arrival. He was to come to Segaon but has not been able to do so owing to his illness.

I hope you are keeping well otherwise.

Blessings from
BAPU

SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL
PURUSHOTTAM BUILDING
OPPOSITE OPERA HOUSE
NEW QUEENS ROAD
BOMBAY 4

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 201

358. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

June 19, 1937

CHI. JAMNALAL,

Despatch this wire: "Khan Saheb not enthusiastic on his own. If need his presence urgent come and discuss with him. Gandhi."[1]

Send this reply if it seems proper to you. I do not wish to send it as an order.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2987

359. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEGAON, WARDHA,
June 20, 1937

MY DEAR REBEL,

Your two letters before me. There is nothing wrong with the village ink. The wrong is with me. I am too lazy to attend to the laws governing the use of village ink. I won't shake off my laziness by reverting to the use of the lazy city ink.

[1] This telegram is in English. It was meant for Brijlal Biyani. *Vide* also p. 315.

CWMG - LXV

I can do so, if ever, by persisting in the use of village ink and by people like you pulling me up when my letters are too faint to be deciphered.

Mira is happy in Dalhousie. She is charmed with the eternal snows which she sees daily. And Dr. Dharmavir and Subhas are very attentive to her. And you are right when you say she won't feel too crowded there. You should write to her.

It is good news you give me of some of the Harijan hovels being destroyed and new houses being built for them.[1]

Most probably the Working Committee will meet here next week. There is no question this time of going to Allahabad.

Who recommended the three pamphlets? Do you know anything of them? You should plead for me with those who would want me to read books. No time.

Love.

ROBBER

From the original: C.W. 6311. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6420

360. LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA

June 20, 1937

MY DEAR KUMARAPPA,

Here is Vasta's letter to you and mine to him. I hope you have sent him the things he has asked for. Please post my letter with yours which I expect you are writing.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 10118

[1] Probably as a result of the addressee's representation to the municipal authorities; *vide* p. 193.

CWMG LXV

361. LETTER TO BEHRAMJI KHAMBHATTA

June 20, 1937

BHAI KHAMBHATTA,

At long last I received your diary. Ailments that cannot be cured by any remedies have got to be endured, and God has given you sufficient strength for that.

Blessings to you both from
BAPU

SHRI BEHRAM KHAMBHATTA
BELVEDERE COURT
CHURCHGATE RAILWAY STATION
FORT, BOMBAY

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6613. Also C.W. 4404. Courtesy: Tehmina Khambhatta

362. LETTER TO KALYANJI V. MEHTA

June 20, 1937

BHAI KALYANJI,

I got your letter. If possible take Ba to Manilal once. If possible try and make Kanam spin on the *takli* regularly. He had started that here. But the practice was given up later.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2714

363. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEGAON, WARDHA,
June 21, 1937

MY DEAR REBEL,

So you have fairly won your victory. But you will have to pursue the matter to the end, lest the Municipality goes to sleep.[1]

[1] *Vide* p. 323.

CWMG - LXV

You are right. Subhas ought not to leave Dalhousie in a hurry. He should be thoroughly restored for the task in front of him. I am sorry I forgot to tell you that Jamnalalji came in here on 6th and will be with the exception of three or four days when he has to go to Calcutta for his son's marriage in Calcutta. He goes on 29th.

You should write to Mira when you get two minutes.

Why won't you consult Menchen or Menkel[1] about your food? You must get rid of your indigestion. I can't guide you much from a distance. Therefore you need some local assistance for the proper selection of your menu.

The Working Committee meets on 4th or 5th July in Wardha. It must decide the office issue finally.

Love.

ROBBER

From the original: C.W. 3790. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6946

364. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

June 21, 1937

CHI. MIRA,

I have just had your second letter from Dalhousie. I had not expected any magical performance in Dalhousie. But you will recover there completely by patience. Do not insist on your way if doctor advises otherwise, of course barring vows. But there are no vows except the abstention from meats and wines.

No rain here to speak of. The weather has cooled a bit. Ba is expected to return by 24th. Khan Saheb and Mehrtaj are flourishing. Kallenbach must take the steamer on 7th July. But he promises to return in December and stay three months.

Balvantsinha has a mania for building. The cowshed is complete but the huge yard is taking up time and space and money. Let us see. Parnerkar[2] is here and will stay.

Remember me to the hosts.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6385. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9851

[1] The source has Menken; *vide* also p. 256.

[2] An agriculture expert; Secretary, Goseva Sangh. In his book *Bapuki Chhayamen* (p. 179) Balvantsinha explains: "Parnerkerji had shifted from Dhulia to Sevagram (on a permanent basis) where he was entrusted with the work of agriculture."

365. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

June 21, 1937

CHI. PRABHA,

I got your letter of the 16th. I have been regularly writing to you.

Lose yourself in whatever service comes to you unasked and be satisfied.

Amtul Salaam is still here, and so are Khan Saheb and Mehrtaj. I have already written to you about Babu—Sharda. Now Sushila's friend, Dr. Soundaram[1], has come for two days. She plays beautifully on the vina. Ba may come about the 24th. Parnerkar also has come to stay here. A good deal of construction work is going on. You will find many new things when you come.

Write to Mirabehn. Her address is C/o Dr. Dharmavir, Dalhousie, Punjab.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I have just seen your *Harijanbandhu*. It has been returned from Patna. Why don't you inform Poona about changes in your address? Please let me know whether or not you get it now.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3489

366. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

June 21, 1937

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

I have read your letter and Jawahar's reply. It seems Nariman will fall into the pit he is digging himself. Let us wait and see what steps he takes next. We needn't do anything in a hurry. The matter is bound to come up at the Working Committee. It

[1] Wife of G. Ramachandran; *vide* p. 335.

is certainly meeting after a long interval, but that can't be helped. Let events take their own course. I had a long letter[1] from Lothian, but I have not yet been able to read it. I hope you are well enough now to move about.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 202

367. LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI

June 21, 1937

CHI. MANILAL AND SUSHILA,

I got Manilal's letter. Kallenbach will leave this place on July 7. I hope that he will come back in December. Here he lives just like one of us. He wears only a dhoti, but sometimes a shirt also. He has purchased a lot of khadi and got some dresses made. This time he is not at all inclined to go anywhere for sight-seeing. Next time when he comes I will send him to visit the Taj, etc.

In Segaon, where there was only one hut, several houses have come up now. There seems to be no end to the construction work. The number of residents also is increasing.

Ba, with Kano, is at Maroli with Mithubehn. She is expected to return in a few days now.

Lakshmi has given birth to a son in Madras. Both of them are well. This time she didn't suffer much. Kanti has gone to Bangalore to study in a college. Kishorelal is keeping indifferent health.

Let me know if the handwriting in this letter is rather faint. It is written with pure indigenous ink.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4864

[1] Mahadev Desai had sent a copy of this to Mirabehn on June 25. In his forwarding letter (C.W. 6386), he says: "A long letter from Lothian has come again appealing to Bapu to advise the Congress to take up offices. This is a much more argumentative letter, but it is on the lines of the Viceroy's speech. How they think alike!" For the Viceroy's speech, *vide* Appendix VI.

CWMG-TEXT

368. LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAM K. JERAJANI

June 21, 1937

BHAI KAKUBHAI,

The blanket that I have sent you is a hand-woven one from Scotland. It is said that even the wool is hand-spun. The beauty of it lies in the composition of different colours. The purpose in sending it to you is that you may try and make use of the design in Kashmir or some other place. Otherwise preserve it as a sample. I had forgotten to write about this. I am glad you reminded me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 10832. Courtesy: Purushottam K. Jerajani

369. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

SEGAON, WARDHA,
June 22, 1937

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

Your letter has just reached me. Though three days might prove too few, they would be better than nothing. It is a pity Indu can't come with you. I had thought that the operation that she had for tonsils many years ago was the last. I take it this would be as simple as the previous one.

Love to you all.

BAPU

Gandhi-Nehru Papers, 1937. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

370. LETTER TO J.C. KUMARAPPA

June 22, 1937

MY DEAR KUMARAPPA,

I have read your essay on democracy and your speech on conversion. Both are good but you must work out your individualistic

CWMG - LXV

cultural democracy. The charge against Hinduism is that it is too individualistic. I have thought it to be a baseless charge. But you seem to have some other idea. My own opinion is that Hinduism has made the greatest research in that line but simply failed to carry out its discoveries in practice and therefore seemed to be individualistic, i. e., selfish.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 10119

371. LETTER TO BABURAO D. MHATRE

June 22, 1937

DEAR MR. MHATRE,

I am glad of your report[1] which will be very helpful in regulating traffic and in repairing, if it is possible, the bad roads. I am passing on your report to the Sardar.

Yours sincerely,

From a copy: C.W. 9827. Courtesy: Baburao D. Mhatre

372. INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS OF INDIA

June 22, 1937

The Associated Press special correspondent greeted Mahatma Gandhi early this morning today at his hut in Segaon village with a copy of Viceroy's message to India. Mahatma Gandhi who was having discussions with Seth Jamnalal Bajaj and other workers asked the correspondent to wait for a few minutes. In 15 minutes Mahatma Gandhi called in the correspondent, handed back the Viceroy's statement which was sent to him earlier by the correspondent and asked him to read it aloud for the benefit of himself and others present. Gandhiji attentively listened while the correspondent read the entire message slowly. At the conclusion of reading, Mahatma Gandhi asked the correspondent:

Now, what do you want?

On being told that his reactions on the statement were wanted, Mahatma Gandhi shrugged his shoulders and beckoned to the correspondent to take down.

[1] On the site for the 51st Congress Session at Haripura; *vide* also p. 220.

CWMG - LXV

I have listened to the Viceroy's statement most attentively, but I am sorry that I cannot make any statement. The Working Committee will finally decide on July 5 on the grave issue that is before the country and I hope that no Congressman will want to anticipate the decision of the Working Committee and offer criticism.

The conversation then turned to the Segaon village and village folk. Mahatma Gandhi said that the village had considerably improved and that there were better cows in the village than elsewhere in Wardha. People were healthy and they had plenty of fresh air even more than he because they were bold people, not sophisticated.

The Hitavada, 29-6-1937

373. LETTER TO ATULANAND CHAKRABARTY

SEGAON (WARDHA),
June 23, 1937

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. It is unfortunate but it is true that I have not been able to appreciate the utility of your method as a contribution to the communal tangle. That does not mean that there is no value in cultural contact. I think it has great value. But I am more than doubtful as to the possibility of organizing such contact. I do not know if I have expressed myself clearly. Rabindranath has, of all the men of the world, perhaps, made the largest contribution in that direction. But it has not been through any organization. His writings have compelled attention. I should be delighted if your writings serve the same purpose. But then you do not need my certificate or anybody else's, even as the Poet does not. I wonder if I have made my position clear. I, somehow or other, feel that yours is a different position. Maybe that I have not understood it and, therefore, I have been indifferent to it. I would be satisfied if I can make you believe that my indifference is not due to cussedness or even to want of study of your thought expressed by you. The moment I begin to appreciate your method you will find me advertising it in my own humble way. But you seem to be paralysed without my advertisement and this hurts me. Why should you need my advertisement? Surely the names you have gathered round yourself are far better judges of your work than I ever can be.

It is easy enough now to answer your questions.

The solid work for villages that I have in mind is the work such as the Spinners' Association is doing among thousands of

artisans irrespective of their caste or creed. I hope to publish statistics showing the number of artisans with whom the Spinners' Association has established contact—not political but purely economic. Of course, anyone who has faith in such kind of contact can work for it if he has the desire to learn the technique.

This work is necessarily confined to the villages because the bulk of these artisans are to be found in the villages and these are the people who are in need of the assistance of the kind we are offering.

The third and the fourth questions are answered in the foregoing paragraphs.

The fifth question is answered in the preliminary paragraph.

You do not seem to have kept a copy of your letter. I am, therefore, returning your letter in order to enable you to see if I have covered all your questions. If I have not, you should tell me and I shall make another endeavour to answer your questions.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: C.W. 1476. Courtesy: A. K. Sen

374. LETTER TO BHAGWANJI A. MEHTA

June 23, 1937

BHAI BHAGWANJI,

It was good that you visited Vadavashram near Khambhat. I can never feel hurt by anything you write. How can there be any objection to your letting me know whatever you think? As long as you are alive, how is it possible that the good name and reputation of Karsanji Mulchand would be lost? How can I explain that I had spared no effort in writing to Bhai Narbheram about you? I may not have told you that I had also entered into correspondence with Prof. Thakore regarding the matter. If I didn't do so, the reason must have been that there was nothing important in it. But I had tried my level best. I was not in a position to arbitrate in the dispute between you two. I had neither the necessary material nor the time.

You have now sent a letter for Devchandbhai. I do not know what I shall be able to do in that regard. I am sending that letter to Devchandbhai. I shall let you know if I get a

CWMG - INDEX

reply from him. And if I can do anything in the matter, I certainly will.

Vandemataram from
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5835. Also C.W. 3058. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

375. LETTER TO LORD LOTHIAN

SEGAON, WARDHA,
June 24, 1937

DEAR LORD LOTHIAN,

My deepest thanks for your long letter[1]. I appreciate the patient effort you are making to convince me of the correctness of your advice. With much of what you say I wholly agree. The question of office-acceptance will now be finally decided at the forthcoming meeting of the Working Committee of the Congress. The Viceroy has just said[2] the last word about the Government's attitude. I admit that it is an improvement upon the first speech[3] on the situation by Lord Zetland.

Whatever the decision of the Working Committee may be—and you will have known it before this reaches you—what I would like to write upon is the fundamental difference between the colonies and India. So far as I know, the colonists were armed and knew the use of arms. The vast majority of thirty millions of voters here are unarmed, do not know the use of arms and perhaps would not like to be armed even if they were left absolutely free to do so—such is Indian culture. Though, therefore, I have pinned my faith to working along constitutional lines, I have, as every Indian has, either to think out a programme whereby every adult can be trained in the use of arms or find a substitute. At my instance, the Congress has for the last eighteen years attempted to experiment with the substitute called non-violent non-co-operation, civil resistance, etc. For myself I have rejected the idea of achieving freedom by the use of arms in the last resort and I have accepted as its final substitute the use of non-violence in every shape and form. The use of arms is not an unexplored field, that of non-violence has possibilities of infinite exploration. Hence my eagerness to discover a formula whereby, consistently with the

[1] *Vide* footnote on p. 327.
[2] *Vide* Appendix VI.
[3] *Vide* Appendix IV.

Congress creed of complete independence, office-acceptance may be possible. But I must confess that I have not the faith that you have in the possibility of the existing Act to expand into an instrument of complete freedom. On the contrary, I believe in common with the vast majority of educated Indians that it is incapable of giving India what it wants and the sooner it is replaced by something of Indian design the better.

Of course, the Act does contemplate militarization of India at a snail's pace and therefore it is not so repugnant to those overwhelming numbers of Indians who want India to develop military power as it is to me who would if I could take India along a wholly different route.

Now, if you think that my reasoning is erroneous and that it is possible for India to attain her full height without the background of either military training or of non-violent training, you should come to India during next autumn if only to teach me. In any case, if the Congress decides upon office-acceptance it will be the beginning of real difficulty in one way and your coming is likely to be helpful. If the Congress decides otherwise, you will perhaps yourself feel impelled to come here in order that you might not leave a single stone unturned to avert a calamity which it would be if the rule of the sword replaces the rule of the electorate, that is, democracy, however, incipient it might be.

Yours sincerely,

From a copy: C.W. 6386 a. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9852

376. LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI

June 24, 1937

CHI. KANTI,

I got your letter. I read also your letter to Mahadev. The latter I consider an excellent letter. You have been able to describe very vividly the struggle going on in your heart. Your decision is of course good. If you have determination, and indeed you have it, any college will be good for you. But compared to Bombay, Bangalore is superior because there you will have more freedom. The fact that the Principal has sent his son to Bombay counts little with me, for in doing so he has merely put a higher value on Bombay degrees. For you such value has, and I think should have, secondary importance.

It is not the university that brings credit to a brilliant student but the latter that brings credit to a university. There

is a small village in England named Louth. Tennyson was a pupil in that school and because of that even today the teachers of that school take great pride in it. In the same way you should bring glory to the college in Bangalore. What pains me particularly when I see people going to England or the West is that those who seek prestige for themselves by going to the West gain none, but, of course, they certainly raise the value of Western degrees. One can understand that those who seek prestige do not gain any, for many who hold Western degrees remain unemployed. But anyone who has ability, whether he holds a degree from the East or from the West, does acquire prestige. The late Dr. Tribhovandas was only an L. M. & S. He used to charge Rs. 1,000 a day as fee. He was unrivalled both as physician and surgeon. And in the art of restoring a nose that had been cut off, he has had no equal anywhere in the world. The chief reason was that at that time dacoits had made it a custom to cut the noses of high officials. Had Tribhovandas been diffident he would have called in some English doctor in such cases. But being courageous he held the knife and the needle in his own hands and restored the noses in all or almost all cases. If a man is honest, he is sure to become proficient through experience. I have written all this to strengthen you in your decision, for people will continue to put before you all sorts of arguments that might persuade you to revise your decision. Your aim is to acquire knowledge. It is not as if after getting a degree one need gain no further knowledge. It is possible that real knowledge is acquired only after getting a degree because that has been the experience of most people. Regarding your lodging and boarding make whatever arrangement you think will suit you from the point of view of health and studies.

I did get Saraswati's letters and had also replied to her. It is likely that the reply might have been delayed.

There is one sentence in your letter, "Some of the manners of the people over here seem very uncivilized." Who are those people?

Ba, Kanu and Kusum Desai are expected here the day after tomorrow.

It is cool now. The first rains of the season have not been satisfactory.

Most probably Amtul Salaam will have a tonsillitis operation the day after tomorrow.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7324. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

CWMG-LXV

377. LETTER TO KANU GANDHI

June 24, 1937

CHI. KANAIYO,

I got your letter. I will wait for you after the time limit you have fixed.

A sister from Madras had come here the day before yesterday and left the same day. Pyarelal says that you know her. Her name is Soundaram. She had also brought her vina, which was worth Rs. 150. The chief reason of its high value was its decoration. Without the decoration it would be worth only Rs. 80. But what I like most was her mastery in playing on the vina. She sang, too, to the accompaniment of the vina. Her voice is sweet. During all that time I remembered you. She said she would come again some other time.

You have not followed my questions about book-keeping. That only means that you have not understood the technical terms of book-keeping. So to that extent you probably do not know book-keeping. Show that letter to Narandas. If he does not understand my terms, then I will have to admit that I do not know the technical language of book-keeping and, therefore, could not use it correctly. Narandas knows book-keeping thoroughly well. I learnt just enough of it for my legal practice, with my own effort, and it is possible, therefore, that I do not know the technical terms as well as an expert in book-keeping. In short, what I had asked from you was a summary, or 'abstract' as it is called in English, of the different accounts in the ledger. If neither the register nor the abstracts are available here, we cannot know what the credit or debit balances are in the different accounts. And such occasions are bound to arise when it becomes necessary to know the figures. Do complete the accounts. While you are there, try to perfect your knowledge of book-keeping.

Similarly you may increase your knowledge of music as much as you wish to. You are doing well in planning to go to Chorwad a little earlier.

Amtul Salaam's amount has been received. I see that you go to bed at 11. I consider it too late. Everybody should form the habit of going to bed by 10. But you should of course follow the convenience of others there.

I was very glad to learn that Purushottam was keeping good health.

Ba will most probably come the day after tomorrow. At present the house here is full. Jamnalal's bungalow having been completed, everybody is accommodated comfortably.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

378. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

June 24, 1937

CHI. BRIJKRISHNA,

Enclosed is Deka's letter. I wrote to you immediately after meeting him. You must have got that letter[1]. Convey your decision to him. My idea was that you can call Deka for *mazdoor seva*[2] whenever you want to. If you send for him for sundry other tasks *mazdoor seva* will suffer. Deka himself holds that if he has to go to Delhi, and he would like to do so, he has to have some training at the Mazdoor Sangh. Now the course has to be decided between you and Deka. I remember having written to you on these lines.

I hope you are keeping well. You were to write about the Narela Ashram; do write when you can find time.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2448

379. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

SEGAON, WARDHA,
June 25, 1937

CHI. MIRA,

I am glad you are better. Here is Dr. Dharmavir's letter. If he thinks that sleeping in the open there is injurious, you should not insist on sleeping outside. It is well to do as he says.

[1] *Vide* p. 208.
[2] Labour welfare work

CWMG-LXV

The liver, the spleen and the glands should be dealt with and set right. What is your food now? Do you get good fruit and vegetables? Have you got rid of the cold?

Ba returns tomorrow. We are a growing family.

Govind[1] has gone to Kakasaheb. He wanted some such thing.

This is being written just before the morning prayer.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6377. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9853

380. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

June 25, 1937

MY DEAR REBEL,

I return Sultan Ahmed's letter[2]. It is good. I do not think it is possible to change the name of the Sammelan[3]. I got the definition put right with difficulty. It is the spirit that needs to be changed and not the name which is ancient. I hope you will not commit yourself to anything that may embarrass you or the officials of the Sammelan. Have you read any of the annual addresses of the Sammelan Presidents? Do, if you get the time.

No more today as this is being written just after the morning prayer for Parnerker to take it to Wardha.

Love.

ROBBER

From the original: C.W. 3791. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6947

[1] A boy from Sevagram whom Mirabehn was training for Gandhiji's service

[2] In his letter to the addressee Sultan Ahmed had written that while Gandhiji was trying to propagate the common language spoken in the North, both the Muslims and the Hindus were trying to introduce into it difficult words and phrases from Arabic and Sanskrit creating another communal problem.

[3] Hindi Sahitya Sammelan

CWMG - LXV

381. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

June 25, 1937

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

Just received your statement on the Frontier policy. Khan Saheb and I have read it. I like it very well. I wonder if the Spanish bombing and the British are exactly alike. How has the extent of the British damage been known? What has been the ostensible reason given for the British bombing? Don't smile or be angry that I do not know these things so well as you do. I can learn very little from the little I see of the newspapers. But don't trouble to answer my questions. I shall follow the reactions to your statement. Maybe these will throw some light. And in any case you will fill in the gaps when we meet. I hope the Maulana will come. But even if he cannot I would like you to hold on to the date. Let us have the three quiet days.

Hope Indu is well.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

Khan Saheb wants you to see the enclosed.

Gandhi-Nehru Papers, 1937. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

382. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

June 25, 1937

CHI. PRABHA,

I got your letter just now. Why do you worry? You will have done your duty if you go on nursing to the best of your ability. Our life is not in our hands. Tell Harshubabu on my behalf that he should not worry about the body but meditate on Rama. He will do as He wills. I will be satisfied if I have a postcard from time to time.

CWMG - LXV

Ba will come on the 30th. Shantabehn[1] who was at Khedi has arrived. She will stay here. After some time she will leave for England.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3503

383. LETTER TO RAMESHWARDAS BIRLA

June 25, 1937

BHAI RAMESHWARDAS,

I got your letter. As regards the money I have had the intimation from Bachharaj and Co. Almost a lakh will go to the Village Industries Association. What you give for my personal expenses is of course additional.

I used to obtain through Braj Mohan passages in cargo-boats for the European workers bound for England. He is not there at present. Whom should I write to in Calcutta? Or will you yourself enquire if an Englishwoman can be accommodated in one of the cargo-boats?

Blessings from
BAPU

From Hindi: C.W. 8032. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

384. LETTER TO SHANTIKUMAR N. MORARJEE

June 25, 1937

CHI. SHANTIKUMAR,

An English woman worker is to be sent to England to her mother. Do you have in mind any cargo-boat or any ordinary boat in which she can be sent as soon as possible? What will be the fare? Ghanshyamdas had sent two women in a cargo-boat free of charge. He is not here. Still, I have inquired[2] through Rameshwardas. He may not have any resources at the moment or may have none at all. Hence I am troubling you.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 4726. Courtesy: Shantikumar N. Morarjee

[1] An Englishwoman who was working in the office of Gramodyog Sangh at Maganwadi. *Vide* also the following two items.

[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

385. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

June 25, 1937

CHI. MAHADEV,

All right. I will not go there to see Amtul Salaam. Your presence will be enough. I am not scared. I wanted to come merely for my satisfaction. Let me know the result immediately.

Bablo has written a beautiful letter. I will write to him afterwards. Will you please detain Bachu for Amtul Salaam?

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

If you need more help, shall I send someone from here? Prepare the envelopes for the letters to Shantikumar and Rameshwar there.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11523

386. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

June 25, 1937

BELOVED DAUGHTER AMTUL SALAAM,[1]

I got your note. Mahadev tells me that the doctor would get nervous if I were to go there. So I will not go. I am not worried. Be brave. If necessary I will go over and see you after the operation. Please send me a report yourself. The letter from Kanti is being dispatched today. Read it.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 382

[1] The superscription is in Urdu.

CWMG - LXV

387. LETTER TO KAMALNAYAN BAJAJ

June 25, 1937

CHI. KAMALNAYAN,

Mr. Kallenbach has been bothering me to let him send you a gift at the time of your marriage. He wants to spend more than Rs. 100, and spoke of £25. I would not hear of it. He then asked me what he should give. I suggested books. "Which books?", he asked. I couldn't decide. Tell me what books you would like to have?

Reply by return of post.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3056

388. UNFORTUNATE BUT INDISPENSABLE

The Secretary of the local Harijan Sevak Sangh of Jamshedpur applied to a lady among others for a subscription and he received the following reply:

> It is some time since your letter of 5th February appealing for funds was received by me.
>
> I appreciate the good work your Association is doing at Jamshedpur, but, on principle, I cannot bring myself to send any subscription to any Association that calls itself 'Harijan' just because of the interpretation put upon that word in this country.
>
> I am convinced that as long as any member of a society is classified by a name that savours of inferiority, that section of society will never be raised. I would abolish from our vocabulary the words 'Harijan', 'Depressed Class', and all such other appellations of the same meaning, which are used to distinguish people who should never be separately described from their fellow beings.

The objection raised by the lady is not new. The adoption of the name 'Harijan' was not a matter of choice, it was one of compulsion. So long as the suppressed classes exist, it will be necessary to have some designation for them. Thus Indians in South Africa were popularly distinguished from the rest as

'coolies' or 'sammies'. This was resented by them. Protests were made with more or less effect not against a distinguishing name but against a name which in itself carried reproach and signified inferiority. So ultimately they came to be classified as Indians as they should have been from the beginning. Even thus were untouchables called by various names denoting reproach and inferiority. The Government officers have devised names such as 'depressed', 'backward'. Now they are known as 'scheduled classes'. For the reformers, the name 'Harijan' was suggested by someone who belonged to the suppressed classes. And that name has been adopted by the Harijan Sevak Sangh, being in its meaning absolutely free from reproach and even fitting in the sense that the despised of man are the dear ones of God, which is what 'Harijan' means. What, therefore, is possible and is being done is to remove the last trace of inferiority, but it is not possible to do away with a special name for those whose inferiority is abolished even from the hearts of caste Hindus, so long as the necessity for knowing the liberated ones from the rest exists. I hope, therefore, that the objecting lady will recognize the inevitability of a separate designation for the suppressed class, but appreciate the fact that the word chosen by the Sangh has absolutely no reproach about it, and therefore give her subscription and become an active helper in a cause than which none can be found worthier.

Harijan, 26-6-1937

389. ARE THERE DIFFERENT OATHS?

On reading my article[1] on 'Religious Oath and Non-religious', a Quaker friend wrote to a common friend who has passed on the letter to me. I copy the letter[2] below:

> It appears to me that Mr. Gandhi is dealing with two quite distinct questions in this article. I wholly agree with his answer to one of them as, with due respect, I wholly disagree with the other. . . . I agree wholly with him that a Congressman need not worry over the propriety of the oath.
>
> 2. But the Mahatma's subtle mind is too much for me when he draws distinctions between religious and non-religious oaths. At any rate we simple Quakers look at it thus: Religion is man's search for

[1] *Vide* pp. 229-31.

[2] Only extracts are reproduced here.

> God, and his reference of all life to the life of God. An affirmation, or promise, to tell the truth and do the truth, is a reference of the self back to the life of God, for Truth is a part of God's essential nature. Therefore all *such promises are religious acts*. The Quakers object to oaths, because they claim to be religious people, that is, people who fear God, and intend to observe the truth without swearing in the name of God. As you know, after a long struggle and much suffering they obtained the right to affirm instead of swearing. But affirmation or oath, both are for us religious acts; unless by religion one means something apart from the most part of life. I should not agree that a Court of Law or a Parliament was something apart from religion for a religious man. . . . We, Quakers, are clear that all life is religious for the religious man, and have no particular use for a segregated 'religion'. . . .

Cuttings from two Indian newspapers criticizing the article have also been sent to me.

What I find after reading the letter and the cuttings is that it is very difficult for me to make myself fully intelligible especially when I write on anything out of the way. The only thing for me is to endeavour to elucidate my point so long as there is anything to elucidate.

I can see no subtlety about my argument. But I see the clearest possible distinction between the oath or affirmation that a person takes before a court of law, a legislature and before his God perhaps daily at the time of rising and retiring. They have different functions, different incidences.

The Quaker friend in my opinion surrenders the whole position when he agrees with me in my interpretation of the legislative or constitutional oath. His quarrel is purely over my designation of oaths. If my designation is faulty, I would accept any other which succinctly shows the distinction I have pointed out and which the friend accepts by implication.

The mere linguistic meaning of the legislative oath is wholly different from the meaning that the law and tradition have given to it. One not knowing the law and the tradition will certainly have the objection that Shri Shivprasad Gupta has raised. Mere grammatical or linguistic meaning of a sentence divorced from its context and history has often been found erroneous and sometimes positively mischievous. Therefore, knowing the context of the legislative oath, I had no hesitation in saying that there was not the slightest strain on or violation of truth when I suggested that a Congressman could, consistently with his creed of complete independence and his resolution of wrecking the Constitution Act, take the oath required by law shortly described by me as legislative.

And here again my statement must be interpreted in its context and historical perspective. A Congressman entering the Legislature will strive for gaining complete independence working within the law, and so will he try to wreck the Act working within the law. If he can work for its amendment, he can quite properly work for its repeal, i.e., wrecking. Indeed his deadlocks also will be within the law. And he won't be frightened or hang his head low if his opponent twits him by saying that he is after all working the Constitution. He will not, must not, care so long as he knows his mind, hides nothing and is downright honest in all his dealings.

Of course I agree with the Quaker friend that for a religiously or spiritually minded man religion or rather religious attitude pervades all his thoughts, words and acts.

But having said this I must adhere to my statement that for the multitudinous purposes of life we find it necessary to distinguish our activities as social, political, mercantile, religious, etc. These divisions can be extended almost to infinity. But the seeker of God will apply his godly attitude even to his sports if he finds time for them.

Harijan, 26-6-1937

390. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

June 26, 1937

I forgot to write to you about one thing. You referred to Devdas's third child. I agree with you that he should stop now. I must not write, you can, perhaps, must. I have no doubt he knows. I do not know who is greater sinner. They passionately love each other. And then love expresses itself in the painful fashion. I suppose they cannot help themselves. I know what an effort it is to exercise self-restraint when physical love is let loose. Duty separated us for long intervals. That gave me time for thinking and disciplining myself. After the appearance of Devdas I had fairly conquered the animal in me. Intense public activity of an exacting nature cast upon me a burden which I could not carry at the same time as making additions to the family. Thus did Nature help me. And my greatest good luck was that in Ba I had a companion who never tempted me, so far as I can recall. Such is not the case with the present generation. I do not know that it was better in my generation. Ba is perhaps an exceptional woman. So you see I have boundless charity for Devdas. And yet how

I wish the terrible burden on Lakshmi could be removed. Devdas and Lakshmi almost make out a case for the use of contraceptives. And yet I know that it will be a fatal conclusion to draw from this hard case. If they cannot restrain themselves Lakshmi must suffer. Now you have all the data, if you have self-confidence enough, to write to Devdas.

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

391. LETTER TO C. A. TULPULE

SEGAON (WARDHA),
June 26, 1937

MY DEAR TULPULE,

You are quite correct in writing to me as you have done. Other friends also have been writing to me and letters such as yours will help me to gauge public opinion. For, it is one thing for me to hold a theoretical opinion, another thing to base it on practical experience.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI C. A. TULPULE, M. L. A.
TILAK ROAD
POONA

From the original: C.W. 2897. Courtesy: C. A. Tulpule

392. LETTER TO T. S. SUBRAHMANYAN

June 26, 1937

MY DEAR SUBRAHMANYAN,

If it is the inner voice that has spoken to you the conclusion you have come to is undoubtedly right and you will feel daily stronger, no matter what pecuniary or other difficulties you might have to face. My hope is that you will lose yourself to the uttermost in the activities which are born out of a contemplation of and are sure signs of ahimsa, i. e., khadi and other village industries, temperance, Harijan service, communal unity, etc. These must be pursued in a scientific spirit. And when they are

CWMG - LXV

so pursued they tax all our energies. At the same time they give the keenest satisfaction and draw out the very best in us.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI T. S. SUBRAHMANYAN
PLEADER
BELLARY

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

393. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

June 26, 1937

BELOVED DAUGHTER AMTUL SALAAM,[1]

I hope you passed the night peacefully. Though I am here, my mind is there with you. Don't exert yourself to write to me. Send an oral message if you wish.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 383

394. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

June 26, 1937

CHI. KAKA,

Read this letter and let me have your guidance.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7694

395. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

June 26, 1937

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I got your letter. I have written to Ramjibhai. If what you say is correct, it is painful. But if the sentiments you have expressed in your letter to him are mere politeness, they do not

[1] The superscription is in Urdu in the source.

CWMG - LXV

become a satyagrahi. A satyagrahi's language is bound to be extremely courteous, but that courtesy is also full of truth. You say: "Seeing your step, new khadi workers like me in Kathiawar lose heart. If you still think over the matter and change your opinion, please do so and reassure workers like me." You cannot be called a new khadi worker at all. And a khadi worker like you would not lose courage because of a co-worker's fall but would become more firm, would dedicate himself more whole-heartedly and cultivate greater efficiency. But if you have really lost courage because of Ramjibhai's giving up of khadi work, what you say is the bare truth. In that case, however, both you and I will have to think where you stand. For there are bound to be a good many hurdles in our khadi and other activities and, if our faith does not spring from within but is dependent on others, all our activities will fail. There must be a few whose faith would be more immovable even than the Himalayas and would remain steadfast till death. What a lecture I have given you on the beautiful letter you wrote to Ramjibhai!

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

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

396. A GREAT EXPERIMENT[1]

The Ahmedabad Labour Union has of late started a great experiment which is likely to prove of great interest and importance to all labour organizations. The essence of the experiment consists in training its members to a supplementary occupation in addition to their principal occupation in the mills so that in the event of a lock-out, strike or loss of employment otherwise, they would always have something to fall back upon instead of being faced with the prospect of starvation. A mill-hand's life is ever full of vicissitudes. Thrift and economy no doubt provide a sort of remedy and it would be criminal to neglect them. But the savings thus made cannot carry one far, seeing that the vast bulk of our mill labourers are always struggling on the margin of bare subsistence. Moreover it would never do for a working man during strike or unemployment to rest idly at home. There is nothing more injurious to his morale and self-respect than

[1] The Gujarati original of this appeared in *Harijanbandhu*, 27-6-1937. This is a translation by Pyarelal.

enforced idleness. The working class will never feel secure or develop a sense of self-assurance and strength unless its members are armed with an unfailing subsidiary means of subsistence to serve as a second string to their bow in a crisis.

The idea of a subsidiary occupation for the mill-hands was first conceived by me during the eventful twenty-three days' strike of the Ahmedabad mill-hands in the year 1918.[1] It occurred to me then that if the strike was to be successful the mill-hands must have an occupation that would maintain them wholly or partly. They must not rely upon doles. During the strike many of them were employed on unskilled labour. It was then that I mooted my suggestion to teach mill-hands a subsidiary occupation. But my suggestion remained a dead letter till the next strike came. A sort of a beginning was made then. But it was difficult to bring into being all of a sudden an effective organization for teaching subsidiary occupations. With the end of the second strike died also the effort to find and teach suitable occupations.

An organized and systematic effort is now being made by the Labour Union in that direction. Mill-hands are being taught to select occupations which they can practise in their leisure hours at home and which would give them substantial relief in times of unemployment. These are ginning, cleaning, carding and spinning of cotton, weaving, tailoring, soap and paper making, type-setting, etc.

I hold that a working knowledge of a variety of occupations is to the working class what metal is to the capitalist. A labourer's skill is his capital. Just as the capitalist cannot make his capital fructify without the co-operation of labour, even so the working man cannot make his labour fructify without the co-operation of capital. And if both labour and capital have the gift of intelligence equally developed in them and have confidence in their capacity to secure a fair deal, each at the hands of the other, they would get to respect and appreciate each other as equal partners in a common enterprise. They need not regard each other as inherently irreconcilable antagonists. But the difficulty is that whilst today capital is organized and seems to be securely entrenched, labour is not. The intelligence of the working man is cramped by this soulless, mechanical occupation which leaves him little scope or chance to develop his mind. It has prevented him from realizing the power and full dignity of his status. He has been taught to believe that his wages have to be

[1] *Vide* Vol. XIV.

dictated by capitalists instead of his demanding his own terms. Let him only be organized along right lines and have his intelligence quickened, let him learn a variety of occupations, and he will be able to go about with his head erect and never be afraid of being without means of sustenance.

It is the grossest of superstitions for the working man to believe that he is helpless before the employers. The effort of the Labour Union in Ahmedabad is to dispel this superstition in a concrete manner. Its experiment, therefore, ought to be welcomed by all concerned. Success will depend on an inflexible determination on the part of the Labour Union to follow up the good beginning that has been made, with unflagging perseverance. It must have the right sort of instructors who can arouse among the workers an intelligent interest in their work. A handicraft plied merely mechanically can be as cramping to the mind and soul as any other pursuit taken up mechanically. An unintelligent effort is like a corpse from which the spirit has departed.

Harijan, 3-7-1937

397. MY NOTES

Is It Then No Mistake?

Many people seem to have been hurt on reading my note entitled "My Mistake"[1]. Of course readers of *Harijanbandhu* are all Gujaratis. But Gujaratis are scattered in all Provinces and among them those who are alert know the customs and practices of the people in whose midst they live. I have received letters from such persons residing in places as far off as Malabar, Tamilnadu, Andhradesh and Karnataka. All of them write that my presumption was correct. In all these Provinces, amongst Hindus both high and low so-called, not only do marriages take place between a maternal uncle and his niece (sister's daughter) but these marriages are highly esteemed in most cases. One correspondent asked for a lawyer's opinion. The lawyer wrote back that not only are such marriages customary in the South, but that they are also clearly sanctioned by law.

Thus, although the correction made by Professor Thakore does not to a certain extent hold good, the manner in which I drew my conclusion was nevertheless faulty. The fact that what I had presumed happens to be true with regard to Hindu society, may be regarded as an accident. From the fact that the children of a

[1] *Vide* p. 282.

brother and sister are permitted to marry, I had no right to conclude that a girl could marry her maternal uncle. Hence Professor Thakore has indeed done me a service.

