THE
COLLECTED
WORKS
OF
MAHATMA
GANDHI

XCVI
(GANDHI-
KALLENBACH
CORRESPONDENCE)

CWMG - XCVI

THE COLLECTED WORKS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

VOLUME NINETY-SIX
(GANDHI-KALLENBACH CORRESPONDENCE)

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PUBLICATIONS DIVISION

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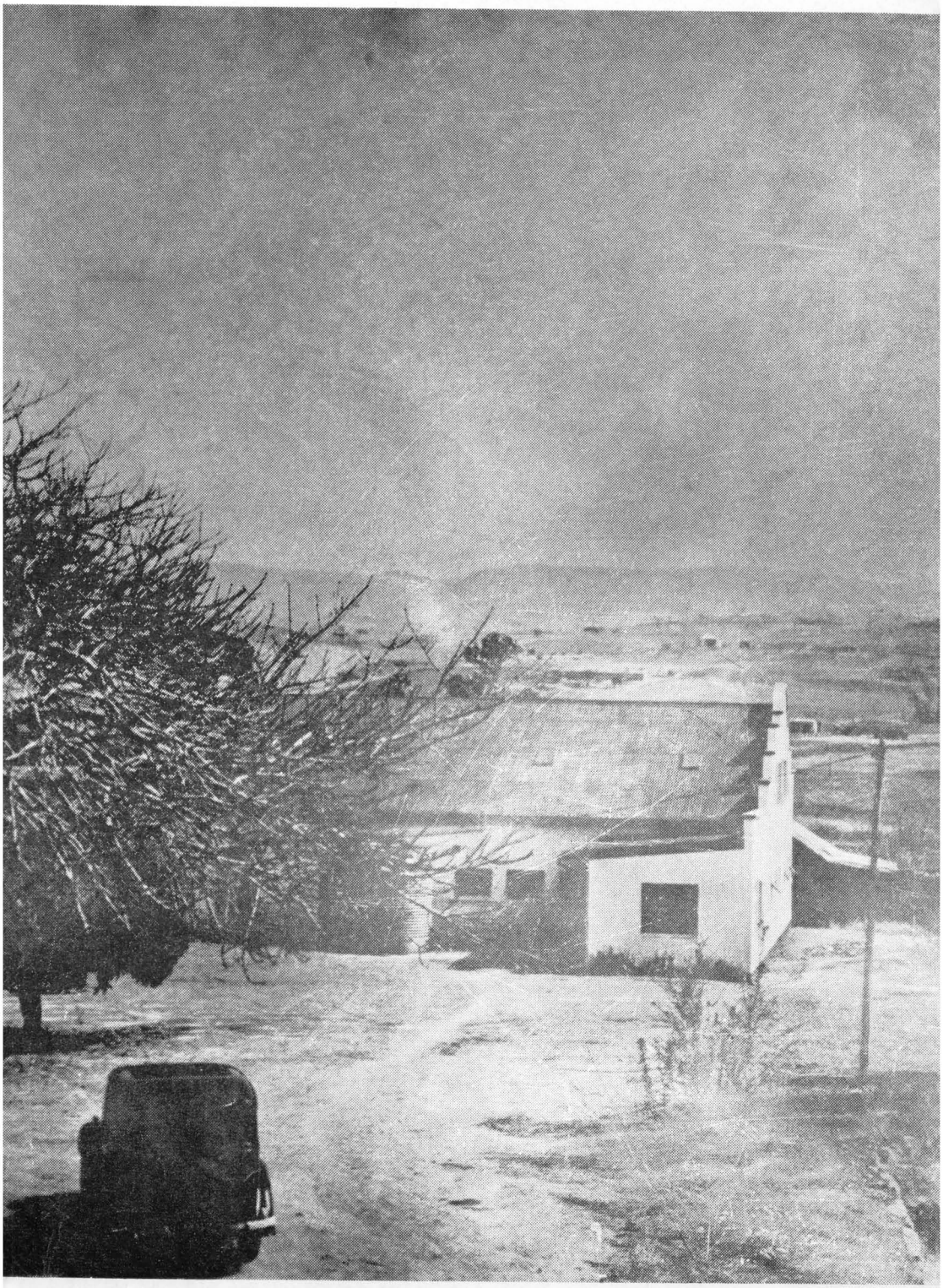
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(SUPPLEMENTARY VOLUME - SIX)

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PREFACE

A few years ago, when the Government of India acquired a substantial collection of Gandhiji's letters to Hermann Kallenbach at an auction in South Africa, little did they realize that in the wealth thus brought home lay whole invaluable new world of Gandhiji hitherto not glimpsed by historiographers.

This volume is predominantly of Gandhiji's correspondence with Kallenbach, interspersed with letters to Millie and Henry Polak and some occasional letters to A. H. West. The addressees, as the reader may be aware, were among the principal non-Indian figures in the history of satyagraha in South Africa. The letters are a documentation of Gandhiji's intense humanism and tenacity, of voluble sentimentality and pious self-flagellation.

The beginning of the twentieth century, with which the volume opens transmuted Gandhiji, on the threshold of his fortieth year, filling him with the resolve that he should be more than a mere man. It was from this resolve that his well-known treatise, *Hind Swaraj,* was born.

With his chosen friend Kallenbach to share this resolve, Gandhiji opted for a life of simplicity and forged a charter of joint ideals with him, never forgetting the discipline that this early self-imposed austerity enjoined upon him. "Lead Kindly Light" became an important motto in verse for him, leading him in later years through the "encircling gloom" in the Indian sub-continent, to deliverance for his countrymen from foreign yoke. The burden of the song sung at the Satyagraha Ashram every Friday (from May 1932) became the burden of Gandhiji's life.

In June 1909, Gandhiji went on deputation to England in order to rouse public opinion in England about the status and condition of Indians reeling under the Draconian laws of Transvaal in South Africa. He firmly believed that the principal corollary to the success of negotiations with the British statesmen was "unadulterated passive resistance, that is, the sufferings of the people", and "that the suffering should, as time progresses, be mute and undemonstrative" (p. 18).

Supporting the *avant garde* movement in peaceful politics were Henry Polak, Kallenbach, A.H. West, C.F. Andrews and Rev.

Doke, to name a few European sympathizers who figure in this volume.

Of Andrews Gandhiji wrote to Kallenbach, "Andrews is a wonderful man, full of wonderful experiences" (p. 157), describing his role in carrying the negotiations forward "with all the spiritual force he possesses" (p. 158).

Recounting in 1946 to Norman Cliff of *News Chronicle* his first meeting with "Charlie" Andrews in South Africa, Gandhiji says, "Andrews found in me not only a live Hindu but a live Christian.... He said that he must at bottom remain a true Christian if he was a true Hindu and Muslim" (Vol. LXXXIV, p. 384).

Even as he threw himself into the £3 tax cause which "is the cause of the helpless and the dumb" (p. 155), Gandhiji busied himself with copious reading from the literature of the West, trying to integrate it into the philosophy of the East.

"You are a trustee. Nothing is yours" (p. 24), Gandhiji would often remind soul-partner Kallenbach, thus pinning him down to the spartan life. This insistence on self-denial and non-attachment grew so strong that he recalls having "thrown into the sea a pair of beautiful field-glasses because they were a constant bone of contention between a dear friend (Kallenbach) and myself" (Vol. XXXV, p. 42). Kallenbach submitted willingly to these tests and trials, seldom protesting. Such was the reciprocity of his affections for his friend. Yet, Gandhiji, with his penchant for self-analysis and scrupulous avoidance of susceptibility to praise and unquestioning surrender to his conclusions, was wont to point out, "Watch me . . . not with a friendly eye, but a highly critical and fault-finding eye" (p. 107).

Running through the letters to Kallenbach is the Gandhi-Kasturba story, told with complete openness, sometimes with love, sometimes with wounded pride, and at yet other times in sheer desperation. This was the Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi who while striving consciously towards an ideal, tried to carry those nearest to him along on this tough journey, be it Kasturba or Kallenbach.

"In my lonely journey through the world, you will be the last... to say good-bye to me" (p. 166), he would write to Kallenbach, unaware that the earnest fellow-traveller was to predecease him.

The journey was indeed long and lonely, as the letters reveal,

and all the harder for Gandhiji when he embarked upon it. Quite early in this voyage of self-discovery, he confessed to Kallenbach, with ill-concealed sentiment, "Devdas made me weep today as I have not wept for years" (p. 125), reporting a minor offence by this young son, of whose all-round growth he never ceased to be happy.

The first three months of 1914 engaged Gandhiji's mind and body considerably. Kasturba's illness during this period found him honing his skills as a nurse. One might perhaps see a touch of black humour in Gandhiji's preparedness for the death of Ba who, belying all expectations of her end (Gandhiji had actually made arrangements for her funeral!), revived miraculously (pp. 171 & 175), to be his partner in the new life for the next 30 years.

Ba's illness, however, did give Gandhiji "food for introspection and a review of the past" (p. 171). The swings of the pendulum in his moods *vis-a-vis* Kasturba provide new insights into their relationship as when he bares his soul to Kallenbach about Ba in whom he sees a combination of the devil and the divine, analysing "the real cause of the devil waking in her now and again." In the process of analysis he becomes the generous husband giving "the devil" her due, as it were : "Truly she has so far been my teacher. She teaches me . . . patience, forgiveness, greater need for sacrifice, for love and charity" (p. 182).

Gandhiji's world meanwhile was growing larger, stretching beyond the geographical boundaries of South Africa and the emotional bonds with Kallenbach. The motherland groaning under the weight of British imperialism beckoned to him and he had perforce to leave behind a struggle which he had been stewarding with astute vision.

Poverty of the kind he had not known awaited him on the Indian shores and of this he was to write later to Henry Polak, "To read of semi-starved millions was so different from seeing them" (p. 278).

"This is my India", he announced with fervour to Kallenbach from Ahmedabad in 1914, having just established the Kochrab Ashram there, "It may be my blind love . . . it gives me peace and happiness" (p. 212). But loving India took its toll of his energies, for he had to contend with formidable opposition at every step while he went about making 'reformist' changes in the Ashram.

Interestingly, though as time went by and as he moved more and

more towards self-realization and the attainment of *moksha,* the early authoritarianism yielded conversely to a qualified liberalism. Viewing woman as *vamangini* – the left side of the body – and the better half of man, he would now declare, "I do not think that dharma requires a wife to do everything her husband does" (Vol. XXX, p. 367).

For Kallenbach, Gandhiji was friend and companion, mother and mentor – all rolled into one. During his long moods of depression, either due to a bereavement or over the Jew-Arab impasse or on account of bouts of self-deprecation, Gandhiji cheered him with long and loving letters, often sending with them clippings from edifying writings such as from Carlyle, Ruskin and Tolstoy, along with his own guiding *mantra* : "one step enough for me" (pp. 10,209 & 245).

Part of the secret compact between the two friends was the way each addressed the other. Kallenbach, a couple of years younger than Gandhiji, was "Lower House" and Gandhiji "Upper House." Gandhiji abjured the sobriquet (p. 196) for a period during their separation after his departure for India in 1914 and resumed it in 1917 (p. 276), jubilant at having resurrected Kallenbach whom he had believed perhaps dead.

If with Kallenbach Gandhiji shared a rare intimacy, he bore an immense brotherly affection towards the Polaks – Henry and Millie– which was as abiding as it was stormy. Polak had rendered outstanding service in the cause of the Indians, both as a journalist piloting *Indian Opinion* and as an ambassador of goodwill mobilising the forces of opinion in England in favour of India. While Gandhiji regarded Polak to be a "gem of the purest ray serene" who "can reflect those he loves" (p. 177), it became obvious to him as the years of struggle rolled by, that his protege would not, however, reflect his political philosophy. So sharply divided were the two, despite their "Bhai-Chhota Bhai" status to the end, that their letters grew progressively acerbic over the Congress and its policies in India.

"Henry may not agree with me on the Khilafat question" (p. 271), Gandhiji wrote to the Polak couple in 1919. Six months later, he expressed his eagerness to Henry to "endeavour to convert you to my view" (p. 273). But the desired conversion never came about and Gandhiji attributed it to the fact that Polak was "unable to feel the foul stench that modern Europe is filling the world with" (p. 273),

and, living as he did in the midst of the inferno", he could not "view things otherwise" (p. 301).

With Polak's wife, Millie, however, he shared a deep affinity which sustained itself through "the mighty tragedy" of the war years. Reposing firm faith in her capacity for sacrifice and for that of Polak as 'reformer', he wrote to her in 1918, "If India is to become the seat in the world of a mighty spiritual force, it would need to have international workers in her midst who are fired with spiritual zeal" (p. 260).

The dated section of the volume ends with a letter of December 1944 to Kallenbach, some three months before his death. Gandhiji had by then become sufficiently rooted in the *Bhagavad Gita* to view life and death with equanimity, and not to mourn over the separation of body from soul, be it of his dearest friend.

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NOTE TO THE READER

In reproducing material for this volume, entirely in English, every effort has been made to bring care and precision to the deciphering of Gandhiji's letters to Hermann Kallenbach and H.S.L. Polak, most of which are handwritten. Obvious errors in the original have been corrected and variant spellings of names standardized.

Matter composed in small type in the text would denote quotation by Gandhiji.

Matter in square brackets in the text has been supplied by the editors wherever a word has been found to be missing or unintelligible or when the right word has been introduced to replace a word by slip. Words underlined in the original have been italicised for emphasis.

Where the original is undated the inferred date is supplied within square brackets where necessary. Explanation for dates supplied within square brackets without footnotes is carried in a footnote at the first instance of a date of the kind. Ten items for which it has not been possible to supply dates have been placed at the end, to follow the dated section. The Appendices provide background material relevant to the text.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT AND SOURCE

For material in this volume we are singularly indebted to the National Archives of India, New Delhi for their assistance with the original files of correspondence between Gandhiji and Hermann Kallenbach and Gandhiji and H.S.L. Polak.

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CWMG - XCVI

CWMG - XCVI

1. LETTER TO MILLIE GRAHAM POLAK

M. K. GANDHI
ATTORNEY

21-24 COURT CHAMBERS,
CORNER RISSIK & ANDERSON STREETS,
P. O. BOX 6522, JOHANNESBURG,
July 3, 1905

DEAR MISS GRAHAM,

I thank you for your nice letter of the 7th June. If you were to examine my messages carefully you would find them to be more or less selfish. I am looking forward to your arrival here and joining the busy hive we have in Troyville. I think, by this time, I know enough of you, from what Mr. Polak[1] has enabled me to see, and I have not the slightest doubt that we shall get on well together, and that you will be a most valuable acquisition to the family. Here each one thinks of duty and insists on doing it, there is no room left for differences because there are no rival rights. I see that you have commenced your life mission (shall I call it) already there. Ever since the receipt of your letter, during my spare moments, I have, therefore, been thinking how you could utilise your own spare time, if you have any, in doing things there while you have the opportunity. May I, therefore, suggest that you should pay your respects to the Honourable Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji who is the G.O.M.[2] of India. He represents the highest ideal of an Indian patriot. Aged as he is, he is in the thick of the fight. He is a candidate for Parliament to represent North Lambeth.[3] Another thing, I should like you to personally know is the Lady Margaret Hospital in Bromley, Kent. I send you a pamphlet that has been sent to me regarding it. The hospital is managed under hygienic principles, and the diet given is strictly fruitarian. Dr. Oldfield[4], who is in charge, and I are very old friends. The hospital owes its existence to Dr. Oldfield's

[1] Henry S. L. Polak who married the addressee in December 1905 ; *vide* also Vol. XXXIX, pp. 246-7. For Gandhiji's description of Polak and his work, *vide* Vol. IX, pp. 274-5.

[2] Grand Old Man

[3] *Vide* also Vol. V, p. 91.

[4] Dr. Joshuah Oldfield, editor of *The Vegetarian,* recalling whom nearly thirty years later, in a letter to Agatha Harrison, Gandhiji wrote: " I remember Joshuah Oldfield well. He was of the greatest help to me when I went to London as a lad. He is a fellow crank." *Vide* Vol. LX, p. 357.

energy. Will you pay a visit to the hospital and study everything about it ? See the patients, examine the nature of the illnesses and come out with all the information you can. You might also make the acquaintance of Miss Nicholson of the Vegetarian Society at Memorial Hall Farringdon St. In Phœnix, we are going to have a sanatorium, and any experience you may gain there in such matters will be most valuable. There is also a Tolstoy Farm somewhere near London. You might see its working also. I think I have given you enough hints as to what might be usefully studied there before you come out to South Africa. I enclose herewith letters to Mr. Naoroji and Dr. Oldfield. Please, however, do not in any way feel bound to see these gentlemen, or to do any of the things suggested. Your duties there may prevent you from seeing these gentlemen or doing anything else. I simply throw out suggestions so that they may be utilised if you have the time for them. I return the Orient Press letter. I have not yet carried your message to Mrs. Gandhi, but will do so as soon as I can. She, too, is like myself, looking forward to meeting you.[1] Please excuse the typewritten letter. My writing, Mr. Polak tells me, is an infliction on friends. Many thanks for the book of verses for the children.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

MISS DOWNS
148 SANDRINGHAM RD.
DALSTON, N. E.
LONDON

From a copy : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] The remaining lines of this typewritten letter, as also the word "GRAHAM" in the superscription and "M.K. GANDHI" in subscription, are in Gandhiji's hand.

2. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

PHŒNIX,
Saturday [*September 19, 1908*][1]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE[2],

You have certainly developed a taste for elegant letter-writing. I hope it will continue and that not only regarding the Upper House but regarding all.

I can no longer use my right hand. The fingers have suffered through overuse. They may regain their elasticity after some time. This is an effort to write with the left hand.

Many thanks for the curtains and the baths. Both will be most useful. You never do things in halves. The bath having come by the passenger train has cost 13/- on carriage. The curtains are also included. But seeing that you always believe you have money, I am not going to pay anything. Has it not been said that what is yours is mine too although mine is not yours. This is a very suitable doctrine for one party to the contract and I suppose I must put up with it till at last I have nothing else but joint property stock. Of course wife is delighted that she is to have curtains instead of a table cloth for a wall in front of her. Mrs. Pywell[3] went mad over them and had all kinds of suggestions and when I said that we might use one curtain only and dispense with the elegant folds she had no hesitation in her own mind in voting me down an idiot. In order to counterbalance, I should suggest sacking for curtains. But then wife would simply kick. I have now to think of a few shillings for rods, etc. The bath was used yesterday for a patient on the settlement.

I am glad you have the £76 from Riversdale, but my gladness is much tempered by the thought that the bulk of it may find its way to Hepworths or others for more superfluous clothes, tools and other toys for the 'baby' (I am not responsible for the expression).

[1] The date is inferred from the reference to payment of fine and the message for Doke ; *vide* Vol. IX, pp. 57-8, 100-101 and 105.

[2] Nickname given by Gandhiji to the addressee, a prosperous German architect, who became his close associate in his experiments in simple living, sharing with him a special bond. Upon his death on March 25, 1945, Gandhiji wrote: "He used to say to me often that when I was deserted by the whole world, I would find him to be a true friend going with me, if need be, to the ends of the earth in search of truth." *Vide* Vol. LXXIX, p. 301.

[3] Mother-in-law of A. H. West

Cordes[1] has gone to Delagoa Bay. He will soon be with you. He is very ill-balanced. His nerves are high-strung. You will be able to soothe him. He loves you and values your advice. Many of his inferences, which he calls facts, are bad and without foundation. I will leave here Monday, the 21st instant, pass Wednesday there, return to Volksrust by the Wednesday evening mail.

Please tell Mr. Doke[2] that I have not been able to collect my thoughts for the message he wants. This was begun on Saturday and has been written in 3 sections. Now it is Monday morning. I may however have time today as wife is really looking remarkably well.

Now for business. I am sure I cannot pay the fine and go to London. It is not my working up the authorities in London I rely upon. Passive resistance is not that. I am certain that I should work better being in gaol. It is good for me and equally so for the people. After all the chief thing is to educate them; to show them how to suffer for communal good. When the time comes to go to London for the sake of the struggle the way will be open.[3] We won't have to force it then.

If you and Mr. Doke come here I should feel delighted. I am half-minded to send a wire but am not going to.

Please remember me to the 'monster'[4] expert.

Yours sincerely,
UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

3. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

PHŒNIX,
9.30 p.m., February 9, 1909

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I have your second note as also wire. As you must have received my letter yesterday (Monday) I did not wire back.

Mrs. Gandhi is progressing slowly though I think surely.[5] She has lost heart, worries over the fact of my impending departure[6] and

[1] A German Theosophist in charge of the Phœnix School ; came to India and joined Gandhiji at Sevagram, where he died in 1960.

[2] Rev. Joseph J. Doke

[3] Gandhiji went on deputation to England on June 21, 1909; *vide* Vol. IX, p. 269.

[4] The reference, presumably, is to the motor-car; *vide* also pp. 14 and 25.

[5] Kasturba Gandhi had undergone an operation on January 10, 1909 ; *vide* Vol. IX, p. 105, *fn*.1.

[6] Gandhiji was sentenced to three months' imprisonment on February 25.

imagines all kinds of woes. This naturally retards recovery. However, the baths are having a marked effect upon her and it is just likely that she will pull through. Anyhow she has all of me at present.

Poor Chanchi[1]! She frets over Harilal's departure. She is passionately fond of him. She is very romantic. You meet with such characters in novels. Evidently she is living the heroine of her best novel. She too is on the sick list. I am glad for her that I am here.

Many thanks for having seen Heymann, Gordon and others. I cannot suggest anything particular to be done. We must for the present simply wait and find out how many Indians will stand to the last. Smuts[2] will, according to the current notion of diplomacy, be a fool if he yielded just when he must hope to break down the opposition almost entirely. Patient waiting is, therefore, to my mind, the only remedy.

Why are you indecisive ? Surely it would be madness to come to Durban for a few days only. I can be here at the most perhaps 5 days. I understand my case is to be heard on the 17th instant. If so, I would like to leave here on Sunday, reach there Monday evening, pass the whole of Tuesday meeting people and return to Volksrust Tuesday evening — so it is no use your running down to Durban. We shall go together when I am discharged and if I am then free to do so. In the meanwhile I think you should decide to settle down to quiet study and do what may be possible for the struggle.

Curzon's letter[3] is good but it really shows that the struggle is important and it must be prolonged. And why not? The more prolonged it is, the greater the opportunity for the people to educate themselves in a most practical and effective manner.

I have not been able myself to do anything regarding Doke's commission[4] I have, however, written to Bonyan, the photographer.

I hope the African Building trouble is over.

You are laying nothing regarding your piles. I infer that they no longer bother you.

Has not the motor-car yet gone? I shall be going to gaol in the full belief that it will no more entice you.

My fingers are now aching. I shall therefore say good night.

With regards to you and Mr. Call,

Yours sincerely,

UPPER HOUSE

(with renewed apologies to Mrs. A.)

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] Chanchal, wife of Harilal Gandhi who was awaiting imprisonment; *vide* Vol. IX, pp. 174-5.

[2] General Jan Christiaan Smuts (1870-1950); Colonial Secretary, 1907-10; Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, 1919-24

[3] *Vide* Vol. IX, Appendix XII.

[4] Rev. Joseph J. Doke had requested Gandhiji to send material for his biography: *M. K. Gandhi : An Indian Patriot in South Africa;* ibid., p. 100 and Appendix VI.

4. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

NAME OF PRISONER : M. K. GANDHI
No: 777

PRETORIA GAOL,
TRANSVAAL,
April 5, 1909

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I was shocked yesterday to hear of your mother's death — the more so as I felt and do feel still guilty in that I was instrumental in you not going to Europe to perform the necessary pilgrimage. I know what a great consolation it would have been to you to have been by her bedside. Knowing as I do so well your affectionate nature I can fully enter into your grief. I feel it keenly that I am not with you in body to share your sorrow. I am none the less your partner in it in spirit. May I recall to your mind by way of consolation the incident that happened to me ? You know that my dear mother was snatched from me just a few days before my return to Bombay from London.[1] This was over seventeen years ago but as I describe it to you, it seems but yesterday that I realized on landing at Bombay what I had lost. And my devotion to my mother was not inferior to yours.

But neither your mother nor mine has died. Their bodies have perished but their souls still live, let us hope, fit for better tenements than they have hitherto occupied. If so, why need we grieve? Our affection is surely not restricted to their bodies which were bound to be reduced to their natural elements some day or the other. And do not our parents live in us as they have a right to, if we reproduce in our lives their better parts ?

Need I say that among those of whom I think daily you are one. I am not with you in body but I am always with you in spirit and often feel as if I was doing my share of the household work—through you!

I hope you are keeping well in body, soul and spirit. Many thanks for the books you have sent. I have read *David Copperfield*[2] with avidity. I finished it yesterday. You told me once you had read it and

[1] Gandhiji had set sail from London on June 12, 1891 and reached Bombay on July 5, 1891.

[2] A novel by Charles Dickens

mentioned Uriah Heep[1]. I want you to recall Steerforth[2]. I will not say much but he may serve as a warning to all of us mariners on this stormy ocean of life. We have all both good and bad in us like Steerforth. But like him if we do not take care, we may in spite of present brilliant promises become wrecks in the end. Was it not Solon who said no man was to be considered good until he was dead ! No matter who said it, we find the truth of the saying daily demonstrated. I then, for my part, want to learn from your mother's death how fleeting this body is and how necessary it is for me to prepare now for a better hereafter? May the same be yours.

From the trend of my remarks you will gather what course my reading has taken — and I have read a great deal and pondered over what I have read.

Now I close, once more offering you the consolation of a loving friend. Pray remember me to Mr. Hosken[3] and Mr. Cartwright[4], Mr. and Mrs. Doke, Mr. and Mrs. Phillips. My kind regards to Olive[5]. How is Mr. Call ? Pray remember me to him also and to Mr. Kennedy[6] and his fiancee.

Do not trouble to answer as your letter will not be given to me if you do write.

I am quite happy.

Yours sincerely,
UPPER HOUSE

H. KALLENBACH, ESQ.
ARCHITECT
SACKE'S BUILDINGS
COMMISSIONER STR.
JOHANNESBURG

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] & [2] Characters in *David Copperfield*
[3] William Hosken, Member of Transvaal Parliament
[4] Albert Cartwright, Editor of *The Transvaal Leader*
[5] Daughter of the Dokes
[6] Addressee's professional partner

5. DRAFT WILL AND TESTAMENT

[*June 19, 1909*][1]

THIS IS THE LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT OF ME, MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI OF JOHANNESBURG.

I hereby cancel all my previous testamentary dispositions especially the Will ledged with the Master at Maritzburg, Natal.

I hereby appoint HERMANN KALLENBACH OF JOHANNESBURG, Architect, PARSEE RUSTOMJEE JEEVANJEE OF DURBAN, Merchant, OMAR HAJEE AMOD JOHARI OF DURBAN, Merchant, and LEWIS WALTER RITCH OF JOHANNESBURG, Barrister-at-law, at present in London, to be the executers of this my Will and Administrators of all my Estate of whatsoever kind and wheresoever situated.

The International Printing Press Works at Phœnix, the ground on which they are situated, and *Indian Opinion*[2] are, among other things, my property. In the profits of the said Press and *Indian Opinion,* several of the workers are participators and the participators have purchased plots of land out of the ground registered in my name. Although Henry Solomon Leon Polak, the Editor of *Indian Opinion,* is not at present participating in the profits, he, too, is entitled to a two-acre plot of land on the same terms as the participators, and has the same rights to the said plot as the others have to theirs; the participators, where they have a one-acre plot, being entitled to have two acres, should they require them, on the same terms as stated in the documents held by them. My Executors are strictly to carry out the terms embodied in the documents signed by them so far as they are favourable to them. In so far as they are for my protection, the Executors are to give to the participators as much latitude as possible.

My heirs shall not have any rights to the plots allotted [to] the participators or to the ground occupied by the press or paid press hands, such ground not being less than thirty acres including the plots.

If I do not leave any debts behind me, the whole of the hundred acres at Phœnix are to be utilised for the purpose of establishing thereon a school and a sanatorium in accordance with the plan discussed with some of the participators.

[1] From the last paragraph of the item

[2] A weekly published from Phœnix from December 1904, under the management of Gandhiji, for whom "it was a part of my life". For Gandhiji's description of the functions of the journal and his role in it, *vide An Autobiography,* Part IV, Ch. XIII.

I bequeath to the participators *Indian Opinion,* all the International Printing Press and the surrounding ground for their use and benefit to be used by them as to them may seem meet, and, in the event of any disagreement between them, the majority shall decide upon the disposal or use of the property, and I desire that, in consideration therefore, they should pay Mrs. Gandhi the sum of FIVE POUNDS (£ 5) STERLING per month during her life and to my children during their minority in the event of her predeceasing them during their minority.

It is my wish that my sons should devote their life-time to the Press, School and Sanatorium, or whatever works of public use or charity may be established at Phœnix or elsewhere.

I advise that, in order to save the whole of the hundred acres, the presents given by me to the Congress to form an emergency fund should, if necessary, be used.

In the event of the balance of the ground, namely, seventy acres, being not required to pay any of my debts, my heirs shall not have any right thereto.

Any of my Executors in the absence of the others may act singly. I request them always to consult the participators.

I desire that no accounts need be filed with the Master.

I reserve to myself the right to add to or amend this Will by Codicil or otherwise, or to revoke it entirely.

Signed by the Testator at Johannesburg, this 19th day of June, 1909, in the presence of the subscribing witnesses both present together at the same time.

AS WITNESSES :

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

6. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

ON THE TRAIN,
[*June 21, 1909*][1]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I address my first letter from the train to you as I expect most from you and as you are uppermost in my thoughts. When heart speaks to heart, speech is superfluous. Yet I cannot help saying this much : I do not understand your extraordinary love. I hope I deserve it all. Our mutual attachment is the strongest possible testimony of our having lived before in bodies other than the present ones.

[1] Supplied by the addressee along with the information that Gandhiji left Johannesburg for London on this date.

May I ask you to count your pennies. If you would hold your possessions in trust for humanity, that is God, you must mind how you use every penny.

In all your dealings with Call, you will I know remember that he owes his present happier position to you. It is therefore your duty so far as possible not to separate from him.

The new responsibility imposed by me on you or undertaken by you is none too great for your large heart.[1] It is your heart which has to come into play and not the intellect merely. There need therefore be no fear.

Lead kindly light
amid the encircling gloom,
Lead thou me on.
The night is dark and I am
far from home,
Lead thou me on.
I do not wish to see the distant scene,
one step enough for me,[2] etc.

Putting that limitation on ourselves we may march on from scene to scene without anxiety and without bewilderment.

I sent back the strap through Call as I found the other in the bag received from Volksrust.

There need be no hurry about buying stands. But if you think that you should buy any you may have chosen, pray let not my difficulties stand in the way.

Remember me to the Buffer House[3] and Mr. Kennedy and Miss Hastings, Dr. Nanji[4].

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

31 FIRST AVENUE
DURBAN

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] The reference is to the addressee's appointment as Secretary of the British Indian Association ; *vide* p. 14.

[2] A hymn by Cardinal Newman

[3] The identity of 'Buffer House' is not known.

[4] An Indian medical practitioner of Durban; often treated the sick in the Phœnix Settlement

7. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

Tuesday [*June 22, 1909*][1]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I wrote last night and I hope that the steward posted my letters all right. You will be surprised to learn that the train is as filthy as it can be. I notice great deterioration on 1906. The Natal trains are much cleaner.

I am nursing my co-delegate.[2] His left eye is bad. He is having salt-water wash.

I hope you will get all the wood, salt and all the moveable plants from Orchards as also anything else that may have been left there.

I suggest that the bath, the plants and the other unnecessary articles should be sent to the auction room. I wish too that you would come to a decision about the motor. And why not get rid of the jewellery?

Architectural study ought to receive serious attention. You should get all the books from Pretoria. Read again and again. *The Light of Asia,* Trine's book (presented by Chh.) and Blavatsky's[3] *Voice of the Silence.*

I hope you will stick to the resolution to make unfermented bread at home. Even if you consider the other to be better, you will soon perfect the baking of unfermented bread. It will be good self-denial if you would go home and lunch. Skating should not, in my opinion, be resumed for the time being. You have undertaken far too serious work to admit of skating.

Why not read aloud, together with Call, something from Trine or *Voice of the Silence* or some such work. *The Song Celestial*[4] I must not forget.

If you see the Binions, please remember me to them.

Will you write to the people at Phœnix regularly? It would cheer them.

Treasure the thought that men are wicked not wilfully but because they cannot help themselves. They, therefore, deserve pity and not contempt. God is in them just as much as in good men. The latter

[1] The dates in this and other letters to the addressee supplied in square brackets without a footnote, are as indicated by him in the source.

[2] Hajee Habib ; *vide* p.15 and also Vol. IX, p. 270.

[3] Madame H. P. Blavatsky, founder of The Theosophical Society

[4] An English rendering of the *Bhagavad Gita* in verse, by Edwin Arnold

know Him, the former do not. The latter therefore have greater need to be cautious as to their conduct. It (conduct) should be even like the shining of the sun. He shines equally. But those who put themselves aslant from Him or are further away from Him naturally do not get the same warmth as those who put themselves directly under Him. Enough of philosophizing.

Yours sincerely,
UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

8. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

Wednesday [*June 23, 1909*][1]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

This is the 3rd letter I am writing from the train.

Do please keep in touch with the Tamils of Johannesburg and Pretoria. Know them all personally. If you can, go to Mrs. Chettiar[2] and Mrs. Naidoo[3] and please apologize on my behalf. You may also go to Mrs. Cachalia[4], Cama[5] and Coovadia[6]. You will not forget the prisoners in the gaols–all this especially if Polak goes to India.

Yours sincerely,
UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

9. A LETTER

July 3, 1909

MY DEAR BUFFER HOUSE,

This is just to thank you for the book (by Tolstoy) which I have enjoyed thoroughly as I do all his works. They have a ring of truth about them which other works seem to me to lack.

Remember please that as to the household economy (aye as to fermented bread and tea, both of which Fletcher's authorities seem to go against), you are my proxy. The Upper House will expect a faithful account of the agency.

[1] From the reference to the "third letter" written from the train ; *vide* the preceding two items.

[2], [3], [4], [5] & [6] Wives of S. S. Chettiar, Thambi Naidoo, Adam Mahomed Cachalia, Nadirsha Cama and Ebrahim Salooji Coovadia respectively

CWMG XCVI

The rest from the letter to the Lower House.

Yours sincerely,
UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

10. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

UNION-CASTLE LINE,
R. M. S. "KENILWORTH CASTLE",
July 3, 1909

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I hope you received the three letters I wrote from the train and Capetown as also the telegram. The voyage has been so far very delightful. Mr. Hajee Habib and I are getting on wonderfully well. The sense of responsibility makes of one a different man. The sea has been calm. The first-class life I abhor. Here there is real restraint on one's liberty. The pampering that goes on is awful. Both Mr. Habib and I go down to see our wine-drinking Indian friend[1] (you will remember the face) who is a 3rd-class passenger and I often envy him his lot. You will see this remark illustrated when (if at all) we travel together as 3rd-class passengers. He no longer drinks. The life of the stewards is the most enviable of all. The gaol life for me is the best. I am doing a lot of reading but not with the same degree of concentration as in the Pretoria gaol. The elegant distractions here are many and various. I am leading a much simpler life than before, i.e., when I last went to England. I allowed myself tea on the train. But here on board no tea, no coffee, no breakfast are strictly adhered to. I avoid as a rule the jam pot also. What say you to that ! Am feeling all the better for the abstention. Brown bread, salad, cheese and fruit make up my luncheon. Potatoes and any green vegetable, stewed fruit and cream and bread and nuts make up my dinner. The meal does not last much over 45 minutes. Can't reduce the time to 30 minutes. Have finished Fletcher's book which, as you know, I have with me. Much of it is highly technical. It is summed up in the following :

1. Do not eat without an appetite. Whether you have an appetite or not is to be known by whether you have pure watering in the mouth or not.
2. Masticate till the morsel is reduced to the liquid state.
3. Whether you have masticated or not is known by examining the

[1] Bhikhubhai Dayalji Malia; *vide* also Vol. IX, p. 276.

fæces which should be consistent, free from odour and which should leave the seat without soiling it.

I have been trying to follow the prescription. The last test has not been yet quite satisfactory[1] but under better circumstances, it seems to me that it would be so. The condition of the fæces is certainly much better than it was there. The motions are reduced to twice per day. I have given you the above account knowing that both you and the Buffer House would like it.

Hope you have got Mrs. Binion to put the lama in order. Everything I lay my hands on is a perpetual reminder of you. This is good. But please remember the compact. You are not to buy a new stationery bag or socks or lama or dressing-case or a razor to make up the number 7. Otherwise all the pleasure of having used them will go. Those who would live well could only consider themselves trustees of monies they earn, for the sake of those who may need them. And a trustee dare not use a penny more than is necessary, nor may he lose things he has. I therefore feel the loss of the two razors, sandals and shaving brush. These were not in the bag which arrived from Volksrust. I blame myself partly for the theft as I neglected to buy a key and lock the bag.

May I hope too that the monster is gone and that the other dressing-case will go, if it has not already, and so also the jewellery ?

Had a long chat with the great Merriman[2], the Cape Premier. He has promised to help. Let see how he redeems his promise. Friend though he is of the great Smuts, I told him of my own experience of the great South African statesman !

Now for business. I assume that Polak has left for India. I am looking forward to your first experiences as Secretary of the Br. I. A. What a rise! May you have strength to your bow. In the way of instructions I have nothing to give. You have promised not to worry and my instructions are to keep the promise. Then your work will be smooth and, what is more, it will prosper.

How about the studies — architectural and devotional? Do the piles still trouble you ? If they do, the formula is masticate, masticate, masticate. Dr. Van Sommeren says if we do not know how to do it, we should actually count 100 grindings or bitings with the teeth and then not swallow. The food must voluntarily go down. If the practice is continued for a month or so, the habit will become second nature.

If Mr. Kennedy is married, please give him my best wishes.

[1] Here the source has 'satisfied' written after scoring out 'successful'.

[2] John Xavier Merriman (1841-1926); Prime Minister of Cape Colony, 1908-10

Has Isaac[1] returned or is he still at Delagoa Bay?
How is Mr. Kennedy's brother ?
With love,

Yours sincerely,
UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

11. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

UNION CASTLE LINE,
R. M. S. "KENILWORTH CASTLE",
July 7, 1909

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I had expected a cable at Madeira giving a resume of the events during the past 12 days. I take it, however, that there has been nothing stirring happening and that Polak has gone to India. I shall now expect some news in London.

The Delegates' statement is quite ready.[2] I have just completed revision. I hope to send you an advance copy next week. This letter will be posted before we reach Southampton.

It would not be a bad idea to send a weekly cable giving a summary of imprisonments, etc. Nothing need be sent if nothing striking or useful has happened.

We had an outing at Madeira yesterday. Mr. Hajee Habib enjoyed it. I procured some fresh earth at Reid's Hotel and bandaged his eye last night. This has given much relief. So the earth bandages are useful even on board. He thinks that if he could have procured earth earlier he would not have suffered so much as he had to. We had a prize distribution last night. Naturally we two simply watched the proceedings like dummies. I could not help thinking of you then. I felt that you would have or could have carried most of the prizes. But what then, I thought. No more inward satisfaction on that account. We would carry, God willing, other and better prizes. There was so much vanity attached to the whole performance last night. So much posing, and so much clapping ! Could not grown-up people amuse themselves in a more rational manner ? The noise they make at the dinner table is quite uproarious. Hilarity is good but too much of it is simply vulgar. Vulgarity

[1] Gabriel Isaac

[2] *Vide* also Vol. IX, p. 278. For the final statement of the Transvaal Indian Case, ibid., pp. 288-301.

of the vulgar is natural, but vulgarity of the higher classes is in my opinion unpardonable. But of course to them proceedings are not only not vulgar but perhaps necessary, so that they have to be judged from their standpoint. To them it is all good taste. They know not what they do, therefore, it is impertinent to criticize. And therefore the above is not for judging harshly but to act rightly, profiting by such experiences.