I can understand the love of the gentlemen who have written to me having regard for my prestige. I thank them for having informed me and I also compliment them for ascertaining the customs and practices of the Provinces in which they happen to reside.

Because such marriages are acceptable in the South, no one should conclude that the attempt to make them acceptable in places where they are prohibited, will be welcomed. The field for marriages is so wide that where it is prohibited among relatives, there is hardly any need for going against the prohibition. The reforms which Hindu society needs are those concerning the breaking of inter-caste barriers. These restrictions are truly detrimental to social progress. Hence it would be a real reform to permit inter-provincial and inter-caste marriages.

[From Gujarati]
Harijanbandhu, 27-6-1937

398. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

SEGAON, WARDHA,
June 27, 1937

CHI. MIRA,

It is a mere sluit which collects and discharges rain water. It therefore fills as rapidly as it discharges. There was hardly ½ inch rain, not violent either. But it was enough to fill the sluit rapidly. You know the sluit. It is like a belt round Segaon village. The idea was to bridge it. The bridge was made but the rushing water destroyed the earth-work in front of and behind the bridge. The water might easily have destroyed Khandu's and Prahlad's houses if the rain had continued[1]. Therefore at considerable expense the sluit is reduced to its original state. But there is no rain worth speaking about. And Bombay had already 30 inches!

Ba returns tomorrow. Spinning by the women has restarted. Govind has gone to Kakasaheb at his own instance.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6388. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9854

[1] The source has "contained".

399. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

June 27, 1937

CHI. NARANDAS,

You have mentioned some letter. I don't remember it. If you had asked any question in it, please repeat it. It can be said that now you have sufficient experience of Kanaiyo. If you have been able to form any opinion, please let me know. What is his state of mind? Please write whatever you would like to say about him so that it may be of help to me.

Write to me in detail about your experience of Kamala, too.

Your letter about khadi was very good.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8529. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

400. LETTER TO MANUBEHN S. MASHRUWALA

SEGAON, WARDHA,
June 27, 1937

CHI. MANUDI,

I had your letter. You should find time for reading and practising on the *sitar*. Ba and Kano are coming tomorrow. Khan Saheb and Mehrtaj were occupying Ba's room. Kusum Desai also is coming. Now the house will be full. You had rain there but here we have had none.

Blessings to you all from
BAPU

SHRI MANUBEHN
C/O VORA HARIDAS VAKHATCHAND
BEHIND HIGH SCHOOL
RAJKOT C. S., KATHIAWAR

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 2669. Courtesy: Manubehn S. Mashruwala

401. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

June 27, 1937

CHI. MAHADEV,

A fruit famine has now overtaken us here. Today Mohanlal has been asked to send some particular fruit. We have run out of dates. Do you receive boxes of dates regularly? What can I give to Khan Saheb? Have you written about honey? If not, write at once and tell them to send it promptly. Did you write to Kaleshwar Rao? I had asked for *chikoo* and sweet and sour lemon from that place.

Yes, let somebody go at 4.30 to receive Ba. If she does not arrive by that train, then she will come by the next train.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

A temperature chart of Balkrishna is enclosed. Show it to Amtul Salaam and send whatever medicine she gives. He has enough to last only for today. Send back the chart also.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11524

402. LETTER TO MIRZA ISMAIL

WARDHAGANJ,
June 28, 1937

DEAR SIR MIRZA,

I appreciate your letter[1]. I must not anticipate the Working Committee's decision. I know it will tax all its patriotic spirit. I am in letter and in spirit praying for God's guidance during those days.

[1]The letter, dated June 26, read: " . . . I believe that it would be a great disservice to the country and a great disservice to itself, if Congress were to refuse the invitation extended to it in such cordial terms by the Viceroy. It is by accepting office and working, that is, by taking charge of the machinery that Congress can achieve its purpose more rapidly and satisfactorily. . . ."

CWMG - LXV

My kindest regards to you, Lady Mirza, Humayun and the rest of the family.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 2180. Also from a copy: G. A. Natesan Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

403. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

June 28, 1937

CHI. MAHADEV,

Yesterday we had some visitors here. They had brought 112 mangoes from the bazaar in Wardha. They were excellent. The price was one and a half rupees for 120. After they had left 112 mangoes, Chhotelal brought some more. Today apples and rose-apples have arrived, and so I shall be able to pull on for some time now.

Send two dozen sour lemons with Janba[1].

Ba may stay on for today if she wants, but it would be better that she returns while the sky is clear. However, she may do as she pleases. Congratulations to Kusum. Khan Saheb is having fever. Tell Ba that Khan Saheb and Mehrtaj have been allotted her room. Has she any objection? Khan Saheb is impatient to shift. He may have even shifted to Mira Kutir. I am passing your article after revising it.[2] A copy should be sent to Captain. I am sending two more in addition. The rest[3] by noon with Janba.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11525

[1] An errand-boy of the Ashram at Wardha
[2] *Vide* pp. 360-2.
[3] *Vide* the following item.

404. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

[*June 28, 1937*][1]

CHI. MAHADEV,

Come tomorrow. It would be better if Ba comes tomorrow but she may do as she likes. Khan Saheb has vacated the room. I am sending the articles. Buy English water-proof. There are other ways no doubt, but don't bother about them. Enclosed is a letter for Kamalnayan. Go and see him off. Is there no other mail today?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11520

405. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

SEGAON, WARDHA,
June 29, 1937

CHI. MIRA,

Your drawing[2] is good. Do continue the practice. It would be good recreation for you.

Dr. Dharmavir again warns me that you should hasten slowly. He is confident of effecting a radical cure.

Ba has just come in with Kusum Desai and Kanam. She has a little bit of a fracture in her left foot.

The rains set in properly yesterday. The weather is now quite cool. Wind is blowing strong.

Khan Saheb occupies your hut. He has a little fever. Balvantsinha and Parnerker have gone to buy cows. Three will presently go dry.

My goat is giving very little milk. So we have to procure a goat, too. Thus the family grows all round.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6389. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9855

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

[2] The addressee used to send small sketches along with her letters to Gandhiji.

CWMG - LXV

406. LETTER TO BHARATAN KUMARAPPA

June 29, 1937

MY DEAR BHARATAN,

I had a chat with Fischer about Rao the dairyman. Others have also talked to me. Parnerkar went to him to give him instructions and examine the ghee. Rao seems to be no worker. He talks too much and nonsense. If he is what Fischer and others describe him to be, he should be sent away.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat : G.N. 10120

407. LETTER TO TULSI MAHER

June 29, 1937

CHI. TULSI MAHER,

I have your letter. I do not think it is necessary for you to leave the work there as long as you are mentally satisfied and also something is accomplished. I have suggested[1] your leaving Nepal only when you are no longer interested in the work there.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 6552

408. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEGAON, WARDHA,
June 30, 1937

MY DEAR IDIOT,

I knew Menckel[2] was a crank but did not know that he was a fool. Of course you are bound to report to me any irregularity in your health even though I may be able to do

[1] *Vide* p. 274.
[2] The source has "Mencken".

nothing. Garlic should never induce loose stools. Dal or some proteid or starch food is at bottom.

Do you know Dharmavir? What do you think of him? I quite see that I must not pile any new work on you even though it be a letter to be written to anyone.

Are you not an idiot? You have said nothing new in suggesting that the common language may be written in either script, Devanagari or Persian. You will read my credo[1] in *Harijan*. But the name Hindi will never be changed. You might as well change your own name to please people! Hindi is the original name. It is the utmost one can do to adopt Hindustani as a synonym. Can you not see the very obvious reason? There is violence in the air and this demand for the change of name not by an individual but by an institution is violence which ought not to be submitted to. There is no logic or reason in it. How can I ask an old literary association[2] to change its name without an overwhelmingly just cause? Do you see the point?

Parkinson's letter is good.

The rains have set in properly now. Ba came in yesterday bringing in Kusum—an old Ashram inmate. The weather is alternately cool and warm. When you come do bring your mosquito net, though there are not more than the usual number. I do not want you to run any avoidable risk.

Love.

ROBBER

[PS.]

I have told Balkrishna that you have a teacher for Sanskrit.

From the original: C.W. 3792. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6948

409. LETTER TO PARIKSHITLAL L. MAJMUDAR

June 30, 1937

BHAI PARIKSHITLAL,

I send herewith a postcard from Bhai Soni Balji Talsi. I have not followed what he wants to say in it. I have replied to him that he can get no money from here. He should not give up his profession. If he gets any spare time after doing his work,

[1] *Vide* pp. 362-4.

[2] Hindi Sahitya Sammelan; *vide* also p. 337.

he may give some of it to service and do what you ask him to do.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4027

410. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

June 30, 1937

CHI. MAHADEV,

The doctor's explanation seems satisfactory. What weight need we attach to Shankar's allegations? He has always been like that. You do not seem to have read the letter I wrote to him. I have severely reprimanded him, though I have not written all that you said. I will write that, too. Write to Shantikumar and tell him that I will decide now. You can send for a flask from Bombay. How can you get an exactly similar one? The goat seems to be proving a costly affair. I am in a fix. I am sending the letters.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Since you also would be writing to Kakalbhai, I am not closing the envelope. Received Gokulbhai's postcard. I forgot to tell you. Write to him and tell him that he can certainly fix for the 10th.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11526

411. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

June 1937

CHI. JAMNALAL,

If you have agreed to pay Rs. 1,000 towards Harjivan's expenses, then please send it by wire. The following is the answer on behalf of the Sangh:

"Wiring thousand cover travelling. Regret inability advance loan."

I understand that you have not given him any assurance about the loan. So I do not see any need for your giving it.

CWMG - LXV

I am sending back Shankar's letter addressed to you. It is good to send him books.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I am sending Harjivan's also.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2985

412. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

SEGAON,
July 2, 1937

CHI. KRISHNACHANDRA,

The doubt you have raised is extremely pertinent. I cannot say now how I could dictate such a meaningless sentence.[1] Read it as follows: "But it should never be taken that the ancestors of an *adharmaja* were all *dharmaja* themselves or that his future progeny will all be *dharmaja*."

There is no harm in learning and practising hatha yoga for the sake of physical health, but all the instructors are not fully well-versed in it. It has also been my experience that those who do not know the science and techniques of hatha yoga can even cause harm. Moreover, everyone is not capable of performing each and every *asana*. All this simply means that you must use your discretion in the matter.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 4283. Also S.G. 59

413. DISCUSSION WITH AN AMERICAN[2]

SEGAON,
[Before *July 3, 1937*]

GANDHIJI: It involved intensive education, not in the three Rs., but in changed ways of thinking and changed ways of life. To bring about that change in the people's mentality

[1] *Vide* p. 315.

[2] This is extracted from "Weekly Letter" by Mahadev Desai, who had reported: "A youthful American was full of questions about the poverty of India, the meaning and reach of the village industries revival programme,

is a Herculean task. But it is such because the way is the non-violent way, the way of persuasion. This method is any day slower than the method of compulsion, but it is also surer and stabler.

AMERICAN: But would it in any way help if the British were to retire? Would you have been better if the British had retired 150 years ago?

I have no doubt. We should begin anew and without at least the political handicap. You talk of the *pax Britannica*. I do not deny that they have introduced education of a sort, have built schools and colleges, and built an unrivalled railway system. But our difficulty is this, that whereas elsewhere all these things have made the countries prosperous, they have brought about an opposite result here. Not only the wealth of the land but even our intelligence has been drained away. The very life-hope is gone. I will not say that a miracle would happen the moment the British retire. Only we shall begin our history anew. India will then have her destiny in her own hands. And mind you we do not want the British to go, if they will stay as friends and voluntary co-operators.

But why, if they don't want this rule, do they tolerate it? Why is a united will lacking?

There are numerous causes which I cannot go into now. All have their share in it, but the root cause is perhaps indefinable. The will is actively absent today, though indefinitely it is there.

Have the Government reserved to themselves power to overrule the people's will because they think that India is incapable of self-government?

I do not think so, nor do I suspect that even the British think so. If they did so, they would not have drawn up this Constitution. No, it is an honest effort to make Provinces autonomous. Otherwise why should they arm an electorate of 30 millions with the power to vote? The honest effort is, however, vitiated by the fact that simultaneous effort is being made to maintain the British connection practically by force. And this they do for exploiting India.

Harijan, 3-7-1937

---

and the implications of the British rule in India. To one accustomed to quick results, the village reconstruction programme is bound to look a tame affair. But Gandhiji does not hesitate to tell all such people as he does our own people, that the programme is a Herculean task and takes a Herculean resolve to achieve it."

414. *INTERVIEW TO CAPT. STRUNK*[1]

SEGAON,
[Before *July 3, 1937*]

GANDHIJI: What we mean by independence is that we will not live on the sufferance of any people on earth and that there is a big party in India which will die in vindicating this position. But we will not die killing, though we might be killed. It is a novel experiment, I know. Herr Hitler, I know, does not accept the position of human dignity being maintained without the use of force. Many of us feel that it is possible to achieve independence by non-violent means. It would be a bad day for the whole world if we had to wade through blood. If India gains her freedom by a clash of arms, it will indefinitely postpone the day of real peace for the world. History is a record of perpetual wars, but we are trying to make new history, and I say this as I represent the national mind so far as non-violence is concerned. I have reasoned out the doctrine of the sword, I have worked out its possibilities and come to the conclusion that man's destiny is to replace the law of the jungle with the law of conscious love. The aspiration for independence is the aspiration that fires all nations in Europe. But that independence does not exclude voluntary partnership. Imperialistic ambition is inconsistent with partnership.

Capt. Strunk had heard vaguely about Gandhiji's views on machines, and Western civilization, Western medicine, etc. He wanted to know them at first hand.

G. I have said that we cannot accept Western models holus-bolus. I do not believe in mechanization of India. I think that rural reconstruction is possible!

STRUNK: Are you likely to change these views after you have gained your objective of independence?

[1] This is extracted from "Weekly Letter" by Mahadev Desai, who had reported: "Capt. Strunk, representative of the official daily newspaper in Germany and a member of Hitler's staff, visited Segaon with a view to investigate conditions in India. He wanted to know the content of independence and how far people of India seriously meant it."

G. No. These views represent my permanent convictions. But my opposition to machinery, railways, etc., does not mean that as soon as we are independent we should uproot all of them. They will be used for the benefit of the nation instead of the strategic military purpose they are principally meant to fulfil today.

S. Sometimes you direct your speech against Western sanitation and Western surgery. What is your future plan with regard to India?

G. I am glad you have asked the question. I have said nothing with regard to Western sanitation. In fact I derived my idea of rural sanitation from Poore, an English doctor, and I have copied it here. But I have spoken against Western medicine which I have called the concentrated essence of black magic. My view springs out of my non-violence, for my soul rebels against vivisection. You do not know that I had very nearly taken the medical line, when in order to respect the wishes of my dead father I took up law. But in South Africa I again thought of medicine. When I was told I should have to do vivisection, my soul rebelled against it. Why should I, I said, have to practise cruelty on lower animals which I would never practise upon myself? But I do not despise all medical treatment. I know that we can learn a lot from the West about safe maternity and the care of infants. Our children are born anyhow and most of our women are ignorant of the science of bringing up children. Here we can learn a good deal from the West.

But the West attaches an exaggerated importance to prolonging man's earthly existence. Until the man's last moment on earth you go on drugging him even by injecting. That, I think, is inconsistent with the recklessness with which they will shed their lives in war. Though I am opposed to war, there is no doubt that war induces reckless courage. Well, without ever having to engage in a war I want to learn from you the art of throwing away my life for a noble cause. But I do not want that excessive desire of living that Western medicine seems to encourage in man even at the cost of tenderness for subhuman life. However, I like the emphasis the Western medical science places upon prevention of disease.

S. There is so much over-production of intelligence in India and so much educated unemployment. Could not this army of educated young men be utilized by being sent to the villages?

G. That movement has commenced. But it is only in its infancy. And then there is no over-production of intelligence

but over-production of degrees. The brain power has not at all increased, only the art of memorizing has been stimulated, and these degrees can't be carted to the villages. Only the brains, if there are any left, can be used. This reading for degrees has deprived us of initiative. It makes us unfit to go to the villages. The mechanical university study deprives us of the desire for originality; years of memorizing causes a fatigue of the mind that makes most of us fit for clerical work. Nevertheless the village movement has come to stay.

As Capt. Strunk prepared to leave, Gandhiji introduced him to Mr. Kallenbach.

G. Here is a live Jew and a German Jew, if you please. He was a hot pro-German during the War.

Capt. Strunk was surprised to see a German Jew sitting there bare-bodied and in a khadi dhoti.

G. Then I should like to understand from you why the Jews are being persecuted in Germany.

Capt. Strunk tried to explain. So many Jews had taken part during the War and Germany had nothing to say against them. It is the Jews who overran Germany after the War, who ousted Germans from their jobs, and who "guided" the fight against Hitler that were not being tolerated.

S. I personally think we have just overdone it. That's the mistake revolutions always do. Oh, there is such a lot of hate in Europe. And it has reached its climax in Spain. It is cruel, heartless, stupid, inhuman—this Spanish War. It can't be compared with any other war.

Harijan, 3-7-1937

415. HINDI v. *URDU*

A correspondent says a great deal is being written against me in the Urdu Press in regard to my attitude towards Urdu. They even go so far to suggest that though I speak about Hindu-Muslim unity I am the most communally minded of all the Hindus.

I have no desire to defend myself against the suggestion referred to by my correspondent. My life must be my credentials on my attitude regarding the Hindu-Muslim question.

But the Hindi-Urdu question is an evergreen. Though I have expressed my views often enough on this question, they will

CWMG-LXV

bear repetition. I shall simply enunciate my belief without advancing any argument in support.

I believe that

1. Hindi, Hindustani and Urdu are words denoting the same language spoken in the North by Hindus and Mussalmans and written in either Devanagari or Persian script;

2. Hindi was the name for this language used both by Hindus and Mussalmans before the word Urdu came to be used;

3. the word Hindustani also came to be used later (the date unknown to me) to denote the same speech;

4. both Hindus and Mussalmans should try to speak the language as understood by the vast mass of the people in the North;

5. at the same time many Hindus and many Mussalmans will persist in using Sanskrit words and Persian or Arabic words respectively and exclusively. This we shall have to bear so long as mutual distrust and aloofness continue. Those Hindus who care to know a certain class of Mussalman thought will study Urdu written in Persian script, and similarly those Mussalmans who care to know a certain class of Hindu thought will study Hindi written in Devanagari script;

6. ultimately when our hearts have become one and we all are proud of India as our country, rather than our Provinces, and shall know and practise different religions as derived from one common source, as we know and relish different fruits of the same tree, we shall reach a common language with a common script whilst we shall retain provincial languages for provincial use;

7. the attempt to force one script or one form of Hindi on any Province or district or people is detrimental to the best interest of the country;

8. the common language question should be viewed apart from the religious differences;

9. Roman script cannot and should not be the common script of India. The rivalry can only be between Persian and Devanagari. Apart from its intrinsic merit the latter should be the common script for all India because most of the provincial scripts have their origin in Devanagari and it is for them by far the easiest to learn. At the same time no attempt whatsoever should be made to foist it upon Mussalmans and for that matter on those others who do not know it.

10. I served the cause of Urdu, if it may be distinguished from Hindi, when at Indore[1] the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan at my

[1] In April 1935

instance accepted the definition given in Clause 1, and when at Nagpur[1] at my instance the Bharatiya Sahitya Parishad accepted the definition and called the common language of inter-provincial intercourse Hindi or Hindustani, thus giving fullest scope to both Mussalmans and Hindus to identify themselves with the effort to enrich the common language and to interpret the best provincial thought in that language.

Harijan, 3-7-1937

416. A PLEA FOR THE VILLAGE CART

Shri Ishverbhai S. Amin of Baroda sends me a long note on animal power *v.* machine power. From it I copy the following relevant portion[2].

> Animal power is not costlier than machine power in fields or short distance work and hence can compete with the latter in most cases. The present-day tendency is towards discarding animal power in preference to machine power.
>
> Take for example a bullock-driven cart, costing Rs. 100 and Rs. 200 for the bullocks. The bullocks can drive the cart at least 15 miles per day with a load of 16 Bengal maunds on rough sandy village roads. This service will cost . . . in total Rs. 1/6 per day. A one-ton motor-lorry will cost for 15 miles. . . . Rs. 2/12, i. e., Rs. 1/6 per cartload of 16 Bengal maunds . . . A motor-lorry may compete when it has to carry loads at a stretch for a long distance on a good metal road, where bullock carts seem too slow and uneconomical. . . . It is the slowness only which goes against the bullock cart. . . . If a farmer has his own cart and travels in it, he has not to spend anything in the form of ready money but uses the produce of his own field in producing power by feeding bullocks. Really grass and grain should be looked upon by the farmer as his petrol, and the cart the motor-lorry, and bullocks the engine converting grass into power. The machine will neither consume grass nor will it yield manure, an article of vast importance. Then the villager has to have his bullocks; in any case he has his grass. And if he has a cart, he is maintaining the village carpenter and the blacksmith; and if he is keeping a cow, he is maintaining a hydrogenation plant converting vegetable oil into solid butter or ghee and also at the same time a bullock-manufacturing machine—thus serving a twofold purpose.

[1] In April 1936
[2] Only extracts are reproduced here.

CWMG - LXV

The invasion of the motor-lorry may or may not succeed. It would be wisdom if intelligent workers will study the pros and cons and definitely guide the villagers. Shri Ishverbhai's note should provoke the thought of all village workers in the direction indicated in it.

Harijan, 3-7-1937

417. WHAT SHOULD BE DONE?

The letter, notice and application quoted below[1] are well worth reading.

I have omitted names and addresses. The correspondent who has written this letter is devoted to ahimsa. This question is pertinent. One who resists the oppressor is, to some extent, saved; but one who has no strength to resist gets beaten. What should a devotee of ahimsa do in such circumstances? Should the oppressed be advised to hit back or at least take the matter to the court? Both these proceedings are lawful. The law allows a person to defend himself if he is illegally assaulted. He of course has the right to go to the court.

But a devotee of ahimsa will not give such advice. He believes that tit for tat is not the true way of ending oppression in the world. The world has hitherto followed this path; but it has not reduced oppression—only its forms may have changed.

A devotee of ahimsa will advise the oppressed to resort to non-co-operation. No one can be compelled to slave for another. Hence those Harijans who are oppressed should learn to quit the oppressors' lands. The question naturally arises: Where should they go after quitting these lands? It is the duty of a Harijan *sevak* to find some work or other for such helpless Harijans. This should not be difficult. The path of ahimsa is no doubt difficult, but its ultimate result is permanent and beneficial to both. The world has been returning blow for a blow, but it has neither enhanced happiness nor removed injustice and oppression. My experience tells me that the only way to remove these is ahimsa.

What I have said is the ultimate remedy. But after deciding that blow is no answer for blow and before advising non-co-operation, the non-violent worker will approach the landlords

[1] Not reproduced here. They described the harassment of Harijan labourers by landlords in villages. The correspondent had asked whether the labourers should be advised to retaliate.

and endeavour to explain to them their duty. It may well be that the landlords may melt a little. Public opinion can be roused against such oppression when the oppressor becomes stubborn and refuses to listen to anyone; then the best remedy is non-co-operation, that is, getting on without him.

It need not be feared that when oppressed Chamars resort to non-co-operation the other castes would join hands with the oppressor. At the moment the question is only of the oppressed. If others do join hands, they too can be taught the lesson of non-co-operation.

[From Hindi]

Harijan Sevak, 3-7-1937

418. HOLIDAYS

Students have always the problem of how to spend their school vacations. Shri Narandas Gandhi's letter quoted below[1] tells us how some students of the Rajkot National School spent their vacation.

I would look upon this programme as a commendable one. In this way students gained practical knowledge and developed their intellect, as the work they did seems to have been done intelligently and with keen zest. Very often during vacations students spend huge sums on railway fares and travel to distant places and return empty-handed. It will be no small gain if they come to know the villages and the villagers in their own neighbourhood, serve them and carry out propaganda for the charkha and sanitation.

[From Gujarati]

Harijanbandhu, 4-7-1937

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had recounted how two students spun 200 hanks during their vacation lasting 62 days. Ten students and one teacher lived a very simple life working amongst six villages near Rajkot. In this group, there were two Harijan boys and one Khoja boy and the response from the villagers was very encouraging. The spinning campaign, in which students did commendable work, was also successful. The expenses incurred during the trip were met by the students themselves out of their earnings through sale of khadi. As a result of this camp, three Harijan boys and one Khoja boy had decided to stay in the school.

CWMG - LXV

419. LETTER TO PARIKSHITLAL L. MAJMUDAR

SEGAON,
July 4, 1937

CHI. PARIKSHITLAL,

I got your letter regarding the Bhangi brethren. It was good that you wrote. The responsibility of interpreting Thakkar Bapa's award is going to fall on me. I will see what I can do.[1]

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3963. Also C.W. 145. Courtesy: Parikshitlal L. Majmudar

420. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

July 4, 1937

CHI. MAHADEV,

I send herewith an article which is ready. Bhansalibhai will stay there for some time. Do take rest. I will manage the things here. The rest [of the material] is getting ready. It will not be necessary to get another copy of the article[2] on toddy since it is from Gujarati and, therefore, [*Harijan*] *Sevak* will not need one.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11528

[1] *Vide* also "Letter to Vallabhbhai Patel", 22-7-1937.
[2] *Vide* Vol. LXVI, "The Use and Abuse of Toddy", 19-9-1937.

CWMG LXV

421. LETTER TO GULABCHAND JAIN

July 4, 1937

BHAI GULABCHAND,

I have your letter as well as a copy of the correspondence. I have no idea what I can do in this matter. We should be content with whatever can be accomplished by a pure agitation conducted locally.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 7743

422. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

SEGAON,
July 5, 1937

CHI. MIRA,

You will understand absence of letters from me during these days.[1] Your drawings I like very well. Hope you are flourishing.

Kallenbach went to Wardha in the morning. Ramdas is accompanying him to South Africa. They embark on Wednesday. Kandu and four or five others come from Varoda to spin. They are being paid by Nalwadi[2] according to the Nalwadi scale. They are happy. So you see the seed sown by you has sprouted and may bear ample fruit. No more today.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6390. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9856

[1] Gandhiji was busy with the Congress Working Committee meeting.
[2] Nalwadi Ashram of Vinoba Bhave

CWMG - LXV

423. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

July 5, 1937

MY DEAR IDIOT,

I have no time. But I dare not leave you alone. Therefore this is just to acknowledge your letters. Pyarelal must have written to you. I shall try to send you a wire[1] as you desire.

If the spot near the ear shows signs of oozing, you should give it steam and try ice, if you won't take the trouble of having an earth bandage. You should bring the steaming apparatus with you when you come. Mine is not with me just now.

Hope your play will go off well if only for the Harijan cause.

Jawaharlal is looking better and cheerful. We had good two days.

Ramdas goes with Kallenbach to South Africa, Kallenbach paying all the expenses. He has plenty of money and my relations with him warrant my accepting his offer.

Love.

ROBBER

From the original: C.W. 3793. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6949

424. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

July 5, 1937

CHI. PREMA,

This is just to tell you that a copy of *Gitai*[2] has been sent by the earlier post. You must have received it. The rest when I get time.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10391. Also C.W. 6830. Courtesy: Premabehn Kantak

[1] *Vide* p. 374.

[2] Vinoba Bhave's metrical rendering in Marathi of the *Bhagavad Gita*

425. LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI

July 5, 1937

CHI. KANTI,

Nowadays I am not regular in correspondence and hence your letter has remained unanswered. But I will write a few lines today at any rate.

I suppose Bal himself must have written to you about his having settled in Karachi.

Kallenbach left for Bombay today. He will sail for South Africa on Wednesday. Ramdas is going with him. These days his health has deteriorated still further. He can hardly eat anything. He, therefore, agreed to go to South Africa. Kallenbach will come again in November or December for three months. He may stay even longer. He lived in utmost simplicity till the very last day.

Yesterday Segaon became almost empty. That is, Khan Saheb and Mehrtaj left, and now Kallenbach also has left.

Kusumbehn Desai is here. Amtul Salaam was to be operated upon for tonsillitis. But as there was sugar in the urine, the surgeon postponed the operation. Let us see what happens now. Most probably she will go to Trivandrum after the meeting of the Working Committee.

I hope you are getting on well. Is the food all right? The classes also must have started. I suppose they are starting today.

Did I write to you that there was a crack in Ba's leg bone?[1] She is confined to bed. There is no fever or any other complication.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7325. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

[1] *Vide* p. 354.

426. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

July 5, 1937

CHI. MAHADEV,

My comment was not about what you wrote regarding Maulana, but was about the quotation from Maulana's statement. What you have given is all right, but in such matters that is not enough. It would be a different thing if he himself asked for it to be published. The best course for us is to keep silent.[1]

What you say about Evelyn Underhill is correct.[2] Today I have sent you ample material, so there is no need for you to overexert yourself.

A short article[3] by me is enclosed.

I have had to detain Janba for a letter or two. What else could I do?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11529

427. LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI

July 5, 1937

CHI. MANILAL-SUSHILA,

I got your letter. This will be carried by Ramdas. You two brothers may discuss the problem and do what you think best. I want to see Ramdas's physique as strong as it was before. Today I have no time to write more. And where is the

[1] *Vide* also pp. 380-1.

[2] "In order that the students may learn the proper way to understand and appreciate a religion other than their own", the addressee had quoted in his "Weekly Letter" for *Harijan*, 10-7-1937, the following from E. Underhill's book *Worship*: "All worship was to him sacred, since he believed that in its most degraded forms, among the most ignorant and foolish of worshippers, there has yet been some true seeking after the Divine, and that between these and the most glorious ritual on the highest philosophic certainty, there lies so small a space that we may believe the saints in Paradise regard it with a smile."

[3] *Vide* pp. 379-80.

need, when two persons[1] are going there just after meeting me?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4865

428. SPEECH AT WORKING COMMITTEE MEETING, WARDHA

July 6, 1937

It is stated that at the outset Mahatmaji referred to the misgivings entertained by a not inconsiderable section of the Congressmen that his other Press statements issued prior to that in connection with the constitutional deadlock had, in effect, tended to whittle down the stand so far taken by the Congress. By a thorough analysis of his several statements Mahatmaji was able to satisfy the members of the Committee that they were simply meant to clarify the Congress position, which was being constantly misunderstood and misinterpreted by high officials here and in England.

Mahatmaji then explained to the Committee the alternative course of action open to them in the circumstances confronting the Congress at present. It is understood Gandhiji made no secret of the fact that he had not found in Lord Linlithgow's message[2] the assurance which he had in mind when he inserted the assurance clause[3] in the A.I.C.C. resolution at Delhi. With the Governor's special powers of interference thus left intact, Gandhiji apprehended that frictions were very likely to occur, sooner rather than later, as it would prove difficult to prevent the overlapping of the sphere of the Governor's special powers and the normal field of activities of Ministers. Accordingly, the fear was expressed that, despite the wishes sincerely expressed by Lord Zetland and Lord Linlithgow, the new Constitution might not in actual practice be worked for long by the Congress Ministers in furtherance of the Congress objective.

Without committing himself to any definite opinion Mahatmaji is stated to have admitted that there was some force in the argument of those who maintained that the Congress should utilize the office of ministerships in the six majority Provinces with a view to generating strength in the masses of the country so that, when the final breakdown of the Constitution came—as it was bound to come—this newly developed mass strength and enthusiasm may be harnessed to good account, should the Congress find it necessary to launch upon any mass movement in the future.

[1] Kallenbach and Ramdas Gandhi
[2] *Vide* Appendix VI.
[3] *Vide* pp. 3-4.

In conclusion, Gandhiji is reported to have expressed himself as being in complete agreement with Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru's opinion that there must be no lowering of the Congress flag whether the Congress representatives are in office or out of it.

The Hindu, 7-7-1937

429. CONGRESS WORKING COMMITTEE RESOLUTION[1]

WARDHA,
July 7, 1937

The All-India Congress Committee, at its meeting held in Delhi on March 18[2], 1937, passed a resolution affirming the basic Congress policy in regard to the new Constitution and laying down the programme to be followed inside and outside the Legislatures by Congress members of such Legislatures. It further directed that in pursuance of that policy permission should be given for Congressmen to accept office in Provinces where the Congress commanded a majority in the Legislature, and the leader of the Congress Party was satisfied and could state publicly that the Governor would not use his special powers of interference or set aside the advice of Ministers in regard to their constitutional activities. In accordance with these directions, the leaders of Congress parties, who were invited by Governors to form ministries, asked for the necessary assurances. These not having been given, the leaders expressed their inability to undertake the formation of Ministries. But since the meeting of the Working Committee on April 28 last, Lord Zetland, Lord Stanley and Viceroy have made declarations[3] on this issue on behalf of the British Government. The Working Committee has carefully considered these declarations and is of opinion that though they exhibit a desire to make an approach to the Congress demand they fall short of the assurances demanded in terms of the A. I.C.C. resolution as interpreted by the Working Committee resolution[4] of April 28. Again, the Working Committee is unable to subscribe to the doctrine of partnership propounded in some of the

[1] This was drafted by Gandhiji. The date-line is reproduced from *The Hitavada*, 9-7-1937.

[2] Actually on March 16; *vide* pp. 3-4.

[3] For Lord Zetland's and the Viceroy's speeches, *vide* Appendices IV and VI.

[4] Passed at Allahabad; *vide* footnote 1, p. 174.

aforesaid declarations. The proper description of the existing relationship between the British Government and the people of India is that of the exploiter and the exploited, and hence they have a different outlook upon almost everything of vital importance. The Committee feels however that the situation created as the result of the circumstances and events that have since occurred, warrants the belief that it will not be easy for the Governors to use their special powers. The Committee has moreover considered the views of Congress members of the Legislatures and of Congressmen generally.

The Committee has therefore come to the conclusion and resolves that Congressmen be permitted to accept office where they may be invited thereto. But it desires to make it clear that office is to be accepted and utilized for the purpose of working in accordance with lines laid down in the Congress election manifesto and to further in every possible way the Congress policy of combating the new Act on the one hand and of prosecuting the constructive programme on the other.

The Working Committee is confident that it has the support and backing of the A. I. C. C. in this decision and that this resolution is in furtherance of the general policy laid down by the Congress and the A. I. C. C. The Committee would have welcomed the opportunity of taking the direction of the A. I. C. C. in this matter but it is of opinion that delay in taking a decision at this stage would be injurious to the country's interests and would create confusion in the public mind at a time when prompt and decisive action is necessary.

Congress Bulletin No. 5, July 1937. Also Home Department, Political Branch, File No. 4/15/37. Courtesy: National Archives of India

430. TELEGRAM TO AMRIT KAUR

WARDHAGANJ,
July 7, 1937

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR
SIMLA

YES.[1] LOVE.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3794. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6950

[1] The addressee has noted on the telegram: "Yes—acceptance of office by Congress".

431. SPEECH AT RASHTRABHASHA ADHYAPAN MANDIR, WARDHA[1]

July 7, 1937

Rajendra Babu has lightened my task by saying that the *pracharaks* should be men of character. It goes without saying that those who have not the literary qualifications would not do, but it is necessary to bear in mind that even literary qualifications would be of no use where the essential qualification of character was wanting.

They will have to master the Hindi language as defined by Indore Sahitya Sammelan, i. e., the language spoken by the Hindus and Mussalmans of North India and written in Devanagari or Persian script. Mastery of this language will mean mastery not only of the easy Hindi-Hindustani spoken by the masses but also of the high-flown Hindi full of Sanskrit words and the high-flown Urdu full of Persian and Arabic words. Without a knowledge of these, mastery of the language would be incomplete, even as one could not claim to be a master of the English language without a knowledge of the English of Chaucer, Swift and Johnson, or mastery of the Sanskrit language without a knowledge of the Sanskrit of Valmiki and Kalidas.

But I should be prepared to put up with their ignorance of Devanagari or Persian scripts, or ignorance of Hindi grammar, but I should not tolerate for a moment lack of character. We do not need such men here and, if there is anyone among the candidates who is not likely to stand the test, let him leave betimes. The work they are called to is no easy thing. There is a strong body of English-knowing people who say that English alone can be the lingua franca of India. There are the pundits of Benares and Allahabad and the alims of Delhi and Lucknow who want a Sanskritized Hindi and Persianized Urdu. The third group we have to contend against is that which has raised the cry of 'provincial languages in danger'.

[1] The speech is extracted from "Weekly Letter" by Mahadev Desai, who had reported its "verbatim" translation. The date-line is reproduced from *The Hindu*, 8-7-1937.

Mere learning cannot successfully grapple with these forces. It is the work not of learned men, but of fakirs—men of incorruptible character and with no axe to grind. If you are found wanting in this respect and the people amongst whom you are working were to lay rough hands on you, I should not blame them. They are not pledged to ahimsa.

Nor is money going to help us much. You know, I agreed to preside over the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan at Indore in 1935 on condition that the Reception Committee should collect Rs. 1,00,000 for Hindi *prachar* in South India in particular and other non-Hindi Provinces in general. I was loath to accept the invitation, but Jamnalalji stood surety for the Reception Committee. The Committee failed to collect the amount, in fact it collected then practically nothing at all. But in the year following about Rs. 22,000 were collected. Jamnalalji has now contributed Rs. 25,000 from his own pocket, and he has secured a promise of Rs. 75,000 from the charities of the late Kamalapatji of Kanpur. There is thus no lack of money. But what can money do? Wardha was just a cotton centre with a few ginning factories. It is Jamnalalji's ambition to turn it into a cultural centre and a centre of national activities. He has, therefore, helped in bringing into being Mahila Ashram, a high school, Hindi Prachar Samiti, the present training school, the weaving school, the Village Workers' Training School, a tannery and so on. But more than these institutions, more than money, we want character. That is what I have come this morning to ask you to contribute to this work.

Harijan, 17-7-1937

432. INTERVIEW TO "THE HINDU"[1]

July 8, 1937

GANDHIJI: You have come to waylay me, you highway man!

CORRESPONDENT: Are you giving any message to the Congress on the morrow of the inauguration of the new policy of trying office?

G. The Congress Working Committee's resolution is comprehensive. It contains the message and programme to be followed by the Congressmen and the country.

[1] The correspondent had reported that he met Gandhiji "early in the morning, at 5.30, half way down from Segaon to Wardha."

Asked how he, the author of the demand for assurance, reconciled the stand taken in Delhi with the decision reached yesterday, Gandhiji again said:

The resolution has dealt with it. I have nothing to add to it.

When I drew his attention to the fact that he was completing his year of seclusion in the village, Gandhiji said:

Segaon has an irresistible attraction for me and I feel inclined to stay there indefinitely.

I referred to the European situation, the armament race and the war menace and asked whether he, the apostle of non-violence, would not come out of his retirement in the village and spread the message of non-violence over the world and thus do a service to humanity.

It is all so soothing to hear but I am not big enough for that task. You are taking me beyond my depth.