I shall look forward to your report on Phœnix. I have not written to Cordes except to tell him that as my speech or writing warranted, I would observe silence. To West[1] I wrote at length.

With love and with every good wish,

Yours sincerely,
UPPER HOUSE
Friday

[PS.]

Pray remember me to the Buffer House.

[PPS.]

I have not seen a single passenger except a lad of about 16 who has appeared in the saloon without evening dress.

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

12. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

WESTMINSTER PALACE HOTEL,
4 VICTORIA STREET, S.W.,
July 17, 1909

MY DEAR MR. KALLENBACH,

I am adopting the formal style of addressing, as you might have to make use of this letter in many ways. I hope to write separately, if only a few lines, in the household style if I can, but I am preparing for the mail somewhat against time.

Imagine our surprise when we found ourselves at Waterloo Station without anybody on the platform. Reuters cablegrams are not necessarily published by the daily press. We had relied upon this cablegram catching Mr. Ritch's[2] eye, but it was not published. The result was that he knew nothing about the departure of the deputation, indeed he had given up all hope. This is therefore a lesson to us that henceforth when we want any particular news to reach the Committee, we have

[1] Albert H. West. The communication addressed to him, however, is not available.

[2] L. W. Ritch, Secretary, South Africa British Indian Committee, London

to rely upon our own private cable. Several cablegrams from Cape Town, Germiston, Grahamstown, Kimberley, Laurencomarques, Litchenburg, Pietersburg, Port Elizabeth, Potchefstroom, Rustenburg, Standerton and yourself have been received, but we have avoided publicity of these. They have been forwarded to the India Office and the Colonial Office by Mr. Ritch in the name of the Committee.

The death of Nagappen[1] is a severe blow; I have not got over it yet. You can understand my own feelings and yet I am not sorry, for the sake of the cause. It was what I hope I am personally prepared for and what I have been preaching all the time for the last two years and a half. Every Indian knows that he has to face death in connection with the struggle, and to face it with calmness and cheerfulness. Nagappen has died in the body but he is living in the spirit and I hold the latter to be everything, the former comparatively to be nothing. I only hope that the community has taken it in that light, that nobody on that account has become disheartened and that the parents have not been unduly affected by the bereavement. At the same time I hope, too, that every mark of sorrow and sympathy by the whole community was shown and that his cremation or burial was undertaken by the community. If his photograph can be secured and if this has not been done already, do you not think that we should have the photograph published as a supplement to *Indian Opinion* ? I take it that a resolution of sympathy has been sent to his parents and his wife if he was married, and that due provision has been made for the support of those who were dependent upon him.

The same cablegram gave us the news about Mr. Dowd Mahomed[2]. The same remarks that I have made about Nagappen are applicable in his case. I hope, however, that his illness was not deep-seated, and that he is now all right working away in Johannesburg for the cause to which he has devoted his life.

Ever since our arrival, we have not been idle; I have no rest. You will be agreeably surprised to learn that this letter is being taken down by Miss Polak[3]. She has been having very little rest. The day before yesterday she was working until 11 o'clock in the evening. The work is all preparatory and it is behind the scenes. We have seen Mr. Ameer Ali[4], Sir Mancherjee[5], Mr. Surendranath Banerjee[6] and several other Indian leaders.

[1] On July 6, 1909, after he was released from Johannesburg jail in a "dying condition" on June 30; *vide* Vol. IX, p. 299.

[2] Who had been released from jail on grounds of ill-health

[3] Maud, sister of H. S. L. Polak

[4] Justice Ameer Ali, eminent judge

[5] Sir Mancherjee Merwanjee Bhownaggree, barrister, Member of Parliament and of British Committee of the Indian National Congress

[6] Orator and politician, President of the Indian National Congress, 1895 and 1902

We called on Sir Richard Solomon[1] and had a very long chat with him. He has quite privately promised to see General Smuts.

Lord Ampthill[2], as also Sir William Lee-Warner[3] and Mr. Theodore Morison[4] were at the hotel. Lord Ampthill is an exceedingly good man; he will do all he can. He will place himself in correspondence with Mr. Merriman and Mr. Sauer[5]. He is going to confer with Lord Curzon, whom we have asked for an appointment. Lord Ampthill thinks that just at present we should not publish anything in the papers, not even the news regarding imprisonments and such other matters, unless the press publishes them as from their own correspondents. Lord Ampthill is also of the opinion that it would be no use, in the event of the private negotiations that are now going on falling through, waiting on the Colonial Secretary and the Secretary of State for India in a deputation, but he thinks that it would be advisable for us to seek for a private interview with both of them. There is a great deal in this. Sir William Lee-Warner on the other hand is of different opinion. He thinks that too much publicity could not be given to this matter and that there should be ceaseless agitation in order to rouse public opinion in England. This means practically addressing audiences, interesting the House of Commons members and interviewing them almost every day. I hope that this will not be necessary, but if it is, it means a long stay and then it may prove absolutely profitless. The more I look about me in this country, the more strengthened I become in my conviction that the deputation is only of secondary importance and that it represents the measure of our weakness in the Transvaal, and that the only unfailing remedy is to be sought in unadulterated passive resistance, that is, the sufferings of the people. If the amount already accumulated is not enough to touch the humanity of those who are immediately concerned, it simply means that a great deal more has to be gone through. I feel, too, that the suffering should, as time progresses, be mute and undemonstrative. We should have faith enough in it to know that it will speak for itself. If the private negotiations fail, I do not expect much to come out of public agitation, though so long as we can stay here, we shall do that too. At the same time, so far as I can think at present, I would certainly decline to pass a long time here, because I believe that our work is really there, not here.

[1] Lieut-Governor of the Transvaal, 1905-6

[2] Governor of Madras, 1899-1906; acted as Viceroy and Governor-General of India, 1904

[3] Anglo-Indian Administrator, additional member of the Viceroy's Council

[4] One-time Principal of the Mahomedan College at Aligarh

[5] J.W. Sauer, M.L.A., later a member of the Union Cabinet

Mr. Ameer Ali has been trying to secure an appointment with Sir Richard Solomon.

I have sent a very long letter to Mr. Polak[1] and nearly thirty letters of introduction, most of them given by the Secretary of the All-India Muslim League and Major Syed Hussain Bilgrami. I take it that you are keeping him in touch with what goes on there, even by cable if necessary.

Mr. Ritch's position is very difficult. In order to save the Committee expenses, he has been overworking himself in order to establish a practice here, so that as long as he remains here, the work of the Committee may be done without much pecuniary assistance from South Africa. Mrs. Ritch has undergone an operation for the third time. I have seen her once; she is in a nursing home. The operation has been performed by a specialist.[2] It has been entirely successful, but she is skin and bone. However, her vitality is wonderful and the surgeon is quite hopeful that she will entirely recover. If by the grace of God she does do so, it will be a very great relief for Mr. Ritch. Sir Mancherjee speaks of his work and his ability in the most flattering terms.

Will you please apologize to Mr. Doke on my behalf ? I am not writing him separately. I take it that he will see this letter. I hope he has benefited by the change.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

H. KALLENBACH, ESQ.
ARCHITECT
SACKES BUILDING
COMMISSIONER STREET
JOHANNESBURG

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] *Vide* Vol. IX, pp. 284-8.
[2] Henry Morris, ibid., p. 286.

13. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

4 VICTORIA STREET,
LONDON, S. W.,
July 21, 1909

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I searched in vain among the mail letters for one from you. I am concerned at the absence of any letter from you. I have kept my promise by writing to you more than regularly. The Upper House demands an explanation, though the Upper House has sufficient confidence in the Lower House to surmise that the absence is to be accounted for on good and sound reasons. Still the [Upper][1] House is most anxious about the welfare of the joint family.

I have not given myself sufficient sleep still. Dr. Mehta[2], a very old and staunch friend, is here. We have been discussing many important matters. But the only time I can give him is after 11 p.m., so that we have both been keeping late hours. I must talk to you about the discussions when we meet. You will like them I am sure.

I hope you are keeping good health and the resolutions we had come to.

Mr. Hajee Habib continues to give assistance by not interfering.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

[PS.]

Regards to the Buffer House.

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] The source has "Lower".
[2] Dr. Pranjivan J. Mehta

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14. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

4 VICTORIA STREET,
LONDON, S.W.,
July 30, 1909

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

It is at 10.30 p.m. that I commence this letter and there is a lot before me to write. I shall therefore be brief.

Both your letters were received at the same time. This explains why I received none the previous week.

Your letters are charming. I know that you do not want them to be read by anybody else. And as I have to wander about from place to place, I propose to destroy them.

My apologies to Pussy for not having thought of him. It was a relief to me to learn that he was alive and well. On the strength thereof I forgave you the motor-ride.

The settlement is in the air. If it comes I would endeavour to leave as early thereafter as possible. If it does not come, I shall have to work furiously and may have to stay out the whole of September.

I expect your next letter to tell me that you had seriously commenced your studies.

More I will not say this week.

Yours sincerely,
UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

15. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

4 VICTORIA STREET,
LONDON, S.W.,
August 7, 1909

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I have your weekly letter. Have just received a letter from Lord Curzon which shows that he too is working. However, more will be known next week.

I hope that you will put your studies on a sound footing. It is high time.

I will say nothing about the proposed new home. My hope is that we will not this time have aristocratic simplicity but simple simplicity.

I cannot tell you how deeply affected I was when I heard of the assassination of Col. Wyllie and Dr. Lalcaca[1]. I expressed some very strong opinions to some of the stupid young men who seemed to glory in the deed as one of the national virtue. Personally as one believing in soul force, a rule based on a bloody foundation would be utterly repugnant. I would not have independence if the price to be paid is assassination. No, you are right, such a deed can find no justification in my estimation.

All you say about Miss Schlesin[2] is too true. Yours is the glory; you brought her to me.

I am writing against time and so close with love to yourself and Buffer House.

Yours sincerely,
UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

16. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

Thursday [*August 12, 1909*]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

So you have commenced building in right earnest. I can thoroughly appreciate your desire to finish the building in preference to going to Phœnix. We all want to postpone attending to matters of duty to doing works of pleasure. But are not matters of duty sources of real pleasure ? I know that H.K. will remain and die H.K. But H.K. can and will look upon many things of duty as things of pleasure. Does he not look upon a life in the open air, which is essentially a matter of duty now, as a matter of pleasure ? This applies to many changes that he has grown to, or imperceptibly made. The building of a simple house for the purpose of promoting one's peace, I consider a very healthy pastime. It occupies your mind usefully. There is no occasion therefore for self-castigation.

You are often mentioned in chats with friends. I have an old acquaintance of 18 years' standing. She made me tell her all about our life. She has herself built a summer cottage for herself, and now

[1] Sir William Curzon Wyllie and Dr. Cawas Lalkaka. For details of the incident, *vide* also Vol. IX, p. 284, *fn.* 6.

[2] Sonja Schlesin joined Gandhiji as steno-typist and later played an important role in the satyagraha struggle.

wants me to show her a photograph of the Kraal. Will you kindly send it to her directly[1] ? I say directly, because I may not be here when the photo arrives. Her address is :

Mrs. Freeth
48 Finchley Road
London, N.W.

I cannot too often remind you of the studies.

All the political news you will find in the official letter.

Yours sincerely,
UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

17. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

August 20, 1909

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I have your remarkable letter of the 25th [ultimo][2]. Remarkable because it is long, exhaustive and most admirably written. Love pervades it. I wish I could write an equally good letter in reply. But I cannot, if only because it is now 11 p.m. and having had little rest during the week, I feel sleepy. I have not been doing much work in connection with the struggle, but I have been giving a lot of time to Dr. Mehta—an old and valued friend.

If you are chewing more, I would say, 'more still'. I hope to send you Tolstoy's essay on the morals of diet. It is magnificent. I hope you will read it without loss of time. I am sending it not because it is on diet but because it provides a true basis for a moral life. I am sure you will like it. Am buying a few copies for distribution.

If you will think in the same strain of many other things as you do of the missing razor, you will have many reminders.

Saturday

[PS.]

At this stage I was interrupted and we talked away till 2 a.m. I am now writing against time and will therefore close.

Yours sincerely,
UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] *Vide* also Vol. IX, p. 379.
[2] The source has "instant".

18. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

4 VICTORIA STREET,
LONDON, S.W.,
August 28, 1909

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I am writing this after midnight. I shall therefore again have to be brief.

I am delighted that you are getting more work. You deserve it not because you are a cleverer architect than others but because you are truer. But even at the risk of repeating myself I hope you will not mind my warning you against spending money freely. You are a trustee. Nothing is yours.

I note your motoring experience. If you saw the craze for it here and saw how poor people suffer from the infliction, I am sure your humanity would make you forswear motors for ever. They are an invention of the devil. And if to these are added the monsters of the air, life in such countries is bound to become unbearable.[1]

I had a delightful trip to Whiteway on Sunday where Husen is recouping[2] his health. There if you please is the simple life. Whilst we were having our simple meal, I could not but think of the beautiful picture you (or we?) have of 'the simple fare' or some such thing. You know what I mean.

Please give my apology to Buffer House for not writing separately. I shall be pleased to bring anything (not a monster) that Mrs. Le Bas gives me.

With love,

Yours sincerely,
UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] Ironically, years later, in a letter to V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Gandhiji wrote : "Andrews described what might have been a serious accident as Kallenbach was driving you from Pretoria to Johannesburg at break-neck speed, and one of the tyres of his fashionable motor burst;" *vide* Vol. XXXV, p.18.

[2] The original here has "recruiting", apparently a slip.

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19. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

THE WESTMINSTER PALACE HOTEL,
LONDON, S.W.,
August 30, 1909

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I continue to receive your logical and charming love notes. That you should describe Mrs. Gandhi as your mother, shows your ultra-regard for me. You have reached a stage in which you refuse to recognize my limitations. How shall I retain such an exalted standard ! Do I merit this affection ? Shall I be able to live up to it ? I will not disturb your love. It can do you good. Me it can drag down if there be aught in me of selfishness in my relations with you. That you can make yourself comfortable in my home (have I one?) without me and with all the awkward ways of Mrs. Gandhi and the children shows the height you have attained. You remind me of friendships of bygone ages of which one reads in histories and novels. I promise this — that I shall ever pray that I may ever retain the seat I have found in your heart and that I may do nothing to forfeit that love which is almost superhuman.

Agnes Phillips I have seen. She says she cannot imagine me in London without you !

But is that Love to exhaust itself in delicate attention towards me and those that are called mine ? Will it not compel you, lead your on, to the study you know you need so badly to complete and complement your life ? You do so many things for me. Can you not add this much ? Nothing is beyond the power of Love. Will your disinclination for study baffle even that Love ? I am sure you have but to make the effort and you will do it. A month's hard grind will make the thing most natural for you. Behind this imploring you will detect, as I do, my own selfishness also. For if you study, I am less likely to lose the place I have found in your heart. If you do not study, you may be dissatisfied with yourself, then with your surroundings and at last it may be with me.

I am glad that you have found nothing very wrong with Ramdas[1] and that you like the man in West.

[1] Third son of Gandhiji

It was most considerate of you to have taken Jalbhai with you to Phœnix.

The rest in the official letter.

With love,

Yours sincerely,
UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

20. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

September 10, 1909

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I have another charming letter from you. Everyone considers that your love for me is excessive. I pass on the thought for what it may be worth. I have discussed it fully with you.

Manilal[1] tells me you had the buying mania again — that you had bought sandals, etc. Take care please that you do not spoil the children. Remember that they have to realize and love their poverty. Let them toil on. They can well go without sandals, etc.

In this letter I want to write to you about Ritch. He is living from hand to mouth. He has practice but he is struggling. The burden is killing him and his family. His father-in-law[2] has become an idiot. Mrs. Ritch is still in a very delicate condition. I personally do not think that the S. A. Br. Ind. Committee should be kept at the expense it would require to keep it going with Ritch. Without Ritch it would be practically useless. There is no one here to replace him. What is to be done ? I think that Ritch should return to S.A. His passage amounts to nearly £ 250. In the official letter I have suggested that the [Committee][3] should bring him out. But if the Committee will not or cannot, I suggest your raising the money – you will have no cash — and lending it to him for me. If he earns or I do, it shall be paid, otherwise you will have helped a deserving brother. I do not think the money will be lost. But if it is, let it be. Will you please cable whether you can advance the money if the committee does not give it ? Quinn[4] should help. He used to tell me he would. If the Committee decides to break up the

[1] Gandhiji's second son
[2] Cohen
[3] The original here has 'community', obviously a slip.
[4] Leung Quinn, Chinese leader

Committee here and does not vote the £ 250 and if you can advance, will you cable 'well' to the usual address and I will understand that you can and will advance. If you cannot advance you need not cable and I shall understand your silence. I am giving you another cable word in the official letter. If the money is then wanted I shall cable for it and it may be sent. My advice is that you should ask the Committee there to break up the Committee here whether the struggle goes on or not.

The temptations you describe as having [been] resisted are interesting. It is useless to ascribe them to me. I am no more responsible for the resistance than a log of wood. The effort is all yours. As I have often told you, the capability and the possibility were in you. I may have been instrumental in awakening the thing. But so may a book, yes, even a suggestion from nature around you. These are passing circumstances in one's life. But having seen the capability and the possibility, it is for you to carry them further and further till at last you are in tune with the Infinite. In ascribing them to me or any other outward circumstance, you but hinder your growth and shower undeserved love on surrounding objects — the victim this time being myself.

You will be pleased to hear that I have today invested in a pair of boots 22/6. It was a hard thing to part with so much money. I have bought ill-health for 22/6. I could have bought health for 8/6 invested in walking sandals. But can a delegate walk about in a hotel or in streets with sandals ? With this problem and with much love,

I subscribe myself,
UPPER HOUSE

[PS.]

My apologies to Buffer House for not writing this week.

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

21. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

September 17, 1909

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Yet another charming letter from you. But the letters will cease to be charming if they continue to excuse non-study by the Lower House. The life of the Lower House cannot be perfect (so far as possible) or satisfactory so long as some time at least is not devoted to serious study. That the Lower House keeps good health is good, but the health cannot be really good if it keeps one too sluggish for some serious study.

Your account of Ramdas having fetched water so naturally and gracefully excites a father's pride. I hope that the account is accurate.

The news of illnesses at Phœnix has upset me much. What could be the cause? Have you found it out ?

Am delighted that Cordes is getting on.

It is past midnight now. I will therefore stop with love to you and the Buffer House.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

22. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

September 24, 1909

DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Your letter to hand. I will not now use any adjective for the reasons explained last week.

Your portrait (the only one) stands on my mantelpiece in the bedroom. The mantelpiece is opposite to the bed. The eternal toothpick is there. The corns, cottonwool and vaseline are a constant reminder. The pen I use (you see the pencil has disappeared) in each letter it traces makes me think of you. If, therefore, I wanted to dismiss you from my thoughts, I could not do it. My nose—well it won't stop its action. Each time I blow it I take out my 'kerchief (is the 'kerchief mine except by appropriation!) and say 'no, I must not use a torn envelope if I am in the office and I must not settle the dust on the

CWMG - XCVI

road as Polak would say it because you would not like it.' Yes, I have never departed from the contract. The result is I use a 'kerchief per day. That however is in passing. The point to illustrate is to show to you and me how completely you have taken possession of my body. This is slavery with a vengeance. But then the reward, what is it to be ?

The unwritten compact is you take the body and give the mind by way of study. You cannot take 'no' for an answer from yourself.

I am glad you went to the Chinese meeting. Your presence must have greatly cheered them.

I hope the Buffer House is keeping well both in body and mind.

My congratulations to Mr. and Mrs. Kennedy. I wish them a happy life. May Mrs. Kennedy be 'helpmeet' in the real sense of the term. How is Mr. Kennedy's brother? I am looking forward to your impressions of Harilal[1].

Yours sincerely,
UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

23. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

October 1, 1909

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Your letter as usual. I have just received your private cable. I take it however that it has been sent with the knowledge of some at least of the workers and therefore at the cost of the Association. It is quite a legitimate Association expense. The cable does not surprise me, nor does it worry me. I[t] shows more clearly than I can by argument that the cause for the prolongation of the struggle lies within ourselves. It is my firm belief that if you are weak, no matter whether you show your weakness in words or not, you leave unconsciously an impress of it on your opponent. Such has been the case with friend Habib. Smuts can feel it and so can Lord Crewe[2]. What wonder then if both of them be in no hurry to end the struggle ! We have then to be patient and fight internal forces as well as external that are ranged against us. Our friend did some time ago suggest it to me too that we should accept what has been offered. I returned an emphatic 'no'. Then came Mr. Abdul Cadir upon me. I told him that even if the community turned upon me and asked me to accept the proposal, I

[1] Gandhiji's eldest son
[2] Secretary of State for the Colonies

should have to say 'no'; that those were the terms on which I consented to lead the deputation, and that it was a matter of my own conscience. Since then nobody has ventured to talk to me about accepting Smuts' terms. Please make the position clear to the people and tell them that owing to weakness within we must look forward to a prolonged struggle. At the same time let no one consider that it was a mistake to have elected our friend as a delegate. Nothing better could have happened. He is all right here. He would have been a source of weakness there. Here his weakness can only make me stronger and here he must keep himself under check. Indeed he has behaved himself very properly. I can easily overlook his having written to people there. Weakness ever expresses itself in such dubious ways.

And now for the home chat. Does not the above incident show to you that our worst enemy is our weakness. Weakness is due to fear; fear is due to lack of faith in the possibilities within the soul for good; lack of faith is due to our over-attachment to the ever perishing and perishable body. If, therefore, we get rid of the body snare that binds us so tight, we set the soul free for its work–progress or evolution. The greater the faith, the greater the strength. Having by strength surmounted fear, we surmount weakness. And then we are practically free. This reasoning, I am sure, applies to your disinclination to study. I can wait and watch. But you cannot wait before you begin. I am sure that you should go at it again and again until you have gained mastery over your disinclination. Every failure will be a stepping-stone to success. Shall I — may I expect to — see you an earnest student? Just this thing is lacking to fill the cup of your satisfaction.

I am glad you are not hurrying on the construction of the new house or hut. I am gaining a great deal of experience. We shall discuss it all when we meet.

You did not give me your opinion of Harilal.

My regards to our friend Umsweli when he returns and also to Buffer House. Fancy speaking of the two in the same strain ! Why not ?

With love all round,

Yours sincerely,
UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

24. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

October 27, 1909

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

In your letter before me I notice a ring of helplessness about your studies. That will not do at all. I am sure you will not be satisfied with such an unsatisfactory state of things. That you are getting more work should give more zest for study rather than satisfaction.

Ritch was much pleased to notice your appreciation of him and your efforts on his behalf. I need hardly thank you. Between us there is no room left for expressing formal thanks or anything of the kind. Poor Mrs. Ritch undergoes operation on Saturday. Ritch is now arranging to settle here permanently. He will therefore no longer, for the present at any rate, need pecuniary help in the way of passage money.

Hajee Habib's letter is what I should expect it to be. I do not think he has carried on any secret correspondence with anybody here. In his letter sent there he has frankly avowed his weakness and tried to weaken our friends there. He therefore need not be unduly blamed for his letter. I certainly still think that he is better with me than there. His weakness has undoubtedly weakened the deputation in the finer sense. But that is inevitable. Had he remained there, he would have proved dangerous. As it is, he may still go to gaol. He certainly does not say he will not. I admit he is not looking forward to it.

If Harilal has not yet returned I hope you will write to him personally and ask him to return and be arrested.

Do you not think that I am improving my handwriting ? I am making the effort anyhow.

With love,

Yours sincerely,
UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

25. LETTER TO MILLIE GRAHAM POLAK

November 14, 1909

MY DEAR MILLIE,

Though we differ somewhat as to the view of life, there is still a subtle sameness running through our thought which makes you most lovable to me. The inner voice tells you one thing, the outer life shows a contradiction. You rightly decline the assistance of the intellect and wait for the light of intuition. Some day and somehow it would come. And if you are more true and I am less so, then pray that I may have the light. Meanwhile both of us are mad after Truth. So we are, apart from your being Henry's wife, sister and brother. Miss Molteno[1] will not have us otherwise. She is right. But then I am an exacting brother. I do not want the obedience of a daughter, that only a daughter can give and should give. But I do want a sister's full trust and confidence. Will you please express to me all your wants! I am more anxious now that I am away from you. It was a relief to me to meet you twice a week. Now, O God, when shall we who have so much in common meet again ! And yet why complain? We are nearer, than the passengers who are sitting in the same room as I am.

I want your confidence because I hastened your legal marriage[2] and I have been instrumental in keeping you physically apart.[3] I know my responsibility. I ask you to help me to fulfil it. If then you suffer from any want at all will you please promise to let me know ? When it requires immediate satisfaction, please do not hesitate to let Mr. Ritch know. Better if you let him know directly but if you have any delicate hesitation about it, please do so through my adopted daughter. The word 'adopted' jars. It ordinarily shows some separation. To me it signifies none. But I will not use it often.

But am I worthy to be her father? Yes, if she is worthy to be my daughter. You know what Mrs. Gandhi used to call Henry – my first-born. He is too mature to be that to me. But Maud is immature enough to be all that to me — my first-born daughter. Of Henry Mrs. G. used to speak out of jealousy. I am sure she would speak of Maud lovingly if only because she is a woman. She will fill Mrs. Gandhi's

[1] Daughter of Sir John Molteno

[2] *Vide* Vol. XXXIX, pp. 246-7.

[3] *Vide* pp. 50-1, and Vol. X, p. 332.

life. Now that is selfish. A father has a right to be selfish like that. You see how Maud occupies me. During the past three months, i.e., after the first month's work she has never wanted to be away from me. And yet I never guessed the intensity of affection until that night when she thought all her ambition was dashed to the ground. But is all this real or is it the glamour of my presence ? If it is the latter, it is too terrible. I would then have to revise my enthusiasm. And how is that possible? Anyhow I look to you to observe Maud, analyse her, cross-examine her and find out where she is. There is no present need of anybody in Phœnix. And yet if Maud is what she says she is, she will always be wanted. She will go to give strength.

Of Celia and Amy I saw little. I know there was little need. They have your loving care. But let me once more remind you of our conversation when we were going to Miss Molteno. It is the duty of every man and woman unless they dedicate their lives to an ideal pure and simple to serve humanity by marrying. I am not wrong when I say that the custom of girls making their choice is disastrous. If you could but quietly contemplate what girls' life today is in England, you would shake with rage and pity. Do not judge from yourself. You are exceptional. Anyway, your clear vision will show you immediately that you are bound to select a better husband for Amy than ever she can. In order to come to this we need not discuss even the higher proposition. If you agree with me, I am sure you will not think of giving Amy an intellectual training such as painting, etc., but make her a good and loving soul. That is the training that the world needs. Don't you agree?

Maud has given me the enlargement of that lovely picture of Waldo[1] and Brownie[2]. May they ever fill your life and grow to be a credit to their parents.

With love,

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] & [2] Addressee's sons

26. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

November 15, 1909

MY DEAR HENRY,

I cannot say I am pressed for time today. If therefore there is anything left out it will be due to my forgetfulness. You are in for a big dose, so prepare yourself.

As I write Maud is uppermost in my mind. I therefore commence with her. She cannot tear herself away from me. I was watching her at the station. She was on the point of breaking down. She would not shake hands with me. She wanted a kiss. That she could not have at the station, not that she or I was afraid but it would be misunderstood, so she stood rigid on the platform. We have not shaken hands for months. But the night scene I have already described to you has transformed her and with her me. If all she has shown be genuine she may eclipse you. If that happens, no one will be more pleased than you would be. Anyhow please help her all you can. Millie gave to Sally[1] and Maud in my presence a harrowing picture of Phœnix – not a single relieving feature — beetles everywhere, spiders, ants in the milk, no baths, water bad, people half naked, filth too, lift a plate and you will find an insect underneath, snakes hanging from the tree, you have not only to tolerate this but love the insect life, you may not destroy any life, I (Millie) could not do it, my idea of simplicity different from G.'s, I would not therefore live in Phœnix, etc. It was a gloriously exaggerated description. I said not a word except to emphasise the fact that the girls were to accept it as an accurate description. Well, Sally was off. She would have none of Phœnix. She had not known it was all that. Not so Maud. She had heard all this. She knew that I was not available in Phœnix. Still she wanted to go and live the life. Cheeseman[2] who is Maud's great friend and I believe pure-minded pleads that I should not disappoint Maud and that she is perfectly sane in what she is doing. I have told her that I consider Indian civilization to be the best in the world and that therefore it means for her to be more Indianized than you are. She revels in the thought. Such is the condition in which I have left her. Mrs. G. used to describe you as my first-born. She said so in jealousy. She would accept Maud as my first-born lovingly. She, I think will fill her life. Mark a father's selfishness. You are, you remain what you are, to me—Chhota

[1] Addressee's sister

[2] H. E. Cheeseman

Bhai–younger brother and yet more than a brother. You are too mature to be what Mrs. G. would have you to be. Maud on the other hand can be my first-born and therefore in some way more than you are to me. She will claim more of me. Can I give it ? Am I worthy of all that affection? Is she worthy of it from me? Unless she is a downright imposter which she is not, she is quite capable of it. The other theory is that the whole thing is a nine days' wonder due to the glamour of my personality. If so, I should be shot on sight. For if people can be so falsely enthused by me, I am useless — a power more for harm than good. Your saint is then doomed for ever. However that may be, there is a huge problem for you and for me to solve. May Maud go to Phœnix? If her affection is real it will be a sin for anybody to prevent her. I leave her at that. I have commended her to Millie and Ritch.

Of Sally, what shall I say? She is a butterfly. She said to me that she was so completely under the influence of that man that he had but to command and it was for her to obey. Hence she wanted to go to S.A. I suggested to Mater and then to Sally that the household should be simplified and that she should have the post she has at present and do the household work. All this and Millie's description of Phœnix has put Sally off from Phœnix and made her promise that she will have none of that man. Here of course she is wrong. It is evident too that having drawn herself a romantic picture of Phœnix she exaggerated her misconduct in order to ensure her going to Phœnix. But when Phœnix is no longer her goal, the thing assumes its true proportion. However, I consider her position to be unsafe where she is. I have written again saying that she should leave that post and try for another if she must have one.

Sally you will not help much by writing in an upbraiding tone. You should write to her in the gentlest tones and ask her to follow Millie's advice and if she will do so, leave the present post, leave the suffrage movement and help you in the struggle you are engaged in by doing her volunteer work well and truly. For I have I think told you that she is one of the volunteers for the work.

Maud's letter to you requires some correction but I need not dwell upon it.

Mother I am sorry has been examined by a palmist or two and so has Sally. This palmist has told them they are going to South Africa in two years' time. This is all drivel. I spoke strongly to Mother about it. You need not say anything on it. I simply pass on the information.

Father is what he was before. I would not discuss him nor Mother. Them we will discuss when we meet. I am simply informing you of what you should know immediately.

Millie is a wonder-worker. She is happy in the thought that her husband is doing good work and that he is being appreciated. Surrounded by loving sisters and two beautiful children, she is calm and serene doing good where she can. Her devotion to you is great. May you ever be complements each of the other.

Your life has affected both the sisters and Maud more so. She is impatient to read your letters to me. Here endeth the family and personal history.

Your work there has deeply affected Ritch. You have risen in his estimation immensely. He calls you a born journalist. I have a better name for you. You are a born idealist. And if you are not born to realize your ideal in this life, it will not quite be your fault. Every word in the last sentence has its significance.

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

27. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

UNION-CASTLE LINE,
November 25, 1909

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I write this in anticipation of my going to gaol before reaching Johannesburg.

Your letters are always a study in human nature at its best. Your last one is more so than usual. I call them a study in human nature at its best because you lay bare your heart to me – a privilege I assure you I appreciate very much indeed.

If I were to discuss all I have seen and pondered over, it will fill pages and yet I should not succeed in explaining my meaning thoroughly. I fully understand your moral difficulty — how to get out of the ordinary dishonesty. I should prize this healthy discontent and nurture it. You will then soon find a way out of it. In the light of my new experiences and further development I have gone through I would like to be by your side and as of old go into the life problems with you. But there need be no impatience. Meanwhile, you have many desirable things to occupy your mind, chiefest among which is this Transvaal struggle.

You ask when will you and I be free from it? I know you have been taxed sufficiently. You have got more than you bargained for. That unfortunately is the price friends pay for close association with me. But apart from feelings of consideration for you I see no necessity

for the question when shall we be free. Whichever turn the struggle takes, it is the best discipline I can have. Whilst I work strenuously to bring it to a close, I continue in it as if it was to last a lifetime. And so it may be with you if you can take it cheerfully and calmly. We agreed when I left for London, that you could not be better occupied. And I am now face to face with the fact that you have to be so occupied to the end of the struggle. To say you could leave it, is to insult you and to underrate your ability to stand fire. No, my dear Lower House, I can only say you should be absorbed in the struggle and to that end compel yourself to be calm.

I shall be writing to you officially also, so that you will see how far the struggle has advanced in London and what effort is necessary in the Transvaal.

Cordes continues to cause trouble. He has been swearing, it appears, at Purushottamdas Desai[1] who, so far as I know, is a very quiet and amiable man. He has felt it terribly. I do not want to write to Cordes for fear I may offend him without doing good. There seems to have been some financial trouble also. I fear that Phœnix has to be supplied with funds. What the condition there is, I do not know. I can only leave the matter in your hands to do the best you can and to ease the situation at Phœnix. Devdas, I notice, was very ill and had not recovered quite at the time they wrote to me. All this shows that I should be free for a few days and yet I know that I must not ask for a postponement.

I can understand your repugnance towards Motan. And yet I feel that some day or other you [would] want to get rid of this sort of thing. Is he not a member of the same human family? Before you and I realize the identity of all life, we have to live this prejudice down. The thing is difficult but there is no escape from it.

This is a very unsatisfactory letter. Instead of relieving you of the worry and the trouble of looking after the struggle and my affairs when you are yourself not at ease, this letter invites [you] to take on more. I can only hope that I may be soon able to relieve you although the struggle may not end soon.

When I think of you and think of what awaits Mr. Doke, my head begins to turn. I pull myself up and say to myself : there is nothing of self in this. Why then worry ? You and he could only do the best. And there I must leave the situation.

I expect that the house has not gone beyond what you described in your letter. I would certainly like to poke my nose into it and play

[1] Who was in charge of the Phœnix school

the architect and give some of the newfangled notions I am bringing with me.

With every apology for this letter and with love,

Yours sincerely,
UPPER HOUSE

[PS.]

I have been working very hard on the steamer and have given myself no rest. It is now after 8 p.m. and there is still much before me to finish. I have translated a long letter from Tolstoy[1] and written an original book in Gujarati.[2]

From the original: Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

28. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

Monday [After *December 2, 1909*][3]

MY DEAR HENRY,

I have not the time to give you a long letter today. Too much disturbance at the office. At the invitation of Nagdee. I took the school children to Warmbaths for the Sunday. We have just returned. Kallenbach and Ritch were with me and so also Pragji[4].

You will have copy of my evidence before the Select Committee. It is not meant for publication. Dr. Mehta is there. I wish you could fix up now the essay on passive resistance on which you will remember I drew up a syllabus.

Yours sincerely,
BHAI

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] Which was reproduced in *Indian Opinion,* 25-12-1909, 1-1-1910 and 8-1-1910; for Gandhiji's Preface to the Gujarati translation of Tolstoy's "Letter to a Hindoo", *vide* Vol. X, pp. 1-5 and also Vol. IX, pp. 444-6 and 593.

[2] *Hind Swaraj; vide* Vol. X, pp. 6-68.

[3] This letter was evidently written after the one to the addressee dated September 23, 1909, in which Gandhiji mentions the essay on passive resistance and the syllabus that he was to draw up for it; *vide* Vol. IX, p. 431. Gandhiji was in London about this time and it would appear that this was written after he returned to Johannesburg on December 2, 1909. For further references to the contemplated essay, ibid., pp. 445 and 527.

[4] Pragji Khandubhai Desai

29. LETTER TO MILLIE GRAHAM POLAK

Sunday, December 26, 1909

MY DEAR MILLIE,

I am writing this in Mr. Kallenbach's tent. It has been raining for the last two days. The tent is soaking wet, water dropping here and there. The wind is howling about me. Manilal is with us. He is a good boy. I notice that he is over-particular about his dress. He devoted nearly a[n] hour to ironing his suit. He is pining to go to gaol.

I see you address me Brother in inverted commas and underlined thrice. We may well call ourselves brother and sister. Our conduct certainly justifies it. But will you give me a sister's confidence? If you say 'yes', I shall try to be 'brother' to you. No real increase in my family can be a cause of sorrow to me.

Henry wants me to send you £ 17 now. His previous letter said £ 16. I think I wrote to you from 'on board' that I should like to be able to send you more. Now it is done by Henry which is the same thing. Henry wonders how you will take his prolonged stay in India. And yet he is there in his element. After a certain stage, my presence is a hindrance to friends' growth. Henry is doing much better independently of me. He has succeeded in captivating Dr. Mehta who wants me to print his address on industrialism and its evils for free distribution.

Your letter is full of epigrams in your best style. You could hardly be so sweet as you are if you never needed a friend's help and consolation. Though a brother could never replace a husband, I tried during my stay in London to replace Henry so far as I could. It was no more a wrench to you to separate from me than it was to me to separate from you. We certainly came nearer each other in London than ever before. It was natural.

You may well envy Maud and yet you cannot. Maud is a different type. Friends can make or mar her. You can be helped by friends and never marred. A trusting nature like Maud's is beautiful. It can under good auspices develop into a very strong nature. Her progress can be rapid but so can her retrogression. With you retrogression is impossible. And progress, shall I say, slow if not even difficult. You would be justified, I know, in saying the same of me. We are both strong natures. We may be nearest each other but never identical. I was tempted to analyse Henry. But I must not speculate any further.

Your wonderful letter before me has given rise to these thoughts. That is the beauty of epigrams. You could say so much on each.

You are right in assuming that Lord Morley's reforms may be a piece of bone thrown to a hungry dog. And yet it is open to those who will be the leaders in the new Assembly to make much out of them. Lord Morley can do little for India unless Indians themselves are prepared to do something for themselves. Just now assassination is the order of the day. Lord Morley can stop it but he is too blind to see the way. I should like to be able to throw myself into the work but I cannot, and have no desire to force the pace.

I am glad Waldo and Baby are getting on. I hope Celia and Amy are keeping well.

Of myself, you will learn from elsewhere.

With love,

Yours sincerely,
YOUR 'BROTHER'

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

30. LETTER TO MILLIE GRAHAM POLAK

JOHANNESBURG,
December 31, 1909

MY DEAR MILLIE,

Nowadays I come to the office between 7 and 8. I have a quiet half hour just now which I wish to devote to writing to you. You are dearer to me than my widowed sister Gokuldas' mother, whom as you know I worship, though in thoughts a gulf divides us. You are dearer because there is so much in common between us and because I have entered so much into your and Henry's lives — I hope for our common good and the good of humanity. Your brief letter haunts me. It fills me with sorrow and admiration for you. You have written it in love, grief and resignation. I wish you had sent me the other letter also that you wrote.