The rest of the walk was devoted to talk about fast walking. Gandhiji remarked on the ease and facility with which the average villagers covered the long distances in fair weather or foul.

The Hindu, 8-7-1937

433. MEANING OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL OATH

Shri Kishorelal Mashruwala writes:

I am afraid that Gandhiji's position[1] with regard to the constitutional oath has not been properly understood. Of course, one ought not to make a distinction between a legal oath and a moral oath. But there can be a distinction between a legal oath and a religious oath. By the latter, Gandhiji appears to mean an oath taken in the name of God and framed by [the taker] himself or by his religious teachers or scriptures. If it is framed by himself, he knows the exact implications of that oath, and he is bound by his own interpretation of it only, and not of anyone else. Whether he has fulfilled it or not is a question between himself and his conscience or God. If it has been framed by his religious teachers or scriptures, he is expected to have accepted their interpretation of its implications and is fully discharged if they exonerate him. If a person who does not accept those teachers or scriptures

[1] *Vide* pp. 342-4.

avers on a mere reading of the language of the oath that the oath has been broken, his opinion does not count.

A legal oath is one which is framed not by himself but by the Legislature to which he is, *de facto*, subject. The exact implication of that oath is no more than what the Legislature has decided to give it. In case of doubt as to its exact meaning, the proper authorities to adjudicate upon the meaning are the Legislature itself, the Court of Law having jurisdiction in the matter, and subject to appeal to them eminent lawyers. A person who perfectly fulfils the oath in the light of such interpretation is discharged not only legally but also morally.

A good deal of confusion seems to have arisen by importing into the oath of allegiance implications assigned to it not by the framers or their authorized interpreters but by the layman. Perhaps the layman's interpretation is not without its history. Nevertheless it cannot be accepted as authoritative. The layman's meaning of the oath of allegiance appears to be an attitude of devotional attachment to the person of the King to such a high pitch that the pledger would be willing to die for him. He seems also to hold that the oath once taken becomes binding upon him for life. According to eminent constitutional lawyers, I am given to understand, both these assumptions are wrong. According to them the oath simply means that as long as the pledger is subject to the oath (i.e., is a member of the institution which has framed the oath), he shall not rise in arms against the King, or be a party to his death, except through constitutional process. Through constitutional process, even that is allowable. Through constitutional process, it is open to the proper Legislature to amend or repeal the oath altogether; it is possible to dethrone the King and even to order his execution. But if the Legislature does not agree to it, no legislator who has taken the oath can resort to violence against the King, except after ceasing to be a member of that body.

A person pledged to Truth and Non-violence (as a member of the Gandhi Seva Sangh) is assumed not to harbour any violent intention to the King under any circumstances. There is, therefore, no moral difficulty in his case to take the oath of allegiance as interpreted above. There is nothing to prevent him from aiming at complete independence, if he means to achieve it—as long as he is in the Legislature—through constitutional means and, in case he means to resort to other means, to do so after resigning his seat. His oath is not intended to bind him to it when he ceases to be a member. There is nothing again, according to lawyers, requiring a member not to harbour intentions of bringing about a constitutional revolution, even violent, if the Legislature will agree. These means are not open to the members of the Sangh, not because they are members of the Legislature but because

CWMG - LXV

of their membership of the Sangh. Thus there is no conflict between the legal and the moral aspect as assumed.

I heartily endorse this presentation of my meaning of the distinction drawn by me between legal and religious oaths. But a friend who saw the foregoing note is not yet satisfied. He says, whatever be the meaning the authors of an oath may give to it, the taker of it should be the final judge of its meaning, and must therefore be at liberty to take or not to take the oath. Whilst he is at liberty to do what he likes, the arbitrary meaning he may give contrary to the meaning given to it by its very author will be held utterly indefensible.

Harijan, 10-7-1937

434. INSTRUCTIVE FIGURES

In the course of a conversation with Dr. Syed Mahmud I happened to mention that the All-India Spinners' Association had on its register a large number of Muslim spinners, weavers and carders. I was speaking from a general knowledge of the working of the Association. This was a few months ago. But as there never was any intention to keep a communal register or even to find out the caste or religion of those engaged in the different processes regarding manufacture of khadi, figures took some time to prepare. The actual figures generally correspond to the impression I gave to Dr. Mahmud. They will be found published on p. 171 in this issue.[1]

This is what I call living contact with the masses irrespective of caste or creed. If the workers are true to their salt, the contact must be of an abiding nature. It should result also in an indissoluble bond between Hindus and Mussalmans of the villages of India. Hitherto they have not worked knowingly and voluntarily under the aegis of one agency and for a common purpose. There is every possibility of a conscious union of hearts between them being achieved. It should be much easier under the new scheme in which the interest of the artisans is held to be predominant. Since the new orientation the contact has become far more real than it ever was. For the spinners—and they are by far the largest majority among the artisans served by the Association—are regularly instructed. Every individual spinner receives personal attention and is taught to use better tools in a better manner.

[1] The figures are not reproduced here.

Their wages are in many cases trebled, even quadrupled. It is difficult to forecast the result of this new scheme, both to the individual workers and the nation at large. One result is obvious. These artisans have ceased to be the exploited class. Presently they will be conscious controllers of the A. I. S. A. as they are today its prime, though unconscious, shareholders.

Harijan, 10-7-1937

435. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEGAON, WARDHA,
July 10, 1937

MY DEAR IDIOT,

I have apparently neglected you these few days. I hope you had my wire[1]. I wonder whether the news preceded the wire. For you it should be enough that I did not forget it. Jawaharlal was more than good throughout. His innate nobility asserted itself every time a difficulty cropped up. He is truly a warrior, *sans peur et sans reproche*. The more I see him, the more I love him. I had long chats with him and the Maulana. It will be most difficult to replace him next year.

Rameshwari is here and will be with me probably to the end of the month. She occupies Jamnalal's guest house. No more today.

Love.

TYRANT

From the original: C.W. 3795. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6951

436. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

July 10, 1937

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

I had long chats with Maulana Saheb yesterday. If he is to be consulted in the choice of Muslim Ministers in the Provinces, I think it is better to make the public announcement to that effect. The Maulana agrees. If you think that the Working Committee should be consulted, I would suggest consultation by wire.

[1] *Vide* p. 374.

CWMG-LXV

I expect you will write on the Hindi-Urdu topic at an early date.[1]

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

Gandhi-Nehru Papers, 1937. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Also *A Bunch of Old Letters*, p. 235

437. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

July 10, 1937

CHI. MIRA,

I have not been able to write to you lately. Your letters and sketches have been coming in regularly. I have sent them on to Nandalal Babu for his opinion.[2] You shall know it when it comes.

I am glad Dr. Sen is coming there. You will discuss your health with him and invite him to come to Segaon if he ever wishes to do so.

Rameshwari Nehru is here and is likely to stay for the month.

I do not need to say anything about the Working Committee meeting.

I am glad the doctor has allowed you to go to the simple diet. The nuts are not for you.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 6391. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9857

[1] Jawaharlal Nehru wrote an essay entitled "The Question of Languages" for the Congress Political and Economic Studies Series. For extracts from it and Gandhiji's Foreword, dated August 3, 1937, *vide* Vol. LXVI.

[2] Nandalal Bose, in his letter (C.W. 6393) dated July 22 to Pyarelal, had said: "I was very much interested to look through Mirabehn's sketches. Please tell Bapuji that they show marks of real artistic insight, specially one of them —'Clear after rain—early morning'. Art, like other creative activities, is a very jealous mistress and must be pursued with genuine, disinterested devotion. If used as an amusement or recreation for one's enforced leisure hours, it will not yield its full beauty and significance. I hope Mirabehn will keep up her interest."

CWMG - LXV

438. LETTER TO INDIRA NEHRU

July 10, 1937

CHI. INDU,

Whatever you may be to others, I find you a lazy-bone. Kamala was never forgetful! Jawaharlal gave me news of you. Why are you still so delicate in health? You must build up your physique. I was hoping that you would come over here. Write to me in detail.

How is Mummy[1]? Where is Sarup[2]?

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Hindi original: Gandhiji-Indira Gandhi Correspondence. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

439. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEGAON, WARDHA,
July 11, 1937

MY DEAR IDIOT,

I answer your idiotic question with a counter-question: "Are all in the camphorated area dishonest?"

Haven't seen your letter to Ba.

What a stupid thing to ask whether you would be 'one too many'. Would you ask that of Shummy [when] going to Manorville or will you go there as of right? Well, your six feet by two at the foot of my *chatai*[3] is always there. And friend Nabibux[4] lies anywhere.

Your Hindi letter to B. was perfect. And here you will make rapid progress.

No more today.

Love.

TYRANT

[1] Addressee's grandmother, Swarup Rani
[2] Addressee's aunt, Vijayalakshmi Pandit
[3] Mat
[4] A faithful attendant of the addressee's father. He became her servant after her father's death.

CWMG - LXV

[PS.]

Madalasa was married today to Shriman whom you know. He is a most cultured young man. The more I see him the more he grows on me. He is in Nayakam's[1] High School here. Do write to her and him, too, if you can recall him. You should write to Jamnalal also. You may send her a gift, nothing expensive. Better to get something in the khaddar line.

Kanu returned today. He is waiting for the post.[2]

You write well in Hindi. Your grammar is perhaps more accurate than mine. Here we will try to treat the patch near your ear.

Can you read this much?

BAPU

[PPS.]

Congress History[3] in Hindi is obtainable from Hindustan Times, Delhi.

From the original: C.W. 4234. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 7867

440. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

July 11, 1937

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

You needn't worry about Nariman at all. The storm will pass.

After I receive Nariman's reply to you, I will write more.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 203

[1] E. W. Aryanayakam of Ceylon, Principal, Marwari High School

[2] In the source, the following two paragraphs and the subscription are written in Hindi.

[3] *History of the Indian National Congress* by Pattabhi Sitaramayya

CWMG - LXV

441. LETTER TO NIRMALA GANDHI

SEGAON,
July 11, 1937

CHI. NIMU,

Yesterday itself I had kept my reply ready but there was some delay in posting. Meanwhile I received your second letter and I have met Chitaliabhai also.

It is not worth spending so many years for learning nursing. Moreover, a married woman cannot do this job well. Housekeeping and nursing cannot go together. One should give all the twenty-four hours to nursing. So my advice is, you had better master English, Hindi and needlework. This you can do either in Bombay or here.[1]

This much [was dictated] in a hurry. Whatever I may write, you may do as you please.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: Nirmala Gandhi Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

442. LETTER TO H. L. SHARMA

July 11, 1937

CHI. SHARMA,

I got your letter. Do send me your book[2]. I shall try to read it. Your work must be getting on well. I have an impression that your earlier letter contained nothing to call for a reply. Amtul Salaam is here.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Hindi]

Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsha, p. 261

[1] In the source, what follows is in Gandhiji's hand.

[2] The reference is to "Loose Leaves from a Socialist's Diary", a typed copy of the addressee's diary which he had maintained during his study tour abroad.

443. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

SEGAON,
July 12, 1937

CHI. MIRA,

I have your long letter. You must not worry about coming here. You should become proof against the visitations of malaria or other illnesses. It is pouring cats and dogs. Of course I am thinking out all kinds of things for villages. But you should also think out things.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

Shanta is here. She goes to her mother in a week or so. She is in need of Shanta's presence. Remember me to Dr. Sen.

From the original: C.W. 6392. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9858

444. LETTER TO A. KALESWARA RAO

July 12, 1937

MY DEAR KALESWARA RAO,

It is good of you to send me fruits without sending me bills. I appreciate the thought underlying your gift. But you do make it difficult for me to send regular calls. Anyway, please stop the *chikus*. The majority contain maggots.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SRI A. KALESWARA RAO
BEZWADA

From a photostat: C.W. 9203. Also G.N. 9246

CWMG-LXV

445. LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA

July 12, 1937

MY DEAR KUMARAPPA,

Mahadev tells me, Sita[1] has come. Hope she is well. He also tells me, you may not come till the weather clears. If so what about Rao? All the accounts I receive go to show that he is no credit to us. He seems to be incurring losses. Please investigate.[2]

Read the enclosed essay and tell me if it is worth publishing in *Harijan*.

The summary of your address at Bezawada[3] will appear in due course.

You should think how we may guide our . . .[4] Ministers in the matter of village improvement.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 10121

446. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

July 12, 1937

CHI. PRABHA,

I got Jayaprakash's telegram yesterday. Both of you are brave in this respect. It is really better for an ailing man to die rather than go on suffering. From that point of view, I was in a way glad that Father[5] was released. I had even felt when I got your letter that it would be difficult for him to recover from that illness. Let me know your future plans. Explain this to Jayaprakash. Of course I am writing a brief letter to him.

[1] Wife of Bharatan Kumarappa

[2] *Vide* also "Letter to Bharatan Kumarappa", p. 355 and letter to the addressee, p. 391.

[3] Now called Vijayawada. The addressee's speech at the tenth anniversary celebration of the Khaddar Samasthanam appeared under the title "Advantages of Barter" in *Harijan*, 24-7-1937.

[4] The source is illegible here.

[5] Harsu Dayal, addressee's father-in-law

Rameshwaribehn Nehru has arrived here. She will stay here for some time. Amtul Salaam has left for Trivandrum. One cannot say her health is good. Kanu has returned from Rajkot. Kusum Desai is here at present.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3493

447. LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI

July 12, 1937

CHI. KANTI,

I had your letter. The statement of expenditure is faultless. I have nothing to say regarding the expenses. Amtul Salaam has gone to Trivandrum with Rajaji. She will stay with Lakshmi for a day or two. I am all admiration for her capacity for self-sacrifice. She may want to see you on her way back from Trivandrum. I have decided to give her permission to do so. I hope you don't have any objection. I will not let her disturb your studies. She is pining for you. She thinks only about the service she should render and about you. She has no other thought except these.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7326. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

CWMG - LXV

448. LETTER TO N. S. HARDIKER

SEGAON (WARDHA),
July 13, 1937

DEAR DR. HARDIKER,

My own opinion is that now that there will be a Congress Ministry in the Bombay Presidency it may be well not to publish anything.[1] But in this, too, it will be better for you to be guided by what Jawaharlal may say.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

DR. N. S. HARDIKER
HUBLI
(KARNATAK)

From the original: N. S. Hardiker Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

449. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA

July 13, 1937

CHI. GANGABEHN,

I got your letter. I was only joking regarding Vasumati. I had asked her, "Why did you run away?" But I couldn't spare the time to force her to reply. I could gather from her letters that your temperaments didn't agree. If I had asked her more, she would have given details. But why should I do that? After asking her, I would have had to write to you. All of us have lived together for quite a long time. Nobody has lost anything. Everybody gave his or her best to the others. I, therefore, blame nobody for Vasumati's leaving Bochasan. Everybody can overcome his or her nature only up to a certain limit. That is why at one place the *Gita* says, "Practise self-control," but elsewhere

[1] In his letter dated July 6, the addressee had asked Gandhiji whether he could publish details about the difficulties in taking over the Seva Dal building from the Government; *vide* also pp. 231-2.

CWMG - LXV

it says, "What will self-control avail?" Rubber also can be stretched only up to a certain point. If stretched further, it will snap. Let all of us, therefore, practise self-control according to our capacity and keep advancing. Kusum is fine. Let me know when something about Manju's[1] [marriage] is settled.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro–6: G.S. Gangabehnne, p. 95

450. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

July 13, 1937

CHI. NARANDAS,

Kanu has reached here safely. I feel as if he had never left. Send me your impression of him.

I will have to study the letters regarding Chimanlal again. They are lying with me. But I get no time whatever to take them up. There is no hurry of course.

Read the letter to Chhaganlal and pass it on to him. If you can detain him, certainly do so. I will of course like it.

It is a good thing that you are giving training to the teachers in Harijan schools. I hope you know that there is a difference between teaching a subject as a science and teaching it as a trade. To teachers it should be taught only as science.

Vijaya's daughter[2] must be fine.

The State should of course have no right to inspect a private school. But under despotism where is the question of having or not having a right? If, therefore, any officer comes for inspection, show him everything. But ascertain on what authority he comes. We don't wish to make an issue of the thing just now. Keep me informed. If possible, register your protest.

I see no objection to the use of the numeral 68. If anybody's birthday deserves to be celebrated, use of the number of his years is natural. Will I be completing the 68th year on *Bhadarva Vad* 12 and entering the 69th, or completing the 67th and entering the 68th ? I get confused.

[1] Granddaughter of the addressee
[2] Aruna Gandhi, addressee's granddaughter

CWMG - INDIA

It has started raining here in right earnest. The sky has not cleared for four days.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]
I am not writing separately to Jamna. Lilavati tells me that you have several copies of the annotated Gorakhpur edition of the *Gita*. If so, give one to Kamalabai.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8530. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

451. TELEGRAM TO T. S. SHRIPAL

July 14, 1937

SHRI T. S. SHRIPAL
ORGANIZER AND LECTURER
SOUTH INDIAN HUMANITARIAN LEAGUE
132 MINT ROAD, MADRAS 1

SACRIFICE OF ANIMALS IN THE NAME OF RELIGION IS REMNANT OF BARBARISM.

GANDHI

From a copy: C.W. 9874

452. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

SEGAON, WARDHA,
July 14, 1937

MY DEAR REBEL,

I return Dagmar's letter. I do not think the rice-eating parts of India suffer because they eat rice but because they are too poor to add to the staple what those in the North do. Whether they were better off hundreds of years [ago] is a certainty, if we grant that they had greater facilities for buying the necessary articles than now. But as there were no statistics kept in the old days, our conclusions will be based on more or less guess.

Shriman will be an ideal husband for her[1]. She is herself perfectly delighted with the choice.

[1]Madalasa; *vide* also p. 383.

CWMG-LXV

Every time you notice slovenliness or irregularities about our institutions, you should bring these things to the notice of the responsible men. Then only will you be able to cope with the national evil. You should give your impressions and views about Khadi Bhandars to Shankerlal Banker, Ahmedabad, and tell him, too, of your plans for the Simla Bhandar in particular, i.e., if you have the leisure. The leisure you can have, if you give up what is less useful, if not useless.

If I were you, I would not worry over Muslim co-operation in the Hindi work. They will if we are true and have no designs that they suspect.

Love.

Yours,
ROBBER

From the original: C.W. 3796. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6952

453. LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA

July 14, 1937

MY DEAR KUMARAPPA,

I send you herewith a letter from Nalin. He was the most energetic complainant. Jhaverbhai backs him. Chhotalal considers Rao to be an utter misfit. Fischer considers him to be a thorough discredit. As you know, I was prepossessed in his favour. But I can't disregard the strong statements that all these workers make. Parnerkar has no opinion about his ability. His good report in Andhra is about his athletics and nothing else so far as I know. I have just seen Pandit Harihar Sharma, and he tells me that he was working some years ago under him as Hindi *pracharak* and he had to be dismissed for inattention to duty and even dishonesty. He tells me he is energetic when he wants to be but he can't be constant. However, all these things are to serve as a warning.[1]

I hope your sister is now free from fever.

I am in no hurry about Ministers.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 10122

[1] *Vide* also p. 386.

454. LETTER TO K. F. NARIMAN

July 14, 1937

MY DEAR NARIMAN,

I have just seen your latest statement. It surprises and pains me. I do not know who advised you to drop the inquiry. What you dropped was inquiry by the Working Committee because in your own language you thought it could not deal impartially with a matter which involved its own members. I therefore told you, I had the Sardar's assurance that you could have an impartial inquiry even without any reference to the Working Committee, because your complaint was not against the Committee as such but against its particular member. If the member consented, the Committee could not object to the inquiry. Now you have come out with a different version altogether. Do you not see the discrepancy?

Then, again, you seem to resent the Sardar's statement[1]. As it happens he issued it on my strong advice. I thought that it was due to the public and due to you also for that matter. He is now pinned to emphatic statements. If you dispute them and you have evidence, it is plain sailing for you. Indeed, you left on me the impression that when you took the Sardar for a drive, you did seek his help. And, if I am rightly informed, you sought the help of others also. What was wrong in it if you did? In your first statement in reply to the Sardar's you have almost made the admission. Nevertheless if you accuse the Sardar of lying, naturally, it is up to you to prove your case. Remember, you are the accuser or the plaintiff. Therefore, draw up your complaint or plaint carefully and let me have the name or names of the tribunal.

I would strongly advise you not to rush to the Press. Let an agreed tribunal to decide on an agreed reference be appointed and a brief statement to the Press might be made afterwards.

Yours sincerely,

A. I. C. C. File No. 747-A, 1937. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

[1] *Vide* Appendix VII.

455. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

July 14, 1937

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

If you had any doubt or fear regarding Maulana, you should not have sent the wire about him. I felt that we would be saved from a good many difficulties by doing that. I still believe that we stand to gain by your step. You probably remember that I had given the same caution to Jawaharlal.[1] And I myself had put the burden of issuing a notice on him. If I throw out a suggestion which finds no echo in your heart, you must not act on it. I have written[2] to Nariman. A copy of the letter is enclosed. There is no need for you to issue any statement now. I am hopeful that this business will end well. How long can a thing which has no foundation go on?

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, pp. 203-4

456. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

July 14, 1937

CHI. AMTUL,

I have your letter. Yes, you can certainly come back to me whenever you wish to if you are not happy at Trivandrum. Tell Ramachandran in detail about your pain. There are a few good vaidyas there. You may even consult them if you think fit. There is also a Homeopathic mission. But the real cause of your trouble is your own mind. You may come here sooner if you feel uneasy there though I believe that Paparamma and others will be so loving towards you that you will be quite at peace for a few weeks at least.

Kanti's letter is enclosed.

[1] *Vide* p. 380.
[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

Ba's foot is improving. How crazy you are! You could certainly have sat with Rajaji in the inter compartment to have a chat.[1] But that is now past.

Maintain an account of all the expenditure. There is no letter from Bari[2] or Baqui[3].

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 384

457. DRAFT TELEGRAM TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

[Before *July 15, 1937*][4]

SHRI RAJAGOPALACHARI
SENATE HOUSE
MADRAS

PRIVATE. DEEPEST PRAYER HAS BEEN THE SPRING ON WHICH I HAVE DRAWN FOR GUIDING COMMITTEE[5]. YOU KNOW HOW MY HOPE IS CENTRED ON YOU. MAY GOD BLESS YOUR EFFORT. DON'T PUBLISH THIS. HAVE NO RIGHT TO SEND MESSAGE MEMBERS. YOU MUST ASK JAWAHARLAL. LOVE.

BAPU

From the original: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal. Also *In the Shadow of the Mahatma*, p. 233

[1] The addressee travelled to Madras by the same train as Rajaji but she had only a third-class ticket.

[2] &[3] Brothers of the addressee

[4] In his letter dated July 16 to G. D. Birla, Mahadev Desai explains: "C. R. asked for Bapu's blessings to be wired to him and his colleagues when they were all sworn in as Ministers." According to *India Since the Advent of the British*, Rajagopalachari formed the Congress Ministry in Madras on July 15, 1937.

[5] Congress Working Committee

CWMG - LXV

458. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Unrevised

SEGAON, WARDHA,
July 15, 1937

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

Today is the election day. I am watching.

But this I write to tell you that I have begun to write on the function of Congress Ministries and allied topics.[1] I hesitated but I saw that it was my duty to write, when I felt so keenly. I wish I could send you an advance copy of my article for *Harijan*. Mahadev will see this. If he has a copy he will send it. When you see it, you will please tell me if I may continue to write so. I do not want to interfere with your handling of the whole situation. For, I want the maximum from you for the country. I would be doing distinct harm, if my writing disturbed you.

I hope you got my letter[2] about the Maulana.

Love.

BAPU

Gandhi-Nehru Papers, 1937. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Also *A Bunch of Old Letters*, p. 235

459. LETTER TO K. F. NARIMAN

July 15, 1937

MY DEAR NARIMAN,

You have sent me an extraordinary letter[3]. Either you are in a state of confusion, or your friends are. So far as I can recollect, you accepted the Working Committee's decision as final

[1] *Vide* pp. 406-8; also "The Fundamental Difference", 24-7-1937.

[2] *Vide* p. 380.

[3] Dated July 14, which read: "I am being charged for defying and attempting to circumvent the Working Committee Resolution at Delhi and Wardha by demanding an independent tribunal. . . In the . . . conversation I had with you, I had made it clear that I could accept such a tribunal only if the Working Committee sanctioned it . . . Before the Working Committee too, I made my position clear that I did not want . . . an independent tribunal . . . if the Working Committee did not sanction . . . I further made it clear to the Secretary that the tribunal should only make a

regarding the telegram. As to your other charges you had no evidence then in your possession. Your letters showed no evidence and therefore the Working Committee could neither decide for itself except to decide against you nor could give you a committee. How can you say you closed the matter though in your letter you reserved to yourself the right to ask for a committee when you had framed your charge-sheet? So far as I can see the matter can only be closed by leading against Sardar Vallabhbhai all the evidence you have in your possession or by making a clear admission that you have nothing against him. Can you not see that the Working Committee's decision so far as it goes is wholly against you? If you regard its verdict as final, then can you sit still when unbounded vilification of the Sardar is going on in front of you, and to which, in your letters, you have allowed yourself to be a party up to a certain extent?

You will be committing no breach of faith with me if you were to publish the whole of the conversation between you and me, if you will let me have beforehand what you will publish.

There are other inaccuracies in your letter which I need not go into. Let me be however clear about one point. So long as you feel that the Sardar has dealt with you unfairly in any shape or form, or that he has done anything ungentlemanly, it is your bounden duty to accept his offer. You owe it to yourself and to a colleague, who emphatically maintains that he has never done or meant any harm to you and has not been guilty of dishonourable conduct directly or indirectly. If you do not pursue the tribunal you repeatedly told me you wanted, or drop it without unreservedly withdrawing your charge against the Sardar, you will be committing a grave blunder. Your colleagues of the Working Committee will certainly come to the conclusion that you were simply guided by your own suspicion though you had nothing whatsoever to sustain it. And you would confirm the impression that the Sardar has carried with him about your conduct at the Bombay election, and which he so frankly told you during that drive.

Yours sincerely,

A. I. C. C. File No. 747–A, 1937. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

---

report . . . to the Working Committee who should . . . pronounce verdict . . . But in view of the definite adverse view of all the members I did not intend to pursue the matter further. . . . *Vide* also p. 392.

460. LETTER TO N. C. KELKAR

July 15, 1937

DEAR MR. KELKAR,

Deo has sent me the enclosed cutting containing a report of your speech.[1] He wants me to reply[2] to certain allegations about me in that report. Before I do so I should like to have your confirmation of the report. For, I know, how often public speeches are misreported, sometimes consciously, sometimes unconsciously.

I hope you are in possession of the best of health.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: C.W. 3121. Courtesy: Kashinath N. Kelkar

461. LETTER TO SHANKARRAO DEO

July 15, 1937

MY DEAR DEO,

I have your letter enclosing a newspaper cutting[3]. I have forwarded the cutting to Mr. Kelkar for confirmation. As soon as I receive his reply, you will hear further from me.

I hope your progress towards complete recovery is continuing.

Yours sincerely,

The Bombay Chronicle, 27-7-1937

[1] Shankarrao Deo, President, Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee, in his letter dated July 14 had brought to the notice of Gandhiji a report that had appeared in the issue of *Dnyanprakash*, 10-7-1937. The report said that N. C. Kelkar, speaking at a meeting in Poona at the Tilak Smarak Mandir, had alleged that Gandhiji had refused to sign on the application for the release of Savarkar; that Gandhiji's attitude towards Maharashtrians, including great leaders like Tilak, was not friendly; and that Gandhiji's readiness for office-acceptance was not consistent with his earlier stand.

[2] *Vide* "Letter to Shankarrao Deo", 20-7-1937.

[3] *Vide* the preceding item.

CWMG - LXXV

462. A LETTER

July 15, 1937

DEAR FRIEND,

1. Shri Mahadev Desai has sent me your letter.
2. Zoroastrian puggree. Christian hat and red fez can be made and have been made of khaddar.
3. Even as an absolute definition of God is impossible, so is that of truth impossible. When I can evolve an absolute definition of truth, truth will cease to be my God.
4. You are justified in doubting my love for humanity. Just likely that it might be solved after my death.
5. If all the flowers in a garden were endowed with wisdom, I suppose it will be quite consistent for each flower to retain its personality whilst recognizing the basic unity of all flowers.
6. I have not sufficient originality in me to show a new way of life. Nor does the conceived way of life give me any dissatisfaction. I would feel supremely happy if I could live up to it in its fulness.

Yours faithfully,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

463. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

July 15, 1937

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

I read your letters regarding Nariman. I am not in the least getting frightened. According to me there is no need for you to say anything now. I have started writing to Nariman. When the time for making a public statement comes, I will certainly do so. It is not at all surprising that not a single newspaper is on your side. After all, what kind of newspapers are these? Why should we get elated if they take our side?

I am sure you will be able to deal with Munshi and Bhulabhai. The thing is beyond me. If Gilder joins, it will be excellent of course.

CWMG - LXV

If you don't get a reply from Maulana even after you have sent him a wire, two courses are open to you: to appoint whosoever seems the fittest to you, or to declare publicly that anybody selected by Maulana will be appointed. We know Maulana's tardiness. But the problem about a Muslim secretary is a difficult one. I think we can escape the difficulty only by putting the thing publicly in . . .'[1]s hands. Why don't you wire to Jawaharlal that he should either send Maulana's consent or make an alternative suggestion?

You have been sending away your brothers too soon.[2] They will reserve places for us somewhere. When God decides that our work in this world is done, he will take us away in the twinkling of an eye.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, pp. 204-5

464. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

July 15, 1937

CHI. MAHADEV,

If you don't need the typewriter there for the present, please send it here. I will ask Shanta to type on it while she is here. Kanu also is ready to learn it. I hope he will start eating properly. For some time now he has developed aversion to food. If you wish, I may arrange temporarily or permanently to send someone from here who will carry the mail from here and bring it from there. I will experience no difficulty in sparing a person from here.

Durga's case is not simple. One should inhale steam when having cold. One should also fast occasionally. Why shouldn't she come and stay here for a few days? Nirmala also should come, so that I may not be put to any trouble. I will merely suggest remedies after examining her. I am sure that Durga can be completely cured. I don't mean to say that it can be done only through my remedies.

[1] The name is omitted in the source.

[2] The reference is to the death of the addressee's eldest brother Somabhai. Speaker Vithalbhai, another brother, had died on October 22, 1933.

What is Kumarappa's difficulty? Shall I write? The flow of water must stop. If he cannot stop it, you may call in an expert at our cost and get it done. There must be somebody from the municipal builders. If I am allowed, I will write. I am confident that I will be able to manage the athlete's case.

Let Raojibhai carry Suryabala's letter. I have already given him Harivadan's. If this is not possible, send Suryabala's letter by post.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11530

465. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

July 15, 1937

CHI. KAKA,

Your letter to Raghavan is good. I would shorten it. The central point of Raghavan's argument was that it was considered to be a subordinate body. Your argument, therefore, that it was a misunderstanding and the remark about it being unfortunate are out of place.

Is it quite correct to say that the institutions are independent of each other? I think Madras enjoys Dominion status.

Your letter has been already posted. This is for the future. Why "Maratha"?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7692

CWMG-LXV

466. LETTER TO HARIVADAN

July 15, 1937

BHAI HARIVADAN,

I can look upon your marriage with Rohini from only one angle. Though you two have entered *grihasthashrama*, I hope you will strengthen your present spirit of service and make your marriage an ideal for others to follow. You two have such capacity. May God grant both of you long life and bless your noble aspirations with success. I am not writing separately to Rohini.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2650

467. LETTER TO DAHYALAL JANI

July 15, 1937

CHI. DAHYALAL,

I am writing this letter with a heavy heart. Devsharmaji[1] has sent one of your letters. The other one he had torn up. Your letter is full of untruths. I am sending it back to you so that you can see for yourself. You seem to have mentioned only Jani in it. You have thus started with an untruth. If you had from the beginning wished to join a renowned institution like the Kangri, why did you not go there straightaway? In your description of Ishver Ramji's "hesitant policy", you have unnecessarily maligned the institution in which you stayed. The letter which he has written to me on his own is in a different vein altogether.

Your first sentence suggests excessive respect while what you really feel is helplessness.

Look at your totalling in the third sentence: 75+5=100! Is this dreaming?

You had resolved in my presence to preserve humility. It has been established that you do not have sufficient knowledge.

[1] Principal of Gurukul Kangri

What a big claim you make in your fourth sentence? "I will be able to teach English, science, etc., according to the latest method." Can you justify this claim? The sentence thereafter is equally insufferable. In all the institutions that you have mentioned you say, "and that too in the capacity of a Principal". Is not this the limit of deliberate lying? Have you merit enough to say, "You will be fully satisfied with my work and it will also bring you credit"?[1]

See the shabbiness of the whole letter. The handwriting is all a mess.

What impatience! The word "immediately" occurs thrice.

Devasharma has a royal heart. He was almost ready to take you. Even now, if I urge him, he would do so. I would throw a letter like this from a stranger into the waste-paper basket. Your letter itself proves your unfitness. Where did you pass the three examinations which qualify you as a teacher? [You say,] "One runs up to your Ashram just to purify oneself by living on the holy land." All right, run on! I feel more pain in writing this letter than you will in reading it. I have absolutely no time to write such a long letter, but I could not control my pen. You address me as "father" and describe yourself as my son. Is not there hypocrisy even in this? However, I will not disown you. But you will have to help me. Go to Sabarmati on the 20th, a changed man. You will not get such an opportunity again. If, however, you don't wish to go, you are free.

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

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

468. LETTER TO N. R. MALKANI

SEGAON (WARDHA),
July 16, 1937

MY DEAR MALKANI,

Why don't you steal in a note in *The Hindustan Times* advertising your wares or write to *The Hindustan Times* a letter to be

[1] In the source, the quotations are in Hindi.

published in the correspondents' column, complaining of public apathy and telling the public what attractive things can be had there?[1] Secondly, why don't you have a list of the things you have for sale and post the same to likely addresses in Delhi? You are bound to get some orders. Thirdly, you can engage a hawker who can hawk about your things on commission. Fourthly, sometimes you can pay visits to friends yourself and get their orders. If you just learn enough of the tailoring and shoemaking technique, you can take measurements yourself.

Shrimati Rameshwari Nehru is sporting a pair of slippers or some such thing from your colony. They have given her blisters all over. Now, your department has to turn out first-class articles if you are to command a large custom.

Then you mention the trouble about getting workers in the Provinces to interest themselves more than they are doing. Of course this is a universal complaint. We are not slaves without deserving our slavery.

Then, about the boys themselves, why should you not so arrange your departments as to absorb all the boys in the colony. Then they would be earning a decent livelihood and you will produce master tailors, master shoemakers, etc.

I am surprised that you, as a teacher, can feel lazy and say, you haven't enough to do. With eighteen children for whose welfare you are wholly responsible and to whom you are both father and mother, I should have thought that you had more than you could manage. Can you imagine a widowed father having eighteen children to care for feeling lazy and with time hanging heavy over him? That sentence in your letter is a disturbing sentence. You know what I mean.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 926

469. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

July 16, 1937

You are hard on poor Sen. Surely there are meat-eaters who are as good *brahmacharis* and as abstemious as any vegetarians. The physical effect of milk is the same almost as of flesh [or] meat.

[1] The addressee was the Superintendent of the Harijan Udyogshala, Delhi, where tailoring, shoemaking, carpentry, etc., were taught.

Hundreds, perhaps thousands, of Roman Catholic monks and nuns are not to be beaten in their self-restraint in everything. Purity of personal life is not a monopoly of vegetarians nor kindness. Do you know vegetarians who know not what self-restraint is, no kindness to human or sub-human life? Who can be more cruel to man and beast than some vegetarian husbands, fathers and cattle-owners? We must not make a fetish of our vegetarianism and be intolerant. Let us not attribute more virtue to vegetarianism than it can carry. And so long as we must take milk, it is wrong to call ourselves vegetarians or non-flesh eaters. Distinction there is, but it is not the restriction which you seem to think there is. It is only real godliness that alters the whole course of life.

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

470. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

July 16, 1937

CHI. MAHADEV,

Bhansali has returned and is already a familiar face by now. The assistant doctor applied caustic to the wound and dressed it. He also added that the trouble must have come on partly because he does not eat *rotlis*. It is absolutely necessary now that he should see Balkrishna. Bhansali can see him even after two days when he goes there again. It will be better, of course, if he comes over here to see him. If Bhansali goes to Wardha, he should do so after fixing the time in advance, so that he might not miss the Civil Surgeon.

I don't know how I can persuade Durga. At present we have engaged a maidservant for washing clothes. Gradually such arrangements are being made here. She may stay here for a few days and, if she doesn't feel at ease, may go back. There are no restrictions of any kind whatever. If she comes, she may bring [the typewriter][1] from there. But if the material is being typed there, nothing need be sent here. Has Kanu started?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11531

[1] *Vide* also pp. 399 and 415.

471. LETTER TO PURATAN J. BUCH

July 16, 1937

CHI. PURATAN,

Only two lines today. Fulfil your wishes at the time of the Congress.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9172

472. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

[Before *July 17, 1937*][1]

Radhakrishna should have been removed altogether, shouldn't he? But I don't know much in this matter. You know him [better].

This time I have removed from your article the portion in which you have replied to Syed. For the present let them say what they wish. We should go on writing what we ourselves think proper. Please, therefore, go through the extract I have given from Tandonji's letter. I have also supplied an extract for *Harijan* from Pattabhi's speech. I have inserted that, too, in your article. If you do not like it, you may remove it. It can be said that I have written a political article[2] for *Harijan* this time. Go through it. If you don't approve of it, you can wait. And if you find it all right, an advance copy may be supplied to the Press. I cannot make up my mind. How can I possibly get time to talk to Kanu today?

Both Shambhudayal and Janba should take plenty of quinine. They should not eat chapatis. At the most they may take milk,

[1] The date is inferred from the reference to Purushottamdas Tandon's letter to Ashraf on Hindi-Urdu controversy and Pattabhi Sitaramayya's speech at Harijan Conference, Berhampur, which appeared in Mahadev Desai's "Weekly Letter" in *Harijan*, 17-7-1937.

[2] *Vide* the following item; also "The Fundamental Difference", 24-7-1937.

CWMG - LXV

jaggery and fruit if available. I will attend to the receipts, etc., tomorrow. I can't detain Kanu today.

I don't think Nariman's reply calls for a rejoinder. There is nothing in it to suggest that he is on the war path. He seems to have calmed down. But who knows ?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S. N. 11527

473. CONGRESS MINISTRIES

Since the Working Committee and other Congressmen have allowed themselves to be influenced by my opinion on the office issue, it is perhaps due to the public for me to explain my conception of office-acceptance and what is possible to do in terms of the Congress election manifesto. I need offer no apology for crossing the self-imposed limit in the conduct of *Harijan*. The reason is obvious. The Government of India Act is universally regarded as wholly unsatisfactory for achieving India's freedom. But it is possible to construe it as an attempt, however limited and feeble, to replace the rule of the sword by the rule of the majority. The creation of the big electorate of three crores of men and women and the placing of wide powers in their hands cannot be described by any other name. Underlying it is the hope that what has been imposed upon us we shall get to like, i.e., we shall really regard our exploitation as a blessing in the end. The hope may be frustrated if the representatives of the thirty million voters have a faith of their own and are intelligent enough to use the powers (including the holding of offices) placed in their hands for the purpose of thwarting the assumed intention of the framers of the Act. And this can be easily done by lawfully using the Act in a manner not expected by them and by refraining from using it in the way intended by them.