No, no, my dear sister, you are not going to live away from Henry for ever. Your wondrous imagination has carried you much further, I am sure, than Henry could ever intend you to go. How I wish I was close by you to comfort you and show how wrong you were. In reply to that letter of mine which you read, Henry wrote to me and told me he was writing to you. I wish you had sent his letter to me. You have cut a deep wound in my heart by telling me that

your brief letter is to be the last for many weeks. You will not treat your only (am I) adopted brother in that fashion? If I am your brother, you *must*[1] let me share your sorrows.

You are Henry's better half. No path can be considered right for him along which he cannot carry you. Will you not have sufficient faith in him to know for certain that he is incapable of creating a gulf between you and himself? I ask you to trust me *never*[2] to carry Henry along any route without your approval. A gift given or a sacrifice made grudgingly and not cheerfully is no gift or sacrifice. You have often given me the privilege of analysing you to yourself. You have heroically sacrificed yourself on the altar of duty. But you have done so in bitterness not always free from resentment. Your noble nature and your mad regard for truth should free you from that error. Why should not duty be pleasure? I hope you follow me in what I am writing.

Will you not, for my sake, shake yourself free from that little morbidity of your nature? It ill becomes a character like yours. I want a perfect sister and am anxious for Henry that he should have a perfect wife. It is because it is in you to be perfect that I venture to draw attention to what in my opinion is lacking in you.

'Take no thought for the morrow' is a sound maxim of life. You know exactly what this means. Why then worry !

Now do tell me what you will have me to do? At any rate let me know if you will be a true sister to me, what is running in your mind, what it is that Henry intends doing, what has caused you such a severe shock. I trust you, on the strength of a brother's love, to tell me fully, frankly and freely where you are.

With love,

Yours,
'BROTHER'

[PS.]

I return you your letter to enable you to understand this better.

M. K. G.

From the original: Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] & [2] Words supplied in italics here and elsewhere in the text of a letter (other than those italicised as per editorial style) are underlined in the original, evidently for emphasis.

31. LETTER TO MILLIE GRAHAM POLAK

April 24, 1910

MY DEAR MILLIE,

Henry is a tender flower. The slightest breeze ruffles his spirits. You and I divide him. When he is in such a mood, you can make him happy and to a lesser degree I. But alas ! he can just now have neither you nor me. The publication and confiscation of the little book of mine have disconcerted him a bit.[1] There is no occasion for it. I have written to him at length. And then the wretched pecuniary business. He gives me the position of an elder brother and yet would not be content with my taking over the pecuniary burden. I wish you would not discuss money matters with him at all. You may do all that when you are together again. Let me alone have all your pecuniary needs. He has enough to occupy his attention besides worrying about money matters which he hates.

The farm idea is still progressing. Hosken has offered a portion of his farm. If this thing comes off, I may shift very soon. It promises to be a mighty thing if it comes off.

I was sorry to learn about Mater's and Celia's trouble. It seems useless to inquire after a lapse of a month as to how they are getting on.

From what you say, it is evident that winter has not in any way affected Waldo.

With love to you all,

BROTHER

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] Gandhiji's book *Hind Swaraj* had been declared seditious and proscribed in India; *vide* Vol. X, pp. 181, 189 and 245.

32. LETTER TO MILLIE GRAHAM POLAK

May 8, 1910

MY DEAR MILLIE,

I can think of nothing to write to you about. I therefore give you the following beautiful thought :

'Therefore the means of deliverance from all those evils from which men suffer lies only in one thing, the inner work of each man upon himself.

"Martha ! Martha ! thou art anxious and troubled about many things, but one thing is needful'' '.

I remain with love,

Yours,
BROTHER

From the original: Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

33. AN AGREEMENT

[*June 1910*][1]

1. K. is not to undertake any expense or improvements on the Lawley Farm without consultation with G. and without his approval.

2. During the presence at the Farm of G., K. is free to temporarily absent himself unless his presence is by both himself and G. considered necessary.

3. During the absence of G., K. to be at the Farm and supervise the settlers.

4. K. to plan and assist in the buildings and improvements not merely by supervising but working himself.

5. K. to live separately from the settlers and to board also separately with the option to join the common board if he is so inclined.

6. G. to live in the same place with K. but to be free if necessary for the settlement to live and board with the settlers.

7. The primary object of going to the Farm so far as K. and G. are concerned is to make themselves into working farm hands.

[1] The pact was evidently drawn up during this period after the addressee's offer of his farm near Lawley for the use of passive resisters and their families; *vide* Vol. X, p. 262.

8. K. is not to cherish the notion of making the Farm a commercial or speculative enterprise — this does not debar him from making it naturally a profitable concern.

9. K. is to control absolutely the settlement on the Farm of Europeans, G. of Indians or Chinese.

10. It is understood that the ideal is not to employ native labour and not to use machinery.

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

34. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

September 24, 1910

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

If you go on as you are the tables will be turned and I shall have to be the Lower House.

What more can you do than what you are doing at Pinetown? I am doing less here than what you are at Pinetown. Such is my real opinion. Then why am I not joining you there? My answer is in the language of the *Bhagavad Gita* that although my work is less than yours, my duty just now lies in that direction. Pray go on, therefore, with sandal-making. And do take care what you spend.

We cannot meet today. I am taking Mr. Omar by the 2.25 train. If you come to Phœnix, as I hope you will, we can talk away tomorrow. Cordes will be with you in the train. I shall not send anyone to the station as I am not sure what you would be doing. But some dinner will be reserved for you. If, however, you think that you want perfect quiet, you need not come.

I return Monday 8.55 train in the morning.

Your remarks about Parsee's servant do great credit to your heart. Parsee has written sending for him. If the man will come we shall take him to Phœnix on Monday. Yes, everything possible should be done for him.

I am leaving letters for you.

I did not at all like the idea of your having bought prunes. It is good neither for you nor for Mrs. Gandhi.

Manilal writes saying he has been watering as per your instructions. Poor boy, he was down with fever on Wednesday.

Harilal, Medh and Sodha[1] have gone to the Farm.[2]

[1] R. M. Sodha

[2] Tolstoy Farm offered by the addressee for the use of Satyagrahi families; *vide* Vol. X, pp. 272-3.

If nothing important keeps you in town and if you are quite self-possessed, you should come to Phœnix.

Can't say when you will be required. Parsee wants me to thank you much for your attention to his servant.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

35. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

Wednesday [*October 19, 1910*][1]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

It is just 6 a.m. and this is the first letter I have taken up. I am at Mr. Omar's house which you would like immensely. It is clean. It faces the race course. I could not go to Phœnix yesterday as there was a memorial meeting regarding Narayansamy. Slept on the verandah of the house and got up at 5.15 a.m., washed my sleeping suit and shirt there. I am now writing. Passed the whole of the afternoon yesterday seeing the men. Afterwards served notice on Chamney who happens to be here. He has sent the message asking me to see him at 9 a.m. I shall see what happens then.

Read before going to bed *Harishchandra* about whom I gave you the book from Natesan. If you have not read it yet, I suggest your reading it at once. On the way I read *The Minds of Two Judges.* It is a powerful pamphlet and alas too true both in its condemnation of the English methods and the Indian. Without the latter being bad, the former could never have secured a footing. Cordes, I observe, has taken a deck passage. He leaves on the 6th November. There is no restraining him. He is a wonderful man. We can only pray for him and help him to go through the ordeal he has set before himself. He will say that we talk and he does it. In taking deck passage he has certainly done it. Have not yet seen any of the Phœnixites.

I hope that the roof was finished or at least commenced yesterday.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] From the reference to the memorial meeting regarding Narayansamy, who died on October 16, 1910; *vide* Vol. X, p. 334, *fn.* 1. The Wednesday following fell on October 19.

36. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

Monday [On or before *April 3, 1911*][1]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I have your 'slating' letter. It is certainly a sign of 'thickness' that I should not write to please you but write only when I have something to say. The office news I purposely refrain from writing as I should expect Miss S[chlesin] to give you the information you would need. You have not become an expert in the question and I do not want to give you details which only an expert may require. You are in fact and in reality the angel of peace and mercy. These angels simply give strength wherever it is required without knowing even that they are doing [so]. With you, as I have so often said, the heart comes first. Whenever the intellect has ruled, you have shown the worst side of your nature.

Remarkable that the finger should not still be cured entirely. But you never fasted, though you intended to.

You are 'crowing' too early. My telegrams were not intended to convey that we had the victory. The wretched new Bill[2] I certainly think is as good as dead. But whether the Transvaal Law will be amended or not is a different thing. I think it will be. Smuts is committed to settling the question. But he is never certain as to anything. He always waits till the last moment.

Harilal tells me you are going to England if I do. How so? Can it be arranged? Who will look after the Farm? I should be far more satisfied with your dispositions if Mountain View could be sold. But I am inclined to blame you in the matter. You have never seriously tried to sell it. Will you now do it? It is, I am sure, wrong to think of clinging to both the Farm and Mountain View.

You will laugh when I tell you that the 2 lb. of butter is still lying unpacked in Gopal's[3] bag. Yes, I think, we have lost friend Gopal.

With love,

Yours sincerely,
UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] From the contents; *vide* also the following two letters to the addressee; the Monday before April 5 was April 3.

[2] *Vide* Vol. X, pp. 516-28.

[3] Probably Gopal Naidoo, who came to stay at Tolstoy Farm around June 13, 1910 and was looking after the cooking there; *vide* Vol. X, pp. 273 and 288.

37. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

8 KLOOF STREET,
Wednesday [*April 5, 1911*][1]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I suppose you do not get the time to write to me regularly.

"The salvation of men from the calamities which they inflict upon themselves can be realized only in that degree in which they are guided in their lives, not by advantages, not arguments, but by religious consciousness;" so says Tolstoy. I have brought with me some of his pamphlets which I read during odd moments. There are many gems to be picked up from these pamphlets.

So now I am on the great task of seeing the members who would see me.

Sorabji has been discussing with me the problem of going to the Imperial Conference. There are some reasons why one may go to advantage. I feel however that if the struggle does not end, I must not go. But the matter cannot be decided through the post. I simply mention it so that you may discuss it with Ritch and Sorabji.

How is the finger?

I have not yet touched the butter you gave me. Still on saltless diet. There is really no difficulty about it. I should like to keep it up. If I do not, it will be my own fault.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] From the contents; *vide* also Vol. XI, pp. 5-9.

38. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

April 12, 1911

MY DEAR HENRY,

Herewith copy of Lane's[1] letter. Ritch telegraphed saying Madras wanted to know my views on the amendments to the Bill. I thought I would ask Lane as to what he thought about the situation before I cabled.[2] The letter was the result. I have now asked Ritch to cable Madras that the Government, is considering the situation and that another cable will be sent later. We may expect some definite news next week. If Finot's *Race Prejudice* is there, please send it to me. I want it for Canon Allmett.

I have your 2nd wire. It was difficult for me to advise. But I have wired you what I thought was best in the circumstances.

Do you know anything about Max Nordeau? What kind of a man is he ? I mean what is his private life? I am reading his book on Degeneration.

Yours sincerely,
BHAI

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

39. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

Unrevised

April 14, 1911

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

L.H. says 'I AM COMING'. U.H. says 'I AM NOT SURE WE ARE GOING.' So you had better be careful in order to avoid disappointment. When I seriously think of it my head turns. I certainly want to be with Mrs. Gandhi and the children for some little time. The idea of another deputation is absolutely repulsive.[3] I am not at all sure that it is my duty to be present at the Conference. But I am sure that it is my duty to be on the Farm and with Mrs. Gandhi and the children; it is my duty to be with the boys on the Farm; it is my duty to be

[1] E.F.C. Lane, Private Secretary to General Smuts

[2] *Vide* Vol. XI, pp. 21-2.

[3] The British Indian Association decided on April 27, 1911 to withdraw the proposal to send a deputation to England, consisting of Cachalia and Gandhiji; *vide* Vol. XI, pp. 56-7.

with the women on the Farm; it is my duty to send Polak away at the earliest opportunity[1]; it is my duty to help Ritch to build up his practice; and if passive resistance is still to go on, it is my duty to seek imprisonment and if I cannot get that, at least to do what I can for the dependents of passive resisters. All the above catalogue can be gone through if I am in the Transvaal. Put all the above in one scale and the proposed visit to the Conference in the other and find out which weighs heavier. I am in a fog. I am therefore leaving the things to shape themselves.

You can talk light-heartedly about going to Germany. But what about the Farm, the fencing, the borehole, Mountain View, your office and a host of such other things? They all require careful thinking out, before you can stir from Johannesburg. It will be easier for you to go if I remained behind. The problem becomes doubly difficult if we both must go.

I hope Gordon is getting on. Pray remember me to him.

I understand that today is your fasting day. Wish you well in every respect.

You say autumn has set in there. We are being boiled here. The heat is very severe.

I had a day of manual labour yesterday. (I have marked the letter 14th but I am writing this at 9.30 p.m. 13th). I am staining and polishing the floor of Dr. Gool's surgery. I love the work. I have to finish it tomorrow, the 14th.

I have now to await developments here. May know something on Saturday.

You make no mention of Kennedy.

With love,

Yours sincerely,
UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] *Vide* also Vol. X, p. 446. Polak left Johannesburg for London on May 1.

40. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

CAPE TOWN,
April 19, 1911

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

You will see the interview and my letter to Ritch. The interview will flatter you. Smuts was very gushing about you.[1] He has evidently heard a lot of you. He almost gave one the impression that he had met you.

In the circumstances I feel I ought to go to London if it is at all possible. But I can only go if perfect peace can be secured at the Farm and if Cachalia comes and funds are found by the Community.

I am even prepared to leave from here directly if necessary.

There has been nothing from you now for sometime.

If Thyagarajan and Subbiah wish to go, let them go please.

I was very sorry to learn about the quarrel between Naidoo and Medh. I thought of this when I told Smuts (without your permission) that we shall be glad to see him on the Farm.

With love,

Yours sincerely,
UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

41. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

Sunday night [*May 7, 1911*][2]

MY DEAR HENRY,

I have written a great deal. My right hand is tired. It is intensely cold. I am therefore trying the left hand. I had intended to give you a long letter but just as I commenced your letter, there was an interruption. I shall, therefore, be brief. Why feel grateful to me when I was bound to [do] what I could to contribute to your joint happiness. After all on that memorable boxing day (was it not), I gave Millie to you or you to Millie, so far as the outside world is concerned. It was at my instigation that you separated.[3] It was nothing but my duty to

[1] For Gandhiji's interview earlier on in the day with General Smuts, *vide* Vol. XI, pp. 32-4.

[2] From the contents; *vide* also Vol. XI, p. 67.

[3] *Vide* also p. 32-3.

bring you together as soon as the opportunity offered itself. No more therefore of thanksgiving. You do your duty and if I succeed in doing mine as well, we shall be fairly quits.

Now that you are there, I shall not write to Millie except when some special occasion demands it.

I have your promise that you will neither worry Sally nor Maud. They are both grown-up women and will not take even advice if not offered in a most tactful manner. I shall need their certificates before I say that you have at the end of your visit there, discharged your duty just as well as you did in India. I feel sure that you will not be impatient with the young Indians whom you will meet there.

Herewith a copy of translation of Harilal's letter. What a fine boy and yet how mad! He had left details of his movements with Joseph with instructions to inform of them if he found me inquiring. He is in Delagoa Bay. I have wired to him asking him to wait there and to confer with me before leaving for anywhere else. I understand his desire is to bury himself somewhere in the Punjab and study there. He has wired saying he is writing to me. I shall therefore hear from him tomorrow.

Have not yet received final letter from Smuts.

With love to you all,

Yours,
BHAI

[PS.]

Monday

I have your radio message which I suppose you sent just to tease me. No news yet from Harilal but Joseph had a letter from him describing his journey to D'Bay.

From the original: Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

CWMG-XCVI

42. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

May 15, 1911

MY DEAR HENRY,

You will this week have the Natal petition.[1] The Cape petition you have taken with you, I imagine.

Smuts has not yet replied to my last letter and we cannot call it a final settlement unless we have his final letter.

Harilal returned on Saturday. He is too unsettled to be able to [do] anything here. He is now going back. He will go to India and there search for knowledge.

My mind is a perfect blank just now. I can think of nothing to write to you upon.

Yours sincerely,
BHAI

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

43. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

May 22, 1911

MY DEAR HENRY,

I cannot write to you at length as there is no time. Final letters have been exchanged and now we must trust to the future to take care of itself. I sent you a cable on Friday night as General Smuts' reply was not quite satisfactory. I did not want you to commit yourself to Reuter. I am presently sending a cable now. I have just heard that Natal has sent you its authority.

I take it that you will show Maud all the papers I send you.

More next week.

With love,

Yours sincerely,
BHAI

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] *Vide* Vol. XI, pp. 70-4. Referring to it in his letter to the addressee dated May 8, 1911 (ibid., p. 63), Gandhiji says that he hopes "to tackle the Natal petition today".

CWMG - XCVI

44. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

May 28, 1911

MY DEAR HENRY,

So you have already granted an interview. I am sending you cuttings. The whole thing seems to have been fixed up nicely. You have called it a compromise. Is not settlement a better term? Ritch points out that compromise may presuppose give and take whereas we have yielded nothing. Please criticize *I.O.* freely. I am trying to get Ritch to write for it every week. I dare say you will not fail to notice what is his.

The collections for your mission continue. We have now reached over £500 — the whole of it is not yet banked. Cachalia and Sorabji are travelling in the Klerksdorp District.

We are trying to organize a dinner at the Masonic Hall for the European Committee.

I propose to go to Phœnix for a fortnight at an early date. I wanted to during the first week of June but I may not be able to do so. I want to start the work of registration before I go.

I do not propose any longer to write the weekly official letter. I want to leave it to Ritch and I do not want Maud[1] to duplicate her letters either. A packet addressed to Ritch should be enough. Ritch should come before the public as much as possible. Moreover, I wish to slip out of the public gaze as much as possible. I should like to bury myself in the Farm and devote my attention to farming and educating.

With love all round,

BHAI

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] Assistant Honorary Secretary of the South Africa British Indian Committee in London

45. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

ON THE TRAIN,
[Before *June 11, 1911*][1]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Nothing has pained me so much in my leaving Johannesburg at the present juncture as your physical and mental condition. If I could have avoided going to Natal, I would certainly have done so, if only so that I could be with you and exercise the privilege and the duty of a friend to nurse you and encourage you. But, I think, to leave for Phœnix was a higher duty. The struggle demands it.

Had I known the comfort (physical) under which I am writing this I would certainly have pressed for your coming with me and that 3rd-class. The coach I am in is a corridor, 3rd-class, for well-dressed 3rd-class passengers. It is truly more comfortable than the 1st-class on these trains. It is cleaner. It is cushioned, has a lavatory and sleeping accommodation and I am the only passenger. Our miserable false pride often keeps us from so many good things of the world. You know how necessary lavatory accommodation is for me. Here I have everything added to the pleasure of travelling 3rd-class. And I suppose no European or other passenger would want me to leave this. However we shall see. When you come I strongly advise you to take a 3rd-class ticket. I assure you that a few of us doing this will be able to do a great deal for 3rd-class passengers. The moral effect will be great. It will be good discipline for you. You must have noticed too that it attracted no attention at the station. It is only our own false pride and self-consciousness which make so many worries and troubles.

The physical health requires very great attention just now. What I have suggested is, I am sure, the best remedy. The seat of the trouble is undoubtedly the stomach. But it has been accentuated by your mental condition. You are a true man. Any false chord, therefore, shakes your whole system. Your affection is almost divine. You have quite unjustly transferred it all to me. And now you find your idol not satisfying you. This hurts you as if a dagger had gone through you. But why? Who am I ? If your affection for me weakens, why suffer agony? It is a passing phase. Let the idol be broken. The residue will be a purer

[1] From the contents it appears that the letter was written before the item following.

thing. Nor need there be any worry about the practice. Take what work you can with calmness. You will give up the profession automatically when the time is ripe. As Tolstoy says it is a great thing to create the proper mental condition. The rest comes as a matter of course. The result does not follow when a man deceives himself or others. If I always hanker after doing a thing, I can only end by doing it. This is the law of nature. But if I only pretend that I want to do something which I really do not, then I end by not doing it. I am a false coin and no change can be had from such a coin.

Whatever Call is, do not worry about him or my affection for him — I cannot do otherwise than love him. He has really some very good points in him. I am sure that you too would like him one day. But what can it matter either way?

I shall certainly expect a letter from you every day. You will really do me a favour by writing. I shall be always anxious otherwise.

Yours sincerely,
UPPER HOUSE

[PS.]

I hope the room will be given up early. All surplus clothing should be sold and sent to Phœnix.

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

46. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

June 11, 1911

MY DEAR HENRY,

On my way to Natal. The train jolting Mrs. G. and the two Sorabjis with me. The older one leaving for India. The Hosken banquet[1] a great success. Silver casket address to Hosken and gold watch and chain to Sorabji. We are all travelling 3rd-class — a rougher experience this time with Mrs. G. and no lavatory accommodation but it is certain that only a 3rd-class traveller can bring about reform in 3rd-class carriages. Natives are herded together like cattle !

There is nothing new in the Townships Act Regulations. Ritch will send you an extract.

I propose to stay at Phœnix for a fortnight and then return with Mrs. G.

Tables were laid for 300 men and women — over 60 Europeans were present including Mrs. Hosken.

[1] Which took place on June 9; *vide* Vol. XI, pp. 105 and 110.

I take it that you will have met the distinguished Indians who may have attended the Coronation.

Ritch is having very good practice — Desai has been fixed up as clerk for him. I am now trying to get a Tamil lad.

At the Farm we shall have very few. T. Naidoo is settling in Town.

With love to all,

Yours,
BHAI

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

47. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

Friday [*June 16, 1911*][1]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I have your two letters together. I am sorry for Hilt and glad for you. Both Hilt and Albert will prove a blessing to you for they put you on your mettle. I do not know that we have need to be sorry for Hilt's illness. There should be sorrow for the cause of it. You must have produced a different and pleasurable sensation in Hilt when you laid him by your side. Yes, indeed, the real individual life is only to be lived in the open and in close touch with our neighbours. Living the other so called individual life in our rooms, fearing the touch of a fellow-being, we must feel like thieves having no right to the property we may be holding.

Call is indeed a fine letter-writer. The coming union may make him. He is idealizing it and for that reason it may be very good for him.

I am not going to congratulate you on getting new work. I shall wait and see what it makes of you. Sorabji receives his address tonight from the Congress.

With love,

Yours sincerely,
UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] From the reference to the address given by the Natal Indian Congress to Sorabji; *vide* Vol. XI, p. 107.

48. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

Monday [*June 19, 1911*][1]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Yes, I knew about the disturbance at the Farm. None of us is fit to live on a Tolstoy Farm. We can but qualify by making continuous endeavour.

I am having no rest here this time.

It will be a fine thing if the picnic comes off on Thursday. You will have a tough job to tackle.

With love,

Yours,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

49. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[Before *June 22, 1911*][2]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Well, I was the first to have sent a letter. The Rabbi was all the better for having neglected the forage bag. Mrs. Gandhi was very much upset to think that Manilal should not get the biscuits, etc.

I hope that Big eyes is better as also Devdas.

Have suggested a Coronation picnic at the Farm for the 22nd. Please see my letter to Ritch. Something ought to be done at the time of the Coronation.

So long as work is allowed to act upon us by way of intoxication, so long must depression continue. The best deeds if used as intoxicants are practically worthless for the satisfaction of the Inner Man. If I feed a hungry man for show or for satisfying my pride or giving me a false happiness I gain nothing. The hungry man is certainly fed as he might be from a mechanical contrivance, say, by pressing a button.

Manilal is splendid.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] From the reference to the picnic; *vide* the following item, and also Vol. XI, pp. 108-9. The Monday before June 22, 1911 was on June 19.

[2] From the reference to the picnic, evidently in connection with the Coronation of King George V on June 22, 1911; *vide* Vol. XI, pp. 108-9.

50. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

Friday [*June 23, 1911*][1]

MY DEAR HENRY,

I had your letters last week. This week's I receive tomorrow (Saturday). I leave for J'HB on Monday.

You would have enjoyed yesterday's scenes in Town. I remained at Phœnix — West went there to report. The whole affair was spontaneous. I merely guided. And yet Ramsay Collins thought the Indians would have accepted anything if I had not been in D[urba]n. Anyhow they certainly surpassed themselves. Well, they have had their first lesson in passive resistance. I have told them that they might have to raise passive resistance over the £ 3 tax. West tells me Rustomjee[2] was grand. Abdulla Hajee Adam was superb and defiant. The Mayor of Durban is a cad and a disgrace to Judaism. He showed not a single virtue of a Jew and showed every weakness which the Jew is reported to possess. I was ashamed of him for your sake. In the report, I have laid him down very gently. He was really much worse than he appears in the report. Collins was mad with him. However, he deserves our thanks for waking us up. Hollander[3] may yet be our salvation in Natal or Durban as Smuts has been in the Transvaal.

I want your comment on the recent numbers of *I.O.* and more especially on the Coronation Leader.[4]

You will see what line to take on the Gold Law from the editorial note this week. Harcourt[5] has given us a grand opening. Smuts has again overreached himself. He certainly never intended to protect any existing rights. And the Supreme Court could only protect leases up to the period stipulated therein. This is no protection. The Roodepoort case is, I think, accidental.

Another change at Phœnix! As soon as we can we propose giving part of press time to communal agriculture.[6] To this end we shall take in more men of a suitable type. Please do not be alarmed. *I.O.* will not be allowed to suffer. It can only gain by the men coming to their

[1] From the contents
[2] Parsee Rustomjee
[3] F. C. Hollander, Mayor of Durban in 1912
[4] *Vide* Vol. XI, pp. 111-2.
[5] Lewis Harcourt, Secretary of State for the Colonies
[6] *Vide* also Vol. XI, p. 117.

work fresh from the fields. We are performing the opening ceremony of the library and school building tomorrow.

Manilal is more settled now. He does not want to go to London before the struggle is quite over. If satisfactory legislation is passed next year, he intends to leave in March for London.

The account you give me of family affairs is cheering. I am delighted that Pater is doing better than before. You were bound to be satisfied with the boys. They are naturally clever, beautiful and healthy. And I never doubted Millie's ability to make the most of them.

With love,

Yours sincerely,
BHAI

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

51. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

Unrevised

Sunday night [On or after *July 2, 1911*][1]

MY DEAR HENRY,

I have your letter describing your achievements, for such they are. It pleases me all the more to notice that you can now combine honeymoon, pilgrimage to your people and work and all this in a manner agreeable to you and Millie. Your and Millie's desires have been mostly fulfilled without your having to worry about them. You have sought first the Kingdom of God (what you thought was your duty) and everything else (the trip to London, meeting your people, etc.) has been added unto you. May your work and your joint life flourish in the best manner possible. I am giving fair notices[2] of your work in the Gujarati columns of *I.O.* I am rather cautious about London. Where for public good you think that a longer notice is necessary, please warn me in time. I may neglect these things as my attention is now chiefly devoted to the education of the boys on the Farm. I allow nothing to disturb me during school hours at present.[3] I only hope that nothing will happen to disturb me. Pray for me. I go to Town only twice a week. Later on it will be only once a week. I propose to draw up the Trust Deed[4]

[1] From the contents it is evident that the letter was written on or after July 2, 1911, which was a Sunday.

[2] *Vide* Vol. XI, pp. 115 and 116.

[3] ibid., p. 131.

[4] ibid., p. 127. For its final version ibid., pp. 320-5.

and when it is fixed up I shall make collections in S. A. for a large school at Phœnix. The staff will be you, West, Chh., Maganlal[1], Purushottamdas and myself. Miss West[2] will be the boarding superintendent. If your procreating ambitions and your animal passions are satisfied, I would certainly like Millie to take her share in the school work. Harilal may come in later. Thakar may expand sufficiently to come in also.

Medh is at present doing *I.O.* collections. I shall know tomorrow what success he is having. Did I tell you that Medh had given to our ideals 10 years under a double vow of Truth and *brahmacharya.*[3] That reminds me to tell you that Pragji is a possible candidate for Phœnix, subject to the above vows.

I had your cable. You must by this time have received Gregg's opinion[4] and Townships Act, etc.

With love to you all and kisses to the angels,

Yours,
BHAI

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

52. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

Sunday night [*July 23, 1911*][5]

MY DEAR HENRY,

The first news I must give you now is that Foolabhai's letter tells me that *I.O.* is suppressed in India. You know Foolabhai of Potchefstroom. The news lacks confirmation. But if it be true, it is nothing surprising. They could not very well suppress my translations[6] of Ruskin's *Unto This Last* and not suppress *I.O.* which either in the English or the Gujarati columns re-echoes those views more or less forcibly. If the paper is suppressed, my first thought is that I must accept the challenge and go to India at the earliest possible moment. This may alter our or my plans. It is evident that sooner or later the Andamans must be my home. And why not ? That home should be as sweet as any other if it be purchased with duty done. But what about you ? You and Millie must consider the thing. Of course, you

[1] Son of Khushalchand Gandhi, Gandhiji's cousin
[2] Ada West, sister of A. H. West, who had adopted the Indian name 'Devi'
[3] *Vide* also Vol. XI, p. 118.
[4] *Vide* also the following item.
[5] From the following item
[6] Entitled "Universal Dawn"; *vide* Vol. X, p. 245.

are not at [all] bound to follow me in my expanded activity. Phœnix ought still to continue. But with me wandering in India or being taken to the Andamans you will have to ensure your own living. If you have sufficient faith in Truth of course your living is assured. 'Look at the lily of the valley, etc.' Of course it may be that I am agitating you quite uselessly. And yet it is not so. This position is bound to arise sooner or later. The sooner probably the better, if it is in its own time. This does not in any way alter your immediate programme. You will continue your honeymoon together with your work there and go to India in October. Only I thought I must pass on the news with my reflections. You will have with this copy of the draft Trust Deed. Please let me have your criticism in detail. A copy is going to Dr. Mehta too. Every settler is also having a copy for consideration. I propose to attach to the Deed a schedule containing the signatures of [the] settlers.[1] Please let me have yours. It should be on foolscap-size paper so that I may be able to use the very paper for the other signatures.

I hope you have now Gregg's opinion. There was no delay after I understood your cable.

With love to you all,

BHAI

[PS.]

Kallenbach will probably leave[2] next week by s. s. *Armadale Castle*. I hope you will make it a point to meet him at Waterloo. He is travelling 3rd-class throughout. I am anxious that he should meet Miss Winterbottom[3], Aylmer Maude and such other men and women.

BHAI

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] *Vide* also Vol. XI, p. 534.

[2] For Europe, mainly to visit his family in Germany

[3] Florence A. Winterbottom; Corresponding Secretary of the Union of Ethical Societies, London

53. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

Saturday night [*July 29, 1911*][1]

MY DEAR HENRY,

There is yet no confirmation from India of the alleged proscription of *I.O.* So after all Foolabhai may have been misinformed. Kallenbach leaves by the same mail as this. I have nothing new to tell you and I am tired of writing. I have been writing to Aylmer Maude and others about K.'s visit to London and his desire to see them. They will insist on presenting him an address. He has refused to accept it at a public meeting. I have not interfered at all. I have simply carried out your instructions even in publishing his portrait[2]. The Hindus are presenting him with a set of Russian books and the Chinese with a set of Carlyle.

Chhaganlal and Anandlal[3] have now returned. Chh. has brought your pet Jamnadas[4].

With love all round,

Yours,
BHAI

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

54. AN AGREEMENT

[*July 29, 1911*][5]

Articles of Agreement between Lower House and Upper House.

Lower House is to proceed to Europe on a sacred pilgrimage to the members of his family during the month of August next. Lower House is not to spend any money beyond necessaries befitting the position of a simple-living poor farmer.

Lower House is not to contract any marriage tie during his absence. Lower House shall not look lustfully upon any woman.

Lower House is to travel 3rd-class whether by sea or land. Lower House may, if the exigencies of his business in Johannesburg permit it, visit India with Dr. Mehta. In the event of his so doing he will travel the same class as Dr. Mehta.

Lower House will not tarry long in London or any other place, save the homes of the members of the family.

[1] Inferred from Kallenbach's departure for London; *vide* Vol. XI, p.135.
[2] As a supplement to the issue of *Indian Opinion* dated 5-8-1911; ibid., p.136.
[3] Son of Amritlal Gandhi, a cousin of Gandhiji
[4] Cousin of Gandhiji
[5] From the contents; *vide* also Vol. XI, pp. 134-6.

The consideration for all the above tasks imposed by Lower House on himself is more love and yet more love between the two Houses — such love as, they hope, the world has not seen. In witness whereof the parties hereto solemnly affix their signatures in the presence of the Maker of all this 29th day of July at Tolstoy Farm.

UPPER HOUSE
LOWER HOUSE[1]

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

55. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

August 6, 1911

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I have your very good letter from Hutchinson. Hope you received my letter on board as also a joint wire from here (the Farm).

Before I received your cheque book, I had paid out, of course from your account, £ 25 to A.R.M. Roodepoort, £ 15 Partridge & 0-4-0 Shimwell Bros. There was a notice from the A.R.M. saying that you should deposit a further £ 25.

The engine is still working on the same hole. I do not know what is going to happen. I visit the works daily. They have not measured, they say, but have gone down more than 300 ft. I think. The soil varies from day to day. They got from Pretoria a new coil of rope.

Albrecht[2] thought he would first prune the fruit trees. I did not interfere. He has now nearly finished pruning. There is only one native boy working. He is certainly a splendid boy. He asked that we should feed him too. I thought I would not haggle. He therefore has food from the kitchen beyond 30/- per month. John wanted me to give him some ground within the fence, as he said he had not the means of ploughing the ground outside. In spite of your expressed wish to the contrary, I thought I would use my discretion in this case. I thought I should not go wrong if I let him make use of the ground for one year only. I have therefore pegged out a small portion hardly 30 acres beyond the fruit trees. He is to pay £15 for the year. I have also given him permission to use the small plot in front of the trees to the right or the left as we pass out at the first gate going to the station for

[1] The signature is in Kallenbach's hand.

[2] This, the correct spelling of the German name, is variously spelt by Gandhiji as "Albert" and "Albret", wherever it occurs; *vide* also Vol. XXIX, p. 202.

planting potatoes. I thought we could but do better than at least having the ground cleared out. I hope the arrangement will commend itself to you. We have the right to get potatoes for household use.

The native boy has been working at weeding. He is now clearing up the trees. Strict instructions have been given not to use him for household or any other work.

Fencing is likely to commence on Tuesday. Everything will depend upon our friend Albrecht who I may add has been keeping very well indeed.

I have not seen nor heard from Kennedy.

Quinn has been on the Farm for the last three days. I think his people are worrying him as his two men are not yet released. He is likely to be here yet for some days. He works at the garden. Govindji, the piles patient, goes tomorrow (Monday) completely cured. Miss Schlesin came here today chiefly to discuss your letter to her and to discuss her own future. We discussed over the dinner her affairs and your letter. You will be perhaps angry. If I had not done so, how could I have taken my school which in my opinion is daily progressing. No, my dear L.H., we may not use even our dinner hour for our pleasure. Every minute of ours is pre-mortgaged, seeing that we are bom debtors. We are born only because we owe. We come into the world again and again until we have paid out what we have incurred on the score of karma. Life is Duty.

Have not heard further about Call.

Mrs. John leaves us tomorrow, Mrs. Phillip will do so in 3 or 4 days. Krishnaswamy will probably stay. He is the brightest and most promising student, so far as learning goes. The boys again begin saltless diet tomorrow. They alternate. Krishnaswamy and Ramdas have remained saltless through and through. They took *dholl* for today. But they revert to the saltless diet tomorrow. They all tell me they are feeling extra heavy today.

L.J. Van Wyk of Van Wyk's Rust came in on Thursday and said you owed him 7/6 for his trouble in coming to fetch coal from Lenz. He says the coal of course was not brought. I told him I should refer to you before paying. Shall I pay ?

I have not understood what you did regarding the draft of £100 or £200 you wanted to take with you. I see no entry in your cheque book as to your drawing. I only see £30 drawn. But I propose to await news from you before doing anything.

As you gave special instructions, the £25 and the £75 cheques were sent to your office for depositing in your account.

We all miss you, and Mrs. Gandhi most of all. In the rush of work, I certainly forget you but she cannot.

P. K. Naidoo and his wife too are leaving in a fortnight's time, so that I shall only have Mrs. Sodha[1] on hand besides Mrs. Gandhi and the children. I do not mind it a bit. I shall probably value the greater leisure I shall enjoy.

You have gone on a brave mission. May God grant you all the strength you need for resisting temptations. You are deliberately making your life one of great purposes. I feel sure that your way will be fairly smooth. If we are clay in the hands of the Potter, all we need do is to be and remain receptive. I have written much otherwise, so I shall not indulge in further reflections.

I am most eagerly looking forward to your letter from Madeira.

Nothing further has yet been heard of *I.O.* prohibition. I did not give you the addresses of Maud and others.

I hope you have got them from Maud Polak and even seen some of the people by the time this reaches you.

With love,

Yours,
UPPER HOUSE

[PS.]

I am not revising this letter. It is getting late. I have forgotten to deal with two most important points arising out of your letter. Although therefore it is now after 10 p.m. I must deal with them. The word 'bravo' in my telegram had no reference to your forgetting the cheque book. It was meant to congratulate you on your having passed through the whole ordeal so very creditably. Your bearing at the station pleased all. Your having forgotten the cheque book was a most natural thing in that rush. The wonder really is that you put in so much work that morning with so much self-possession and forgot only the cheque book. You know our mutual canon of interpretation : 'not to put an unfavourable construction upon a man's writing or action so long as a favourable one is possible'.

You were hurt at my simple remark about the charge of your not being the same whether I was with you or not. I have not in my wildest dreams suspected you of having withheld anything from me. Indeed one of the binding links between us is my invincible belief in your absolute and natural frankness with me. All I said and still say was and is that when several people bring a charge against us, we should proceed to examine ourselves upon the assumption that there is some truth in the charge. We need not jump to the conclusion that it is

[1] Rambhabai, wife of R. M. Sodha

baseless. Our friends often know us better than we do ourselves. The reason is that all of us being not perfect do things unconsciously of which we are not witnesses but our friends are. There was no rebuke ever meant when I made the remark, much less any mistrust. Have I made myself understood ! It hurts me to think that I should have even unwittingly hurt you on the day of your departure.

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

56. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

Saturday night, August 12, 1911

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I had your cheerful note from the 3rd-class saloon of your floating palace. It is evident that you received my letter as also wires too late to acknowledge. I wrote to you on Monday so as to enable the letter to reach you on board.

Received your wire but no letter.

Have heard nothing further about Call.

I am sorry that the bore is making no progress. They now bore about 4 to 5 ft. per day. The ground is very hard. I have written to the Irrigation Department in your name asking for a report on the progress of the work.

The work in connection with fencing is going forward. Assisted by Krishnaswamy, Revashankar[1] and Devdas, I finished putting in the pegs today. Albrecht and Naidoo and Coopoo have been putting strainers and supports near the pegs. The native boy is digging holes. Ramdas is tarring the poles.

The garden work has been suspended for the time being. The natives have however ploughed the portion I described in my last letter. The ground looks very sweet on that account. Quinn has been hœing. Medh is still not fit for active work. Mrs. Phillip goes away on Monday. Krishnaswamy will probably return. He does not wish to leave the Farm. I am becoming more and more absorbed in the school. The children are daily improving. They are still saltless. The work on the Farm is becoming more and more methodical. Albrecht is improving in health.

The vines you were to order have not come forward. If they are not ordered, I hope you will not order them from there.

Some letters which I think you ought to see herewith.