Thus the Ministries may enforce immediate prohibition by making education self-supporting instead of paying for it from the liquor revenue. This may appear a startling proposition, but I hold it perfectly feasible and eminently reasonable. The jails may be turned into reformatories and workshops. They should be self-supporting and educational instead of being spending and punitive departments. In accordance with the Irwin-Gandhi Pact[1],

[1] *Vide* Vol. XLV, Appendix VI.

of which only the Salt Clause remains still alive, salt should be free for the poor man, but it is not; it can now be free in Congress Provinces at least. All purchases of cloth should be in khadi. The attention should now be devoted more to the villages and the peasantry than to the cities. These are but illustrations taken at random. They are perfectly lawful, and yet not one of them has as yet even been attempted.

Then the personal behaviour of Ministers. How will Congress Ministers discharge themselves ? Their Chief, the President of the Congress, travels third class. Will they travel first? The President is satisfied with a coarse khadi dhoti, *kurta* and waistcoat. Will the Ministers require the Western style and expenditure on Western scale? Congressmen have for the past seventeen years disciplined themselves in rigorous simplicity. The nation will expect the Ministers to introduce that simplicity in the administration of their Provinces. They will not be ashamed of it, they will be proud of it. We are the poorest nation on earth, many millions living in semi-starvation. Its representatives dare not live in a style and manner out of all correspondence with their electors. The Englishmen coming as conquerors and rulers set up a standard of living which took no account whatsoever of the helpless conquered. If the Ministers will simply refrain from copying the Governors and the secured Civil Service, they will have shown the marked contrast that exists between the Congress mentality and theirs. Truly there can be no partnership between them and us even as there can be none between a giant and a dwarf.

Lest Congressmen should think that they have a monopoly of simplicity and that they erred in 1920 in doing away with the trousers and the chair, let me cite the examples of Aboobaker and Omar. Rama and Krishna are prehistoric names. I may not use these names as examples. History tells us of Pratap and Shivaji living in uttermost simplicity. But opinion may be divided as to what they did when they had power. There is no division of opinion about the Prophet, Aboobaker and Omar. They had the riches of the world at their feet. It will be difficult to find a historical parallel to match their rigorous life. Omar would not brook the idea of his lieutenants in distant provinces using anything but coarse cloth and coarse flour. The Congress Ministers, if they will retain the simplicity and economy they have inherited since 1920, will save thousands of rupees, will give hope to the poor and probably change the tone of the Services. It is hardly necessary for me to point out that simplicity does not mean shod-

diness. There is a beauty and an art in simplicity which he who runs may see. It does not require money to be neat, clean and dignified. Pomp and pageantry are often synonymous with vulgarity.

This unostentatious work must be the prelude to demonstrating the utter insufficiency of the Act to meet the wishes of the people and the determination to end it.

The English Press has been at pains to divide India into Hindu and Muslim. The Congress majority Provinces have been dubbed Hindu, the other five Muslim. That this is demonstrably false has not worried them. My great hope is that the Ministers in the six Provinces will so manage them as to disarm all suspicion. They will show their Muslim colleagues that they know no distinction between Hindu, Muslim, Christian or Sikh or Parsi. Nor will they know any distinction between high-caste and low-caste Hindus. They will demonstrate in every action of theirs that with them all are the sons of the soil among whom there is no one low and no one high. Poverty and climate are common to all without distinction. The major problems are identical for all of them. And whilst, so far as we can judge from actions, the goal of the English system is wholly different from ours, the men and women representing the two goals belong to the same human family. They will now be thrown together as they never have been before. If the human reading that I have given to the Act is correct, the two parties meet together, each with its own history, background and goal, to convert one another. Corporations are wooden and soulless but not those who work them or use them. If the Englishmen or Anglicized Indians can but see the Indian which is the Congress viewpoint, the battle is won by the Congress and complete independence will come to us without shedding a drop of blood. This is what I call the non-violent approach. It may be foolish, visionary, impractical; nevertheless it is best that Congressmen, other Indians and Englishmen should know it. This office-acceptance is not intended to work the Act anyhow. In the prosecution by the Congress of its goal of complete independence, it is a serious attempt on the one hand to avoid a bloody revolution and on the other to avoid mass civil disobedience on a scale hitherto not attempted. May God bless it.

Harijan, 17-7-1937

474. NOTE ON RENTIA JAYANTI CELEBRATION[1]

SEGAON, WARDHA,
July 17, 1937

In the first year two, in the second 16 and in the third 20 lakhs[2]—I count this excellent progress. What is possible for Rajkot is possible for all other cities. If the khadi infection spreads everywhere, "swaraj through yarn" will soon become a fact. I may say that my faith in khadi has, if anything, grown stronger today than what it was twenty years ago. At any rate it has not diminished.

MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8532. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

475. A LETTER[3]

July 17, 1937

One answer to all your doubts and questions is this. One is said to fall, i.e., completely rely, on Ramanama when one does so through the heart. If you think that you have not attained success, the only inference is that your prayer does not come from the heart, it comes only from the lips. That does not mean that you are not sincere but it does mean that your prayer has some connection with the result that you want to attain and since as a good Hindu you believe in prayer, you think you are complying with all the requirements when you utter the prayer with your lips. Utterance with the lips is no doubt necessary, but in order to perceive the efficacy of prayer it has to find its place in the heart. The only way to test the question whether it has permeated the heart is by finding whether there is real peace of mind. For

[1] This was a note appended to a pamphlet by Narandas Gandhi in connection with the birthday celebration of Gandhiji. These celebrations were known as *Rentia Jayanti*, spinning-wheel anniversary. *Vide* also "Letter to Narandas Gandhi", p. 415.

[2] Of yards of yarn

[3] According to the source this was addressed "to a Sindhi".

answer to prayer does not mean that you should get what you want but it means that you become free from all anxiety and become indifferent as to whether you get the thing prayed for or not.

The illustration that I can give from life is that whenever I have been assailed in difficult situations by anxiety or doubts they have been dispelled by prayer, and peace has taken the place of depression.

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

476. LETTER TO S. AMBUJAMMAL

July 17, 1937

CHI. AMBUJAM,[1]

Your letter and fruit have come. Fruit this time has been most welcome because it was needed badly. I can't get good oranges or *musambis* in Bombay. And I need them for patients or some patients. You may therefore send me such *musambis* whenever you can. Our understanding is that they must be reasonably cheap. I suppose I could get almost any fruit if I do not count the cost. But that must not be. I did take the *musambis* but I dared not take more than two when there were others in greater need.

I must not say more now.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 9612. Courtesy: S. Ambujammal

477. LETTER TO AGATHA HARRISON

July 17, 1937

MY DEAR AGATHA,

I hope this office-acceptance has removed your anxiety. Ours on the other hand has increased. Both are on their trial. You will watch the pages of *Harijan*.

Herewith the letter for Lord Halifax.

[1] The superscription is in Devanagari.

CWMG-LXV

You must take a little rest now.
Love.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 1502

478. LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA

July 17, 1937

MY DEAR KUMARAPPA,

Herewith bulletin[1] which reads quite well. I suggest the addition of one sentence.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 10123

479. LETTER TO GURDIAL MULLICK

July 17, 1937

MY DEAR GURDIAL,

My heart goes out to you. Our faith proves itself only when it stands firm when unpenetrable darkness surrounds. "God is the strength of the weak"[2] or "So long as the elephant relied on his own strength he could not succeed"[3]. These are bits from life lived. And what is death 'but a sleep and a forgetting'? What though all the dearest and the nearest died at a stroke? "It is good that the snare is broken, now I will get nearer to God,"[4] sang the *bhakta*, Narasinha Mehta. But I write like a Job's comforter. Your peace must come from within. *Bhajans*, even vocal repetition of Ramanama, may prove unavailing. Faith overflowing demands no vocal demonstration. It is enough if the heart grasps the reality. If God is too vague, Truth surely is not. And Truth is God. Have faith in It and It will reveal Itself. God is with you.

Yours,

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXVI, "A. I. V. I. A. Bulletin", 7-8-1937.
[2] & [3] These two sentences are in Hindi in the source.
[4] This sentence is in Gujarati in the source.

CWMG - LXV

480. LETTER TO K. F. NARIMAN

July 17, 1937

MY DEAR NARIMAN,

Sir Govindrao[1] has sent me a copy of his letter to you. In the covering letter he gives me an extract from your letter to him. From your letters to the Working Committee and from your letter to Sir Govindrao I see that, in your excitement, which has become chronic with you, you have lost even your legal acumen. The more I think of this wretched quarrel, the clearer I am becoming that your grievance is wholly imaginary and that, by allowing the agitation to continue, you are harming yourself and the public interest. I would strongly advise you to take legal advice, and frame your indictment in a proper manner which anybody can understand. I wholly endorse Sir Govindrao's remark that your charge is too vague for any lawyer or judge to understand or decide upon.

In your reference, you are bound to refer to the charge of Sardar Vallabhbhai having secretly poisoned the minds of the voters directly or indirectly in connection with the election of the leader of the Congress Parliamentary Party. How I wish that you could see that you have made mountain out of a mole-hill. Assuming that you were utterly innocent of the defeat of the Congress candidate at the Bombay election of 1934, and yet the Sardar persisted in believing that you were not innocent, and actuated the voters against you, how can you make that a cause of serious grievance? These things will happen in public life. Do we not often suspect the *bona fides* even of our companions and act upon those suspicions? In your letter to Sir Govindrao, you say that your claims were defeated because of the allegations against you. Has a public worker any claim to anything? Had Jawaharlal any claim to the Presidentship of the Congress? He may even try his level best to get elected, but why should he brood over his defeat? Would he be justified in making that a cause of grievance against those who were responsible for his defeat? And yet is it not this that you are doing, or is there anything more?

[1] Justice Govindrao Madgaonkar of Bombay High Court

But Sardar Vallabhbhai has generously come forward to submit to an inquiry into your charge. You resent this offer and make that an additional grievance. What he believes about you he has frankly told you and he undertakes to give the grounds of his belief to any impartial judge. He tells you and the public that he never asked anyone to vote against you, and challenges you to prove the contrary. What more can he do? That you have failed to be elected is surely nobody's fault, not even yours. Bombay is not the Bombay Presidency. If you have the ambition of leading Maharashtra, Karnataka and Gujarat, the field is still open to you. The golden way is through utterly selfless service, surely, not through a baseless and hysterical agitation for which you must be held responsible.

The target of this agitation remains unharmed. The Sardar has no parliamentary ambition. He has no ambition for leadership either. Nature has endowed him with certain qualities and he uses them. You won't find him going to the Press and complaining if he loses hold on the populace. Therefore, why won't you see and realize that in the end you will be the only loser? Therefore, take the inquiry and let the judge or judges go into the whole matter, and if you do not want it, then bravely and honourably declare that you had not weighed and valued things properly, and that now you see quite clearly that Sardar Vallabhbhai had nothing to do with your defeat. For, that is so far as I can see, the whole of your allegation. I think I told you in the course of our conversation that if you convince me that Sardar had poisoned the minds of the voters against you, I for one would cease to have the intimate public connection that I have with him. He has told me repeatedly what he has said in his statement[1] which, as I say, was made at my instance.

You will regard this letter as coming from a friend who wishes well to you.

Yours sincerely,

A. I. C. C. File No. 747-A, 1937. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

[1] *Vide* Appendix VII.

481. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

WARDHA,
July 17, 1937

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

You are needlessly making yourself unhappy or getting angry. It was but proper that your statement regarding the Nariman affair should have been issued immediately. What more can we expect from members of the Working Committee beside the resolution[1] it has passed? If malicious attacks continue to be made, what can we do about them? And who but Nariman will suffer in the end? Yes, I can see that a lot of people will suffer if we submit to rowdyism. But neither you nor anybody else is likely to submit to it. I am enclosing a copy of my letter[2] to Nariman and a copy of Sir Govindrao's.

Don't lose patience or your peace of mind.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 205

482. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

July 17, 1937

CHI. NARANDAS,

I got your letter. Your programme for the annual birthday celebration is becoming quite strenuous. It seems all right to me. Why don't you prepare in this connection a small booklet, something like "*Khadishastra Praveshika*"? Something of

[1] Dated March 17, 1937, which read: "Had the Working Committee found any reason to believe that the election had been influenced by improper conduct on the part of anybody or that the [election] was made under any undue pressure from Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel as alleged, it would have certainly ordered fresh election." (*The Bombay Chronicle*, 3-11-1937)

[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

CWMG - LXV

that sort needs to be done. My note[1] is given below the pamphlet.

I am arranging to send Rameshwari Nehru to Rajkot. I shall be able to let you know in a few days whether or not she will go. She is the wife of the Accountant-General of the Postal Department of the Punjab and daughter of Raja Narendranath. She is a very efficient lady. She had toured Travancore during the Harijan agitation there and was a member of the Sarda Committee. She is a learned lady.

I am sending with this a letter from Prema.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Can I now use your services if I require them for work outside?

BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8531. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

483. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

July 17, 1937

CHI. MAHADEV,

I had written[2] to you, without consulting her, that Shanta would be typing. I had a long talk with her yesterday, during which this matter also was discussed. She said she would like to go herself and do the typing there and spend a day with you. I liked this very much. She will, therefore, walk the distance on Monday morning. She will reach there at about 8 a.m. Give her lunch there. She keeps indifferent health. Please, therefore, don't give her too many *rotlis* or too much bread. Give her milk, curds, jaggery, vegetable and some fruit. You may give her a slice of bread or a *khakhri*, unless she herself asks for more. And also talk to her a little. She is unhappy these days. That is why I engaged her in a talk while walking yesterday.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11532

[1] *Vide* p. 409.
[2] *Vide* p. 399.

CWMG - LXV

484. LETTER TO SARASWATI

July 17, 1937

CHI. SARASWATI,

I have your letter. Look after Amtul Salaam well and learn Hindi and Urdu from her. Will Paparamma never write to me? Ba is improving. Do you ever write to Lakshmi? As soon as you become a good student you will be permitted to come to me.

Consult Amtul Salaam if you find it difficult to read and follow this letter.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 6161. Also C.W. 3434. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

485. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

July 17, 1937

CHI. AMTUL SALAAM,

I have had your first letter from Trivandrum. I have already written to you. Have good rest but follow the doctor's instructions regarding diet. Give up worrying and do not insist on washing your own clothes, and so on. Accept humbly whatever services you require.

Ba is getting better. Kusum and Lilavati have by turns the duty of fanning me. From today Ba, too, has started doing something or other.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 385

CWMG - LXV

486. LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA

July 18, 1937

DEAR KUMARAPPA,

Sankaran Nair was in the Maganwadi school and he was ailing. Expenses were incurred for medical attendance, medicine and food. For these there is a bill outstanding. He is now in the tannery. He has got Rs. 10 from Ramachandran. He says he should be excused the rest of the payment. What do you say?

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 10124

487. LETTER TO KANU GANDHI

July 18, 1937

CHI. KANU,

If it is necessary for you to cook your meals there, you may certainly do so. However, if you can arrange your programme as before, that will not be necessary. In any case don't be careless about food. We will talk further when you go over here. Learn typing as quickly as possible.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

488. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

SEGAON,
July 18, 1937

CHI. MAHADEV,

Did you get a copy of Nariman's letter? For since I had given you no time the day before yesterday, I thought I might send you one. Shanta will go there today. Keep her as long as she wishes and get full work out of her.[1]

[1] *Vide* also p. 415.

CWMG - LXV

I will try to send the post from here by 2 o'clock.

I have gone through *The Sentinel*.

You may send back Shanta when you think proper. She seems to me to be as pure as a pearl. She has the passport.

I don't mind your having kept back the letter to Anandpriya, though it was not necessary to do so. My method of handling such matters is different. Now we will think about the subject only after we have heard from Vallabhbhai. Let the doctor fetch the instrument for measuring blood-pressure. Let him examine mine. I have made no changes in your article[1].

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11533

489. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

July 18, 1937

BHAI GHANSHYAMDAS,

I read all your letters with good care. I had no time to write nor had I any inclination. What could I write? The situation was changing and developing every moment. It did not seem proper to write anything in such circumstances. It was imperative to write to others so that their replies could weigh with me as far as possible. I cannot specify the impression your letters made on me. But I can assert that the letters received from there did not influence me as much as happenings here. It may be said that my condition was like that of a woman in labour. She cannot give expression to all the turmoil taking place within her. Now we know all that happened. Let me state this much that whatever Jawaharlal said and did in the Working Committee was marvellous. Even otherwise he held a high place in my esteem but now he has risen still higher. The beauty of it is that it is so in spite of our continuing difference of opinion.

The real difficulty starts now. It is good that the future depends upon our strength, truth, courage, firmness, hard work and duty. What you are doing is right. Let the authorities there understand that there is no 'padding' in the decision of the Working Committee. Every word is significant and everything

[1] "Weekly Letter" published in *Harijan*, 24-7-1937

will be acted upon. After all, what has been done has been done in the name of God, with the utmost faith in Him. I hope you are well. Remain so.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Hindi original: C.W. 7984. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

490. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

SEGAON,
July 19, 1937

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

The suggestion to fix the salary[1] at Rs. 500 is worth thinking over seriously. I can't understand house-rent allowance in addition to Rs. 500 and the distinction between Personal Assistant and Secretary. But if you hold different views, please let me know.

You must be observing that I am attending to Nariman. You should now leave everything to me. I am in no hurry to make a public statement. Don't get upset.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]
DAHYABHAI,

Forward this letter immediately to Father wherever he is.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 206

[1] The Congress Working Committee meeting held at Wardha from March 15 to 22 had passed the following resolution: "Apart from free provision to be made by the State for residence and conveyance, the salaries of Ministers, Speakers and Advocate-Generals shall not exceed Rs. 500 per month, as laid down in the Karachi Resolution on Fundamental Rights and Economic Programme." For the Karachi Resolution, *vide* Vol. XLV, pp. 370-2.

CWMG - LXV

491. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

[*July 19, 1937*][1]

CHI. MAHADEV,

Send a copy each of this to Raja[2], Rajendra Babu, Govind Vallabh[3], Khare[4], Kher[5] and Vishvanathdas[6]. Let Jawahar and Vallabhbhai also get a copy each. Tell them that it is an advance copy. If they wish they can get it cancelled by sending a wire. You may, however, send the article[7] to Poona assuming that it will not be cancelled. If any of them wishes to send a wire after Wednesday, he should do so directly to Chandrashanker[8] at Poona. Give them the Poona address.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11541

492. LETTER TO WANDA DYNOWSKA

SEGAON, WARDHA,
July 20, 1937

DEAR UMA,

I was glad to have your descriptive letter. I hope you are keeping sound health during your wandering. You will come when you like and stay in Segaon as long as you feel happy.

Love.

BAPU

SHRI UMADEVI
C/O SHRI M. FRYDMAN
MYSORE ROAD, BANGALORE CITY

From a photostat: G.N. 1200. Also C.W. 5094. Courtesy: Wanda Dynowska

[1] From the S.N. Register
[2] C. Rajagopalachari, Premier of Madras
[3] Govind Vallabh Pant, Premier of the United Provinces
[4] Dr. N. B. Khare, Premier of the Central Provinces
[5] B. G. Kher, Premier of Bombay
[6] The Premier of Orissa
[7] *Vide* pp. 431-3.
[8] Chandrashanker Shukla who was editing *Harijanbandhu*

CWMG - LXV

493. LETTER TO MAURICE FRYDMAN

July 20, 1937

DEAR FRYDMAN[1],

So you have taken sannyasa. Were you not a sannyasi even when you came to Segaon? But I understand what you mean. May God fulfil your aim of utterly selfless service of the most downtrodden. Come whenever the spirit moves you.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 1199. Also C.W. 5095. Courtesy : Wanda Dynowska

494. LETTER TO SHANKERRAO DEO

July 20, 1937

MY DEAR DEO,

I have now heard from Shri Kelkar. He has forgotten to return the cutting which I had sent him.[2] I, therefore, send my reply from memory.

About Shri Savarkar, I did refuse to sign the memorial, for, as I told those who came to me, it was wholly unnecessary as Shri Savarkar was bound to be released after the coming into force of the new Act, no matter who the Ministers were. And that is what has happened. The Savarkar Brothers, at least, know that whatever the differences between us as to certain fundamentals, I could never contemplate with equanimity their incarceration.

Perhaps, Dr. Savarkar[3] will bear me out when I say that I did whatever was in my power after my own way to secure their release. And the barrister will perhaps recall the pleasant relations that existed between us when we met for the first time in London and how, when nobody was forthcoming, I presided at the meeting that was held in his honour in London.

As to my relations with the late Lokamanya Tilak, our differences were well known and yet we were on the friendliest

[1] A Polish engineer who had visited Segaon on June 25, 1936

[2] *Vide* p. 397.

[3] Brother of V. D. Savarkar

terms. After all, you, Gangadharrao Deshpande and others who know me would perhaps testify that I yield to no one in my regard to Lokamanya for his burning patriotism, his fearlessness, his magnetic personality and his great learning.

As to office-acceptance, I have not retraced my steps. I have no repentance for the advice I gave in 1920 to boycott the Legislatures. I have not a shadow of doubt that the abstention of the Congress deprived them of the false halo of glory which they had acquired. In now strongly advising the Congress to send its representatives to the Legislatures and even to accept office I have responded to the wholly new circumstances that have since come into being. I have never made a fetish of foolish consistency.

Whilst you are at liberty to publish this letter, my personal inclination is that I should suffer in silence the cruel misinterpretation that Shri Kelkar has given of my motives and attitude.

The Bombay Chronicle, 27-7-1937

495. LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA

July 20, 1937

MY DEAR KUMARAPPA,

I ought to have talked to you about Bhagwandas of Kalpi. I told him not to return unless I wrote to him. Do you want him? He seems to be no good as a teacher. Please tell me what you will have me to do. Meanwhile I am telling him not to come in answer to a letter just received.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 10125

CWMG - LXV

496. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

July 20, 1937

CHI. PREMA,

How useless? I got your letter of the 16th today, the 20th, at 11. It is *ekadashi* today. How can I send my blessings so that they should reach you on the *dashami* ?[1] You must have got my previous letter. What shall I say to you? You have my blessings, of course. Continue to grow and be victorious.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10392. Also C.W. 6831. Courtesy: Premabehn Kantak

497. LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI

July 20, 1937

CHI. MANILAL-SUSHILA,

I sent one letter for you with Mr. Kallenbach. I didn't have your letters before me when I wrote it. If what you write about Omar Sheth[2] is true, it is a sad chapter of his life. If you think it would be proper for me to write about the matter, I might do so. Do you wish that I should write?

Ramdas has not gone there of his own accord. I urged him to go. He didn't keep good health here in spite of all his efforts, and so Nimu suggested that I should send him to South Africa. I accordingly made the suggestion to him. The expenses were borne by Mr. Kallenbach. I have even told Ramdas that if he wishes he might stay there as long as it might be necessary just for the sake of his health. Let us see what happens now. Sita's[3] letter was a good one. That doesn't mean, however, that she should forget Gujarati.

[1] The addressee's birthday was on July 17, 1937, the 10th day (*dashami*) of the bright half of *Ashadh*.

[2] Omar Zaveri of Pretoria

[3] Addressee's daughter; *vide* also the following item.

If Sushila, or both of you, can come over, I would be happy. But certainly not at the cost of the work there. Now that Ramdas has gone there, you may think what can be done.

About the Phœnix Trust, Mr. Kallenbach will explain. He himself intends to come here again in November.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4866

498. LETTER TO SITA GANDHI

July 20, 1937

CHI. SITA,

Your English letter was very good indeed. Won't you write an equally good one in Gujarati ? Or is it that you don't know at all how to write Gujarati? Whatever that be, now that you have started, keep writing to me from time to time. You can also describe the things you are doing there.[1]

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N.4867

499. LETTER TO L. R. DACHA

July 20, 1937

BHAI DACHA,

Mahadevbhai has given me your letter. Deviji also had spoken to me. Malkaniji is not likely to show partiality to anybody. He is a dedicated worker who serves in a spirit of self-sacrifice. Now serve there with a quiet mind.

Blessings from
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI L. R. DACHA
SOCIAL WORKER
3229 LINGAMPALLY
HYDERABAD

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 4743. Courtesy: L. R. Dacha

[1] *Vide* also the preceding item.

CWMG - I-XV

500. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

July 20, 1937

CHI. KAKA,

I got your note only yesterday. It was undated. It must have been written before you got my letter.

I am enclosing my opinion for Tandonji's benefit.

I have not yet been able to read today's article.

I have forgotten what it was about Sholapur. You may reply at any rate. Let the thing take its own course. I can't recollect anything.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7703

501. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

July 20, 1937

CHI. MAHADEV,

I am sending today a good deal of material for *Harijan*. If you have not sent a wire to Kher, send one as follows—and if you have already sent, send a revision: "Received yours and Gulzarilal's letter. His objection seems unsurmountable. Take all assistance from him. Suggest keeping office vacant taking labour portfolio yourself. Bapu."[1]

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Prepare an envelope for Kallenbach there. I don't remember the address.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11534

[1] In the source, the telegram is in English.

CWMG LXV

502. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

July 20, 1937

CHI. MAHADEV,

Herewith the mail. From your note I can't decide what should be done at the moment. We shall see later. As I have already sent [most of] the material today, it was not possible to send this early. I could have sent two articles by 1 o'clock. But Kanu told me that the papers for *Harijan* would be sent later in the evening. I, therefore, went on writing till 3 p.m.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11535

503. LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI

SEGAON, WARDHA,
July 21, 1937

CHI. KANTI,

I read both your letters. You were keeping in touch with Amtul Salaam even in Bombay. I have seen in your letters, too, that you are still clinging to her. But I don't think there is anything wrong in that. In the beginning, of course, you made a mistake in showering thoughtless love on her, but there was no impurity even in that. You shouldn't, therefore, completely break off your relation with her. But there is no need at all for you to let her come to Bangalore, not even by way of atonement. There is no need for any atonement. You are right in saying that she is a child. My advice now is that you yourself should write directly to her and tell her that I had asked your opinion; and that it was foolishness on your part to have shown such excessive love. You may tell her that her coming to Bangalore would not benefit either of you in any way, that on the contrary it would upset you, etc. Write a fairly long and affectionate letter. I will manage the rest. Don't worry about her being hurt. Keep writing to her, but only postcards. Don't mind expense on a postcard every week. She has asked me to send her your letters to me. I will not send the one

CWMG - LXV

about her, but will send the other one in which you have described your discussion with the Christian. I will use my discretion every time. I will thus satisfy her. Try to bear with her having gone to Trivandrum. Your admiration for her had its root in a beautiful sentiment. Her sacrifice is beyond description. Poor girl, she lacks intelligence and has bad health. If her health improves and she gets strong, I hope to take much work from her. Don't cut her off completely, but don't think from this, either, that deep in my heart I want you to permit her to go to Bangalore. I fully endorse your decision on that point. I am sending this reply by return of post.[1]

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7327. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

504. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

SEGAON, WARDHA,
July 22, 1937

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

Maulana Saheb stopped for a day in Wardha and we had a long chat. He showed me the draft agreement between Muslim League members of the Assembly and the Congress members.[2] I thought it was a good document. But he told me that whilst you liked it, Tandonji did not. I have written to the latter about it as the Maulana suggested I should. What is the objection?

The Rs. 500 salary with big house and car allowances is being severely criticized.[3] The more I think of it, the more I dislike this extravagant beginning. I talked about this, too, to the Maulana.

How is Indu?

Love.

BAPU

Gandhi-Nehru Papers, 1937. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Also *A Bunch of Old Letters*, p. 236

[1] *Vide* also "Letter to Amtussalaam", p. 440.
[2] *Vide* also letter to the addressee, pp. 380-1.
[3] *Vide* also "Letter to Vallabhbhai Patel", p. 419.

CWMG - INDEX

505. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

July 22, 1937

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

A word seems to be missing in Thakkar Bapa's award.[1] Have you gone through it? If the missing words don't affect the sense, I think that according to Bapa's award the Municipality is bound to retain 185 men. However, I am awaiting Dinkarrao's letter. Let him get the award interpreted by a lawyer and send the interpretation to me. There is no question of my being liberal. But if the award means that 185 men should be retained, how can we at all do anything else? I should like you to read the award when you get the time. I am sending a copy with this. I will not hurry you, but you, too, should avoid needless delay.

Has the Nariman issue quietened down?

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

It will be enough if you read only the portions underlined by me on pages 6 and 10 of the award. Think over this. The Municipality will have to pay Rs. 160 more by way of salaries. If, however, it retrenches 25 persons, it will have a net saving of $25 \times 11 = 275 - 160 = 115$. Is this the meaning of Bapa's decision? If he has not fixed the number anywhere, wouldn't this be the result?

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, pp. 206-7

506. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

July 22, 1937

CHI. KAKA,

I read Shankar's letter in my present none too good health. I send with this my reply to it and the copy sent by Bal. Send the letter to Bal. You, of course, should read my letters.

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Amritlal V. Thakkar", p. 57.

I don't feel inclined to involve you in this matter. But if . . .[1] is really what Shankar believes he is, it is necessary from every point of view to know the truth.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7696

507. TELEGRAM TO AMRIT KAUR

WARDHAGANJ,
July 23, 1937

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR
SUMMER HILL
SIMLA

AWAITING YOU MONDAY. LOVE.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3797. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6953

508. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

SEGAON,
July 23, 1937

BELOVED DAUGHTER,[2]

I got your letter. For the present stay on there. Complete one month. We will think afterwards. You can stitch clothes for Harijans. There is enough to do there. But do only as much as you can stand.

If Saraswati really wishes to come and Ramachandran also approves of it, I should certainly like her to come. She can gain practical experience here. If Ramachandran agrees, let me know what she wishes.

I have written to Bari about the Rs. 1,000 and told him that if he intends to give the sum he should give it unconditionally.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 386

[1] The name has been omitted.
[2] The superscription and the subscription are in Urdu.

CWMG - INDIA

509. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

July 23, 1937

I got your letter. You know my opinion about you. You never undertake any task beyond your capacity, and as you are straightforward you bring credit to whatever you undertake. But in the sphere of what is known as politics, it is not the fittest men who are appointed to do particular jobs. No leader can satisfy that criterion. You should realize this and bear with what is happening. I would expect even more from you. You shouldn't even think about such things. One may accept whatever is offered to one, provided it is within one's capacity, and never grieve over something not being offered. When one has no other aim except service, where is the room for ambition? And you are all out for service. But since you have been overcome by ignorance, listen to me. You have reached your present position through sheer merit. And the service you are doing now is not small in any way. You may become a Mayor and enter the All-India field if you can through worthy efforts. For becoming a Minister, as the saying goes, his berries will be sold who knows how to shout. God knows why, but all over the world people pine for such positions. Since from among the many candidates only a few can be selected, does it not follow that only those will be selected who have to be included? However, let your candidature be made known in a polite way. Please understand the meaning of the word "polite" here. One must observe the utmost delicacy when suggesting oneself as a candidate in such a matter. If the limit is crossed, one will invite humiliation. The best claim to candidature, of course, is silent service and unrivalled fitness. Calm down. Don't take the matter to heart.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuni Prasadi, pp. 165-6

510. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

July 23, 1937

CHI. MAHADEV,

Rajkumari is arriving on Monday by the 11.35 train. Read the accompanying letter. I believe Jamnalalji will not be there at the time. You will, of course, go to receive her. Do what is needed. She will stay for two days.

I have talked to Anna about Devraj[1]. He will write to him. I am not very hopeful.

Shankerlal may come tomorrow at 8, or whenever he wishes to come.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N.11537

511. LETTER TO SARASWATI

July 23, 1937

CHI. SARASWATI,

I have your letter. Yes, you may certainly come over here if Ramachandran, Paparamma, Father and Kanti approve of it. On my part, I shall love to have you here.[2]

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 6162. Also C.W. 3435. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

512. THE FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCE

It is necessary to contemplate for a moment the fundamental difference between the old and the new order. In order fully to realize it we must try to forget for the moment the crushing limitations of the Act. Seeing that the Congress has gone to the farthest limit and has accepted office, let every Congressman note the power it has taken. Whereas formerly the Ministers

[1] Gandhiji's typist

[2] *Vide* also "Letter to Amtussalaam", p. 429.

CWMG - LXV

were amenable to the control of the Governors, now they are under the control of the Congress. They are responsible to the Congress. They owe their status to the Congress. The Governors and the Civil Service though irremovable are yet answerable to the Ministers. The Ministers have effective control over them up to a point. That point enables them to consolidate the power of the Congress, i.e., the people. The Ministers have the whip-hand so long as they act within the four corners of the Act, no matter how distasteful their actions may be to the Governors. It will be found upon examination that so long as the people remain non-violent, the Congress Ministers have enough freedom of action for national growth.

For effective use of this power, the people have to give hearty co-operation to the Congress and their Ministers. If the latter do wrong or they neglect their duty, it is open to any person to complain to the Secretary of the A.I.C.C. and seek redress. But no one may take the law into his own hands.

Congressmen should also realize that there is no other political party in the field to question the authority of the Congress. For the other parties have never penetrated the villages. And that is not a work which can be done in a day. So far, therefore, as I can see a vast opportunity is at the disposal of the Ministers in terms of the Congress objective of Complete Independence, if only they are honest, selfless, industrious, vigilant and solicitous for the true welfare of the starving millions. No doubt, there is great validity in the argument that the Act has left the Ministers no money to spend for the nation-building departments. But this is largely an illusion. I believe with Sir Daniel Hamilton that labour, and not metal, is real money. Paper backed by labour is as good as, if not better than, paper backed by gold. Here are the sentiments of an English financier[1] who has held high office in India:

> The worst legacy we have left to India is a high-grade Service. What has been done cannot be undone. I should now start something independent. Whatever is being done today with 'money motive' should in future be based on 'service motive'. Why should teachers and doctors be paid high salaries? Why cannot most of the work be done on a co-operative basis? Why should you worry about capital when there are seven hundred million hands to toil? If things are done on a co-operative basis, which in other words is modified socialism, money would not be needed, at least not in large quantity.

[1] Sir George Schuster

I find this verified in little Segaon. The four hundred adults of Segaon can easily put ten thousand rupees annually into their pockets if only they would work as I ask them. But they won't. They lack co-operation, they do not know the art of intelligent labour, they refuse to learn anything new. Untouchability blocks the way. If someone presented them with one lakh of rupees, they would not turn it to account. They are not responsible for this state of affairs. We the middle class are. What is true of Segaon is true of other villages. They will respond by patient effort as they are responding in Segaon though ever so slowly. The State, however, can do much in this direction without having to spend a single pie extra. The State officials can be utilized for serving the people instead of harassing them. The villagers may not be coerced into doing anything. They can be educated to do things which enrich them morally, mentally, physically and economically.

Harijan, 24-7-1937

513. A KHADI JOURNAL

For the past four years a monthly journal has been issued in Wardha called *Maharashtra Khadi Patrika*. It has from month to month registered the progress of khadi in Maharashtra. It has hitherto been issued in Marathi. But its usefulness and the inclusion of Mahakoshal in the sphere of the Maharashtra Branch of the A.I.S.A. have necessitated conversion of the journal into Hindi. The first number is before me. The journal is a record of the great progress khadi has made under the very able guidance of Shri Jajuji assisted as he is by a devoted band of workers. The price of the journal is only Re. 1 per year, a single copy being 1½ as. It has no advertisements. It has no padding. It contains an unvarnished and faithful account of the progress of khadi within the jurisdiction of the Maharashtra Branch. The work touches the social and economic life of the people who are engaged in it. For the week, I wish to draw attention to a great experiment the branch is making in enabling spinning to yield a wage equal to any in the villages. Three annas per day was the minimum accepted provisionally and in the transition stage instead of eight annas minimum I have aimed at. If the buying public were to give intelligent and patriotic help, the objective can be achieved sooner than expected. The present experiment is one of increasing wages by

inducing the spinners to do their own carding. The result has been most gratifying. Sixteen workers spun for two weeks slivers carded for them and after being taught carding for one month they spun their own slivers. The result was that in the place of 161 *chhatanks*[1], they spun in the same period 198, the average count increased from 14 to 18, the test from 55 to 59, their earnings from Rs. 12-4-0 to Rs. 24-0-3. This is a striking example of how with intelligence and application earnings can even be doubled.

Harijan, 24-7-1937

514. LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI

SEGAON, WARDHA,
July 24, 1937

BHAI MUNSHI,

I got your letter. How can you expect any mercy from me? I can't approve of your princely salaries and additional princely house-rent allowances and conveyance allowances. Moreover, you will draw your salary at one rate and your secretary at another and lower rate, though both of you are guests of the same family. Why such distinctions under the Congress flag? When Vijayaraghavachari was President, Motilalji was secretary. If we were paying salaries, would we have paid less to Motilalji? To me this is like a fly in the very first morsel.

Take care of your health. Don't let there be unpleasantness among yourselves. Overcome co-workers' anger with forbearance.

Blessings to you both from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 7618. Courtesy: K. M. Munshi

515. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

SEGAON, WARDHA,
July 24/25, 1937

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

I have been handling the Nariman affair according to my lights. You should now forget all about the matter. Ignore all attacks. Surely you don't care for fame, do you? And you don't have to get your son or daughter married. "Let him

[1] One-sixteenth of a seer

malign who will, let another bow and let still another say what he will.''

Now about Anandpriya.[1] I don't mean anything more than that in such matters your approach differs from mine. Who can say which approach is better? We can't compare them even on the basis of the results. Even if my approach does not produce the desired result or produces a seemingly contrary result, I wouldn't give it up. Nor would you give up yours. This is a matter of the heart. Isn't it but natural that everybody should follow his own? I don't expect him to improve through my letter.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Now this. My health is good. I only need a little rest which I am taking.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11560

516. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

July 25, 1937

CHI. MAHADEV,

I got the post at 3.15. Janba had come earlier but had not brought the post. Now do what you can. I will comply with your request that I should observe silence. I feel much better.

Read my letter to Shanta. Think over it and cancel the passage if you wish. Personally that is what I desire. I would of course agree . . .[2]

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11538

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Mahadev Desai", pp. 417-8.
[2] A word is illegible in the source.

CWMG - LXV

517. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

July 26, 1937

CHI. MAHADEV,

If Shanta ultimately decides to stay on, look after her needs. Make her proficient in the daily chores. See that she does not exert herself beyond her strength. Let her have sufficient fruit. Make her sit with you for meals. Fix a salary for her. See that she goes out for regular walks.

Give Kanu plenty of work. Let him learn typing. Give him English typing to do. Take work from Chhotelal, too.

Get the money soon. The present stock will run out in a few days.