[1] Revashankar Jagjivan Jhaveri, brother of Dr. Pranjivan Mehta

Miss Schlesin may leave us. She is accepting an educational appointment. She hopes still to attend to your work. In any case you need not worry.

There have been no visitors to the Farm. Ritch will probably come tomorrow.

Hope you had a good voyage and are having a nice time, i.e., a good time from a moral point of view. Gool says you have captured him.

So you see I have simply given you a diary. I must now leave off. Will write more if I have the time.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

[PS.]

Please get the books as per list. If you have no time send it to Davis.

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

57. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

August 13, 1911

MY DEAR HENRY,

I have your two letters. I hope you have been writing directly to West too about the typographical and other errors you may have noticed. West is becoming quite a nice leader writer. He is the hope of Phœnix. He is the silent 'doer'.

I shall arrange for further funds for your trip.

I like it that no more funds have been paid to Mrs. Ritch since July. The last payment to her from the funds ended June 30.

Ritch will take his time before he writes short articles.

Miss Schlesin may be leaving us next week. She wants to take up an educational appointment. She will still continue to interest herself in our affairs. She has asked for appointment in a coloured school and is likely to get the Fordsburg one.

We are having a meeting on the gold law business[1]. The receipt by Ritch of the notice is a very good thing. It will excite public attention far more quickly than anything else could have.

My little school is flourishing. I am absorbed in it at present. Nothing else interests me so much as the school.

I am glad you are having an altogether good time all round. For

[1] *Vide* Vol. XI, pp. 143-4 and also pp. 140-1.

on your return, there will be no bed of roses for you and Millie in S.A. You will find that you have plenty to do.

With love to you all,

BHAI

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

58. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

August 20, 1911

MY DEAR HENRY,

I am without a letter from you this week. I suppose you were busy with the Congress work. Why did you send the wire to Prof. Gokhale[1] regarding *I.O.* ? If there was any truth in the information, we would have heard in the natural course. When the prohibition comes, I do not think we want any fuss about it.

You will not expect long letters from me just now. I am absorbed in the children and my mind is generally occupied with thoughts about making myself as capable as I can be as their teacher. And so when I sit down at the last moment to write the weekly mail, my mind is a blank.

I hope that you have still enough money to go on with. I do not want you to have to send me a cable. I hope to send you more if not the whole of the balance in a fortnight's time.

With love to you all,

BHAI

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

59. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

Sunday night [*August 20, 1911*]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Let me give you the pleasant news that after all the boring has been successful — 80,000 gallons in 24 hours ! In reply to the note I sent to the Irrigation Department, the Engineer whom you have met, came down. Only he came down simply to inspect a very successful well. He, however, discussed the whole thing fully with me. Acting

[1] Gopal Krishna Gokhale (1866-1915); Indian statesman; President, Indian National Congress, 1905; founded the Servants of India Society, 1905; member, Bombay Legislature and Viceroy's Legislative Council, 1902-15

upon his advice we are now boring at the other end — the spot marked by you. Boring there commenced on Friday. The dismantling and fixing was done on Thursday. At my suggestion the engine was worked night and day after water was found, in order to see the capacity of the well apart from the test. In your name I have given Logan 10/- as a treat for the success of their efforts. The second hole stands at 16 feet. It is very hard ground.

The holes for fencing continue. But I am obliged to use the native boy at times for work connected [with] the boring also. Naidoo is not on the Farm. He has not left altogether but will do so shortly. So I shall be the only adult member of the family apart from Albrecht.

Amies has asked for a cheque for the keys. I am therefore sending him [a] cheque without waiting for your answer.

I must not forget to tell you that the Engineer advised me to wait for the windmill till after your return. And this I shall probably do, unless for the sake of the Farm I find it necessary to fix up something.

The family continues to remain happy. Mrs. Gandhi has evidently benefited very greatly by the Sodha incident. She is very nice and tactful. The boys still continue to be saltless except on Sundays. But they are, so it appears to me, more and more finding it out for themselves that no-salt diet is better. Medh continues saltless. Pragji too is trying it.

The native inmates are behaving well. The school is flourishing. I am still absorbed in it. It has never yet been interrupted. Ramdas is getting [on] and so is Devdas and so are they all. I have not yet worried the boys to write to you.

I fear that Miss Schlesin has not kept her promise to give you a full weekly report. I hope to get out the balance tomorrow and send it to you.

Today we had a host of visitors all brought by our foreman the Indian carpenter. Isaac too graced the Farm by his presence. Gordon has not met me at all since. Lapin wrote thanking me for sending *I.O.* containing you. He said he was much interested in the account of "our mutual friend''. Hosken sent his regrets that he could not see you off.

Have not seen or heard of Kennedy.

I think I have told you that I have offered to take and nurse Call here if he could be brought. The Doctor has suggested that he could not be kept very long at Pilgrims' Rest. Douglas told me he was going there himself to see Call. I have also offered on your as also my behalf to contribute towards any expenses that might be incurred in bringing and keeping Call.

I have no time to give you translation of verses from the book[1] I alluded to, and which I have now got. I may do so next week.

Please remember me to your sister and the other relations. I am looking forward to your description of their opinion of you and of your opinion of Dr. Mehta.

And now good night.

All love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

60. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

August 26, 1911

MY DEAR HENRY,

The same mail has brought letters from you and Dr. Mehta about the incident described by you. But like you, Dr. Mehta too mentions that the little storm blew over. I will therefore not comment beyond saying that I hope you will practise what you in your letter have desired — to enter into other people's feelings. You will need to do that more and more as we progress.

You may spend up to £800. That I think will be enough. I am not without some anxiety as to your Indian tour from a health point of view. But by a careful dietary, you should all be able to keep good health. The cold weather season in India is certainly not bad. What I dread is your laziness and easy-going nature when there is no resistance. You brought a corporation with you as a result. Many people will invite you. You are not the person to walk to your hosts, nor could you with the children. And you would hardly resist dishes made of Kosher food. Can Millie alone then resist ? With you two gone, Heaven help the poor children. If you will therefore make a promise to yourselves as to what even in the Kosher department you would avoid, you would save a lot of trouble. Don't you say to yourself 'vows for the weak'. That is a prompting of the devil. All the greatest men have adopted vows. Believe me, to be able to take a vow denotes a high degree of strength. I do not care to enter into details. But generally let the children and indeed you yourselves live principally if not entirely on fruit and farinaceous foods avoiding entirely pulses and sweets

[1] Presumably, *Bhartrihari Shataka,* a collection of three hundred stanzas by Bhartrihari, a celebrated Sanskrit poet and king; *vide* also Vol. XI, p. 142.

whether European or Indian. I see death in chocolates. There [are] few substances so heating as the abominable chocolate — that cursed product of devilish slave labour. To give tea and coffee to children in India is to give them poison.

I know that all of us cannot possibly give time to schooling. It is likely that you may not be able to do so. But if we have more hands than enough for the press, some of us could easily give time. So long as I am in S.A. and free from the turmoil of passive resistance and the miserable business of law, I should be able to give the main part of my time to education as I am now doing. Purshottamdas has given certain hours steadily to the work. Chh[aganlal] is now giving I think an hour per day. Miss West could be entirely spared for the purpose not of teaching but of looking after the boarding pupils. West certainly is anxious to give a certain portion of his time. Miss Schlesin may come only for that purpose. Maganlal could qualify. And later Harilal and Manilal are possibilities. Miss Schlesin has accepted a temporary post as a teacher in the Government school at Mayfair. More when you are here and fairly settled. The Trust Deed has already been sent to you.

With love to you all,

BHAI

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

61. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

August 27, 1911

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

The second bore-hole is going forward. They have gone down more than 150 feet now. I have ordered another truck of coal. The Company will not take the order before getting cheque which I gave. The coal is now at the station. It will be removed tomorrow.

Miss Schlesin has accepted an educational appointment temporarily. I am therefore personally attending to the African Building matter. I am having all the letters addressed at the Farm. You need not worry about me. That work won't crush me. And as I become more and more methodical, I shall feel the strain less and less. I cannot send you a systematic account this time but I shall try to do so next week. Here are the cheques paid out during the week.

Coal Owners' Association	5-16-6
B. a/c Municipality for water	1-11-6

Papering and keys 1-19-0
Municipality electric bill 0-10-0

All the receipts from the Building a/c are being banked through Amies. The receipts here are being banked through Kennedy. I have not seen him at all. Please do not hesitate to make suggestions and give hints as to the better management of this account.

Heymann I understand has written a stiff letter about Lapin's account being allowed to go into arrears. I shall see the letter tomorrow. I propose to forward it to Lapin with a personal note. I certainly think that Lapin could not be allowed to remain in arrears. The Norwick people will have a good cause of complaint against you in this business.

Ritch, Miss Schlesin, her co-teacher Boltman (a nice fellow) and Miss Knudsen[1] came to the Farm today. The last named came at my invitation to examine Albrecht. He is making wonderful progress. I therefore thought he might be assisted with massage. I have been giving it to him for the last fortnight in my own way. Now Miss K. has given me some hints which I shall follow. I hope you will not mind all this. It is no use keeping a patient on the Farm and not doing all you can. He is working at the bore-hole business steadily. Fencing is making slow progress. He is really not fit for work the whole day. He can do very little after luncheon. I fancy, therefore, that active fencing will commence after the boring is finished. He might however do more this week. He does his best.

I cannot again send you extracts from the book I mentioned. I have absolutely no time to spare.

P. K. Naidoo is now fixed up at Ritch's and Pragji comes to the Farm. Pragji did not like a lawyer's office and P. K. Naidoo had to be fixed up. Mrs. Naidoo leaves Wednesday morning.

I have got two Parsee lads[2] in the school. They are nice boys. The school is certainly flourishing.

Call may be sent to the Farm for attention. I have offered to nurse him partly in person and partly by deputy. He has, it seems, lost mental balance. If he comes, I propose to use your room for him.

The boys remain saltless. The Parsee boys too I admitted on condition that they fell in with the settled plan. Of course, they take salt on Sundays.

The fruit trees are all now in bloom. The boys confine their attention chiefly to hoeing.

I have given permission to the native John to erect his hut on the other side of the fence and somewhere near the Kraal. I have also

[1] A Johannesburg masseuse who had offered to train a few young Indian women

[2] Sons of Parsee Jivanjee; *vide* Vol. XI, p. 150.

allowed them to remove some stones from the small Kraal. I hope that these dispositions of mine will not disturb you. I am endeavouring to give effect to the spirit underlying the title of the Farm. We should feel happy in making these poor people happy. I warn them, of course, that all arrangements are only for a year.

I want to tell you that I am making pleasing discoveries about your thoroughness and foresight. The foresight in placing a quantity of coal near the Kraal, in having the strainers for the fence cut and shaved for tarring, the fencing material taken to the fencing line — all these [and] many such other things — shows your method and careful calculation. I notice similar orderliness about the African Banking account. Anybody can easily pick up the thread. Importance of this method and thoroughness into matters relating to the soul will make you a far better man than many so-called holy and religious men. I cannot boast of any such thoroughness or orderliness in my own disposition. I envy you and wish to copy you in our joint lives.

When I reach the end of your letter, I am so tired that I do not attempt to write about many thoughts that come to me during the week and engage in a heart-to-heart conversation with you. I feel that my first duty is to give you all the necessary information.

With love,

Yours,
UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

62. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

September 2, 1911

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

You have surpassed yourself. Your diary — I do not call it a letter— is heart-stirring. I prize it so much that I propose to bind it. I have taken the liberty of letting Medh and Desai read it. It has done their souls good. I can only pray that you will end as you have commenced, your important pilgrimage. I cannot help thinking that the rigorous discipline under which you placed yourself on board will make you a much greater power for good to the members of your family there than you would otherwise have been. I am sure that your life will be to them an eloquent sermon. Your words would have been a mere waste of energy. I am naturally looking forward to your next diary.

I hope that the letters I have written to you already have given

you all the information you wanted. I could have said more, but I have not the time. And after all I have certainly given you long enough letters. I shall certainly try not to miss a single week.

You will be grieved to hear that Call suffers from complete loss of memory. He is at the asylum in Pretoria. I wrote to the Superintendent of the asylum. He says that it would not be advisable to remove Call. I am therefore not bringing him to the Farm—anyhow not just now. I propose to send Isaac to see. Call face to face. Sundays are the days for visitors. But I think they will let Isaac visit Call during week days too. Douglas, I do not think, has played the game. He told me he was going to see Call personally. Now he sends me the message that he cannot go and that I must do what I think proper.

The Lapins have written a nice letter in reply to my note. I enclose it for your perusal. I shall not now weary you with Heymann's letter. I talked to him through the phone yesterday. He was quite good. Of course I had written to him too.

I hope to be ready with the monthly statement between now and Monday. In that event you shall have a copy.

The second hole is making steady progress. But I cannot say when we shall get water. Logan said on Thursday that he had gone beyond 200 feet. He has not worked today (Saturday), having worked overtime during the week days.

Fencing has made some progress during the week. Medh and Pragji will also help Albrecht and the native boy from Tuesday next.

The boys are now clearing the peach trees. Since Thursday last I have been going with them. They have been playing too much.

Mrs. Gandhi is a Trojan. Since Mrs. Naidoo's withdrawal, she with the assistance (not very great) of Mrs. Sodha, has been managing the whole household. And we are 14 all told. She gets up before 6 a.m. and does not retire before 10 p.m.

It shows what people will do when put upon their mettle. She occupies Mrs. Naidoo's room and she with Devdas sleeps outside on the verandah. Ramdas and Coopoo also sleep there.

The boys are still saltless except on Sundays. Medh and Desai are entirely saltless. Desai assures me that he has given up smoking entirely.

The first birth has taken place on the Farm today. The native John's daughter has given birth to a child. I have been medically consulted as to the after-birth.

Albrecht is, I think, making steady progress.

Mrs. Goldstone is penniless and friendless. I have invited her to live on the Farm for the time being. You know her I think. She will

come tomorrow with Ritch. She said she would pass a few days on the Farm. I have prepared your room for her.

Smuts sent a message that he wanted to see me. I went yesterday. We had a very sweet chat. He wants me to frame my suggestions for the next year. We talked mostly about the two civilizations — ancient and modem, not Eastern and Western. I think that he was sincere in what he said.

The school is still flourishing. My heart is still on it. And I still refuse to allow anything else to interfere with it. The two Parsee boys are well-behaved fellows and they are jolly. Ramdas may become in time the best pupil in the class[1].

The right hand fingers won't work now. They are having a fairly rough time of it at present. I have to write all my letters and they are many.

I have still not met Kennedy. I hope that he or Miss F. has been writing to you regularly and giving you all the news regarding the office.

Miss Schlesin comes back on the 1st of October.

I am sorry I am still unable to give you extracts from the book I referred to. No time.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

63. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

Saturday night, September 9, 1911

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Another remarkable letter from you. May your life on land be the same as on board. I do not wish to offer any comment on the letter except to say that it does great credit to your heart.

The second bore-hole is finished. It was finished on Saturday last. But it was tested on Monday and Tuesday. It is 220 ft. deep, it gives 40,320 gallons per 24 hours, water at 50 feet, I think, from the surface. On Wednesday the engine was removed to the third site. Logan told me today he had gone down 80 feet. If all goes well, the operations should be finished by the end of next week.

I went round to the dam with Du Ploi today. He has offered to make the dam watertight for £40. Albrecht says he could put up two dams near the 1st and the 3rd hole for that amount. He says it is

[1] What follows has been written with the left hand.

not at all necessary to renovate the old dam now. I am inclined to agree with Albrecht. Only following your example, I thought I could not be wrong discussing the thing with Du Ploi. Albrecht has also suggested that I should have a siphon for one of the bore-holes. I am going to discuss the thing with Kennedy if he comes tomorrow and if there is any conversation of importance with him I shall write another letter to you. I am not going to Town on Monday. So this letter will be sent to Town tomorrow evening.

I have sent the account with cheque to Heymann. He writes expressing satisfaction, and suggests that I should not allow Hilt's arrears to accrue. I had occasion to talk to Lapin through the phone on Friday. I have therefore asked him to collect [the rent] from Hilt.

Lapin telephoned saying that the outfitter to whom Amies objected would not leave and that Amies insisted on his agreement rights. I have asked Lapin to further interview Hilt and to smooth matters over. I have a letter today from Amies complaining about the same matter. I shall do whatever may be necessary. Lapin has promised to send me a wire if need be. I have also suggested that if £1 or £2 would induce the outfitter to go, he should spend the amount. MacGeorge has paid in both the amounts.

Albrecht is working practically the whole day since the massage. He is showing many lovable traits in him. He has risen in my estimation. No progress this week with fencing. We are on re-laying the floors. We have commenced with the school. But fencing won't be neglected. Medh and Desai are on the Farm. At Albrecht's suggestion, we have burnt up the grass between the peach trees. He now proposes to harrow between the trees. I think that we commenced burning too late. However, I am a blind man and I follow Albrecht in these matters. If a mistake has been made, no very great harm has been done. I am gaining experience with a vengeance.

The native John has not made headway with his house. But he is creeping up.

Mrs. Goldstone did not come on Sunday after all. I have got one more addition to my school. I am declining to accept any boys for the school who would not accept a saltless diet. I am anxious not to disturb the present boys in their progress. The school still absorbs me. That is my predominant occupation.

Isaac is going to see Call tomorrow. I have a letter from Dr. Gibson who says Call should not be removed for the present. He has returned the two letters you wrote to Call. Evidently Call is not able to receive any letters. At present it is a living death for him. His poor fiancee !

Mrs. Gandhi took a little salt on Sunday and she has had a severe

relapse of her old complaint. Whether salt is to be blamed or not I do not know. Anyhow, I blame it.

Albrecht loves Chhotalal and he Albrecht. Tonight Chhotalal sleeps with Albrecht.

I am still unable to give you extracts from the book. But I am sure you do not need them, after your brilliant experience of the voyage.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

64. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

HEIDELBERG,
[Before *September 16, 1911*][1]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I think I shall have to wire for Manilal. They are too short-handed at Phœnix.

I sent you a message about a water-cart. We shall need it badly. Mrs. P. K. Naidoo is coming and Mrs. Sodha will, I doubt not.

You are not at peace with yourself. That is bad.

With love,

Yours sincerely,
UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

65. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

Saturday night, September 16, 1911

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Kennedy did come last Sunday. He passed the night too at the Farm. He may come again. We discussed many things — abstract and otherwise. It was only at night that he opened discussion on your relations. He showed me your letter to me. From you we went on to what should be man's duty in his dealings with friends and fellow-beings generally. He agreed that the safest course was not to analyse friends even as a son does not analyse his mother or a husband his wife. Both simply love one another. I do not think he knows what he proposes doing on your return. And for my part I would wish that you would not think of your future relations either. Let them grow

[1] From the reference to the water-cart; *vide* the following item.

themselves. The only thing one may think of is oneself. What is our duty in [the] given circumstances !

Kennedy and I discussed also the question of laying pipes, etc. I asked him to get quotations from Vereeniging. This he has done. I need hardly assure you that I would do nothing rashly.

The third hole is likely to be finished next week. Logan said so. He is now over 200 feet deep.

From your wonderful letters I gather that you are not worrying about things over here. I am glad.

The fencing still remains suspended. We are making use of the water-carts and re-laying the principal floors. The school-room and the kitchen verandah are finished. Men's quarters will be finished by Tuesday. The verandah between your room and the school will be finished by the end of the week. Fencing will then be taken up. I trust you do not mind the delay.

Albrecht is a brick. Now he works practically the whole day. I must retract much I said about him. His work is splendid. But his loving faculty is simply grand. Most of the boys adore him. Mrs. Gandhi loves him. That is saying a great deal in his favour. He is most unassuming. He quietly sits through the story I give the children in the evening. At times it must be uninteresting for him. But he does not mind it. Of course he is progressing in health. I am not sure that you and I are good enough to deserve him. Did I tell you that Chhotalal now sleeps with him and mainly through him it is that Chhotalal too is saltless.