I am bringing Balkrishna here today.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11539

518. LETTER TO M. N. ROY

SEGAON, WARDHA,
July 27, 1937

DEAR FRIEND,

I entirely agree with you that every Congressman should fearlessly express the opinion he holds after due deliberation. You ask me how you can best serve the Congress. Since you are new to the organization, I should say you would serve it best by mute service.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI M. N. ROY
"INDEPENDENT INDIA"
BOMBAY 4

Police Commissioner's Office File No. 3001/H, p. 23. Courtesy: Government of Maharashtra

CWMG - LXV

519. LETTER TO LORD LINLITHGOW

July 27, 1937

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your kind letter[1].

I had for some time intended to ask for an appointment to discuss the possibility of lifting the ban on Khan Saheb Abdul Ghaffar Khan's entry into the Frontier Province and of my visiting that Province. Of course there is no bar against me but I had no intention of going there except with the approval of the authorities.

Your letter is therefore doubly welcome. I assume that there would be no objection to my discussing these two points at our meeting. I shall gladly report myself at Viceroy's House, New Delhi, on 4th August next at 11.30 a.m.

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: C.W. 7889. Courtesy: G.D. Birla. Also *In the Shadow of the Mahatma*, pp. 235-6

520. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

July 27, 1937

CHI. MIRA,

I have not been able to overtake your letters. Appointments and *Harijan* writing overwhelm me. Here is Nanda Babu's opinion[2].

Balkrishna was brought here this morning. He has been having fever. He has decided traces in his right lung. Dr. Batra who is just now living with me suggested his being brought

[1] In his letter dated July 23, the addressee had invited Gandhiji to meet him at Delhi. After his Assam tour, the Viceroy was passing through Delhi *en route* to Simla.

[2] *Vide* footnote 2, p. 381.

here. He cheerfully consented and is now housed in Jamnalalji's new cottage. It is quite fine.

Rajkumari came in today. She goes back on 28th and returns on 6th. Rameshwari is still here. So every inch of space is occupied.

I hope you are making steady progress.

After all Shanta is not going. Her mother having learnt of her preparations sends an airmail letter saying she is not wanted by her. Therefore the passage is being cancelled. She is helping Mahadev and she is a very great help to him, Radhakisan having gone for good.

Love to you and Subhas.

BAPU

[PS.]

Remember me to the Dharmavirs.

From the original: C.W. 6394. Courtesy: Mirabehn. Also G.N. 9860

521. LETTER TO K. F. NARIMAN

July 27, 1937

MY DEAR NARIMAN,

I got your letter yesterday. I write the reply today, but too late for today's post.

If you trust me, here is my suggestion. Let there be a definite reference drawn by you. I shall show it to the Sardar; and, if he approves, I shall ask Sir Govindrao to take evidence on it and give his decision. The inquiry should be private. I feel that the charge of Sardar having influenced the voters is inevitable. For if he did not use his opinion of you against your election, there will be nothing for any judge to go upon. So, whilst Sardar will have to give grounds for his opinion, you will have to prove that he used his opinion to influence the voters.

As for agitation, I see that you do not disapprove of it. In my opinion it amounts to coercion. Is there any obligation on the part of any leader to take a particular colleague into his Cabinet? Whatever the public may say or do, I tell you that you are estranging your real friends from you by your permitting the agitation to continue as it is doing. If you have accepted the Working Committee's judgment, you have to say so and acquit the Sardar of any complicity. If you have not, and I think you have not, you have to prove your charge against

the Sardar. But when he offers to appear before a judge of joint choice, you are in honour bound to stop the agitation which hurts you and you only. Please do not think me prejudiced against you because I write to you frankly. My frankness is a test of my good wishes.

I daily receive letters asking me to intervene and give my opinion in public. I am referring my correspondents to you telling them that so far as I am concerned, they have access to all my letters to you. But I do not wish to say anything to the Press at this stage unless you want me.

I hope my letter is clear to you.

You have chosen an unfortunate illustration in Dr. Rajan's case. He carried on or continued no agitation. He meekly submitted to the adverse verdict.

Yours, etc.,

A.I.C.C. File No. 747–A, 1937. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

522. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

July 27, 1937

CHI. MAHADEV,

I have been at this since morning. I have not slept for more than half an hour since five. I have just finished revising the article and have completed it. I, therefore, couldn't send Janba earlier. I see that on Mondays the typing should be done here. We must have two typewriters.

I can't attend to the other work today. Send the following wire to Rajaji:

Premier Rajagopalachari, Madras. Suggest referring Meherally's speech[1] to President for instructions. Bapu.

Rajkumari is here just now.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11540

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Sampurnanand", p. 441.

CWMG - LXV

523. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

July 27, 1937

CHI. AMTUL SALAAM,

I got your letter today and Kanti's, too. I had asked him if he would approve of your going there and also informed him that I was forwarding his letters to you. He writes that he would not like your going to Bangalore, and he does not wish his letters to be passed on to you. He says: "She may well pray that I may yet again develop filial love towards her but this is not the case. I bear no more love towards her than what I bear towards the other womenfolk of the Ashram." Hence I will not be able to let you go there, though I had wanted you to do so on your way back to the Ashram. Do not take Kanti's decision to heart. I shall convey to you the news of his well-being. By all means go to Bombay if necessary, for Baqui. It might even be necessary to go in order to look after Mother. It is possible that your short stay there might prove helpful to your brothers. Do stay there for at least a month.[1]

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 387

524. LETTER TO SAMPURNANAND

July 27, 1937

BHAI SAMPURNANAND,

I had taken your book[2] to Tithal, and had started reading it there. I finished it last Saturday, i.e., on July 24. I used to read it whenever I had a few minutes to spare. I have read it carefully from cover to cover. I liked the book, the language is sweet but it might also be regarded a bit difficult for those totally unacquainted with Sanskrit. The glossary of English-Hindi and Hindi-English equivalents given at the end is useful for the student. It is laudable that arguments in favour of socialism

[1] *Vide* also "Letter to Kantilal Gandhi", pp. 426-7.
[2] *Samajvad*

have been put forward without any disparagement of others.

I have no difficulty in accepting almost all the principles of socialism propounded in the book. I have also read with care the book[1] by Jayaprakash. Can there possibly be any difference between his interpretation and yours? Neither in your book nor in his do I find a clear idea how the ultimate revolution in India will be brought about. This I could not understand even after discussing it with many others. Only the day before yesterday a report of Meherally's Madras speech came into my hands and I went through it.[2] It explains fully what the socialists are doing. The object is to start a revolt in every sphere. But a revolt has never been possible without violence. In your book, however, I find nothing of the kind. Have we or have not we acquired strength through peaceful ways such as the civil disobedience or non-violent non-co-operation carried on since 1920?

You say that the principles of socialism cannot be fully implemented until we have State power. Supposing, you ask, a powerful land-owner turned a complete socialist, could he well and truly act upon his principles? Assuming that he had no punitive power, could an Indian raja who was a socialist be able to implement socialism? I recollect your having written that socialism cannot be practised in its entirety until the whole world turns socialist. Does this imply that even if we gain complete independence socialism will not be fully or almost fully implemented? I hope you have understood my point. The purpose behind this question is only to ascertain how far it would be possible for me to accept the socialist principles and the means of their implementation.

You may reply to this letter at your leisure. I am in no hurry.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From Hindi: C.W. 9940. Courtesy: Kashi Vidyapith

[1] *Why Socialism?*

[2] *Vide* also "Letter to Mahadev Desai", p. 439, and "Letter to Jawaharlal Nehru", p. 445.

525. A SILENCE-DAY NOTE

[Before *July 28, 1937*][1]

Surely I can't do such a thing myself? I explain all the steps. We hold frequent discussions. What more can I do? He can part from me and do what he likes, but under my supervision he can work only in this manner. I know that at present we are making the minimum use of his services but in this lies self-control on our part and his part and this self-control is a test of our faith that morality is inextricably linked with our outward activity.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7693

526. LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI

[Before *July 28, 1937*][2]

CHI. KANTI,

Read this letter and preserve it. I have accepted Devdas's demand. If now any additional expenses are incurred for you, I will see about them. Send the account also to me. Write a pleasant letter to Devdas. He must be relieved of worry. I have not decided where I will get the money from.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 10230. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

[1] The source bears a note to the effect that this was filed on July 28, 1937.

[2] The date is inferred from the contents and the subsequent letter to the addressee; *vide* p. 444.

CWMG - LXV

527. LETTER TO K. F. NARIMAN

SEGAON, WARDHA,
July 29, 1937

MY DEAR NARIMAN,

I have just seen your letter to the Press.[1] You are strange. You won't wait even whilst you are in correspondence with me. Your letter compels a public statement from me. I want to avoid it if I can.

The Working Committee has never refused to give you a tribunal. It has told you to frame your charge-sheet before it can decide whether to give it or not. But, if you like, I am willing to ask the President to give you a tribunal even before you have framed your charge-sheet. If you do not want me to do so, shall I make a statement of my impressions that have been made upon me throughout this sad episode? Please wire your reply.[2]

I may state that Sardar is here. He is quite willing to join me in asking the President to give you an independent tribunal.

Yours sincerely,

A. I. C. C. File No. 747–A, 1937. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

528. EXTRACT FROM LETTER TO K. F. NARIMAN

[After *July 29, 1937*][3]

If you do not want an enquiry, please say so without any mental reservation. To say that others are pressing you to drop the matter has no meaning. I do not like your statement

[1] Nariman had issued a statement on July 28.

[2] In *Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel*, Vol. II, p. 239, Narahari Parikh explains: "In reply to this Nariman said that he found himself in a most difficult position. Great pressure was being brought to bear on him not to pursue the matter further, and even those whom he approached as arbitrators in this matter also advised him similarly." For Gandhiji's rejoinder, *vide* the following item.

[3] According to the source, this letter was written after Gandhiji had received the addressee's reply to his letter dated July 29; *vide* the preceding item.

at all. You do not appear to realize the harm you are doing. I am as anxious to safeguard your interests as I am of the Sardar's. If the Sardar is my lieutenant, so are you. The only difference is that he does not allow himself to be prejudiced against me whenever I differ from him or show him his mistakes. You, however, are impatient when I point out your mistakes. All the members of the Working Committee are surely not your enemies. Nevertheless you seem to nurse some grievance against them all. Finally, and in spite of your distrust, I would like you to believe me when I say that I am acting in this matter solely as your well-wisher and friend.

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Vol. II, p. 239

529. LETTER TO KANTILAL GANDHI

SEGAON, WARDHA,
July [*28*/]1*30, 1937*

CHI. KANTI,

I got your letter. I have written[2] to Amtul Salaam as desired by you. She will certainly be very much hurt, but she ought to know your state of mind. I will also not send her your letters.

You will not have to ask anything from Devdas. I will look after it. You won't have to send even the account to Devdas.

I have had no letter from Prabhavati for the last 15 days. Probably she doesn't write because of the death of her father-in-law.

Rajkumari is here. Kanu has already returned. Radhakrishna has left for good. But, as we have Shantabehn in his place, the work is being looked after.

I wrote the above in three instalments spread over three days, for after writing a few lines before the morning prayer I could hardly get time during the day to write more.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7328. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

[1] From the last paragraph
[2] *Vide* p. 440.

CWMG-LXV

530. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

SEGAON, WARDHA,
July 30, 1937

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

I hope Mahadev told you yesterday in addition to acknowledging your essay on Hindi[1] that the Viceroy had invited me to Delhi on the 4th for no special reason but merely to have the pleasure of meeting him. I replied[2] saying that he had anticipated me for I wanted to seek an interview with him about the ban on Khan Saheb and my desire to visit the Frontier. I am accordingly reaching Delhi on the 4th. The appointment is for 11.30. Therefore, I hope to be able to leave the same day, returning to Segaon on the 5th.

But this letter is to send you a copy of Zakir's letter in reply to my letter giving my reaction to the recent riot in Bombay and the wretched Hindi-Urdu controversy. I thought that I should share with you this considered letter.

I do not regard the Jhansi election as a rout. It is an honourable defeat, giving rise to the hope that if we plod away we can effectively take the Congress message to the Mussalmans. But I still abide by my opinion that the mere taking of the message unaccompanied by substantial work in the villages won't answer our purpose in the end. But it all depends upon the way in which we want to generate power.

Meherally's speech in Madras is an eye-opener for me. I wonder how far he represents the general socialistic view. Rajaji has sent me a cutting containing his speech. I hope he has sent a copy to you also. I call it a bad speech of which you should take notice. This is going contrary to the Congress policy as I read it.

There is also Roy's speech at Madras. I take it, you get all such cuttings. Nevertheless, for ready reference I enclose the cuttings which Pyarelal has made for me. Roy has been writing to me, too. You should see his latest letter. It will go with this

[1] *Vide* footnote 1, p. 381.
[2] *Vide* p. 437.

if I have not destroyed it. What is your reaction to his attitude? As I have already told you I find it difficult to understand him.[1]

Your calling khadi 'livery of freedom'[2] will live as long as we speak the English language in India. It needs a first-class poet to translate into Hindi the whole of the thought behind that enchanting phrase. For me it is not merely poetry but it enunciates a great truth whose full significance we have yet to grasp.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

Though the paragraph about Roy's speech follows the one about Meherally's it is not to suggest that it is on a par with M's.

Gandhi-Nehru Papers, 1937. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Also *A Bunch of Old Letters*, pp. 237-8

531. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

July 30, 1937

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

I wanted to show this to you, but forgot. It would be better if you yourself replied to it. Or send for him in person. After you have done with the letter, send it to Rajaji with your remarks.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 208

[1] *Vide* also "Letter to M. N. Roy", p. 436.

[2] Jawaharlal Nehru used this phrase in his appeal to the country to celebrate August 1 as 'Ministry Day'; *vide* Appendix VIII.

CWMG - LXV

532. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

July 30, 1937

CHI. KAKA,

I have gone through what you sent with Vora. Nothing else occurs to me. Clause 11 should come at the end, or Clause 21 should replace Clause 11 and the latter should become Clause 12. You will understand this change as soon as you read the draft. I am sending herewith an essay by Jawaharlal on Hindi. If you can go through it today, please do so and send your suggestions. Jawaharlal has asked for my comments. I should send them immediately. If you are very busy and cannot send any suggestions, don't worry. It will suffice if I get them before you leave tomorrow.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7702

533. CRITICISM ANSWERED

My article[1] on Congress Ministries has attracted attention and evoked criticism. The latter demands an answer.

How can total prohibition be brought about immediately if at all? By 'immediately' I mean an immediate planned declaration bringing about total prohibition not later than three years from 14th July 1937, the date of the taking of office by the first Congress Ministry. I imagine that it is quite possible to bring it about in two years. But not being aware of administrative difficulties I put down three years. I count loss of this revenue as of no account whatsoever. Prohibition will remain a far cry, if the Congress is to count the cost in a matter of first-class national importance.

Let it be remembered that this drink and drugs revenue is a form of extremely degrading taxation. All taxation to be healthy must return tenfold to the tax-payer in the form of necessary services. Excise makes people pay for their own corruption—moral,

[1] *Vide* pp. 406-8.

CWMG - LXV

mental and physical. It falls like a dead weight on those who are least able to bear it. The revenue is largely derived, I believe, from industrial labour which together with field labour the Congress almost exclusively represents.

The loss of revenue is only apparent. Removal of this degrading tax enables the drinkers, i.e., the tax-payer to earn and spend better. Apart, therefore, from the tremendous gain, it means a substantial economic gain to the nation.

I put this prohibition in the forefront because its result is immediate; Congressmen and especially women have bled for it; national prestige will rise in a manner it cannot by any single act that I can conceive, and the other five Provinces are highly likely to follow the six. The Mussalman non-Congress Prime Ministers are equally interested in seeing India sober rather than drunk.

The cry of great expenditure in preventing illicit distillation is thoughtless where it is not hypocritical. India is not America. The American example is a hindrance rather than a help to us. In America drinking carries no shame with it. It is the fashion there to drink. It reflects the greatest credit on the determined minority in America that by sheer force of its moral weight it was able to carry through the prohibition measure however short-lived it was. I do not regard that experiment to have been a failure. I do not despair of America once more returning to it with still greater fervour and better experience in dealing with it. It may be that if India carries out prohibition it will hasten the advent of prohibition in America. In no part of the world is prohibition as easy to carry out as in India for with us it is only a minority that drinks. Drinking is generally considered disrespectable. And there are millions, I believe, who have never known what drink is.

But why should prevention of illicit distillation cost any more than prevention of other crimes? I should make illicit distillation heavily punishable and think no more about it. Some of it will go on perhaps till doomsday as thieving will. I would not set up a special agency to pry into illicit distilleries. But I would punish anyone found drunk though not disorderly (in the legal sense) in streets or other public places with a substantial fine or alternatively with indeterminate imprisonment to end when the erring one has earned his or her keep.

This, however, is the negative part. Voluntary organizations especially manned by women will work in the labour areas. They will visit those who are addicted to drink and try to wean

them from the habit. Employers of labour will be expected by law to provide cheap, healthy refreshment, reading and entertainment rooms where the working men can go and find shelter, knowledge, health-giving food and drink and innocent fun.

Thus prohibition means a type of adult education of the nation and not merely a closing down of grog shops.

Prohibition should begin by preventing any new shop from being licensed and closing some that are in danger of becoming a nuisance to the public. How far the latter is possible without having to pay heavy compensation I do not know. In any case, generally, licences that lapse should not be renewed. No new shops should be opened on any account. Whatever immediately is possible in law should be done without a moment's thought so far as the revenue is concerned.

But what is the meaning or extent of total prohibition? Total prohibition is prohibition against sales of intoxicating drinks and drugs, except under medical prescription by a practitioner licensed for the purpose and to be purchasable only at Government depots maintained therefor. Foreign liquors in prescribed quantity may be imported for the use of Europeans who cannot or will not do without their drink. These will also be sold in bottles in select areas and under authorized certificates. Hotels and restaurants will cease to sell intoxicating drinks.

But what about relief to the peasantry which is oppressed by excessive taxation, rack-renting, illegal exactions, indebtedness which can never be fully discharged, illiteracy, superstition and disease, peculiarly due to pauperism? Of course it comes first in terms of numbers and economic distress. But the relief of the peasantry is an elaborate programme and does not admit of wholesale treatment. And no Congress Ministry that does not handle this universal problem can exist for ten days. Every Congressman is instinctively interested, if largely academically, in this problem. He has inherited the legacy from the birth of the Congress. The distress of the peasantry may be said to be the *raison d'etre* of the Congress. There was and is no fear of this subject being neglected. I fear the same cannot be said of prohibition. It became an integral part of the Congress programme only in 1920. In my opinion, the Congress, now that it is in power, will put itself morally right only by once for all courageously and drastically dealing with this devastating evil.

How to solve the problem of education is the problem unfortunately mixed up with the disappearance of the drink revenues. No doubt there are ways and means of raising fresh

taxation. Professors Shah and Khambhatta have shown that even this poor country is capable of raising fresh taxation. Riches have not yet been sufficiently taxed. In this of all countries in the world possession of inordinate wealth by individuals should be held as a crime against Indian humanity. Therefore the maximum limit of taxation of riches beyond a certain margin can never be reached. In England, I understand, they have already gone as far as 70% of the earnings beyond a prescribed figure. There is no reason why India should not go to a much higher figure. Why should there not be death duties? Those sons of millionaires who are of age and yet inherit their parents' wealth, are losers for the very inheritance. The nation thus becomes a double loser. For the inheritance should rightly belong to the nation. And the nation loses again in that the full faculties of the heirs are not drawn out, being crushed under the load of riches. That death duties cannot be imposed by provincial Governments does not affect my argument.

But as a nation we are so backward in education that we cannot hope to fulfil our obligations to the nation in this respect in a given time during this generation, if the programme is to depend on money. I have therefore made bold, even at the risk of losing all reputation for constructive ability, to suggest that education should be self-supporting. By education I mean an all-round drawing out of the best in child and man—body, mind and spirit. Literacy is not the end of education nor even the beginning. It is only one of the means whereby man and woman can be educated. Literacy in itself is no education. I would therefore begin the child's education by teaching it a useful handicraft and enabling it to produce from the moment it begins its training. Thus every school can be made self-supporting, the condition being that the State takes over the manufactures of these schools.

I hold that the highest development of the mind and the soul is possible under such a system of education. Only every handicraft has to be taught not merely mechanically as is done today but scientifically, i. e., the child should know the why and the wherefore of every process. I am not writing this without some confidence, because it has the backing of experience. This method is being adopted more or less completely wherever spinning is being taught to workers. I have myself taught sandal-making and even spinning on these lines with good results. This method does not exclude a knowledge of history and geography. But I find that this is best taught by transmitting

such general information by word of mouth. One imparts ten times as much in this manner as by reading and writing. The signs of the alphabet may be taught later when the pupil has learnt to distinguish wheat from chaff and when he has somewhat developed his or her tastes. This is a revolutionary proposal but it saves immense labour and enables a student to acquire in one year what he may take much longer to learn. This means all-round economy. Of course the pupil learns mathematics whilst he is learning his handicraft.

I attach the greatest importance to primary education which according to my conception should be equal to the present matriculation less English. If all the collegians were all of a sudden to forget their knowledge, the loss sustained by the sudden lapse of the memory of say a few lacs of collegians would be as nothing compared to the loss that the nation has sustained and is sustaining through the ocean of darkness that surrounds three hundred millions. The measure of illiteracy is no adequate measure of the prevailing ignorance among the millions of villagers.

I would revolutionize college education and relate it to national necessities. There would be degrees for mechanical and other engineers. They would be attached to the different industries which should pay for the training of the graduates they need. Thus the Tatas would be expected to run a college for training engineers under the supervision of the State, the mill associations would run among them a college for training graduates whom they need. Similarly for the other industries that may be named. Commerce will have its college. There remain arts, medicine and agriculture. Several private arts colleges are today self-supporting. The State would, therefore, cease to run its own. Medical colleges would be attached to certified hospitals. As they are popular among monied men they may be expected by voluntary contributions to support medical colleges. And agricultural colleges to be worthy of the name must be self-supporting. I have a painful experience of some agricultural graduates. Their knowledge is superficial. They lack practical experience. But if they had their apprenticeship on farms which are self-sustained and answer the requirements of the country, they would not have to gain experience after getting their degrees and at the expense of their employers.

This is not a fanciful picture. If we would but shed our mental laziness, it would appear to be an eminently reasonable and practical solution of the problem of education that faces the

Congress Ministers and therefore the Congress. If the declarations recently made on behalf of the British Government mean what they sound to the ear, the Ministers have the organizing and organized ability of the Civil Service at their disposal to execute their policy. The Services have learnt the art of reducing to practice the policies laid down for them even by capricious Governors and Viceroys. Let the Ministers lay down a well-conceived but determined policy, and let the Services redeem the promise made on their behalf and prove worthy of the salt they eat.

There remains the question of teachers. I like Prof. K. T. Shah's idea expressed in his article elsewhere of conscription being applied to men and women of learning.[1] They may be conscripted to give a number of years, say, five, to the teaching for which they may be qualified, on a salary not exceeding their maintenance on a scale in keeping with the economic level of the country. The very high salaries that the teachers and professors in the higher branches demand must go. The village teacher has to be replaced by more competent ones.

My suggestion to turn jails into reformatories to make them self-supporting has not excited much criticism. Only one remark I have noticed. If they turn out marketable goods, I am told, they will unfairly compete with the open market. There is no substance in the remark. But I anticipated it in 1922 when I was a prisoner in Yeravda. I discussed my plan with the then Home Member, the then Inspector-General of Prisons, and two Superintendents who were in charge of the prison in succession. Not one of them cavilled at my suggestion. The then Home Member was even enthusiastic about it and wanted me to put my scheme in writing, if he could obtain the permission from the Governor. But His Excellency would not hear of a prisoner making suggestions regarding jail administration! And so my scheme never saw the light of day. But the author believes in its soundness today just as much as when he first made it. This was the plan: All industries that were not paying should be stopped. All the jails should be turned into hand-spinning and hand-weaving institutions. They should include (wherever possible) cotton-growing to producing the finest cloth. I suggest that almost every facility for this purpose already exists in the prison. Only the will has to be there. Prisoners must be treated as defectives, not criminals to be looked down upon. Warders should cease to be the terrors of the prisoners, but the

[1] *Vide* also the following item.

jail officials should be their friends and instructors. The one indispensable condition is that the State should buy all the khadi that may be turned out by the prisons at cost price. And if there is a surplus, the public may get it at a trifling higher price to cover the expense of running a sales depot. If my suggestion is adopted, the jails will be linked to the villages and they will spread to them the message of khadi and discharged prisoners may become model citizens of the State.

I am reminded that salt being a Central subject, the poor Ministers cannot do anything. I should be painfully surprised if they cannot. The Central Government has to operate in provincial territories. Provincial Governments are bound to protect people within their jurisdiction against being dealt with unjustly even by the Centre. And the Governors are bound to back the protests of their Ministers against unjust dealings with the people of their respective Provinces. If the Ministers are on the alert, there should be no difficulty in the poor villagers helping themselves to the salt without undue interference on behalf of the Central authority. I have no fear of such undue interference.

In conclusion, I should like to add that whatever I have said about prohibition, education and jails is presented merely for the consideration of Congress Ministers and the interested public. I may not withhold from the public the views which—however strange, visionary or unpractical they may appear to critics—I have held tenaciously for long.

Harijan, 31-7-1937

534. PROF. K. T. SHAH'S SUGGESTIONS

Prof. K. T. Shah was requested by me to offer his comments on my article[1] on Congress Ministries. He writes in reply[2] as follows.

Harijan, 31-7-1937

[1] *Vide* pp. 406-8.

[2] This is not reproduced here. Prof. Shah had approved of Gandhiji's programme and had suggested measures to compensate the loss of revenue. One of his suggestions was an appeal "to the Services for a *voluntary surrender* of their excess of salaries and allowances above a prescribed maximum".

535. LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA

SEGAON,
July 31, 1937

MY DEAR KUMARAPPA,

Your memorandum to the Ministers is good so far as it goes.[1] The article reads all right but Hindi is not up to the mark. Whose is it? Yes, register it. I understand it costs nothing. I leave for Delhi on 3rd and hope to return on 5th, 6th at the latest. Hope Sita continues to like her new life and surroundings.

Love to you all.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 10126

536. LETTER TO NARAHARI D. PARIKH

July 31, 1937

CHI. NARAHARI,

I got your letter. I would like you to examine Venilal Buch's demand on Navajivan Karyalaya and settle it. I think for the sake of propriety you should get the consent of the trustees. The best thing, therefore, would perhaps be that you yourself should call on Jivanji[2] and get his consent, so that I might be relieved of that burden.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9107

[1] *Vide* also p. 386.
[2] Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai, Manager, Navajivan Press

CWMG - LXV

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

RESOLUTION PASSED AT A. I. C. C. MEETING, DELHI[1]

March 16, 1937

The All-India Congress Committee records its high appreciation of the magnificent response of the country to the call of the Congress during the recent elections and the approval by the electorate of the Congress policy and programme. The Congress entered these elections with its objective of independence and its total rejection of the new Constitution; and the demand for a Constituent Assembly to frame India's Constitution. The declared Congress policy was to combat the new Act and end it. The electorate has, in an overwhelming majority, set its seal of approval on this policy and programme, and the new Act, therefore, stands condemned and utterly rejected by the people through the self-same democratic process which has been invoked by the British Government, and the people have further declared that they desire to frame their own constitution, based on national independence, through the medium of a Constituent Assembly elected by adult franchise. This Committee, therefore, demands on behalf of the people of India that the new Constitution be withdrawn.

In the event of the British Government still persisting with the new Constitution in defiance of the declared will of the people, the All-India Congress Committee desire to impress upon all Congress members of the Legislatures that their work inside and outside the Legislatures must be based on the fundamental Congress policy of combating the new Constitution and seeking to end it, a policy on the basis of which they sought the suffrage of the electorate and won their overwhelming victory in elections. That policy must inevitably lead to deadlocks with the British Government and bring out still further the inherent antagonism between British Imperialism and Indian Nationalism and expose the autocratic nature of the new Constitution.[2]

The Background

While the British Government's reform as proposed in the Government of India Act (1935) had been totally rejected by the Bombay Congress session, at the Working Committee meeting held at Allahabad in April, 1936, the members differed widely in their views on the subject of office-acceptance.

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

[2] This was followed by the clause on office-acceptance.

In the absence of a consensus, it was decided to review the matter after the elections in February, 1937. When the results of the elections were announced, the Congress had the majority of seats in five Provinces, namely, Madras, the United Provinces, the Central Provinces, Bihar and Orissa. It was the biggest single Party in four Provinces, namely, Bombay, Bengal, Assam and North-West Frontier Province. In the Legislative Assemblies of Sind and the Punjab, the Congress was in a minority. The following extract from *The History of the Indian National Congress*, shows the Party position in various Assemblies:

Province	Total No. of Seats in the Legislative Assembly	Seats Won by the Congress
Madras	215	159
Bihar	152	98
Bengal	250	54
C.P.	112	70
Bombay	175	86
U. P.	228	134
Punjab	175	18
N.W. F. P.	50	19
Sind	60	7
Assam	108	33
Orissa	60	36

The following is extracted from the resolution passed by the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee in Madras on March 10, 1937:

"The Tamil Nadu Congress Committee is convinced on good grounds that the people of this Province, who have expressed their unqualified confidence in the Congress leadership, are strongly and definitely in favour of the Congress Party accepting ministerial responsibilities with a view to carrying out the policy of the Congress and the programme laid down in the Congress manifesto, and that they will be extremely disappointed if any other decision is adopted.

"The Provincial Congress Committee is of the opinion that accepting the ministerial offices by the Congress in Legislatures will strengthen the Congress Party and develop the sanctions necessary for achieving the Congress goal, by creating the psychology of confidence between the masses and the forces of repression that have been hitherto employed against them by the bureaucracy. . . .

"The Provincial Congress Committee therefore is clearly of the opinion that in all the Provinces where Congressmen are in majorities in Provincial Legislatures, so as to enable them to function as stable Ministries without

CWMG - LXV

having to depend upon doubtful non-Congress groups, the Congressmen should accept ministerial offices on behalf of the Party."

In his speech on the A. I. C. C. resolution, C. Rajagopalachari said:

" . . . Let us not distrust each other. Do not think we are hankering after jobs. . . . When they went to the Governor they had to tell him what they proposed to do and ask him if he would use his special powers. If the Governor refused to give an answer, they would come back. If he said he would use them, then also as self-respecting men they would come back; but if he said he would not use them, they would take his words at their face value. If later he broke those words, they could come out. . . ."

Jawaharlal Nehru said that "though he also continued the opposition . . . he eventually agreed again in deference to the wishes of Mahatma Gandhi and with a view to keeping up solidarity, which, in his view, was essential to fight the new Constitution."

The A. I. C. C. then "took up consideration of the draft of the oath which every Congress Legislator will be required to take affirming allegiance to Congress and the country on the first day of the National Convention Session." The draft, prepared by Jawaharlal Nehru and revised by Gandhi-ji, read:

"I, Member of this All-India Convention, pledge myself to the service of India and to work in the Legislatures and outside for the independence of India and the ending of the exploitation and poverty of her people.

"I pledge myself to work under the discipline of the Congress for the furtherance of Congress ideals and objectives to the end that India may be free and independent and her millions freed from the heavy burdens they suffer from."

Pattabhi Sitaramayya explains thus the question of "assurances":

"Apart from the question of the academic and theoretical issues involved in this affair, it would be just as well to study in detail the significance of the demands made by the Congress that the Governors shall not use their special powers of interference or set aside the advice of Ministers in regard to the constitutional activities. These special powers relate to certain groups, interests and areas. The groups are the minorities, the interests are the vested interests of the British and the areas are the excluded and the semi-excluded areas in British India, and the Indian States. By this demand it is meant that the Governors should only act like the Governors in the Provinces of Australia (Section 51). They should not have the power to dismiss Ministers at their pleasure, that the salaries should be fixed as desired by the leader of the House (Section 50), that they should not preside over the Council of Ministers, that they should not interfere or make Ordinances (Sections 55-88), or Acts on grounds of menace to peace and tranquillity, that they had nothing to do with the appointment of Advocate-General (Section 56), or with the making of the police rules:

(Section 57) with violent crimes
(„ 59) with the framing of rules of business allocating the duties of Ministers
(„ 62) dissolving the Assembly
(„ 74) introduction of Bills
(„ 75) assenting to Bills
(„ 78) inclusion of extra amounts of expenditure in the budget
(„ 82) introducing a Bill or an amendment to a Bill increasing or imposing any tax or borrowing money except on the recommendation of Ministers
(„ 84) making rules for legislative procedure with the consultation of the Speaker
(„ 86) interference with any Bill as trenching upon Governor's special charge
(„ 88) Governor's Ordinances
(„ 90) Governor's Acts
(„ 92) Excluded Areas
(„ 258) the privileges of Services."

The Hindustan Times, 17-3-1937, and *The Bombay Chronicle*, 11-3-1937, 18-3-1937 and 19-3-1937; also *The History of the Indian National Congress*, Vol. II, pp. 39 and 46-7

APPENDIX II

LORD LOTHIAN'S LETTER TO "THE TIMES"[1]

The statement[2] seems to be based on a complete misunderstanding of the way in which the system of responsible government works in practice and of paragraphs 7 and 8 of the Instrument of Instructions to Governors.

Responsible government has been the method by which the Canadian and Australian Federation and South Africa and New Zealand each have attained full national self-government by constitutional means, often in the early days against the opposition both of Governors and the British Government. In every case the Governor or Governor-General was endowed with veto powers and other responsibilities of his own.

I venture to assert that in no case has a Ministry possessed of a majority in the Legislature asked, and that it certainly never received, any assurance that the Governor would not use his special powers. Yet these powers and responsibilities in the hands of Governors have not prevented steady advance to full self-government.

[1] *Vide* p. 70.
[2] *Vide* pp. 36-8.

CWMG - LXV

That is because the issue turns not so much on the legal power as on the responsibility—that responsibility, Mr. Gandhi once told me himself, was India's first need to exercise.

I do not think, therefore, that Mr. Gandhi had hitherto any legitimate ground for saying that the British Government flouted the majority or failed to give effect to the principle of provincial autonomy.

Governors simply acted in the manner always contemplated at the Round Table Conference and repeatedly proclaimed by Ministers as being the ordinary practice under the system of responsible Government.

I am sure that British public opinion hopes and expects that majorities returned by the new electorate will take over responsibility under the Constitution for the Government of their Provinces. If Congress leaders take the course ordinarily adopted under responsible government and, without asking for assurances, accept office, formulate their practical proposals of reform, pass them into law and advise the Governor that they will find themselves endowed with both power and responsibility for the Government of their Provinces, I am sure Mr. Gandhi will find by following this step that he will have taken a tremendous step towards that transference of power from the bureaucracy to the largest and fullest democracy known in the world which he hopes to bring about.

The Indian Annual Register, 1937, Vol. I, p. 244

APPENDIX III

EXTRACTS FROM THE CONGRESS ELECTION MANIFESTO[1]

August 22, 1936

For more than fifty years the Indian National Congress has laboured for the freedom of India, and ever, as its strength grew and it came to represent more and more the nationalist urge of the Indian people and their desire to put an end to exploitation by British Imperialism, it came into conflict with the ruling power. During the recent years the Congress has led great movements for national freedom and has sought to develop sanctions whereby such freedom can be achieved by peaceful mass action and the disciplined sacrifice and suffering of the Indian people. To the lead of the Congress the Indian people have responded in an abundant measure and thus confirmed their inherent right to freedom. That struggle for freedom still continues and must continue till India is free and independent.

These years have seen the development of an economic crisis in India and the world which has led to a progressive deterioration in the condition of all classes of our people. The poverty-stricken masses are today in the grip

[1] *Vide* pp. 85 and 119.

of an even more abject poverty and destitution, and this growing disease urgently and insistently demands a radical remedy. Poverty and unemployment have long been the lot of our peasantry and industrial workers; today they cover and crush other classes also—the artisan, the trader, the small merchant, the middle-class intelligentsia. For the vast millions of our countrymen the problem of achieving national independence has become an urgent one, for only independence can give us the power to solve our economic and social problems and end the exploitation of our masses.

The growth of the national movement and the economic crisis have resulted in the intense repression of the Indian people and the suppression of civil liberties, and the British Government has sought to strengthen the imperialist bonds that envelop India and to perpetuate the domination and exploitation of the Indian people by enacting the Government of India Act of 1935. . . .

In the international sphere crisis follows crisis in an ever-deepening degree and world-war hangs over the horizon. The Lucknow Congress called the attention of the nation to this grave situation in India and the world, and declared its opposition to the participation of India in an imperialist war and its firm resolve to continue the struggle for the independence of India.

The Congress rejected in its entirely the Constitution imposed upon India by the new Act and declared that no constitution imposed by outside authority and no constitution which curtails the sovereignty of the people of India, and does not recognize their right to shape and control fully their political and economic future, can be accepted. Such a constitution, in its opinion, must be based on the independence of India as a nation and it can only be framed by a Constituent Assembly.

The Congress has always laid stress on the development of the strength of the people and the forging of sanctions to enforce the people's will. To this end it has carried on activities outside the Legislatures. The Congress holds that real strength comes from thus organizing and serving the masses.

Adhering to this policy and objective, but in view of the present situation and in order to prevent the operation of forces calculated to strengthen alien domination and exploitation, the Congress decides to contest seats in the coming elections for the provincial Legislatures. But the purpose of sending Congressmen to the Legislatures under the new Act is not to co-operate in any way with the Act but to combat it and seek to end it. It is to carry out, in so far as is possible, the Congress policy of rejection of the Act, and to resist British imperialism in its attempts to strengthen its hold on India and its exploitation of the Indian people. In the opinion of the Congress, activity in the Legislatures should be such as to help in the work outside, in the strengthening of the people, and in the development of the sanctions which are essential to freedom.

The new Legislatures, hedged and circumscribed by safeguards and special powers for the protection of British and other vested interests, cannot yield

substantial benefits, and they are totally incapable of solving the vital problems of poverty and unemployment. But they may well be used by British imperialism for its own purposes to the disadvantage and injury of the Indian people. The Congress representatives will seek to resist this, and to take all possible steps to end the various regulations, Ordinances and Acts which oppress the Indian people and smother their will to freedom. They will work for the establishment of civil liberty, for the release of political prisoners and detenus, and to repair the wrongs done to the peasantry and to public institutions in the course of the national struggle.

The Congress realizes that independence cannot be achieved through these Legislatures, nor can the problem of poverty and unemployment be effectively tackled by them. Nevertheless the Congress places its general programme before the people of India so that they may know what it stands for and what it will try to achieve, whenever it has the power to do so. . . .

Pending the formulation of a fuller programme, the Congress reiterates its declaration made at Karachi—that it stands for a reform of the system of land tenure and revenue and rent and an equitable adjustment of the burden on agricultural land, giving immediate relief to the smaller peasantry by a substantial reduction of agricultural rent and revenue now paid by them and exempting uneconomic holdings from payment of rent and revenue. . . .

The communal decision, which forms part of the new Act, has led to much controversy and the Congress attitude towards it has been misunderstood by some people. The rejection in its entirety of the new Act by the Congress inevitably involves the rejection of the communal decision. Even apart from the Act as a whole the communal decision is wholly unacceptable as being inconsistent with independence and the principle of democracy. . . .

The Congress, therefore, holds that the right way to deal with the situation created by the communal decision is to intensify our struggle for independence and, at the same time, to seek a common basis for an agreed solution which helps to strengthen the unity of India. . . .

The question of accepting Ministries or not in the new Legislatures was postponed for a decision by the Lucknow Congress. The A. I. C. C. is of opinion that it will be desirable for this decision to be taken after the elections. Whatever the decision on this question might be, it must be remembered that, in any event, the Congress stands for the rejection of the new Act, and for no co-operation in its working. The object remains the same—the ending of the Act. With a view to this end every endeavour will be made to prevent the introduction and functioning of the federal part of the scheme, which is intended to perpetuate the domination of imperialist interests and the feudal interests of the States over the whole country and prevent all progress towards freedom. It must be borne in mind that the new provincial Assemblies will form the electorate for the proposed federal central Legislature and the

composition of those provincial Legislatures will materially affect the fate of the federal Constitution. . . .

With this great and inspiring goal before us, for which so many men and women of India have suffered and sacrificed their all under the banner of the Congress, and for which today thousands of our countrymen are suffering silently and with brave endurance, we call upon our people with full hope and confidence to rally to the cause of the Congress, of India, of freedom.

Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru, Vol. 7, pp. 459-63

APPENDIX IV

LORD ZETLAND'S SPEECH[1]

May 6, 1937

If a quasi-legal formula could be devised to regulate the varied and changing relationships between the Governor and his Ministry, it would have been embodied in the Act. It was just because there was no such formula that it was emphasized again and again in the course of the discussions preceding the Bill that it would be the spirit in which the Constitution was worked that would be of the first importance for its success. It is here that such unfortunate misunderstandings have arisen. In some quarters a great deal more has been read into that part of the Act which imposes certain obligations upon a Governor than it actually contains.

In its most recent pronouncement, the Congress declared that the past record and the present attitude of the British Government showed that without the assurances demanded a popular Ministry would be exposed to constant irritating interference. This differs so profoundly from the picture of a popular Ministry functioning under the Act as I have always seen it that it is perhaps desirable that I should describe the working of the Constitution in Indian Provinces as I always contemplated it. Since I was a member not only of the Select Committee, but the Round Table Conference, I may claim to know something of the intentions of those who framed the measure and the spirit in which it was conceived.

First let it not be supposed that the field of Government may be divided into two parts in which the Governor and Ministry operate separately at the risk of clashes between them. The essence of the new Constitution is that the initiative and responsibility for the whole Government of the Province, though in form vested in the Governor, passes to the Ministry as soon as it takes office. It will be the Governor's duty to help Ministers in their task in every

[1] *Vide* pp. 175, 197, 209, 214, 332 and 373.

CWMG - LXV

way, particularly by his political experience or administrative knowledge.

The reserved powers of which so much has been made by the Congress will not normally be in operation; indeed they only come into the picture if he considers that the carefully limited special responsibilities laid upon him by the Act and impressed upon him by the Instrument of Instructions are involved, but even if the question of their use does arise—here is emphasized the spirit in which it was intended that the Constitution should be worked—it would be altogether wrong to assume that a Governor would immediately set himself in open opposition to his Ministry.

That is the last thing in the world that I should either expect or desire. A Governor whose advice and support has been valuable to a Ministry in the conduct of its own affairs will surely be able to lay his own difficulties before them the moment he sees a risk that he and his Ministers may not see eye to eye in a matter for which special responsibility has been laid upon him by Parliament. Just as Ministers can count upon the assistance of the Governor in their difficulties, so could he in his turn rely upon receiving the sympathetic consideration of his Ministers for a difficulty in his own position which, maybe, could be met by some modification of their proposals that would not materially affect the Ministry's programme.

In any case a discussion of the matter between men working together for a common purpose is likely at least to secure that points of difference between them are narrowed. It will then be for each having regard to the interests of the Province as a whole to consider whether the points of difference so narrowed and defined justify a break in a fruitful relationship. It would doubtless be too much to hope that occasions will never arise in which neither side can with good conscience give way. But if my picture of the working of Government under the Act is true and if the relations between the Governor and his Ministry are those of partners in a common enterprise, there can be no possible question of the Governors interfering constantly and embarrassingly in the responsibilities and work of the Ministries.

It is certainly not the intention that Governors by a narrow or legalistic interpretation of their own responsibilities should trench upon the wide powers which it was the purpose of Parliament to place in the hands of Ministries and which it is our desire they should use in the furtherance of the programmes which they advocated. In the working of the Constitution as far as it at present is possible to judge, I find happy confirmation of the picture as I have always seen it.

Both in the Provinces in which Ministries are working with majorities in the Legislatures and those in which minority Ministries are functioning, a bold programme has been drawn up as far as I know without the smallest attempt on the part of any Governor to interfere.

Is it too much to hope that those who have so far hesitated to accept responsibilities of office from a mistaken sense of fear lest they should be

unduly hampered in their tasks will derive reassurance and encouragement from the object-lesson provided by the actual working of the Constitution in their midst? I need hardly say that I hope devoutly and in all sincerity that it may be so.

The Bombay Chronicle, 7-5-1937

APPENDIX V

KOODALMANIKKAM TEMPLE CONTROVERSY[1]

At Irinjalakuda in the Cochin State there is an ancient and important Hindu temple known as the Koodalmanikkam Devaswom. The Devaswom owns extensive lands in Travancore, Cochin and Malabar. The management of the affairs of the Temple, both spiritual and temporal, is vested in a person who is designated the Thachudaya Kaimal which literally means the Chief of Lord, who owns the building (Temple). This person is appointed by His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore in exercise of His Highness's immemorial right recognized and confirmed by the treaties between Travancore and Cochin in 1761, 1765 and 1805.

The nomination and consecration of the Kaimal are no mere secular acts but are attended with elaborate ceremonies which have deep religious significance and are relevant in indicating the status of the Kaimal in relation to the Temple. . . . By virtue of the nomination and consecration ceremonies, the nominee, who was originally a Nair by birth, becomes clothed with the spiritual dignity and status of the highest Brahmin, and his spiritual eminence is considered superior even to that of His Highness the Maharaja of Cochin. For according to tradition even His Highness the Maharaja of Cochin has to touch the pole of the Kaimal's palanquin just when the Kaimal enters it to be taken in procession round the Temple. He assumes the name of the deity and is called *Manikkam Keralan* and manages the spiritual and temporal affairs of the Devaswom. When he dies purificatory ceremonies are performed in the Temple and Brahmins perform the cremation ceremony; and *sraddham* for the dead Kaimal is performed in the Temple. The idea is that with the consecration the Kaimal becomes the visible representative of the presiding deity.

With the death of a former Kaimal in 1850, disputes arose as to the right of the Maharaja of Travancore to appoint the successor. The contention was put forward by Cochin that the Kaimal had no right of management of the Temple and that the right to nominate the Kaimal could be exercised by

[1] *Vide* pp. 142, 177 and 228. Only extracts are reproduced here.

Travancore only when the Temple building itself stood in need of repair. Travancore repudiated this plea and asserted the right of the Maharaja of Travancore to appoint a Kaimal to be in management of the spiritual and temporal affairs of the Temple whenever that office fell vacant. The matter was referred to arbitration; and after protracted enquiry, the Arbitrator Mr. J. C. Hannyngton decided that Cochin's contentions were untenable, that the Travancore nominee had entire management and control of the whole of the Temple concerns and its endowments. . . . The Kaimal was then appointed and duly consecrated, but Cochin again contested before its own local courts the right of the Kaimal to institute suits on behalf of the Devaswom or to collect the rents and profits independently of the *Yogakkars*, who, it was alleged, were still the owners of the Temple. . . . Travancore contended that the Kaimal was the supreme spiritual and temporal authority of the Koodalmanikkam Temple and had the sole right of management of all affairs concerning the Temple and that the status and powers of the Kaimal did not depend on the pronouncement of the Municipal Courts of Cochin. . . .

The Madras Government accepted the contentions of the Travancore Government. . . . The Resident was directed to advise the Cochin Durbar to restore to the Kaimal by legislation or proclamation the powers of which he had been found to have been deprived by the judicial decisions in Cochin. The Cochin Durbar took the matter in appeal before the Secretary of State who confirmed the decision of the Madras Government.

Meanwhile, the Kaimal who was then in office died and another Kaimal had to be appointed. . . . The States could not agree as to the best method of providing such control and eventually, after long-pending negotiations, it was agreed that the British Resident might be constituted as the Controlling Authority with reference specifically to the management of the properties and incomes belonging to the Devaswom.

A scheme of management was accordingly drawn up and agreed to by all the parties concerned in which the spiritual authority of the Kaimal as "the chief religious authority to clear all doubts in connection with the internal management of the temple" was expressly affirmed and provision was made whereby (a) the Kaimal was not to exceed a certain scale of personal expenditure prescribed for him, (b) the Kaimal had to keep correct accounts of all receipts and expenditure and submit financial statements, as audited, to the Governments of Travancore and Cochin and to the Controlling Authority, (c) the Kaimal was subject to be removed by the Controlling Authority from the management of the Devaswom properties and incomes if, on enquiry in the manner prescribed in the scheme, the Kaimal was found guilty of mismanagement and misconduct which rendered his further continuance in control of the Temple undesirable. The only right of the *Yogakkars* recognized in the scheme was that the annual accounts should be read out from the Temple to the *Yogakkars* on a prescribed day of every year.

This, in brief, is the present position of the Kaimal; and the Kaimal now in office functions under the provisions of the scheme outlined above. It will thus be clear that after a dispute which lasted for over seventy years the status and functions of the Kaimal, both spiritual and temporal, were finally settled when the proclamation and scheme of management were promulgated in 1917. Everything was calm and smooth until some time after the Travancore Temple-entry Proclamation.

There was no question that the Kaimal was not the supreme spiritual authority to regulate and settle all matters of a religious nature. But when *tantris* who had officiated in Travancore temples entered and officiated in the Koodalmanikkam Temple, Cochin revived the contention as to the *Yogakkar's* right to control the Kaimal's action in regard to religious practices and to issue directions to him. On representations made by some of them, His Highness the Maharaja of Cochin declared on the 15th April that the Temple was polluted because a *tantri* who officiated in a Travancore temple which was open to *avarnas* had officiated in the Koodalmanikkam Temple, and that purificatory ceremony in the Temple was necessary before the *Utsavam* festival could commence. The *vazhivadoos* or offerings of the Cochin Maharaja were also ordered to be withdrawn until further orders. On the 17th April, the Resident issued directions to the Kaimal asking the latter to follow the instructions issued by the Maharaja of Cochin. The Kaimal obeyed the directions of the Resident. Encouraged obviously by the action of the Resident, the Cochin Government again issued orders to the Kaimal to prohibit the entry into the Temple or the tank of all persons who had participated in ceremonies in Travancore temples, unless they performed *prayashchittam*. The Kaimal protested against the action of the Cochin Maharaja and complained about the scope of the Resident's orders. . . .

Travancore had no concern with the action taken by the Cochin Government with respect to the subjects of the Cochin State and was merely interested in preserving the authority which the Kaimal assumed when he was invested with that office on nomination by His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore. According to Travancore, the only authority competent to declare whether under the circumstances there was pollution or not and whether purificatory ceremony was required or not was the Kaimal as the spiritual head of the Devaswom—a position affirmed even in the scheme promulgated by the Cochin Maharaja with the consent of Travancore and the British Government. Any order passed by the Maharaja of Cochin or the Resident without reference to the Kaimal and opposed to his (Kaimal's) own declaration would be ineffective and without jurisdiction.

The Resident has subsequently made his position clear as is evident from the interviews given by him to the Press. The direction given by him to the Kaimal did not purport to be an interference with the exercise of the discretion vested in the Kaimal in religious matters but were intended

to maintain *status quo* mainly as a precautionary measure to preserve law and order. . . .

According to Travancore, the powers of the Resident as Controlling Authority are limited to those expressly specified in the Scheme and no proper occasion had arisen for the intervention of the Resident either as Controlling Authority or as representative of the Paramount Power, for, in either capacity, the Resident had no jurisdiction in giving directions on religious matters solely within the cognizance of the Kaimal. If there was any apprehension of breaches of the peace, there is nothing to show that the Cochin Government could not have dealt with the situation adequately. The Kaimal himself has stated in an interview that even without the Resident's intervention the *Utsavam* festival would have passed off peacefully, and that this would have been possible even though some of the sanatanist *tantris* had non-co-operated.

The Kaimal has subsequently exercised his discretion and declared that in the circumstances stated there was no pollution whatever. Travancore contends that this declaration finally settles the controversy and that the Resident having substantially upheld the discretionary authority of the Kaimal in spiritual matters Travancore has no more any reason to complain . . . .

It may be of interest to note that even in the not distant past there have been instances when ancient religious customs and usages have been departed from in Cochin on the ground that they were unreasonable. Men who had cropped their hair and men who had crossed the sea had no admission into temples in Cochin. But the prohibition does not now exist. The ground on which, in the present case, the Maharaja of Cochin declared in favour of pollution, is not sanctioned by the Shastras or by usage.

Harijan, 22-5-1937

APPENDIX VI

VICEROY'S SPEECH[1]

June 21, 1937

I dare say you will recall that when I spoke to you by wireless on the day I took charge of the office as Viceroy, I gave you my view that we should be wise not to expect that constitutional changes as profound as those into which we have now entered could come about altogether without difficulty. I want today to say a few words to you about those difficulties as they have emerged, and to try my utmost to make some contribution towards their final dissipation. As you read this message I would ask you to bear

[1] *Vide* pp. 327, 332 and 373. Only extracts are reproduced here.

in mind two things. The first, that, while I am truly anxious not to be more formal or technical than my task requires . . . I should not attempt to shorten too much or to oversimplify the various matters I propose to discuss. The second, that, even though . . . my words may seem to you a little formal, this does not mean that my personal approach to these problems is in the least degree cold or unsympathetic . . . .

I have refrained hitherto from making any public statement of any sort on the constitutional issues which have been raised by the refusal of the party which commands a majority of the votes in the Legislatures to accept office in certain Provinces. My decision to do so was deliberate . . . . A point has now, however, been reached at which it will, I think, be of advantage that, for the benefit of the man in the street and the ordinary elector, I should myself take up the threads of this discussion in the light of the statements which have been made in Parliament by the Secretary of State, and in individual Provinces by the Governors, and that I should state comprehensively, in the most formal and public manner open to me, my attitude, which is equally the attitude of the Secretary of State and of the Governor of every Province in India, on the constitutional issues which have been brought to the fore in connection with this question of office–acceptance. . . .

Three months ago a great political party which commanded in six Provinces a majority in the Legislature felt that, even with the support of the majority in the Legislature, it could not wisely accept office under the provisions of the Act unless it received certain specific assurances from Governors. Three months' experience of the operation of the Constitution, short as I agree that that period is, has conclusively shown from the practical point of view that, any legal difficulties in regard to the grant of such assurances apart, those assurances are not essential to the smooth and harmonious working of the Constitution . . . Those three months have shown equally and beyond question that the apprehensions—even if I see no foundation of fact for them—that Governors would seek occasions for interfering with the policy of their Ministers or for the gratuitous and uncalled-for exercise of the Special Responsibilities imposed upon them by the Act to impede or challenge the Ministers in the day-to-day administration of the Province, have no shadow of justification.

I have been intimately associated with the framing of the present Constitution. . . . The Act, and the Instrument of Instructions which must be read with the Act, have been approved by Parliament. Taken together, they represent the intention of Parliament and the Instruction given by Parliament to Governors. Those documents make it clear beyond any possibility of question that, under Provincial Autonomy, in all matters falling within the ministerial field, including the position of the Minorities, the Services, etc., the Governor will ordinarily be guided, in the exercise of his powers, by the advice of his Ministers and that those Ministers will be responsible not to Parliament but to

the provincial Legislature. The only qualifications of this rule are in respect of certain specific and clearly defined matters. The most important of these are those known as the Special Responsibilities; and of those Special Responsibilities again, the most important are the prevention of any grave menace to the peace or tranquillity of the Province or any part of the Province, the safeguarding of the legitimate interests of the minorities and the securing to the Services and their dependents of any rights provided or preserved for them under the Act and the safeguarding of their legitimate interests. . . .

Within the limited area of his Special Responsibilities a Governor is directly answerable to Parliament, whether he accepts or does not accept the advice of his Ministers. But if the Governor is unable to accept the advice of his Ministers, then the responsibility for his decision is his and his alone. In that event, Ministers bear no responsibility for the decision and are entitled—if they so desire—publicly to state that they take no responsibility for that particular decision or even that they have advised the Governor in an opposite sense. But every Governor will be concerned to have the support of his Ministry or to know that he is not slightly at variance with his Ministry. . . . He will listen with a mind open to conviction to the arguments on the other side. . . . If he regards those arguments as valid, he will modify his proposal . . . on the other hand, as invalid, he will do his utmost, before taking a final decision, to convince the Minister or the Ministry of the soundness of the reasons for which he is unable to accept his or their view and if, in these circumstances, he still remains unable to influence their views in the direction he desires, he will take his decision . . . and, before passing it, he will have exhausted all methods of convincing his Ministry that that decision was the right one, given the obligation imposed upon him by the Act. . . .

I welcome for this reason the helpful suggestion recently made by Mr. Gandhi that it is only when the issue between a Governor and his Ministers constitutes a serious disagreement that any question of the severing of their partnership need arise. "Serious disagreement" is a phrase which it is possible to define and to interpret in various ways. But the general sense is clear enough to anyone with any political or administrative experience. The matter involved must be of such really major importance. It must, I would myself say, be of such a character that a compromise was ruled out by a particular action taken against their advice by a Governor in the discharge of his responsibilities under the Act, despite the fact that Ministers had no direct or indirect responsibility for that action and that a Governor had taken the utmost pains to satisfy his Ministry that he had no choice in the discharge of his responsibilities but to take the action in question. I readily agree that where, on such an issue arising and where the Governor and his Ministers have both approached the matter, as I am confident that they would, with open minds and with a full sense of responsibility—the Governor, in so far as his Special Responsibilities are concerned to Parliament, the

Ministry to the provincial Legislature—no agreement could be reached, then the Ministry must either resign or be dismissed. As between resignation and dismissal, normal constitutional practice leans very heavily indeed to the side of resignation. Resignation is more consistent with the self-respect of a Ministry and is an effective public indication of the attitude of Ministers towards the action of a Governor. Resignation equally is an act taken spontaneously by a Ministry. Dismissal, more unusual by far in constitutional practice, might seem to carry with it some suggestion which we are concerned at any cost to eliminate from the new constitutional arrangements. I ought perhaps to add that the suggestion that the Governor should in certain circumstances demand the resignation of his Ministers is not the solution provided by the Act, so that it will not be possible for Governors to accept it. Both resignation and dismissal are possible, the former at the option of the Ministers and the latter at the option of the Governors. But the Act does not contemplate that the Governor's option should be used to force the Minister's option and thus to shift the responsibility from himself.

I have deliberately dealt with the extreme case of a conflict involving resignation or dismissal, for it is the extreme case on which attention has been riveted. . . . I feel no doubt whatever myself that on that basis deadlocks need not be anticipated in view of the anxiety of all Governors, to which I can myself testify, not merely not to provoke conflicts with their Ministers, to whatever party their Ministers may belong, but to leave nothing undone to avoid or to resolve such conflicts. I have been the more concerned to set out in some detail the position, as I see it, in that it is essential that those interests or communities or areas to which the Act extends the assurance of the Special Responsibilities should not, for a moment, think, or have the least ground for thinking, that any question will arise of sacrificing their interests for political reasons. . . . What I am concerned to make clear is that, without any threat to those interests or any sacrifice of them, a Governor and his Ministers can, in my judgment, hope, within the provision of the Act, to operate the Constitution in the normal manner which the Act envisages and to avoid, save in circumstances which I find it not easy to contemplate, fundamental differences of opinion such as to endanger the relation between the Governor and his Ministry in that very limited area in which special obligations and responsibilities are imposed upon a Governor. . . .

Before I take leave of you, I feel that you would wish me, setting aside all technicalities, to speak to you for a moment or two as one who has had a good deal of Parliamentary experience and some share in the shaping of the new Constitution. Some of you, I know, hold and hold strongly, that the plan of reform does not go sufficiently far in the direction of complete self-government. I do not question the sincerity with which that view is held. But I am certain that every responsible person, in deciding his position on this vital matter does so with a genuine anxiety in the best interests of India

to take a balanced view and to reach a right decision as to what may best be done in the conditions of this time to serve those interests.

Let me at once assure you that in my best judgment and given goodwill on all sides this Constitution will work and that in experience it will be found to work well. It stands now as the law of the land. It stands too—and despite all the criticism that has been levelled against it—as the only complete and homogeneous scheme of political reform now before the country. I am convinced that the shortest road to that fuller political life which many of you so greatly desire is to accept this Constitution and to work it for all it is worth. Of their nature, politics are ever dynamic and to imagine that their expression in terms of a written Constitution can render them static would be utterly to disregard the lessons of history and indeed the dictates of common sense. Again, it is my firm conviction that this Constitution will be found to offer immense opportunities for beneficent public service and in this connection I may venture a word upon a matter very close to my heart. It is my conviction that in the full working and development of this Constitution lies the best hope for that general and lasting amelioration in the conditions of the rural population and of the humbler sections of society which all of us so ardently desire.

The discussions and debates of the last two months have, I think, placed before you every argument and point of view that bear upon this issue. The choice—a choice fraught with so much of profound significance for the future of India—must shortly be made. I hope with all my heart that all, whether leaders or their followers, may find it their duty to choose the way of constructive effort. Whatever emerges, you may count upon me, in face even of bitter disappointment, to strive unstirringly towards the full and final establishment in India of the principles of parliamentary government. But if what I should regard as a deplorable outcome should emerge from the present situation and if parliamentary and responsible government should, as a consequence, be suspended in a number of Provinces, it might, however much we might all of us regret it, be beyond the power of any of us rapidly to reverse the circumstances that must then supervene. In that event invaluable time will be lost, and I greatly fear, no little hurt inflicted upon the cause of progressive reform.

But I do not believe that these sad things will come to pass, for I have faith in you and in the destiny of India. The way we tread may seem dark and sometimes difficult. The star that guides our course may seem sometimes to flicker and almost to fall. Yet faith and courage are mighty forces. Let us summon them to our aid in this difficult hour and together move steadily towards the fulfilment of our hopes.

The Indian Annual Register, 1937, Vol. I, pp. 264-70

APPENDIX VII

VALLABHBHAI PATEL'S STATEMENT[1]

July 9, 1937

I have remained studiously silent regarding the unfortunate controversy that has been going on in the Press about the election of the leader of the Congress Parliamentary Party in the Bombay Legislative Assembly. I feel that the time has now come for me to make a brief statement for the information of the public. Shri Nariman has suggested that I intervened in an unwarranted manner in the election of the leader. He has persisted in this charge, although Gangadharrao Deshpande and Shankarrao Deo, the two individuals most concerned, have emphatically repudiated it. As is well known, the bulk of the members of the Legislature have also repudiated the charge in writing. I now say with a full sense of responsibility that I have never, directly or indirectly, influenced this election. What happened was this: on the morning of the 4th of March, Nariman came to me and asked me for a private interview. I readily agreed. At his suggestion it was then arranged that we should go for a drive in the evening to Worli. Accordingly he came and took me in his car to Worli. He asked me to help him in the election. I told him I could not do so for reasons which I had already indicated to him. At the same time, I also told him that I would not use my influence against him, or support anyone else.

Certain telegrams sent by me to Shri Gangadharrao Deshpande and Shri Shankarrao Deo have been quoted as proof of my intervention against Nariman. Both Gangadharrao and Shankarrao have stated in unambiguous terms that the telegrams were not connected with the election of Nariman. It is a matter of common knowledge that I have frequently entrusted Nariman with responsible tasks, which I felt he was the right person to discharge. I have no personal grudge against him.

The suggestion that Nariman was not elected because he belonged to a minority community is false and malicious. I am glad that Nariman has himself admitted that there was nothing communal in the matter. Gangadharrao had informed Nariman on my behalf that if the allegations were to be investigated by a tribunal, I would abide by its award.

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Vol. II, pp. 235-6

[1] *Vide* pp. 392 and 413.

APPENDIX VIII

LIVERY OF FREEDOM[1]

I suggest, therefore, that meetings for this purpose be held all over India, in towns and villages, on a particular day, Sunday, August 1st, when the Working Committee's Resolution should be read out and explained and while offering *camaraderie* greeting to Congress Ministers, we should pledge ourselves anew to independence and removal of poverty of our people. On that day also the flag salutation ceremony should be solemnly performed everywhere. August 1st is a special and significant day for us, the day dedicated to India's freedom. On that day seventeen years ago great Lokamanya passed away and on that very day India launched the non-co-operation movement and began wielding that weapon which has strengthened and vitalized our people so greatly. It is fitting, therefore, that this day be suitably celebrated and we should remember the past and we should look to the future with the same determination which has held us for so long.

I trust that as an earnest of his sympathy and goodwill every Indian who stands for India's freedom will wear khadi, the livery of our freedom, and will display and honour the National Flag. I trust also that the police force, which has so long been hostile to our people, will think in terms of India and not of alien masters and will seek the co-operation and goodwill of the masses. Congress Ministries, if they mean anything at all, mean that the interests of these masses will be dominant.

Harijan, 31-7-1937

[1] *Vide* p. 446.

CWMG - LXV

Bapuki Chhayamen (Hindi): Balvantsinha, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1947.

Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsha (Hindi): H. L. Sharma, Ishwar Sharan Ashram Mudranalaya, Prayag, 1957.

Bapuna Patro–6: G. S. Gangabehnne (Gujarati): Ed. Kakasaheb Kalelkar, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1960.

Bapuna Patro–2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine (Gujarati): Ed. Manibehn Patel, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1952.

Bapuni Ashrami Kelavani: Shivabhai G. Patel, Ramlal Parikh, Gujarat Vidyapith, Ahmedabad, 1969.

Bapuni Prasadi (Gujarati): Mathuradas Trikumji, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1948.

Bapu's Letters to Mira: Ed. Mirabehn, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1949.

(*The*) *Bombay Chronicle*: English daily published from Bombay.

(*A*) *Bunch of Old Letters*: Ed. Jawaharlal Nehru, Asia Publishing House, 1958.

Gandhi—1915–1948: A Detailed Chronology: C. B. Dalal, Gandhi Peace Foundation, New Delhi, 1971.

Gandhi aur Rajasthan (Hindi): Ed. Shobhalal Gupta, Rajasthan Rajya Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, Bhilwara, Rajasthan, 1969.

Gandhi Seva Sanghke Tritiya Varshik Adhiveshan(Hudli-Karnatak)ka Vivaran (Hindi): Published by R. S. Dhotre, Wardha.

GANDHI SMARAK SANGRAHALAYA, NEW DELHI: Central Museum and Library of Gandhian Literature and Documents; *vide* Vol. I, p. 341.

Harijan (1933-56): English weekly published under the auspices of Harijan Sevak Sangh. First published from Poona on February 11, 1933; shifted to Madras on October 27, 1933; brought back to Poona on April 13, 1935; subsequently published from Ahmedabad.

Harijan Sevak (1933-56): Hindi weekly published under the auspices of Harijan Sevak Sangh. First published on February 23, 1933, from Delhi.

CWMG - LXV

Harijanbandhu: (1933-56) Gujarati weekly published under the auspices of Harijan Sevak Sangh. First published on March 12, 1933, from Poona.

(*The*) *Hindu*: English daily published from Madras.

(*The*) *Hindustan Times*: English daily published from New Delhi.

(*The*) *History of the Indian National Congress*: Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Padma Publications, Bombay, 1947.

(*The*) *Hitavada*: English daily published from Nagpur.

In the Shadow of the Mahatma: G. D. Birla, Orient Longmans Ltd., Calcutta, 1953.

India since the Advent of the British: Jagdish Saran Sharma, S. Chand & Co., Delhi, 1970.

(*The*) *Indian Annual Register, 1937*: Ed. Nripendranath Mitra, Published by the Annual Register Office, Calcutta.

Jivandwara Shikshan (Gujarati): Shivabhai Gokulbhai Patel, Gujarat Vidyapith, Ahmedabad, 1954.

Letters to Rajkumari Amrit Kaur: Ed. Richard B. Gregg, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1961.

Mahatma: Life of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, Vol. IV: D. G. Tendulkar, Vithalbhai K. Jhaveri and D. G. Tendulkar, Bombay, 1952.

(The) Manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary: Kept in Swarajya Ashram, Bardoli.

National Archives of India, New Delhi.

Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi.

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad (Hindi): Ed. Kakasaheb Kalelkar, Sasta Sahitya Mandal, Delhi, 1953.

Police Commissioner's Office, Bombay.

Pyarelal Papers: Documents in possession of Pyarelal, New Delhi.

Sabarmati Sangrahalaya: Library and records containing documents relating to Gandhiji; *vide* Vol. I, p. 341.

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Vol. II: Narahari D. Parikh, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1956.

Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru, Vol. 7: Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund, Teen Murti House, New Delhi, 1975.

Twenty Years of the Visva-Bharati Cheena Bhavana, 1937-1957: Prof. Tan Yun Shan.

(*The*) *Times of India*: English daily published from Bombay.

CWMG - LXV

CHRONOLOGY

(*March 15—July 31, 1937*)

March 15: Gandhiji arrived in Delhi.

March 16: Attended A. I. C. C. meeting, which passed resolution on office-acceptance.

March 17: In Calcutta, Subhas Chandra Bose was released from prison.

March 19-20: In Delhi, convention of newly elected Congress members of Legislatures and other A. I. C. C. members was held to take oath of national independence and allegiance to Indian people.

On or before *March 22:* Gandhiji gave interview to leaders of Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind.
Visited Industrial Training School.

March 22: Left for Segaon.

March 25: Left for Madras, accompanied by Kasturba, Manubehn Mashruwala, Kanu Gandhi (Junior), Mahadev Desai and Pyarelal.

March 26: In Madras, spoke at Hindi Prachar Sabha Convocation.

March 27-28: Spoke at Bharatiya Sahitya Parishad.

March 28: Interview to *The Hindu*.

March 30: In statement to the Press, Gandhiji declared that British Government "had broken to the heart what it had promised to the ear" by refusing to grant assurances required from Governors.
Left for Segaon.

March 31: Reached Segaon.

April 8: Cabled to Agatha Harrison that legal opinion supported demand for assurances and condemned existing Ministries as illegal.

April 10: In statement on political impasse, suggested appointment of judicial tribunal to decide whether it was competent for Governors to give assurances demanded by Congress.

April 14: Left for Hudli.

April 15: At Kalyan and Poona, interview to Associated Press of India.

April 16-17: At Hudli, Gandhiji spoke at Gandhi Seva Sangh meeting.

April 18: Spoke to newly married couples; gave advice to *brahmacharis* at thread ceremony.

April 20: Spoke at Gandhi Seva Sangh meeting.

April 22: At Poona, *en route* to Segaon, interview to *The Hindu*. In interview to the Press, Gandhiji described Cochin Maharaja's order, which prohibited devotees from entering Cochin temples after their visit to Travancore temples, as "unsurpassed in irreligiousness".

April 23: Reached Segaon.

April 25: Left for Allahabad to attend Congress Working Committee meeting.
At Nagpur, interview to the Press.

April 26: At Allahabad, interview to Associated Press of India.

April 30: On the train, interview to *The Bombay Chronicle*.

May 1: Gandhiji reached Segaon.

May 9: Left for Tithal (Bulsar).

May 10: Reached Bardoli.

May 11: Had discussion with Congress workers on choice of Haripura as venue for Congress session.

May 12: Reached Tithal.
In statement to the Press, observed that Congress demand was "perfectly constitutional and equally honourable for both parties".

May 15: Interview to Associated Press of India on Bombay Governor's speech.

May 22: Gandhiji addressed teachers of Gujarat National Schools.

June 1: In interview to *The Times of India*, said that Congress was awaiting a move from Government on constitutional deadlock.

June 10: Left for Segaon.

June 11: Reached Wardha.

CWMG - LXV

June 12: At Segaon, spoke to villagers.

June 21: Viceroy made statement.

June 22: Interview to Associated Press of India.

June 22: In letter to Lord Lothian, Gandhiji explained that he had no faith in the "possibility of the existing Act to expand into an instrument of complete freedom" and that "the sooner it was replaced by something of Indian design the better".

July 6: Spoke at Congress Working Committee meeting.

July 7: Congress Working Committee meeting resolved that "Congressmen be permitted to accept office where they may be invited thereto".
Gandhiji spoke at opening of Hindi Pracharaks' Training School.

July 8: Interview to *The Hindu*.

July 9: Gandhiji had discussion with Abul Kalam Azad on choice of Muslim Ministers in Provinces.
Vallabhbhai Patel issued statement on controversy between Nariman and himself.

July 11: Gandhiji attended marriage of Madalasa and Shriman Narayan.

July 17: Breaking his self-imposed restriction, published in *Harijan* his article "Congress Ministries".
Congress Working Committee stated in a resolution that fresh election would have been held had Vallabhbhai Patel been found guilty of allegations levelled against him by Nariman.

July 27: Gandhiji wrote to Viceroy accepting invitation to meet him in Delhi on August 4.

CWMG - LXV

A. I. V. I. A. Training School, 92-3
Advice to Newly Married Couples, 108-12
Answers to Questions, 13
Are There Different Oaths?, 342-4
Bad If True, 91-2
Cable to: Harrison, Agatha, 1, 26, 72; *The Times*, 83-4, 84-5
(The) Cause of It, 145-7
(The) Cochin Temple-entry Ban, 178-9
Cochin-Travancore, 177-8
Cochin Untouchability, 274-7
Congress Ministries, 406-8
Congress Working Committee Resolution, 373-4
(The) Constructive Programme, 199-200
Criticism Answered, 447-53
Curse of Drink, 143-5
Discussion with: (an) American, 358-9; Leaders of Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind, 14; (a) Missionary, 79-82; Workers, 188-9
Duties of Gandhi Seva Sangh, 182-4
Enforced Widowhood, 9-10
Essays on Barter System, 160-1
Extract from A. I. C. C. Resolution, 3-4
For Students, 94-5
(The) Fundamental Difference, 431-3
(A) Great Experiment, 347-9
Harijan Quarters in Jamshedpur, 299
Harijans, 296-8
Harijans on *Begar*, 159-60
Hindi Prachar and Purity, 45-7
Hindi *v.* Urdu, 362-4
Holidays, 366
How They Convert, 316-8
(An) Illusion, 10-1
Instructions to Spinners, 248
Instructive Figures, 379-80
Intellectual Development or Dissipation?, 72-4
Interview to: Associated Press of India, 86, 87, 142, 156, 174-5, 175-6, 209, 329-30; (*The*) *Bombay Chronicle*, 158-9; (*The*) *Hindu*, 33-6, 140-1, 376-7; Indra, Pandit, 11; (the) Press, 8, 142-3, 153, 154-5; Strunk, Capt., 360-2; (*The*) *Times of India*, 261-3
Kathiawar Cows, 163
Khadi at Haripura, 318-9
Khadi in Swadeshi Exhibitions, 68-70
(A) Khadi Journal, 433-4
Khadi Work in a School, 12
Lathi's Example, 254-5
(A) Letter, 258, 312-3, 398, 409-10
Letter to: Agrawal, Moolchand, 41-2; Ambujammal, S., 172, 204, 286, 294, 410; Amrit Kaur, 4-5, 7-8, 14-5, 38-9, 40, 41, 50, 54, 62-3, 75-6, 86-7, 143, 147, 155-6, 164, 166-7, 180-1, 193-4, 203-4, 220, 238, 239, 248-9, 255-6, 259, 263-4, 285, 287-8, 302-3, 304, 305, 314, 322-3, 324-5, 337, 344-5, 355-6, 369, 380, 382-3, 390-1; Amtussalaam, 43, 76-7, 162-3, 221-2, 340, 346, 393-4, 416, 429, 440; Annapurna, 188; Asar, Lila-

vati, 5, 85, 115, 157, 198, 216, 223, 227, 251, 257-8, 265, 279, 288; Bajaj, Jamnalal, 283, 315, 322, 357-8; Bajaj, Kamalnayan, 341; Balvantsinha, 187, 207, 247-8, 259, 267-8; Birla, G. D., 17, 44, 166, 194, 197-8, 418-9; Birla, Rameshwardas, 339; Bose, Nandlal, 205; Brown, H. Runham, 292; Buch, Puratan J., 405; Cama, Rustom, 284; Chakrabarty, Atulanand, 330-1; Chandiwala, Brijkrishna, 42, 58, 181, 208, 253, 268, 289-90, 336; Chaturvedi, Benarsidas, 170; Chengammal, P. K., 273; Chhaya, Bhujangilal, 61-2, 246; Dacha, L. R., 424; Damodar, 173; Deo, Shankarrao, 397, 421-2; Desai, Mahadev, 246, 306, 340, 352, 353, 354, 357, 367, 371, 399-400, 404, 405-6, 415, 417-8, 420, 425, 426, 431, 435, 436, 439; Desai, Valji G., 6; Dynowska, Wanda, 420; Frydman, Maurice, 421; Gandhi, Kantilal, 17-8, 60-1, 169-70, 192-3, 289, 308-9, 333-4, 370, 387, 426-7, 442, 444; Gandhi, Kanu, 309, 313, 335-6, 417; Gandhi, Manilal and Sushila, 278-9, 327, 371-2, 423-4; Gandhi, Manu, 5; Gandhi, Narandas, 150-1, 168, 176-7, 187, 212-3, 233, 245, 252, 253-4, 260-1, 280, 351, 389-90, 414-5; Gandhi, Nirmala, 384; Gandhi, Sita, 424; Godbole, N. N., 221; Gopalrao, B. S., 272; Hardiker, N. S., 231-2, 388; Hariprasad, 224; Harivadan, 401; Harrison, Agatha, 54-5, 63-4, 214-5, 410-1; Heath, Carl, 170-1; Hingorani, Anand T., 300; Hingorani, Vidya A., 214; Ismail, Mirza, 352-3; Jain, Gulabchand, 368; Jani, Dahyalal, 401-2; Jawaharlal Dr., 139; Jerajani, Purushottam K., 328; Jerajani, Vithaldas, 238-9; Jinnah, M. A., 231; Joshi, Chhaganlal, 346-7; Kalelkar, D. B., 346, 400, 425, 428-9, 447; Kantak, Premabehn, 195-6, 256-7, 369, 423; Kelkar, N. C., 397; Kewalramani, K. B., 16; Khambhatta, Behramji, 324; Khan, Bahlol, 59; Kotwal, 51; Kripalani, J. B., 288-9; Krishnachandra, 315-6, 358; Kumarappa, Bharatan, 355; Kumarappa, J. C., 1-2, 50-1, 148, 323, 328-9, 386, 391, 411, 417, 422, 454; Latthe, A. B., 244-5; Linlithgow, Lord, 437; Lothian, Lord, 332-3; Maher, Tulsi, 274, 314, 355; Majmudar, Parikshitlal L., 98, 356-7, 367; Malkani, N. R., 402-3; Masani, M. R., 268-9; Mashruwala, Manubehn S., 168-9, 172-3, 240, 280-1, 308, 351; Mathew, P. G., 164; Mathuradas Trikumji, 430; Mehta, Bhagwanji A., 149, 222, 273-4, 321, 331-2; Mehta, Vaikunthlal L., 260; Menon, K. B., 227; Mhatre, Baburao D., 329; Mirabehn, 2, 113, 157, 302, 307, 311-2, 321, 325, 336-7, 350, 354, 368, 381, 385, 403-4, 437-8; Morarjee, Shantikumar N., 264, 339; Mullick, Gurdial, 411; Munshi, K. M., 52, 59, 65, 139, 434; Nanavati, Amritlal T., 186-7, 207, 217, 225, 244, 247; Nariman, K. F., 392, 395-6, 412-3, 438-9, 443, —extract from, 443-4; Nehru, Indira, 56; Nehru, Jawaharlal, 55-6, 328, 338, 380-1, 382, 395, 427, 445-6; Nehru,

CWMG - LXV

Rameshwari, 299; Oliver, Daniel, 293; Pandit, Vasumati, 313; Parekh, Chandan, 76; Parekh, Kapilrai H., 225, 264; Parekh, Nathubhai N., 242, 309-10; Parekh, Prabhashankar H., 52; Parikh, Narahari D., 454; Parmar, Lalji, 283-4; Patel, Vallabhbhai, 167, 321-2, 326-7, 383, 393, 398-9, 414, 419, 428, 434-5, 446; Patel, Vijaya N., 2-3, 114, 186, 191-2, 205-6, 216, 222-3, 243, 249, 281-2; Payre & Co., Messrs, 148; Prabhavati, 6-7, 15-6, 39-40, 56-7, 61, 77, 165, 189-90, 232, 286-7, 306, 326, 338-9, 386-7; Privat, Edmond and Yvonne, 271-2; Raghavan, N. V., 303; Rajagopalachari, C., 115, 171, 215-6, 291-2; Rajendra Prasad, 53, 58, 284-5; Ramachandran, G., 305; Rao, A. Kaleswara, 385; Rao, P. Kodanda, 269; Roy, M. N., 436; Roy, Motilal, 197; Sachar, Chandrani, 152; Sampat, Jethalal G., 53, 310-1; Sampurnanand, 440-1; Saraswati, 66, 181, 208, 307, 416, 431; Satyanarayana, M., 173-4; Shah, Chimanlal N., 218-9, 251-2, 267; Shah, Munnalal G., 114, 185-6, 206, 213, 224, 226, 240-1, 243-4, 250, 265-6, 269-71; Shah, Sharda C., 152; Shamji, Hasanali, 98-9; Sharma, H. L., 384; Students of Vallabh Vidyalaya, 238; Subrahmanyam, T. S., 345-6; Tagore, Rabindranath, 64; Tan Yun Shan, 64; Thakkar, Amritlal V., 44, 57, 66, 241; Toshniwal, Bhagatram, 226; Tulpule, C. A., 345; Upadhyaya, Haribhau, 78, 185; Vaidya, Gangabehn, 388-9; Varteji, Abbas K., 293

Long Live Khadi, 29-30

Man's Inhumanity, 319-20

(The) Marriage Ideal, 201-3

Meaning of the Constitutional Oath, 377-9

(The) Meaning of It, 24-5

Message: (to) Associated Press of America, 74-5; (to) Inter-Religious Students' Conference, 184; (on) Opening of Annakshetra, 212

(A) Moral Dilemma, 161-2

My Mistake, 282

My Notes, 349-50

Nattar-Harijan Agreement, 25-6

Note on *Rentia Jayanti* Celebration, 409

Notes, 294-6

Obstacles in the Way of a *Gosevak*, 49

'Our Partial Sight', 96-7

(A) Plea for the Village Cart, 364-5

Prof. K. T. Shah's Suggestions, 453

(The) Reed *v.* the Fountain-pen, 209-12

Register of Customers, 235-6

Religious Oath and Non-Religious, 229-31

Sacrifice of Ras, 106-8

Self-inflicted Untouchability, 180

Shameful If True, 22, 277-8

(A) Silence-day Note, 442

Speech: (at) Bharatiya Sahitya Parishad, Madras–I, 27-9,–II, 30-3; (on) Cow-Protection, Tithal, 290-1; (at) Dakshin Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha, Madras, 19-22; (at) Gandhi Seva Sangh Meeting, Hudli–I, 87-90,–II, 99-106,–III, 116–234,–IV, 134-8; (at) Rashtrabhasha Adhyapan Mandir,

CWMG LXXV

Wardha, 375-6; (at) Thread Ceremony, Hudli, 112-3; (at) Tithal, 233-5; (to) Villagers, Segaon, 300-1; (at) Working Committee Meeting, Wardha, 372-3
Spinners' Wages, 90-1
Statement to the Press, 36-8, 70-2, 190
Telegram to: Amrit Kaur, 374, 429; Bajaj, Jamnalal, 158; Bose, Nandalal, 193; Gandhi, Narandas, 271; Jain, Chhotelal, 242; Kalelkar, D. B., 1; Kumarappa, Bharatan, 271; Mhatre, Baburao D., 220; Mohani, Hasrat, 147; Nehru, Jawaharlal, 304; Rajagopalachari, C., 220, —Draft, 394; Shripal, T. S., 390
(A) Testimonial, 263
Travancore *v.* Cochin, 228-9
Unfortunate but Indispensable, 341-2
(An) Unfortunate Document, 47-8
Very Old Questions, 236-7
(A) Voice in the Wilderness, 23-4
What Should Be Done?, 365-6
Whose Is the Blame?, 200-1
Wonderful If True, 67-8

CWMG - LXV

INDEX

ABOOBAKER, 407
ABSTINENCE; and birth-control, Dr. Alexis Carrel disagrees with Margaret Sanger on, 23
ADALJA, Bali M., 169
Adharma, 130
Adharmaja, 358
AGRAWAL, Madalasa, 383
AGRAWAL, Moolchand, 41
AHIMSA, 18, 100, 112, 196, 345, 376; and retaliation, 365-6; charkha is symbol of, 123; faith in, 226. *See* also NON-VIOLENCE
AIYAR, C. P. Ramaswami, 130, 275, 276
AIYAR, V. Swaminatha, 27*fn*
AJODHYANATH, Pandit, 31
ALI, Mohammed, 130, 131
ALI, Shaukat, 131
ALLAH, 102
ALL-INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE, 11*fn*, 30*fn*, 33*fn*, 85*fn*, 175, 231*fn*, 232*fn*, 245, 269, 432; and Working Committee resolution granting office-acceptance, 373-4; assurance clause in its resolution and Lord Linlithgow's message, 372; office-acceptance clause of resolution of, 3-4, —explanation of, 8. *See* also INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS and OFFICE-ACCEPTANCE
— SAHITYA SAMMELAN, 21, 33
— SPINNERS' ASSOCIATION, 14*fn*, 15, 62, 70, 89, 90, 103, 104, 132, 236, 237, 239, 330, 331, 379, 380; its rule refusing exhibition of khadi, 68; Kashmir depot of, 258; Maharashtra branch of, 433
— VILLAGE INDUSTRIES ASSOCIATION, 50, 89, 103, 132, 209 to 211, 339; prospectus of its Training School, 92-3
— WOMEN'S CONFERENCE, 248
ALPHABET; teaching of, 234, 235
AMBALAN, C. Karuppiah, 26
AMBALAN, P. Chidambara, 26
AMBALAN, P. N. Karuppaiah, 26
AMBUJAMMAL, S., 39, 172, 204, 286, 294, 410
AMERICAN SOCIAL HYGIENE ASSOCIATION; considers abstinence to be beneficial, 23
AMIN, Ishverbhai S., 364, 365
AMRIT KAUR, 4, 7, 14, 38, 40, 41, 50, 54, 62, 75, 86, 96, 97, 143, 147, 155, 164 to 166, 180, 193, 203, 217, 220, 238, 239, 248, 255, 259, 263, 285, 287, 302, 304, 305, 307, 314, 321, 322, 324, 337, 344, 355, 369, 374, 380, 382, 390, 429, 431, 438, 439, 444
AMTUL SALAAM/AMTUSSALAAM, 7, 18, 39, 43, 54, 57, 61, 76, 77, 162, 165, 168, 169, 221, 246, 305, 306, 308, 326, 334, 335, 340, 346, 352, 370, 384, 387, 393, 416, 426, 429, 440, 444
ANAND, *see* HINGORANI, Anand T.
ANANDPRIYA, 418, 435
Anasaktiyoga, 315
ANASUYABAI, 56
ANDREWS, C. F., 81, 305
ANIMAL POWER; *v.* machine power, 364-5

ANNA, *see* SHARMA, Harihar
ANNAKSHETRA; temple-entry at, 212
ANNAPURNA, 188
ANTI-ASIATIC BILL; withdrawal of, from South African Parliament, 86
ANTI-PHOOKA ASSOCIATION, 319, 320
APPA, *see* PATWARDHAN, Appa
ARABIC, 337*fn*, 363, 375
ARJUNA, 133
ARMS; Indian culture opposed to use of, 332
ARUNDHATI, 202
ARYA SAMAJ, 41
ARYANAYAKAM, E. W., 383
ASAR, Lilavati, 5, 85, 115, 157, 168, 185 to 187, 192, 198, 205 to 207, 216, 223, 226, 227, 232, 251,257, 265, 266, 279, 287, 288, 390, 416
ASHABHAI, *see* PATEL, Ashabhai L.
ASSOCIATED PRESS OF AMERICA, 74
— — — INDIA, 86, 87, 142, 153*fn*, 156, 174, 175, 178, 190*fn*, 197*fn*, 209, 329
Atman, 57
Avarnas, *see* HARIJAN(S)
AYKROYD, Dr. W. R., 221
AZAD, Abul Kalam, 164, 284, 304, 338, 371, 380, 393, 395, 399, 427

BA, *see* GANDHI, Kasturba
BABLO, *see* DESAI, Narayan
BABU, *see* SHAH, Sharda C.
BACHHARAJ AND CO., 339
BACHU, 192. *See* also DESAI, Nirmala
BAJAJ, Jamnalal, 4, 102, 104, 117, 118, 129 to 132, 138, 158, 186, 225, 241, 250, 264, 270, 283, 300*fn*, 301, 311, 315, 322, 325, 329, 336, 357, 376, 380, 383, 431, 438
BAJAJ, Janakidevi, 158*fn*
BAJAJ, Kamalnayan, 315, 341, 354
BAJAJ, Radhakrishna, 1, 3, 156, 157, 167, 177, 190, 192, 207, 223
BAHADUR, Sir Bijoy Chand Mahatab, 319
BAHADURJI, 72, 255
BAL, *see* KALELKAR, Bal D.
BALUBHAI, *see* THAKAR, Balubhai
BALVANTRAI, 266
BALVANTSINHA, 76, 187, 207, 226, 232, 243, 247, 250, 251, 259, 266, 267, 287, 325, 354
BANGAR, Ramkumar, 319
BANKER, Shankerlal, 150, 190, 391, 431
Bapuki Chhayamen, 325*fn*
BAQUI, 394, 440
BARI, 394, 429
BARODA; Maharaja of, 294
BARTER SYSTEM, 160; essays on, failed to fulfil conditions for prize, 50
BATRA, Dr. 99, 437
Begar, 159
Bhagavad Gita, 18, 66, 119, 130, 134, 206, 223, 240*fn*, 250, 305, 369*fn*, 388, 390
BHAGWANDAS, 51, 422
BHAGWAT, Prof., 99, 235
BHAKTIBEHN, *see* DESAI, Bhaktilakshmi Gopaldas
BHANDARI, 78
BHANSALI, Jaikrishna P., 309, 367, 404
Bharati, 6
BHARATIYA SAHITYA PARISHAD, 28 to 32, 34, 51, 53*fn*, 59, 65, 364; on Devanagari as common script, 27-9
BHARGAVA, Dr. Gopichand, 62, 103, 123
BHARUCH MUNICIPALITY, 321*fn*
BHATIA, 62

BHATNAGAR, Giriraj Kishore, 268, 289
BHATT, Nrisinhaprasad Kalidas, 243
BHATT, Tansukh, 126
BHAVE, Balkrishna, 180, 218, 352, 356, 404, 436, 437
BHAVE, Vinoba, 180*fn*, 310, 311, 319, 368*fn*, 369*fn*
BHIMA, 133
BIBLE, 81
BIRLA, G. D., 17, 44, 57, 66, 166, 194, 197, 215, 241, 291, 339, 394*fn*, 418
BIRLA, Rameshwardas, 130, 339, 340
BIYANI, Brijlal, 315, 322*fn*
(*The*) *Bombay Chronicle*, 154*fn*, 158
BOOTH, Gen., 295
BOSE, Nandalal, 193, 205, 381, 437
BOSE, Subhas Chandra, 4, 6, 7, 54, 155, 302*fn*, 304, 306, 307, 321, 323, 325, 438
BOVET, Prof., 272
BRABOURNE, Lord, 209*fn*, 214, 215*fn*
Brahmachari, 202
Brahmacharini, 202
Brahmacharya, 68, 98*fn*, 112, 113, 131, 203, 316; among the Frontier tribals, 67-8
BRAHMAN, 113
BRAHMIN(S), 11, 135, 137, 162; is one who has awareness of Brahman, 113
BRAJ MOHAN, 339
BRIJKISHORE PRASAD, 57, 61, 77, 101, 164, 189, 232, 286
BRITISH CONSTITUTION, 230
— GOVERNMENT, 38, 71, 81, 174*fn*, 175, 230, 231, 262, 373, 452; and provincial autonomy, 156; arbitration accepted by, in the Transvaal, a precedent, 84, 97; its relationship with the Indian people is of exploiter and exploited, 374; reluctant to regard majority view, 83-4
— RULE; and self-government, 359; implications of, in India, 359
BROWN, H. Runham, 292
BUCH, Puratan J., 405
BUCH, Venilal, 454
BUDDHA, 81
BUTLER, 174, 214, 215

CÆSAR, Julius, 9
CAMA, Rustom, 284
CAPITAL, 432; and labour, 348; *v.* capitalist, 119
CAPITALIST, 348; is not insentient, 119
CAPTAIN, Gosibehn, 97, 207
CAPTAIN, Perin, 97
CARLYLE, Thomas, 105
CARREL, Dr. Alexis; his view on abstinence contradictory to that of Margaret Sanger, 23
CATTLE WEALTH; contribution of, to India's economy, 184
CERESOLE, Pierre, 5, 15, 41
CHAITANYA, 20, 82
CHAKRABARTY, Atulanand; and Rabindranath Tagore, 330
CHAMAN, 282
CHANCHI (wife of Harilal Gandhi), *see* GANDHI, Chanchal
CHANDIWALA, Brijkrishna, 41, 42, 58, 181, 208, 253, 268, 289, 336
CHANDUBHAI, 283
CHANDULALBHAI, 61, 246
CHANDY, K. K., 47*fn*
CHARACTER; craftsmanship or intelligence, never does good without, 18; essential for Hindi *pracharaks*, 375-6
CHARKHA, 35, 91, 101, 103, 105 to 107, 122 to 127, 129 to 131, 133, 134, 157, 182*fn*, 210, 211, 274, 366, 409*fn*; and fight against drinking, 144; and swaraj, 121-2; develop-

CWMG - LXV

ment of intelligence through, 234; helps achieve power of concentration, 133; symbol of ahimsa, 123
CHATURVEDI, Benarsidas, 170
CHAUCER, Geoffrey, 375
CHENGAMMAL, P. K., 273
CHETTY, Sir R. K. Shanmukham, 142, 179
CHHAYA, Bhujangilal, 61, 246
CHIKODI, 312
CHIRANJILAL, 186, 206
CHITALIA, Karsandas, 384
CHOUDHURY, 51
CHOWDHARI, Gopabandhu, 138
CHRIST, Jesus, 48, 80 to 82, 102, 277, 296, 297
CHRISTIAN(S), 47, 48, 79, 80, 98, 102, 130, 162, 200, 295, 296, 297, 398, 408, 427; and caste Hindus, 91-2; the newly converted, willing for reconversion, 317,— missionaries and proselytization in Nizam's Dominions, 277
— MISSION(S); and conversions, 295; and Harijans, 159
— — SOCIETY, 96
CHRISTIANITY, 81, 91, 92, 200, 204, 277; conversions to, for convenience, 298,—in Shahabad District, 316-7; objection to commercial aspect of its propaganda, 80
CHURCH, 48
CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE, 121, 129, 144
— RESISTANCE, *see* SATYAGRAHA
CLASS STRUGGLE; fundamental difference between Gandhiji and Jawaharlal Nehru on the issue of, 119
COCHIN; Maharaja of, 142, 177, 179, 228, 229, 274 to 277, — his order on temple-entry, 194
COMMUNAL AWARD, 143
— UNITY, 199; a sure sign of ahimsa, 345
COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE, 214; as Congress objective, 432; oath under British Constitution not inconsistent with demand for, 230
CONGRESS MINISTRIES; and programme of education, 450-2; and prohibition, 447-50; and reforms of jails, 452-3; instructions to, 406-8
CONGRESS PARLIAMENTARY PARTY, 412
CONGRESSMEN, 200, 283, 289, 448; and simplicity, 407; and taking of the oath of allegiance, 343, 344, —not inconsistent with their agitation for complete independence, 230-1; and the constitutional deadlock, 372; permitted to accept office in provinces where they command majority, 373-4
CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY, 85*fn*
CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME, 126, 134, 199-200; and entry into Legislatures, 122; as political education, 127-8, 130; is also the programme of Gandhi Seva Sangh, 103; offers an all-round development, 127; only means to secure swaraj, 121; through charkha, 182*fn*
CONTINENCE, *see Brahmacharya*
CONTRACEPTIVES, 345; condemnation of, in America, 23; restraint through, is suicidal, 24; use of, is cowardly indulgence, 95
CONVERSION; by Christian Missionaries in Nizam's Dominions, 277; —in Shahabad District, 316-7; educational and medical institutions as bait for, 80-1; not a spiritual act, 298; retards the progress of society, 159
COSTELLO, Sir L. W. J., 319
COUNCIL-ENTRY; and Gandhi Seva Sangh, 104; not opposed to non-

CWMG - INDEX

violence, 125, 127; to promote the cause of charkha, 121
Cow; *v.* buffalo, 184, 221, 290-1, 310-1
Cow-protection, 49, 137, 163, 182 *fn*, 290, 312, 313; and *goseva*, 49
Craftsmanship; without character, never does good to world, 18

Dacha, L. R., 424
Dagmar, 390
Dakshin Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha, 19, 38, 45, 173, 303
Damodar, 173
Dandi March; and role played by women, 144
Daridranarayana; service of, through charkha, 126,—through Legislatures, 106
Dastane, V. V., 318, 319
Davies, Prof., 272*fn*
Dayanand, Swami, 42
Death, 411; meaning of, 249
(*A*) *Decade of Indo-British Relations, 1937-47*, 63 *fn*
Deka, K. C., 208, 253, 336
Deo, Shankarrao, 195, 397, 421
Depressed Classes, 47*fn*, 81, 297, 341; ill-feeling of caste Hindus to converts among, and Christians, 91-2
Desai, Bhaktilakshmi Gopaldas, 106
Desai, Bhulabhai J., 55, 167, 217, 398
Desai, Darbar Gopaldas, 106*fn*, 107
Desai, Dinkarrai, 321, 428
Desai, Durga, 76, 399, 404
Desai, Dr. Hariprasad V., 224
Desai, Ishwarlal, 108*fn*
Desai, Jivanji Dahyabhai, 454
Desai, Kusum, 334, 351, 354, 356, 370, 387, 416
Desai, Mahadev, 4, 6, 7, 13, 17, 20*fn*, 27*fn*, 30*fn*, 38, 40, 54, 58*fn*, 76, 79*fn*, 85, 86*fn*, 108*fn*, 112*fn*, 153 *fn*, 156, 167, 177, 188*fn*, 190, 192, 194*fn*, 198*fn*, 209, 233*fn*, 246, 248, 254, 272, 287, 290*fn*, 291*fn*, 300*fn*, 301*fn*, 306, 313, 327*fn*, 333, 340, 352 to 354, 357, 358*fn*, 360*fn*, 367, 371, 375*fn*, 386, 395, 398, 399, 404, 405, 415, 417, 420, 424 to 426, 431, 435, 436, 438, 439, 445
Desai, Mahendra V., 6
Desai, Narayan, 76, 340
Desai, Nirmala, 76, 108*fn*, 151, 340, 399
Desai, Valji G., 6
Deshpande, Gangadharrao, 99, 182, 312, 422
Devadoss, David, 271*fn*
Devanagari; as common script, 27-9, 363, 375
Devasahayam, D. M., 47*fn*
Devchandbhai, 273, 331
Deviji, 424
Devraj, 431
Devsharma, 401, 402
Dharma, 11, 49, 56, 57, 106, 111 to 113, 116, 118, 121, 125, 130, 131, 134, 146, 226, 237, 266, 280
Dharmadhikari, 104
Dharmaja, 203, 315, 358
Dharmashastras, 179
Dharmavir, Dr., 312, 321, 323, 326, 336, 354, 356, 438
Dharmavir, Mrs., 302*fn*, 438
Dhotre, Raghunath Sridhar, 137
Dhruva, 227
Diet; and anti-malaria work, 35
Dinkarrao, *see* Desai, Dinkarrai
Diodorus, 9
Dnyanprakash, 397 *fn*
Dornakal, Bishop of, 4, 81
Drinking; women's role in prohibition of, 143-5

CWMG - LXV

DRONACHARYA, 123
DURGA, *see* DESAI, Durga
DUTT, Arun Chandra, 197
DUTY; performance of, not as right but by suffering and introspection, 48; *v.* right, 79, 80
DWARKADAS, 85, 115, 157
Dwija, 113; meaning of, 112
DWIVEDI, Hariprasad, 241
DYNOWSKA, Wanda, 420

EDUCATION; and the British, 358-9; economics of, 74; for villagers, 233-5; meaning of, 450; of masses through constructive programme, 200; offered as bait for proselytization, 81; political, and charkha, 129; purpose of, much nobler than making money, 95; should co-ordinate "various faculties of body, mind and soul", 72-4; should not depend on liquor revenue, 406; the so-called, only an intellectual dissipation, 73; village handicrafts form the pivot of, 235
EKALAVYA, 123, 133
ELECTION MANIFESTO, *see* INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, election manifesto of
Encyclopædia Britannica, 295
ENGLISH; as lingua franca of India, 374; usurped the place of Hindi, 34
ENGLISHMEN; legacy left by, 432
ERROR; to own, is manly, 47
EUROPE; and common script, 35

FAITH; must spring from within, 347; not always accountable, 263-4
FASTING, 250; and prayer, essential for taking spiritual message, 48; "is abstinence from evil or injurious thought, activity or food", 68; should not be held out as a threat, 266
FIELDEN, Lionel, 166, 180
FISCHER, 2, 355, 391
FOUNTAIN-PEN; and reed-pen, 209
FREEDOM; through non-violence, 332
FRICTION-BATH, 16, 214, 217
FRYDMAN, Maurice, 421

GADODIA, Saraswati, 78
GANDHI, Aruna, 389*fn*
GANDHI, Chanchal, 169
GANDHI, Devdas, 17, 18, 21*fn*, 40, 43, 60, 147, 192, 309, 344, 345, 442, 444
GANDHI, Harilal, 5*fn*, 16, 17*fn*, 192, 279
GANDHI, Jaisukhlal, 150, 168
GANDHI, Jamna, 280, 390
GANDHI, Jamnadas, 12
GANDHI, Kano, 5, 17, 76, 167, 177, 190, 192, 306, 308, 324, 327, 351, 354
GANDHI, Kantilal, 17, 43, 60, 77, 126, 133, 151, 162, 169, 192, 208, 222, 242, 289, 306, 308, 310, 327, 333, 340, 370, 387, 393, 426, 431, 440, 442, 444
GANDHI, Kanu, 5, 54, 76, 150, 151, 167, 168, 177, 187, 190, 192, 208, 212, 217, 245, 260, 265, 280, 306, 309, 313, 334, 335, 351, 383, 387, 389, 399, 404 to 406, 417, 426, 436, 444
GANDHI, Kasturba, 5, 7, 17, 60, 76, 86*fn*, 111, 167, 168, 177, 190, 192, 208, 222, 265, 287, 306, 308, 324 to 327, 334, 336, 337, 339, 344, 350 to 354, 356, 370, 382, 394, 416; President of Mahila Parishad, Hindi Sammelan, 39

CWMG - LXV

GANDHI, Khushalchand, 271, 278*fn*, 279, 289
GANDHI, Kusum, 254, 353, 389
GANDHI, Lakshmi, 21, 216, 292, 327, 345, 387, 416
GANDHI, Manilal, 168, 251, 278, 324, 327, 371, 423
GANDHI, Manu, 5, 17, 43, 54, 57, 60, 63, 75, 76, 113*fn*. *See* also MASHRUWALA, Manu S.
GANDHI, Mohandas Karamchand; considers "co-operation" as his "religion", 100; declares intention to stay in Segaon indefinitely, 377; favours remarriage of girl widows, 9; on learning Hindi, 19; resumed writing on political topics, 395; save on two occasions seldom taken drug, 35; sole author of the office-acceptance clause of A.I.C.C. resolution, 3, 36
GANDHI-IRWIN PACT; and its Salt Clause, 406-7
GANDHI-SEVA SANGH, 87, 100*fn*, 114, 116 to 118, 120, 121, 125, 126, 133 to 135, 137, 138, 182 to 184, 229, 239; advised not to "degenerate into a sect", 89; advised to remove reference to Gandhiji from its name, 90; and Council-entry, 104; and Indian National Congress, 88, 103; and Legislatures, 99-106, 122; and oath of allegiance for its members, 378; not a rival to the Congress, 88, 132
Gandhi—1915–1948: A Detailed Chronology, 30*fn*, 86*fn*, 100*fn*, 112*fn*
GANDHI, Narandas, 5*fn*, 12, 150, 168, 176, 187, 204, 212, 219, 233, 245, 251 to 253, 260, 267, 271, 278*fn*, 279, 280, 293, 309, 335, 351, 366, 389, 409, 414
GANDHI, Navin, 39, 192
GANDHI, Nirmala, 17, 247, 384, 423
GANDHI, Prabhudas, 209*fn*
GANDHI, Purushottam, 168, 336
GANDHI, Ramdas, 5*fn*, 17, 368 to 372*fn*, 423, 424
GANDHI, Sita, 423, 424
GANDHI, Sushila, 168, 251, 278, 327, 371, 423, 424
GANDHI, Vijaya, 168, 212, 260, 389
GANDHI, Vrajlal, 254*fn*
GANGABISAN, 173
GANGADHARRAO, *see* DESHPANDE, Gangadharrao
GHANSHYAMDAS, *see* BIRLA, G. D.
GILDER, Dr., 398
GIRIRAJ, *see* BHATNAGAR, Giriraj Kishore
Gita, see *Bhagavad Gita*
Gitai, 369
GNANAPRAKASAM, S., 47 *fn*
GOD, 48, 68, 80, 91, 95, 99, 128, 130, 133, 188, 192, 194, 229, 231, 243, 250, 251, 258, 277, 289, 295, 297, 324, 343, 344, 352, 377, 394, 399, 401, 419; absolute definition of, is impossible, 398; all land belongs to, 129; alone, is absolutely perfect, 82,—is real, 123; and faith, 411; appears as charkha, Hindu-Muslim unity and eradication of untouchability, 134; communion with, through charkha, 133; constant repetition of His name and inner voice, 98-9; has made men different from animals, 117; is Law, 111; is source of strength, 102; is strength of the weak, 411; vision of, through charkha, 126
GODBOLE, N. N., 221
GOKIBEHN, 264
GOKULBHAI, 357

CWMG LXV

GOMATIBEHN, *see* MASHRUWALA, Gomati K.
GOPA BABU, *see* CHOWDHARI, Gopabandhu
GOPALAN, 273
GOPALASWAMI, L. N., 25
GOPALRAO, B. S., 272
GOPICHAND, Dr., *see* BHARGAVA, Dr. Gopichand
Goseva, 49, 62, 107, 168, 184, 187, 207; resolution on, 137
GOSEVA SANGH, 132, 163, 260, 311, 325*fn*
GOSHALA; and unemployment, 49
GOSIBEHN, *see* CAPTAIN, Gosibehn
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT OF 1935, 38, 63*fn*, 85*fn*, 154, 176, 198, 245, 262, 344, 406, 408, 421, 431, 432; as meant by British Government, is unworkable, 83; assurance demanded by leaders not in conformity with, 52; cannot expand into an instrument of complete freedom, 33; imposed on India against her wishes, 71; its replacement by an Act of the people insisted, 140; tribunal for its interpretation suggested, 70-1, 75
GOVERNOR(S), 209*fn*, 453; and Cabinet, 155; and office-acceptance, 174-6, 261-3; and powers of interference, 190; and their interference with Ministries, 244; and Working Committee resolution, 374; are irremovable, but made answerable to Ministers, 432; assurance of non-interference demanded from, 4, 26,—refused, 55; duties of, 140-1; safeguards enjoyed by, 83-4; their invitation to leaders to form Ministries does not fulfil assurances asked for, 373
GOVERNOR OF BOMBAY, *see* BRABOURNE, Lord
GOVERNOR-GENERAL, *see* LINLITHGOW, Lord
GOVIND, 337, 350
GOVINDAN, M., 10, 179
GRAMODYOG SANGH, Maganwadi, 339*fn*
GRANTH SAHIB, 15
GRIGG, J. P., 40*fn*
Grihasthashrama, 401
GUJARAT SAHITYA PARISHAD, 52, 59
GULATI, Ramdas, 205
GUPTA, Shivaprasad, 229, 230, 343
GURUBATHAM, S., 47*fn*
GURUKUL KANGRI, 401
GWALIOR; Maharaja of, 24

HALIFAX, Lord, 410
HAMILTON, Sir Daniel, 432
Hans, 28
HAQ, Abdul, 32
HARDIKER, N. S., 231, 388
HARI, Lord, 188
Harijan, 18*fn*, 21*fn*, 23, 47, 57, 58*fn*, 89, 94, 96, 105, 106*fn*, 144, 173, 176, 200, 228, 229, 271, 274, 276, 285, 287, 302, 356, 371*fn*, 386, 395, 405, 406, 410, 425, 426, 437
HARIJAN(S), 10, 24, 47, 48, 58, 80, 92, 98, 133 to 135, 159, 162, 177, to 179, 182, 201, 204, 212, 217, 221, 224, 228, 274 to 277, 296, 317, 366*fn*, 369, 415, 429; advised to quit the lands, if oppressed by landlords, 365; and Nattars, 25-6; and temple-entry, 24-5,—in Lathi State, 254-5; Congress victory by suppressing liberty of, is not worth anything, 22; conversion of, to Christianity, 47, 298, 316-8; could be held together

CWMG - LXV

only by meeting their spiritual needs, 297-8; funds for 87; inter-dining and intermarrying with, 136; manifesto against condemnation of 47-8; origin of the word, 341-2; sanitary reforms recommended in their quarters, 299; service among, 318,—a sure sign of ahimsa, 345; problem of, not economic, 11; wells for, 183. *See* also DEPRESSED CLASSES
— NIWAS, 44
— *sevak*; duty of, 365
Harijan Sevak, 18*fn*, 87*fn*, 161*fn*, 162*fn*, 201, 241, 367
HARIJAN SEVAK SANGH, 14*fn*, 25, 26, 89, 91, 92, 159, 178, 179, 183, 241, 316, 317, 342, 357; duty of, 201; of Jamshedpur, 341; of Kerala, 200, 228; of Shahabad, advice to, 318; working committee of, 166
— UDYOGSHALA, Delhi, 403*fn*
Harijanbandhu, 18*fn*, 30, 72*fn*, 110*fn*, 111*fn*, 163, 209*fn*, 224, 236, 282, 287, 326, 347*fn*, 349
HARIPURA; venue for Congress session, 188
HARISHCHANDRA, 101
HARIVADAN, 400, 401
HARRISON, Agatha, 1, 26, 54, 63, 72, 170, 214, 410
HARSHUBABU/HARSUDAYAL, 338, 386
HASANALI, Shamji, 98
HATHA YOGA, 358
HEATH, Carl, 63, 170
HERTZOG, James B. M., (Prime Minister of South Africa), 128
HINDI; and national unity, 31; and provincial languages, 34-5; as common language, 30-1; as national language, 19-22; definition of, 295, —accepted, 363-4, —by Indore Sahitya Sammelan, 375; includes Urdu, 32; its progress in South India, 33; medium of instruction in A. I. V. I. A. Training School, 93; not of Hindu coinage, 32; *pracharaks* should be men of character, 375; propagation of, 173, 182*fn*, 183; teaching of, and personal purity, 45-6; the name can never be changed, 356
HINDI-HINDUSTANI, 19, 45, 53, 375; its genesis and adoption in place of Hindi, 32-3
— PRACHAR SABHA, 46
— — SAMITI, 376
— — UNIVERSITY, 45
— SAHITYA SAMMELAN, 31, 32, 34, 39, 285, 287*fn*, 294, 295, 337, 363; of Indore, 375, 376
(*The*) *Hindu*, 28, 29, 33, 140, 179, 188*fn*, 190*fn*, 375*fn*, 376
HINDU(S), 48, 71, 92, 135 to 137, 142, 159, 162, 177 to 179, 199, 200, 202, 203, 255, 274 to 277, 284, 294 to 297, 317, 318, 337*fn*, 342, 349, 362 to 364, 375, 379, 408, 409; and cow-slaughter, 49; and Depressed-class converts, 91-2; and eradication of enforced widowhood, 9-10; and Hindi-Hindustani, 32; and temple-entry, 254,—in Cochin, 277; and untouchability, 10; duties of *savarna*, towards Harijans, 159-60; Princes as custodians of faith of, 25; should accept Harijans as spiritual equals, 298; should break inter-caste barriers, 350; solely responsible for Harijans' grievances, 10
HINDU MISSION, 98
HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY, 14, 127, 134, 199, 231, 362
HINDUISM, 136, 137, 159, 177, 201,

254, 274, 297, 317, 318; charged as being too individualistic, 329; must disappear if untouchability is not destroyed, 180; will lose Harijans if Hindus do not love them, 297-8
(*The*) *Hindustan Times*, 40*fn*, 84*fn*, 383, 402
HINDUSTANI, 183; is synonym of Hindi, 356; no progress in, despite adoption in Congress constitution, 31
— SEVA DAL, 231
HINGORANI, Anand T., 16, 214, 300
HINGORANI, Mahadev A., 214
HINGORANI, Vidya A., 16, 214, 300
HIP-BATH, 15, 16, 43, 78, 114, 207, 216, 217, 247
History of the Indian National Congress, 383
(*The*) *Hitavada*, 373*fn*
HITLER, Adolf, 360, 362
HOARE, Sir Samuel, 37, 71, 154
HUMANITARIANISM; is futile without knowledge, 291
HUMAYUN, 353

IDEA(S); ill-digested, harmful to the spirit, 89
IGNORANCE; more deplorable than illiteracy, 234
INDEPENDENCE, 175, 378; and implementation of socialism, 441; and the use of machineries, 360-1; meaning of, 360; through non-violence is Congress goal, 408
INDIA LEAGUE, 227*fn*
India Since the Advent of the British, 171*fn*, 394*fn*
INDIAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION, 227*fn*
— NATIONAL CONGRESS, 31, 32, 55, 70, 74, 101 to 105, 107-8, 122 to 124, 126, 129, 132, 134, 137, 138, 140 to 142, 153 to 156, 159, 170, 171*fn*, 174 to 176, 183, 190, 197, 214, 220, 284*fn*, 288, 290, 327*fn*, 333, 352*fn*, 405, 408, 422, 434, 436, 448, 449, 452; advised to give the lead in investigating the Frontier kidnappings, 288-9; and arbitration tribunal on assurances sought from the Governors, 71; and elections of 1934, 412; and Gandhi Seva Sangh, 88, and Hindu-Muslim unity, 4; and its policy in Legislatures, 3, 104-6; and its stand on Constitutional deadlock, 372; and non-violent non-co-operation, 332; and office-acceptance, 4, 83-4, 158, 244-5, 261-3, —in the changed circumstances, 431-2; and use of Hindi, 33; breach in the ranks of, impossible, 26; conflict of ideologies in, 120; decides Hindi as common language, 30-1; demands non-interference by Governors, 36-8, —Governor's objection to, 52; Faizpur session of, 87, 100; Gandhiji aloof from activities of, 8, 86, 283; Haripura as venue for annual session of, 106-7, 188*fn*, 189, 193, 220, 255, 310, 329*fn*; Hindustani did not progress despite its adoption in constitution of, 31; Hudli session of, 87; is the unrivalled political party in village service, 432; its defeat at Jhansi election, not a rout, 445; its Delhi convention, Gandhiji unable to attend, 11, 15; its election manifesto and office-acceptance resolution not contradictory to each other, 118;—*The Statesman*'s suggestion regarding, 84-5; its exhibition, suggestions invited

for, 224; its, flag should never be lowered, 373; its members in Legislatures and rural work, 35; its service through constructive programme and khadi, 68; Karnataka Provincial Committee of, 231, 232*fn*; not a rival to Gandhi Seva Sangh, 88; Parliamentary Party of, 209; Patna session of, 100; removal of its flag over khadi depot in Simla 285; represents mass opinion, 37; truth and non-violence are the creed of, 120; victory with suppression of Harijan liberty is not worth anything, 22
— — —WORKING COMMITTEE, 56, 75, 84*fn*, 120, 139, 153*fn*, 155, 174-5, 199, 209, 222, 245, 318, 321, 323, 325, 326, 330, 352, 368 *fn*, 370, 372, 374, 380, 381, 392, 394, 406, 412, 414, 438, 443, 444; and Gandhiji's office-acceptance formula, 230, 314, 332; its decision in Nariman dispute, 395; its resolution on salaries of Ministers, 419*fn*; its resolution on programme to be followed by Congressmen, 376, —"there is no padding in its decision", 418
Indian Review, 21
INDRA, Pandit, 11
INDU, *see* NEHRU, Indira
INNER VOICE; and the five *yamas*, 98
INTELLECT; development of, through crafts, 193
INTELLIGENCE; in spinning can double the income, 434; without character, never does good, 18
INTER-DINING, 135; necessary for removal of untouchability, 183
INTERMARRIAGE, 134, 135; necessary for removal of untouchability, 183
INTER-RELIGIOUS STUDENTS' CONFERENCE, 184
Ishopanishad, 89
ISHVER RAMJI, 401
ISHWARDAS, *see* DESAI, Ishwarlal
ISLAM, 98*fn*
ISMAIL, Mirza, 352
ISMAIL, Lady Mirza, 353
IYENGAR, S. Srinivasa, 39*fn*

JACOB, 91
JAGJIVAN RAM, 58*fn*
JAIN, Chhotelal, 242, 244, 353, 391, 436
JAIN, Gulabchand, 368
JAISUKHLAL, *see* GANDHI, Jaisukhlal
JAJODIYA, Laxmi, 158*fn*
JAJODIYA, Purushottamdas, 158*fn*
JAJU, Shrikrishnadas, 50, 433
JAMIAT-UL-ULEMA-I-HIND, 14
JAMNALAL, *see* BAJAJ, Jamnalal
JANBA, 353, 371, 405, 435, 439
JANI, Dahyalal, 401
Japji, 62, 285, 305
JASANI, Nanalal Kalidas, 52, 149
JAWAHARLAL, Dr., *see* ROHATGI, Dr. Jawaharlal
JAWLEKAR, 186
JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN, 7, 15, 16, 57, 61, 77, 165, 189, 232, 306, 386, 441
JEEVA DAYA MANDAL, 148
JERAJANI, Purushottam Kanji, 29, 328
JERAJANI, Vithaldas, 29, 235, 236, 238, 239, 288
JESUDASEN, S., 47*fn*
JEWS; persecution of, in Germany, 362
JHAVERBHAI, *see* PATEL, Jhaverbhai
JHAVERI, Gangabehn, 247
JHAVERI, Revashankar Jagjivan, 12
JINNAH, M. A., 231
JOAN OF ARC, 227

CWMG LXV

JOB, G. V., 47*fn*
JOB, M. P., 47*fn*
JOHN, St., First Epistle of, 40*fn*
JOHNSON, Sir Samuel, 375
JOSEPH, G., 47*fn*
JOSHI, Chhaganlal, 150, 346, 389
JOSHI, Purushottam N., 163, 263
JOSHI, Umashankar, 65
JUST, Adolf, 78

KAKA/KAKASAHEB, *see* KALELKAR, D. B.
KAKALBHAI, 357
KAKUBHAI, *see* JERAJANI, Purushottam Kanji
KALELKAR, Bal D., 54, 57, 76, 126, 133, 192, 370, 428
KALELKAR, D. B., 1, 28, 29, 46, 54*fn*, 59, 76, 100, 337, 346, 350, 400, 425, 428, 447
KALELKAR, Satish D., 76, 357, 358, 428, 429
KALIAN, 26
KALIDASA, 375
KALLENBACH, Herman, 239, 249, 256, 259, 265, 272, 278, 279, 287, 306, 312, 325, 327, 341, 362, 368 to 370, 372*fn*, 423 to 425
KAMAL, *see* BAJAJ, Kamalnayan
KAMALABAI, 39, 172, 176, 187, 198, 204, 233, 242, 245, 252, 260, 280, 286, 351, 390
KAMALADEVI, 55
KAMBAN, 286
KAMU, 176, 233, 253, 254, 260
KANAIYO, *see* GANDHI, Kanu
KANAM, *see* GANDHI, Kano
KANDU, 2, 350, 368
KANTAK, Premabehn, 100, 102, 195, 213, 256, 257, 369, 415, 423
KANTI, *see* GANDHI, Kantilal
KARACHI RESOLUTION; and fundamental rights, 79
KEITH, Prof. A. B., 158
KELKAR, N. C., 123, 397, 421, 422
KEWALRAMANI, K. B., 16
KHADDAR, *see* KHADI
KHADDAR SAMASTHANAM, 386*fn*
KHADI, 30, 35, 41, 62, 75, 90, 91, 93, 107, 129, 150, 168, 199, 207, 217, 235 to 237, 318, 319, 327, 347, 351, 366*fn*, 383, 398, 407, 453; and swaraj, 409; as 'livery of freedom', 446; as part of education, 12; its progress in Maharashtra, 433; Jawaharlal Nehru on its exhibition, 68-70; large number of Muslims engaged in production of, 379-80; love of, not abated, 36; sale of, 29-30; secret of its success, 38-9; sure sign of ahimsa, 345; universalization of, in Haripura Congress session, 318-9; *v.* mill-cloth, 70, 290
KHADILKAR, 130
Khadishastra Praveshika, 414
KHAMBHATTA, Behramji, 324
KHAMBHATTA, Prof., 450
KHAN, Khan Abdul Ghaffar, 57, 63, 67, 76, 97, 102, 265, 272, 287, 308, 314, 315, 321, 322, 325, 326, 338, 351 to 354, 370, 437, 445
KHAN, Abdul Wali, 76
KHAN, Bahlol, 59
KHAN, Lali, 157, 265, 287, 308, 314, 315
KHARE, Dr. N. B., 122, 420
KHER, B. G., 209, 231, 420, 425
KHUSHALBHAI, *see* GANDHI, Khushalchand
KIDWAI, Rafi Ahmed, 291
KODAIKANAL ENGLISH CHURCH, 271*fn*
KOODALMANIKKAM TEMPLE, 177*fn*, 178, 228, 274 to 276
KOTAK, Harjiwan, 238, 258, 357, 358
KOTHARI, Manilal, 190

KOTWAL, 51
KRIPALANI, J. B., 288
KRISHNA, Lord, 250, 277, 407; surrendering everything to, is the golden key to true life, 270
KRISHNACHANDRA, 315, 358
KUHNE, Louis, 78
KULKARNI, Kedarnath, 116, 117
KUMARAPPA, Bharatan, 271, 355, 386*fn*
KUMARAPPA, J. C., 1, 50, 51, 148, 160, 161, 255, 323, 386, 391, 400, 411, 417, 422, 454; his charge against Hinduism baseless, 328
KUMARAPPA, Sita B., 271*fn*, 386, 454
KUMI (sister-in-law of Harilal Gandhi), *see* MANIAR, Kumi T.
KUMRI ASHRAM, 182

LABOUR; intelligent use of, in Segaon, 433; is real money, 432
LAKSHMANRAO, 172, 204
LANGUAGE(S); and ideas, 124; and truth, 278; common script will not undermine importance of provincial, 34-5; exactness in, comes with worship of truth, 18; should not hide truth, 119
LATTHE, A. B., 244
LAUBACH, Prof., 235
LAW 3 OF 1885; and arbitration on the Transvaal British Indians' grievances, a precedent, 84
LAXMI, *see* JAJODIYA, Laxmi
LAXMIPATI, 56
Leader, 158
LEGISLATURES; and Congress programme, 373; and constructive programme, 122; and Gandhi Seva Sangh, 99-106, 182; and pursuit of Truth and non-violence, 102; entry into, not opposed to duties of satyagrahis, 105; members of, and constructive programme, 199; only a few can go into, 103; turned into people's own, 104, 105. *See* also COUNCIL-ENTRY and OFFICE-ACCEPTANCE
LENIN, 31
LILAVATI, *see* ASAR, Lilavati
LINLITHGOW, Lady, 193
LINLITHGOW, Lord, 7, 63, 153, 170, 171, 327*fn*, 329, 332, 352*fn*, 373, 437; his message lacking in the assurance contemplated by Gandhiji, 372; Working Committee to decide on statement of, 330
LITERACY; and education, 450
LOKAMANYA, *see* TILAK, Bal Gangadhar
Loose Leaves from a Socialist's Diary, 384*fn*
LOTHIAN, Lord, 63*fn*, 70, 84, 86, 154, 174*fn*, 198, 327, 332
LOVE; and marriage, 202

MACHINE-POWER; *v.* animal power 364; to be used for benefit of the nation, 361
MADALASA, *see* AGRAWAL, Madalasa
MADGAONKAR, Sir Govindrao, 412, 414, 438
Madhuparka; significance of, 110
(*The*) *Madras Mail*, 91, 178, 179
Mahabharata, 110, 113, 123, 315
MAHAKALESHWAR TEMPLE; and Harijans, 24-5
Maharashtra Khadi Patrika; account of the progress of khadi by, 433-4
Mahatma, Vol. IV, 63*fn*, 83*fn*
MAHER, Tulsi, 274, 314, 355
MAHILA ASHRAM, 207, 213, 376
— PARISHAD, 39
MAHMUD, Syed, 284, 379, 405

MAHOMMED YUNUS, 58*fn*, 284
MAJMUDAR, Parikshitlal L., 98, 283, 356, 367
MALARIA; diet more important than drugs in fighting against, 35
MALKANI, N. R., 44, 404, 424
MAMA, *see* PHADKE, V.L.
(*The*) *Manchester Guardian*, 156
MANI, 264
MANIAR, Kumi T., 151, 168
MANILAL, *see* KOTHARI, Manilal
MANOHARLAL, 167, 190
Manorama, 91
MANU (author of *Dharmashastra*), 146
MANU, *see* GANDHI, Manu and MASHRUWALA, Manu S.
MANUBHAI, *see* PANCHOLI, Manubhai
Manusmriti, 130
MARRIAGE; among South Indian Brahmins, Parsis and Muslims, 282; ceremonial significance of, 108-12; considerations for, 201-2; customs in the South, 349-50; eugenic fitness is the *sine qua non* of, 202; only for progeny, 316; purpose of, 109, 111; *sagotra*, interdicted, 201; *sapinda*, interdicted, 201; taboos in, 162, 201; (a) tie based on mutual understanding, 161-2
MARTYN, G. V., 47*fn*
MARWARI HIGH SCHOOL, 383*fn*
MARY, Virgin, 277
MASANI, M. R., 268
MASHRUWALA, Gomati K., 39, 116, 117, 248, 286, 294
MASHRUWALA, Kishorelal G., 50, 104, 116 to 118, 120 to 122, 124, 125, 131, 133, 137, 168, 182, 248, 260, 261, 286*fn*, 311, 322, 327, 377
MASHRUWALA, Manu S., 108*fn*, 151, 164, 168, 169, 172, 177, 187, 190, 192, 208, 232, 240, 246, 280, 308, 351
MASHRUWALA, Surendra, 17*fn*, 108*fn*, 113*fn*, 168, 169, 240, 280, 308
MATHESON, George, 96
MATHEW, P. G., 164
MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI, 430
MATTHAI, K. I., 47*fn*
MAULANA, *see* AZAD, Abul Kalam
MAX MULLER, 31
MEDICINE; Western, its merits and demerits, 361
MEHERALLY, Yusuf, 439, 441, 445, 446
MEHRTAJ, 265, 287, 308, 314, 315, 321, 325, 326, 351, 353, 370
MEHTA, Bhagwanji A., 149, 222, 273, 331
MEHTA, Champa R., 149
MEHTA, Dr. Dinshaw K., 39, 40, 181
MEHTA, Kalyanji V., 324
MEHTA, Narasinha, 411
MEHTA, Pherozeshah, 101
MEHTA, Dr. Pranjivandas J., 149*fn*
MEHTA, Ratilal P., 149
MEHTA, Vaikunthlal L., 50*fn*, 160, 260
MENKEL, Dr., 256, 325, 355
MENON, K. B., 227
MENON, Sir Ramunny, 179
METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHRISTIAN MISSION, 316
MHATRE, Baburao D., 205, 220, 329
MILK, 163, 221, 250, 251; and vegetarianism, 404; cow's, preferred to buffalo's, 290-1; municipalities advised to monopolize supply of, 320; no substitute for, 272; physical effect of, is same as that of meat, 403
MILL-HANDS; and subsidiary occupation, 347-9
MINISTER(S); advice to, on achieving complete independence, 432;

CWMG - LXV

and Governors' interference, 245; and provincial administration, 140; code of conduct for, 407; guidance for, 406-8; dismissal of and resignation by, 190; non-Congress members as interim, 55,—an imposition of violence on the electorate, 75,—condemned illegal, 72,—tribunal suggested to decide their legality, 71
MIRABEHN, 2, 39, 41, 77, 113, 114, 157, 167, 177, 180, 186, 187, 190, 206 to 208, 212, 222, 272, 287, 288, 302, 304, 307 to 309, 311, 321, 323, 325, 326, 327*fn*, 336, 337*fn*, 350, 354, 368, 381, 385, 403, 437
MISSIONARIES; Christian, 79; advised to live Christian lives, 81; conversion by, has no spiritual merit, 48; service commercialized by, 81; work among Harijans, 47,—manifesto in defence of, 47-8; work in India, 96,—Western, their zeal in the cause of language, 21
MITHUBEHN, *see* PETIT, Mithubehn
MOBILE WEAVING SCHOOL OF TRAVANCORE, 310
MOHAMMED, Prophet, 81, 98, 101, 407
MOHANI, Begum, 147
MOHANI, Hasrat, 147
MOHANLAL, 352
MONTFORD REFORMS, 155
MOORE, Bishop, 4
MORALITY; is inextricably linked with one's outward activity, 442
MORARJEE, Shantikumar N., 264, 339, 340, 357
MORARJEE, Sumati S., 264
MRIDULA, *see* SARABHAI, Mridula
MULCHAND, Karsanji, 331
MULLICK, Gurdial, 411
MUNNALAL, *see* SHAH, Munnalal G.
MUNSHI, K. M., 52, 59, 65, 139, 398; advice to, on adopting uniformity in pay, etc., 434
MUSLIM(S), 14, 71, 101, 135, 162, 282, 294, 295, 375, 379, 399, 408, 445, 448; and Hindi work, 391; and Hindi-Hindustani, 32; in All-India Spinners' Association, 379; influence on culture and civilization, 31; their distrust of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, 302
MUSLIM LEAGUE, 427
MUSSALMAN(S), *see* MUSLIM(S)

NABIBUX, 382
NAG, Hara Dayal, 180
NAIDOO, Dr. M. E., 200
NAIR, Sankaran, 417
NALIN, 391
NALWADI ASHRAM, 368*fn*
NAMBUDIRIPAD, Nedumpally, 179
NANABHAI, *see* BHATT, Nrisinhaprasad Kalidas
NANALAL, *see* JASANI, Nanalal Kalidas
NANAVATI, Amritlal T., 3, 186, 206, 207, 217, 225, 232, 242, 244, 247, 287
NANDA, Gulzarilal, 425
NANUBHAI, 207
NARBHERAM, 273, 331
NARELA ASHRAM, 208, 336
NARENDRANATH, Raja, 415
NARIMAN, K. F., 195, 257, 326, 383, 392, 393, 395, 398, 406, 412, 414, 417, 419, 428, 434, 438, 443
NATESAN, G. A., 19, 21
NATHJI, *see* KULKARNI, Kedarnath
NATIONAL CHRISTIAN COUNCIL, 91
NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR CIVIL LIBERTIES, 227 *fn*

NATTAR; agreement with Harijans, 25-6
NATURE; laws of, changeless, 82
NATURE CURE; its special merits, 78
Navajivan, 236
NAVAJIVAN KARYALAYA, 454
NAVIN, *see* GANDHI, Navin
NAYAKAM, *see* ARYANAYAKAM, E. W.
NAYYAR, Sushila, 326
NEHRU, Indira, 55, 56, 155, 304, 328, 338, 382, 427
NEHRU, Jawaharlal, 7, 11, 15, 36, 55, 61, 64, 70, 75, 87, 118, 120, 121, 155, 164, 165, 171, 222, 232, 248, 259, 283, 284, 289*fn*, 304, 305, 326, 328, 338, 369, 373, 380, 381*fn*, 382, 388, 393 to 395, 399, 412, 418, 420, 427, 445, 446*fn*, 447; his interpretation of office-acceptance differs from Gandhiji's, 119-20; no rivalry with, 88; on khadi at exhibitions, 68-9
NEHRU, Kamala, 382
NEHRU, Motilal, 103, 131, 434
NEHRU, Rameshwari, 299, 380, 381, 387, 403, 415, 438
NEHRU, Swarup Rani, 56, 155, 382
NEVATIA, Keshav Devji, 264
NEW EDUCATION FELLOWSHIP DELEGATION, 272*fn*
News Chronicle, 154*fn*
NIMU (wife of Ramdas Gandhi), *see* GANDHI, Nirmala
NIRMALA, *see* DESAI, Nirmala
NIXON, J. C., 40*fn*
NON-CO-OPERATION, 100; adopted as weapon for achieving freedom, 332; the best remedy for oppression, 365-6
NON-POSSESSION, 98
NON-STEALING, 98*fn*
NON-VIOLENCE, 37, 57, 72, 74, 75, 88, 89, 98*fn*, 101 to 105, 117 to 121, 125, 126, 131, 132, 182, 287, 293, 332, 360, 377, 378; an independent force, 101; cow-protection a form of, 137; development of body, intellect and spirit, through, 127; has place for both knowledge and action, 123-4; politeness, integral part of, 62; pursuit of, through Legislatures, 104, 105; should be the yardstick of each action, 90; swaraj not at the cost of, 31; vivisection is violation of, 361

OATH(S); interpretation of, 342-4; of allegiance and its implications, 377-9; religious *v.* non-religious, 229-31
OFFICE-ACCEPTANCE, 142, 397*fn*, 408, 410; A. I. C. C. resolution on, 3-4, 174,—Gandhiji, the author of, 33, 36; and election manifesto, 118, 374; and non-interference of Governors in the administration of Congress Ministries, 372; concept of, 406; demand no infringement of the Government of India Act, 1935, 70-1; difference between Gandhiji and Jawaharlal Nehru in interpretation of, 119-20; (a) fatal blunder without the conditions demanded, 83, 215, 292; impossible without Governors' assurances, 4, 8, 140-1; no retracing in the stand on, 424; not possible if conditions even after toning down are rejected, 284; should be utilized for working in accordance with Congress election

manifesto, 374; Working Committee to decide issue of, 314, 332-3
OLIVER, Daniel, 293
OMAR, 407

PADMAVATI, 39, 43, 60, 66, 169, 208, 307, 393, 416, 431
PAI, Sushila, 195
PAL, Bipin Chandra, 102
PANCHOLI, Manubhai, 191, 192, 216, 223, 243, 249
PANDIT, Vasumati, 41, 54, 57, 114, 165, 225, 232, 242, 281, 287, 313, 388
PANDIT, Vijayalakshmi, 382
PANDYA, Navalram, 41*fn*
PANT, Govind Ballabh, 420
PAPARAMMA, *see* PADMAVATI
PAPER-MAKING; in Segaon reconstruction scheme, 35
PARAMESHWARI PRASAD, 17
PAREKH, Chandan P., 76
PAREKH, Indu N., 223, 242, 265, 310
PAREKH, Jayanti N., 242
PAREKH, Kapilrai H., 225, 264
PAREKH, Nathubhai N., 242, 309
PAREKH, Prabhashankar Harchandbhai, 52, 149, 273
PARIKH, Narahari D., 12, 163, 443*fn*, 454
PARKINSON, 356
PARLIAMENT; and constructive work, 132; as means of political education, 131
PARMAR, Lalji K., 283
PARNERKAR, Yashwant Mahadev, 325, 326, 337, 354, 355, 391
PARSI(S), 71, 162, 282, 408
PATANJALI, 98*fn*
PATEL, Ashabhai L., 106
PATEL, Dahyabhai V., 419
PATEL, Jhaverbhai, 391
PATEL, Manibehn, 190
PATEL, Naranbhai, 191
PATEL, Raojibhai, 400
PATEL, Raojibhai M., 106
PATEL, Somabhai J., 399*fn*
PATEL, Vallabhbhai, 103, 104, 106, 108, 118, 120, 122, 123, 129, 134, 138, 167, 189 to 191, 195, 204, 205, 208, 222, 224, 232, 243, 272, 284, 288, 310, 321, 326, 329, 383, 392, 393, 396, 398, 412 to 414, 418 to 420, 428, 434, 438, 439, 443, 444, 446
PATEL, Vijaya N., 2, 114, 186, 191, 205, 216, 222, 225, 232, 243, 249, 281, 287
PATEL, Vithalbhai J., 120, 129, 399*fn*
PATIENCE; fruits of, are sweet, 227
PATWARDHAN, Achyut, 268
PATWARDHAN, Appa, 105
PAUL, A. A., 47*fn*
PAYRE & Co., 148
PEACE; through prayer, 409; through *satsang*, 58
PERFECTION; only after dissolution of the body, 82
PERIN, *see* CAPTAIN, Perin
PERSIAN, 363, 375
PETIT, Mithubehn, 327
PETRO, Father, 200
PHADKE, V. L., 134
PHILLIP, P. O., 91, 92
PHŒNIX, 72
— TRUST, 279, 424
Phooka; atrocities of, perpetrated on milch animals, 319-20
PILLAI, C. K. Parameshwaran, 178, 194, 200, 201
PILLAI, K. Shankara, 40*fn*
PILLAI, S. Paranchodhi, 26
PODDAR, Rameshwardas, 158
PODDAR, Shriram, 158*fn*
POLITICS, 74, 230, 430; and service of

CWMG LXV

Truth and non-violence, 101; Gandhiji's self-imposed ban against discussing, 33
POLYGAMY; origin of, 203
POORE, Dr., 361
PRABHAVATI, 6, 15, 39, 45*fn*, 56, 61, 77, 101*fn*, 164, 165, 189, 232, 286, 306, 326, 338, 386, 444
PRABHU DAYAL, 180
PRAHLAD, 350
PRAHLADSINGH, 212, 254, 255
PRATAP, Rana, 407
PRAYER, 168, 394; and fasting essential for taking spiritual message, 48; meaning of, 409-10; should be heart-felt, 68
PREMABEHN, *see* KANTAK, Premabehn
PREMCHAND, Munshi, 28
PRINCES, 141; duty of, 255,—to Harijans, 25
PRIVAT, Edmond, 271
PRIVAT, Yvonne, 271
PROGENY; *dharmaja* and *kamaja*, 315
PROHIBITION, 129, 199, 447; as adult education, 449; immediate enforcement of, suggested, 406; in America, 448
PROPHET, *see* MOHAMMED, Prophet
PROSELYTIZATION, *see* CONVERSION
PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY; and British Government, 156; impossible if Ministers were to submit to interference by Governors, 38
Pundits; their opinion on Koodalmanikkam temple-entry issue invited, 275
PURDAH; not observed in the Frontier Province, 67
PYARELAL, 4, 6, 9, 17, 72*fn*, 156, 161*fn*, 167, 177, 190, 192, 201*fn*, 209*fn*, 272, 335, 347*fn*, 369, 381*fn*, 445

QUAKERS, 342-4

RADHAKRISHNA, 405, 438, 444
RAFI, *see* KIDWAI, Rafi Ahmed
RAGHAVAN, N. V., 303, 400
RAGHUNANDAN, 253
RAGHUNANDAN RAM, 58*fn*
RAIZADA HANSRAJ, 307
RAJAGOPALACHARI, C., 21*fn*, 30*fn*, 56, 86, 103, 104, 115, 120, 171, 215, 220, 291, 303, 387, 394, 420, 439, 445, 446
RAJAH, 115
RAJAN, Dr., 439
RAJENDRA PRASAD, 53, 58, 61, 101, 104, 118, 120, 122, 128, 284, 375, 420
RAJKOT NATIONAL SCHOOL, 366
RAJKUMARI, *see* AMRIT KAUR
RAKSHA, 15
RAMA, Lord, 102, 246, 277, 284, 296, 338, 407
RAMACHANDRAN, G., 39*fn*, 60, 181, 192, 228, 305, 326*fn*, 393, 417, 429, 431
RAMACHANDRAN, Dr. Soundaram, 326, 335
Ramacharitamanas, 186*fn*
RAMAKRISHNA PARAMAHAMSA, 20, 80
RAMAN, C. V., 31
RAMANAMA, 102, 409; and progress of soul, 284; mere vocal repetition of, without heart-felt faith is unavailing, 411
RAMASWAMI, S., 26
Ramayana, 6, 20, 204, 206, 286
RAMDAS, *see* GULATI, Ramdas
RAMJIBHAI HANSRAJ, 224, 308, 346, 347
RANGACHARI, Mrs., 204
RANGANADHAM, S.E., 47*fn*
RAO, 355, 386, 391
RAO, A. Kaleswara, 352, 385
RAO, P. Kodanda, 269
Rashtrabhasha, 20, 34

RASHTRABHASHA ADHYAPAN MANDIR, 375
RATILAL, *see* MEHTA, Ratilal P.
RAVANA, 18
RAVISHANKAR, *see* VYAS, Ravishankar
RAVJIBHAI, *see* PATEL, Raojibhai
REED-PEN; and fountain-pen, 209-12
REFORMS ACT, *see* GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT OF 1935
RELIGION; aim of, 135; and animal sacrifice, 390; and service, 138; cow-protection an inseparable part of, 137; is man's search for God, 342
Rentia Jayanti, 409
REUTER, 86
ROHATGI, Dr. Jawaharlal, 139
ROHATGI, Mrs. Jawaharlal, 139
ROHINI, 401
ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSION, 316
ROMAN SCRIPT; should not be the common script of India, 363
ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE, 63*fn*
ROY, Dr. Bidhan Chandra, 304
ROY, M. N., 436, 445, 446
ROY, Motilal, 197
ROY, Ram Mohun, 20

SACHAR, Chandrani, 152
SALVATION ARMY; and conversion, 295-6
Salvation Army Year Book, 295
Samajvad, 440*fn*
SAMPAT, Jethalal G., 53, 122, 310
SAMPURNANAND, 440
SANATANIST(S), 49, 130, 134, 137, 142
SANGER, Margaret; her view on abstinence contradicted by Dr. Alexis Carrel, 23
SANITATION, 361, 366
Sanskaras, 111
SANSKRIT, 21, 32, 180, 337*fn*, 356, 363, 375; influence of its word power, 108
SANTINIKETAN, 64
SARABHAI, Mridula, 7, 16, 39, 61, 77, 190
SARAIYA, Manju D., 389
SARASWATI, 39, 43, 60, 66, 77, 169, 181, 208, 305, 307, 334, 416, 429, 431
SARDA, D. B. Har Bilas, 25
SARDA COMMITTEE, 415
SARDAR, *see* PATEL, Vallabhbhai
SAROJINI DEVI, 56
SARUP, *see* PANDIT, Vijayalakshmi
Satsang; helps attainment of "lasting peace", 58
SATYAGRAHA, 105, 128, 250, 332
— ASHRAM, 45, 268, 402
SATYAGRAHI(S), 104; language of, 118-9, 347
SATYAMURTI, S., 122
SATYANARAYANA, M., 173
Satyarth Prakash, 41, 42
SATYAVATI, 253
SAVARKAR, Dr., 421
SAVARKAR, V. D., 397*fn*, 421
SCHUSTER, Sir George, 432
SCRIPT; common, for provincial languages, 34-5
(*The*) *Searchlight*, 165, 189
SEGAON; proper utilization of labour in, 433
SELECT COMMITTEE REPORT, 70
SELF-CONTROL, 202, 442; and service, 18
SELF-RESTRAINT, 68; and vegetarianism, 404; only method of avoiding unwanted children, 95
SEN, Dr., 381, 385, 403
(*The*) *Sentinel*, 418
SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY, 269*fn*

CWMG - LXXV

SERVICE, 206, 270, 274, 410; and marriage, 202; for political education, 128; no place for ambition in, 430; of religion is same as of country, 138; pure, is a combination of activities of body, mind and soul 18; selfless, is the golden way for leadership, 413; should begin with Harijans, 136; should replace money-motive, 432; through earning of wealth, 42
SEVAGRAM, 337*fn*
SHAH, Chimanlal N., 152*fn*, 192, 218, 251, 252, 260, 267, 389
SHAH, (Prof.) K. T., 50, 148 160, 450, 452, 453
SHAH, Kanchan M., 213, 269
SHAH, Munnalal G., 113, 114, 185, 206, 213, 217, 224, 226, 232, 240, 243, 247, 250, 251, 265, 268, 269, 287
SHAH, Shakaribehn C., 218, 251
SHAH, Sharda C., 152, 167, 177, 192, 218, 219, 252, 267, 287, 306, 326
SHAMBHUDAYAL, 405
SHANKAR, *see* KALELKAR, Satish D.
SHANKARRAO, 51
SHANTA, 339, 385, 399, 415, 417-8, 435, 436, 438, 444
SHARMA, H. L., 383
SHARMA, Harihar, 1, 38, 39, 45, 61, 172, 176, 186, 187, 198, 204, 207, 216, 217, 223, 287, 391, 431; resigns from Hindi Prachar Sabha, 46
SHARMA, Jagdish Saran, 171*fn*
SHASTRAS, 49, 111, 202; their bias in favour of male offspring, 203
SHASTRI, Parachure, 136
SHIBLI, Maulana, 32
SHIVAJI, 407
SHRIMAN NARAYAN, 383, 390
SHRIPAL, T. S., 390
SHRIRAM, *see* PODDAR, Shriram
SHUKLA, Chandrashanker P., 139*fn*, 420
SHUMMY/SHUMSHERE SINGH, Lt. Col., 166, 256, 287, 382
SHYAMSUNDERDAS, 32
SIMPLICITY; Congress Ministers asked to adopt, 407-8
SINGER SEWING MACHINE, 210, 211
SINGH, Datar, 7
SINGHANIA, Kamalapatji, 376
SITARAMAYYA, Pattabhi, 383*fn*, 405
SITZ-BATHS, 15
SIVASUBRAMANIAM, Kamala, 26
Smritis, 146, 178, 228, 254, 276
SOCIALISM; interpretation of, 441
SOCIALISTS, 131, 441; differ from Gandhiji only in means, 129
SOUL; progresses through Ramanama, 284
SOUTH AFRICA; political education in, 128
— — UNION PARLIAMENT, 230; withdrawal of anti-Asiatic Bill from, 86
— INDIAN HUMANITARIAN LEAGUE, 390
SPINNING, 18, 30, 93, 95, 131, 168, 183, 186, 199, 234, 286, 307, 350, 433, 450, 452; as education, 74; as subsidiary occupation during unemployment, 348; instructions on, 248; is a great *yajna*, 208; recommended for students during vacations, 366*fn*
SPINNING-WHEEL, *see* CHARKHA
SPIRIT; and intellect, 297; marriage and development of, 202
SRI PRAKASA, 40*fn*
St. Matthew, 296*fn*
STANLEY, Lord, 373
STATE(S); and implementation of the principles of socialism, 441; and village service, 433

(*The*) *Statesman*, 197; suggestion of, to work out Congress election manifesto acceptable, 84-5
STRIKE; by mill-hands can be successful only if they have subsidiary occupation, 348
STRUNK, Capt., 353, 360, 362
STUDENT(S); advice to, 94-5, 366; should realize equality of religions, 184
SUBRAMANYAM, T. S., 345
SUDARSANAM, A. N., 47*fn*
SUICIDE; permitted by religion under certain situations, 137
SULTAN AHMED, 337
SUN-BATH, 214
SURENDRA, *see* MASHRUWALA, Surendra
SURYABALA, 400
SUTTEE; origin of, 9
SWADESHI; and foreign goods, 236-7; welfare of the country is rooted in, 236
—EXHIBITION(S); khadi and mill-cloth together not to be displayed at, 68-70
SWAMINATHAN, Ammu, 38, 248, 259
SWARAJ, 106, 120, 131, 133; and charkha, 121-2; and Parliamentary programme, 117; cannot exist without democracy, 102; impossible without constructive programme, 199; masses do not understand need for, 101; not at the cost of Truth and non-violence, 31; through khadi, 409
— ASHRAM, 188*fn*
SWIFT, Jonathan, 375

TAGORE, Rabindranath, 20, 64; and Atulanand Chakrabarty, 330
Takli, 105, 187, 210, 211, 324
TALSI, Soni Balji, 356
TAN YUN SHAN, 64
TANDON, Purushottamdas, 405, 425, 427
TANNING; and cow-protection, 312
Tantris, 178, 179, 275, 276
TATAS, 299, 451
TAXATION; through drinks and drugs is degrading, 447
TAYLOR, J. B., 40*fn*
TEMPLE-ENTRY, 24-5, 179; and communal hatred, 91-2; in Lathi State, 254; miracle of, 10; tribunal on, 228
TENNYSON, Lord Alfred, 334
THACHUDAYA KAIMAL, 179, 228, 229, 275, 277
THAKAR, Balubhai, 127, 129, 131
THAKKAR, Amritlal V., 44, 57, 66, 132, 173, 241, 277, 283, 316, 367, 428
THAKORE, Prof. Balvantrai Kalyanrai, 282, 331, 349, 350
THAKORE SAHEB; of Lathi, *see* PRAHLADSINGH
THREAD CEREMONY; of brother and son of Mahadev Desai, 112-3
TILAK, Bal Gangadhar, 20, 397*fn*, 421, 422
TILAK SMARAK MANDIR, 397*fn*
TIME; for God, is eternity, 82
(*The*) *Times*, 70*fn*, 83, 84, 86, 156
(*The*) *Times of India*, 154*fn*, 223, 261, 284, 314
TOSHNIWAL, Bhagatram, 226
TRANSVAAL GOVERNMENT; 84; its dispute with British Government settled through arbitration, 97
TRAVANCORE; Maharaja of, 10, 25, 142, 177, 228, 275, 276, —Maharani of, 10
TRIBHOVANDAS, Dr., 334
TRUTH, 57, 74, 88, 89, 98, 100 to 103, 106, 112, 117, 118, 120, 121, 123, 125, 126, 131, 132, 134, 135, 182,

CWMG LXV

293, 343, 378; absolute definition of, is impossible, 398; and language, 278; development of body, intellect and spirit, through, 127; devotees of, should pay attention to small things, 99; (an) independent force, 101; is God, 136, 411; language of, 118-9; pursuit of, through Legislatures, 104, 105; should be the yardstick of each action, 90; swaraj not at the cost of, 31; worship of, is the reason for exactness in Gandhiji's language, 18
TULPULE, C. A., 345
TULSIDAS, 2, 20, 119, 185
TYABJI, Abbas, 131

UDAIPUR; Maharaja of, 25
UNDERHILL, Evelyn, 371
UNITY; of thought, speech and action, 226
UNTOUCHABILITY, 11, 25, 101, 105, 107, 127, 129, 134, 178, 180, 183, 199, 212, 276, 301, 433; cannot be removed by giving up unclean professions, 13; eradication of, 182*fn*; Harijans feel more about, 10; in Cochin temples, 274-7; its problem is religious and spiritual, 136; removal of, 200, 254-5
UNTOUCHABLES, *see* HARIJANS
UPADHYAYA, Haribhau, 78, 185, 201*fn*
URDU, 294, 362, 375

VADAVASHRAM, 331
Vadhyars/Vaideekans ; recognized spiritual directors in matters of temples, 275
VAIDYA, Gangabehn, 388
VALLABH VIDYALAYA, 238
VALMIKI, 375
Vanaprastha/Vanapravesh, 242, 309-10
VARMA, V. P., 299
VARTEJI, Abbas K., 293
VASISHTHA, 202, 203
VASTA, 323
VASUMATI, *see* PANDIT, Vasumati
VEDAS, 89, 119; study of, is a life in conformity with dharma, 112
VEGETARIANISM; one should not make a fetish of, 404
VEMBAN, 26
VICEROY, *see* LINLITHGOW, Lord
VIDYA, *see* HINGORANI, Vidya A.
VIDYASHRAM, 268
VIJAYARAGHAVACHARI, 434
VIJIYA, *see* PATEL, Vijaya N.
VILLAGE(S); and Legislators, 199; Congress Ministers' duty to, 407; decision to hold Congress session in, 188*fn*; service of, 183, 266, 433,—present education unfit for, 361-2
— INDUSTRIES; a "sure sign of ahimsa", 354
— WORK, 183, 358-60, 445; and A. I. V. I. A. Training School, 93
— WORKERS TRAINING SCHOOL, 376
VINDHYESHWARI BABU, *see* VARMA, V.P.
VISHVANATHDAS, 420
VISHWAMITRA, 202, 203; and story of his stealing meat, 112-3
VISVABHARATI, 64*fn*
VIVEKANANDA, 20
VIYOGI HARI, *see* DWIVEDI, Hariprasad
VORA, 447
VYAS, Ravishankar, 106
VYASA, 110, 315

WEALTH; should be used for the benefit of society, 42
Why Socialism?, 441 *fn*
WIDOW REMARRIAGE; through education and enlightened public opinion, 9
WILSON COLLEGE, Bombay, 17, 60
WOMEN; and prohibition, 108, 144-5, 200, 448-9
WORSHIP; must be of ideals and not of individuals, 88
Worship, 371*fn*

Yajna, 207, 208
YAKUB HUSSAIN, 31, 32
Yamas, 98
Yogasutra, 98*fn*
Young India, 89
YUDHISHTHIRA, 133
YUNUS, Mohammed, 58*fn*, 284

ZACHARIA, O. F. E., 47*fn*
ZAKIR HUSSAIN, 445
ZAVERI, Omar, 423
ZETLAND, Lord, 63, 70 to 72, 75, 83, 174, 175*fn*, 190, 197, 198*fn*, 209, 214, 215, 220*fn*, 245, 261, 291, 292, 332, 372, 373
ZILLIACUS, Dr., 272*fn*
ZOROASTER, 81

CORRIGENDUM

On page 173 in "Letter to M. Satyanarayana", 6-5-1937, the portion omitted reads as follows:

I have shown your scheme to Anna also. His views are enclosed.

What you have written about Punjabi in the first paragraph does not seem to be correct. For, if Punjabi is quite similar to Hindi, are not Bengali, Oriya, Assamese and Sindhi also very much like Hindi? But at the same time it can be said that Hindustani and Urdu are also as much in use as Punjabi in the Punjab. So whatever work is to be done there should be carried on only through local people. It is for this reason that just as no activity is carried on by the Hindi Prachar Samiti in the United Provinces, there should be none in the Punjab also. You must keep in mind that we do not propagate Hindi where Urdu is spoken. We consider Urdu speaking people as Hindi

speaking ones. As for the rest of the scheme my view is that all the activities should be self-sufficient.

From the Hindi original: Rashtrabhasha Prachar Samiti Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

ERRATA

PAGE	FOR	READ
52 * Item 53, title	*H. MEHTA*	*H. PAREKH*
75 Paragraph 5, line 4	of the interpretation	of their interpretation
86 * Paragraph 4, line 1	what it was.	what it says.
102 * Paragraph 1, last line	Let Premabehn forget	Let Premabehn not forget
150 * Last line	a she	as he
208 * Item 202, line 3	Nanu	Manu
218 * Item 215, line 12	take time though I	take time though. I
231 * Footnote 1	who had been Leader	who had been elected leader
239 * Item 244, Paragraph 3, line 8	Hardliness	Hard lines,
332 * Footnote 2	Appendix IV.	Appendix VI.
332 * Footnote 3	Appendix VI.	Appendix IV.
350 * Item 398, line 2	1-2	½
386 * Footnote 2, line 2	addressees, p. 381.	addressee, p. 391.
397 * Item 460, line 4	conformation	confirmation
403 * Item 469, line 2	non-vegetarians.	vegetarians.
425 * Item 501, line 3	your sand	yours and
456 * Paragraph 2, line 1	was passed by	passed by

* Due correction made.