A solicitor, Vand der Kessels of Heidelberg, motored from Johannesburg to consult me. I served him in our ordinary style, gave him principally a saltless meal. He seemed to appreciate the compliment paid to him in not making the slightest distinction.

I sent Isaac to see Call in Pretoria. Isaac thinks that Call is not so bad and could be removed. I hope to go next week myself to see him. Probably Gordon will go with me. Here is the time table :

Self to get up at 6 a.m. and light the stove and prepare milk for the boys.

Ring the bell 6.25 for the boys to get up.

Another bell 6.55 for breakfast, the same to be finished by 7.15.

Farm work from 7.15 to 10.30.

School from 1 p.m. to 4.30 p.m.

Going to the engine, etc., between 4.30 and 5.30.

Supper at 5.30 p.m.

School 7 p.m. to 8 p.m. This is largely some reading from the

Gujarati books together with translation in English. For the last 4 days Mrs. Sodha and Mrs. Gandhi too have been coming. Albrecht has actually caught the tunes of some of the Gujarati hymns.

8 to 10, or later, correspondence, etc.

Since last Sunday I have been omitting the school largely because I did not go to Town on Monday.

With your letter from London we received letters from Miss Winterbottom and Maud. Both speak in most flattering terms of you. Miss Nicholson also writes saying she would endeavour to see you.

Many thanks for the chart and Dickinson's[1] books.

Hilt has not paid for two months. He had taken in an outfitter in a sample room. This roused Amies' ire. He asked Lapin to remove the outfitter. I authorized Lapin to do so even if it cost a few pounds and wrote Amies not to mind a month. Now Lapin has written saying Amies is reconciled. The outfitter will of course go at the end of the month. I shall not weary you with the correspondence.

Kennedy has deposited £50 in your account. He told me he anticipated no difficulty about reducing the Bank's liability.

I am doing nothing about Mountain View, nor do I know how it is looking.

Without my asking you, I know you will pass on my regards to your sister and all your people.

I hope that you receive my letters regularly. I have not missed a single mail. I mention this as I do not post the letters myself and I am anxious that you should know that I write regularly.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] British author Lowes Dickinson

66. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

Saturday night, September 23, 1911

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

The insects about me tell me that I should not do such night work– not that I should put up a perforated screen to ward off the insects. However, that is another story.

I have your letter and the report of the interview with Maude. I am not surprised that Maude has impressed you. He is a true man. But his reasoning is bad. Modern civilization has had its trial thousands of years ago. It was tried at the time of the Tower of Babel and found wanting. It was tried in India and failed. It is again on its trial and is already tottering. What trial can it want ? What does it propose doing ? It either rejects the divinity or seeks to find it outside of ourselves. In both of these systems, it is hopelessly wrong. His rejection of the doctrine of non-resistance to evil takes away everything from the praise he bestows on Tolstoy. If Tolstoy was the greatest reformer of his age in Europe, he owed it to his doctrine of non-resistance[*sic*]. The illustration he takes is far-fetched. A non-resistant will not find himself in the circumstances he describes as probable on a ship. We might as well cease to be vegetarians because Icelanders must eat meat. I fancy that as vegetarians we do not go to Iceland at all. And who knows that the sinking of a ship by the pranks of a mad man might not be a proper deliverance for the men on board. Those who flew from the danger of the Jameson raid[1] courted certain disaster at Glencoe. I think I told you that I honoured Maude as a true man, i.e., a man who tried to act up to his beliefs, but I do not accept his qualified acceptance of Tolstoy's teaching. Of course, there must be rules for the guidance of voluntary associations. Only it must be borne in mind that Tolstoyan belief does not contemplate huge settlements in states. Neither men nor animals are expected or intended to roam about the earth. If I serve my neighbours whom I reach by walking to them I serve the world. When I attempt to do more, I not only do not do

[1] An abortive attempt, in December 1895, led from the Cape Colony by Dr. Jameson, Administrator of the British South Africa Company, to annex the Transvaal by taking advantage of a projected Uitlander uprising which did not materialize. Jameson was captured, tried and convicted. The Raid and the failure of the British Government to repudiate it unequivocally were among the causes that led to the Boer War; *vide* also Vol. II, pp. 50, 57 and 69.

anything good, but I positively disturb the economy of nature in the same way that a man abuses nature by trying to make money upon money. Both arise out of conceit.

Your next letter should give me a vivid account of your meeting with Dr. Mehta. I am looking forward to it.

You have asked me to give you not much account of the Farm, in order to spare me. I however propose to continue the custom. It is no trouble to me. The 3rd bore-hole was completed yesterday. The machinery was dismantled yesterday afternoon. The hole is over 260 feet deep. Water was found at 220 feet. It is 60 feet from the surface. The hole gives over 68,000 gallons in 24 hours. Logan has been instructed to remove to a school about 10 miles from here. He will, therefore, probably leave some time next week.

In spite of most strenuous work by Albrecht, floor-laying is not yet finished. It is a long job. He allowed the school-room floor to dry for a week. We came to the school only today.

A Johannesburg solicitor (a Jew), with some English friend, came in today to inquire about the bore-hole, etc. He has just taken over a farm near Lenz. He was interested in our ideals and I gave them to him. He and his friend had our coffee and bread which they liked very well. Medh and Desai are still here. They are both working very well. Medh, Desai, Albrecht and I are restricting ourselves to only one meal per day for the next eight days. This is that portion of the Hindu year when millions of Hindus go in for this fast.[1] Of course, we still remain saltless.

I have read your official letter to Miss S[chlesin]. Indeed I opened it. She has not even seen it. I will not go into the letter with you. I shall attend to it. Both the accounts have been kept religiously separate. I am sorry I do not send you a weekly balance-sheet. But I have no time and seeing that I personally attend to the matter, perhaps it is not necessary. If I am making mistakes which you could check if I sent you a weekly balance-sheet, I think the mistakes should be put up with. After all I am not likely to err grievously during your absence. At the same time, as soon as Schlesin returns to the office, I shall ask her to prepare a statement for you. But I propose to continue to attend to the thing personally even when she returns. Hilt has not yet paid the arrear rent. Lapin wrote to me saying Hilt told him he was going to send it. But Hilt is hardly reliable. I shall ask Lapin again and press for payment.

[1] The reference presumably is to the fasts during *Navaratri.*

Chhotalal often answers 'Mr. K[allenbach] has gone to Germiston' and then corrects it to 'Germany'.

Herewith Call's letter which you would like to see. I telegraphed to him and wrote also asking him to come to the Farm if he wished to. His calling Isaac 'Irish' shows that the poor man's mind is still defective. Mrs. Goldstone never came.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

67. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

September 30, 1911

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

You are working wonders. If you are, in the midst of your people, carrying the same spirit, they will learn much from you and your visit will be a blessing to you and to them.

I have received the no-salt and other pamphlets as also Wagner's *Simple Life* and *The Party System* for all of which I do not need to thank you.

The engine has left the Farm. Flooring is not yet quite finished. I see what a task it was. There are some signs of rain now. There were a few drops last night.

The first death on the Farm after it changed hands has taken place. John's grandchild that was born here died yesterday. I supplied him with planks for making a coffin. The child was buried somewhere near the Kraal. I thought that was the best place.

Our semi-fast finishes tomorrow. It will have to be a complete fast tomorrow. I have not felt it in the slightest degree. It is a question whether I should now at all go back to two meals. But I shall not be hasty.

Fencing should begin next week in earnest.

I wrote to Call and wired. Have not heard again.

I have not been able to go to Pretoria. It has been practically impossible, so tied down have I become to the school and its appointments.

I have restarted sandal-making. Ramdas and a new pupil are the apprentices. Between them I finish a pair by 11 a.m. if the back bands are ready. Repairs and new sandals were badly wanted.

Hilt has not yet paid the arrears. Lapin tells me in a letter that

Hilt has promised to send the money in a few days. I am watching him.

By the time this is in your hands, you will have heard about the offer made to me to preside at the forthcoming National Congress in India. The invitation was sent to the Congress in Natal by six prominent Indians including the All-India Muslim League. Indians are all overjoyed. They insisted that I should accept the invitation. I have therefore said yes, but asked for a free hand.[1] I am now awaiting reply. Meanwhile, Reuter has published the news to the world. And yet it is likely that they may not have me if I want a free hand. I do not propose to discuss this matter just now. If I receive a cable accepting my conditions, I shall cable to you, asking you to return. I shall ask Polak too to do likewise. If you do not return, I could arrange to fix up matters during your absence. But it will be better to return. You may want to come to India. If so, we could start together from here after making all arrangements, or you may join me in India. My visit there will be so hurried that I would much rather you did not come. I may not be in India more than a fortnight. For I must return in time for next year's Union Parliament. This invitation I do not like at all. I do not want it. And yet I could not say 'no'. The matter is most delicate.

With love,

Yours,
UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

68. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

TOLSTOY FARM,
LAWLEY STATION,
TRANSVAAL,
October 14, 1911

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Your diary is before me. I see you are still pursuing the goal with unflagging zeal. May you never turn away from it. I am sure that your steadfastness must be a source of great strength to your people. They must love you all the more for appearing for the moment somewhat strange to them. The world has a curious way of coming round to him who does not and will not come round to it.

[1] *Vide* Vol. XI, pp. 162-3 and also p. 169.

Fencing is going on apace now. Standards have been now fixed for the greater part of the way. By Wednesday the fixing of standards will be completed. Albrecht supervises the whole thing. He is assisted by Basella and Sam[1] and Desai.

You know Sam of Phœnix. He has come here for a change. He is a worker. So naturally he is a handyman. Manilal Doctor of Mauritius, Dr. Mehta's son-in-law and Barrister, has come here to see me. He is a charming man but, as he himself says, very obstinate. Because he was told by everybody that he would have to do manual work at the Farm he has promised himself not to do any at all whilst on the Farm. So much is this the case that he simply idles away the whole of his time. I can only pity him. He is one of the most straightforward men you could meet. He proposes to leave for Mauritius and thence for India about the end of this month. He may return to practise here.

Kennedy told me that he could not come last Sunday as he was very busy. He however said he would seek the opportunity of coming some other day.

Gordon has been coming to the Farm off and on.

You showed some concern as to whether I did write regularly. Well, I have made it a religious duty not to fail at all. So that if you have not received my letter any week, the fault must be the postman's, either at my end or yours. The letters have been always (I think) posted at Johannesburg. One week I may have posted at Lawley but I think not even one week.

Call is still at Pretoria. He is getting on. I sent Isaac again and propose to send him from time to time. It is no use my trying to go. I have not a minute to spare. The arrears are appalling.

Nothing yet certain about the Indian visit. I expect a cable any day. But I feel that I am not going. I certainly hope I am not.

You will be pleased to learn that Smuts is releasing two of Quinn's men. These are long-sentence prisoners. Quinn feels like having received a new lease of life. This is more to him than his own release from gaol.

Of course you will go to India, if you think you should. Things here are in a fair condition. Thanks to your careful arrangement, the African Building matter causes little trouble.

After a gentle reminder to Lapin, he has sent me another cheque for £62. Hilt is not at all playing the game. He has not yet paid the rent. I have asked Lapin to press for payment. Am I right ? I hope

[1] 'Sam' was Govindsami, a machine foreman in the International Printing Press at Phœnix.

you do not mind my not sending you a weekly account of income and expenditure.

I have drawn a cheque for £60 for the Government regarding the mill.

No, I am not sending you *I.O.* from here. On second thoughts, I felt that you would get Maud to send you a copy. I take it that she has your German address. Needless to say we are still saltless. I am most strictly so. I have been also on one meal per day for the past fortnight with the exception of one day's break. I broke the rule today because Mrs. Gandhi and Miss Schlesin wept over it. I have now placed myself under stricter discipline by limiting myself beforehand to so much only per meal and taking much less time than usual. This is harder for me than one meal per day. But I think I shall cope with it. This experiment only started today.

Please give my love to all your people.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

69. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

TOLSTOY FARM,
LAWLEY STATION,
TRANSVAAL,
October 22, 1911

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Your having become considerably reduced does not perturb me a bit. Your letters show me that your mind is vigorous. The vigour of mind is possible only in a healthy body and I am anxious for you to have a healthy body which need not necessarily be a strong, i.e., a weight-lifting body.

I must congratulate you on having a relation who has to be arrested for an imaginary political crime.

Gordon has been regularly sleeping and supping and breakfasting at the Farm now for a week. For the weekend he has not been to Town at all.

Albrecht has gone to Town. I think he wanted a change. But he is to inquire about a siphon for one of the bores. I agree with him that we should have one hole working. There seems to be great scarcity of water just at present. He returns on Monday.

The fencing Inspector wrote two days ago suggesting that the fence should be completed without delay. All the standards were completed

on Wednesday. For part of the work the wires are also in. The work is going forward. We hope to finish it by the end of the week.

I have Chhaganlal's brother[1], who arrived with him on the Farm as a patient.

We still continue saltless; I entirely.

I think that in your absence, in view of Heymann's, I should have written to the Lapins. It cannot do them harm to pinch themselves a little to pay even a friend. They have not taken it at all amiss.

They have sent me a guarantee for Hilt's rent. For the moment I forget the guarantor's name. But I have told them that they may accept the guarantee if they consider the guarantor to be a good man.

I hope to send you the July account that you want.

I do not think I am going to India at all. The invitation was not formal. I have therefore cabled Prof. Gokhale saying I would rather that he withdrew my name from discussion.[2]

Dr. Mehta writes saying you are almost sure to go to India.

I hope that you have been getting *I.O.* from London.

With love to you and all,

Yours,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

70. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

October 29, 1911

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

You have made yourself an advertising agent for me. You compel people to like me where before they did not. I can only hope that I shall die as you think I am. I have, I think, often told you that no man may be called good before his death. Departure by a hair's breadth from the straight and narrow path may undo the whole of his past. We have no guide that a man whom we consider to be good is really good except after he is dead.

Mrs. Mayo writes to me about you in most flattering terms. You have found a place in her heart and she in yours. Your reply to her about me is quite characteristic of you. And I feel sure of this much that if I did go to India, I should certainly not surrender an iota of my (our) ideals. But I do not think I am going. I need not therefore detain you on this topic. How I wish I had seen the people whom you describe. Your descriptions would then be more life-like for me.

[1] Maganlal Gandhi

[2] *Vide* also Vol. XI, pp. 176-8.

Horhoff has been deducting 10/- per month for a certain tenant he says he has brought in. Did you make any such arrangement with him ? Miss Bennett says Horhoff never brought any tenant. I have therefore asked him to refund what he has deducted.

I have not worried about the extracts from the book — can't get the time at all.

Albrecht does unthinkingly profess to know more than he does. He has no notion of fence-building. I have been doing it myself for the last five days and I think that I shall be able to finish it myself. Albrecht has a very good eye for straightness. He is still with me and I am doing the work subject to his approval. I can only hope that we all unknowing people will not make a mess of it. Anyhow we are making steady progress.

I may tomorrow accept the tender of Stewarts and Lloyds for a windmill for £72 odd. Kennedy says his is the best tender. I propose shifting one of the tanks. The windmill will draw 400 gallons per hour. Our tanks are, I think, 1,000 gallons each. The overflow water will be allowed to run through the natural gutter on to the present dam. In all this I am being guided by Albrecht. He thinks we ought to make some use of the water we have.

I fear your hope that I should be the first agriculturist on the Farm is a vain hope. I hardly think I can overtake you there. You have, in this matter at any rate, a natural ability that I have not. And I am still hovering about the outskirts of farming. I have not yet really touched and mastered a single tree.

We had a visit from Adams[1] today. He would not get off his cart. He, however, had our coffee.

With you I do not think much of the medical examination by the doctors. You must be the best judge of your system. Loss of weight is of no consequence. I still feel that both morally and physically we are well without salt and the things we have abandoned.

I must now close as I have much more to write and the watch shows already 9 p.m.

Kennedy has not come again.

Gordon, I think I have told you, passed nearly the whole of last week at the Farm. He will come again.

With love to you all,

Yours sincerely,
UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] Dr. Adams

71. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

Unrevised

TOLSTOY FARM,
LAWLEY STATION,
TRANSVAAL,
November 6, 1911

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

It is on Sunday night I am writing this though it is dated for Monday. I am fairly tired and not in the mood to write.

Thank God I am not to preside at the Congress. It would have been a most frightful thing, had I been obliged.

A remarkable incident happened at the Farm during the week. We were making very fair headway with the fence. One day when I was not at that work, Desai came and informed me that someone had torn up the fence. This is the analysis of my mind. The thought could not have occupied more than a second. 'Some evil-minded person has done it. I must inform the police.' 'You coward. Your philosophy is skin-deep. No, the police must not be informed either for your or my sake. The fence should be re-put and someone must sleep near it, if necessary.' Thus resolved I went down to the fence myself. I found that the probability was that the fence was torn up by cattle. Anyhow we fixed the poles much more strongly than before. I took with [me] plates and nails to fix on to the poles. No one slept there and there has been no further interruption. The incident, however, touched me deeply and set me thinking as to the right course of conduct. The most prominent idea that forced itself on me was that we, if we were to carry out the ideals we hold were unfit to hold more land than we *actually* used. The corollary is not that *we* should give up the land (though even that may not be quite so farcical as one may imagine) but that we should fence only so much as we wanted and used and no more. Then we should be able to overtake any damage with much greater ease. I discuss this only to show you how my mind is working and how more and more introspective I am becoming daily. This does not in any way alter my plans during your absence. I shall go through the programme as we have mapped it. Fencing will be finished.

I have accepted the tender of Stewarts and Lloyds for £72 odd for erecting a windmill. I have described to you the whole thing I think. They will send an erector in the course of the week.

I have also told John that he might buy four oxen for which money will be advanced to him. It may mean £30. I feel that it is much better

to let the natives feel that here they may depend upon the fairest treatment. And I have no doubt that if it proceeds from the heart and is uniform, continuous and not from affectation, it will bless both the parties. Anyhow just now I am generous as your steward. Of course John has to repay before the year is out. I am letting Basella too do pretty much as he likes. I see that I can get much more satisfactory work that way.

We had a very busy Sunday. A party of 13 came, all but two unexpected. These were Miss Schlesin and Gordon. The others were Indians. Poor Mrs. Gandhi, she may foam and fret afterwards. But just on such occasions she is at her best.

I note that you are seriously affecting the lives of your people there. Your telling me that they love me now more and more flatters me, but it ought not to. They love me as they see me through your glasses. However, of this when we meet.

Of course you will continue your practice as long as you find it necessary. But I do say that it would be unwise to take precautions beforehand on the basis of Kennedy leaving you for certain. In your place I should simply let the future take care of itself. If you return committed to a definite course, naturally your actions will be in that direction. Whereas if you leave the future in the lap of the gods, you will find your course much smoother and certainly far more natural.

With love to you and all to whom you have introduced me,

Yours sincerely,
UPPER HOUSE

[PS.]

I can report nothing about Call.

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

CWMG XCVI

72. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

TOLSTOY FARM,
LAWLEY STATION,
TRANSVAAL,
November 11, 1911

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

If you still think that you should send my letter about Aylmer Maude[1] to him, you may do so.

I can fully appreciate your difficulties about even keeping to two meals and a saltless and vegetableless diet[2].

Your experience about your cousin is disconcerting. Your description of it does credit to your heart. You are there in the midst of the subtlest temptation. The people you want to serve may unconsciously be your death-traps. Your very abstemiousness — the leaving off of salt, etc., may surround your life with romance and a halo and may then be itself a temptation. Yes, the path of those who want to think and live right is narrow like the edge of a sword. They may not only not swerve an inch from the path, they may not even lift their fixed gaze from their goal. I have seen acrobats — rope-walkers — in India. They walk on a rope fixed to poles in mid-air quite twenty feet or more from the ground. They walk with a bamboo stretched along their outstretched arms and their gaze steadily in front of the other end. They may not go away a hair's breadth from their path. Well, that of spiritual rope-walkers is a millionfold more difficult. Happily, they have also correspondingly greater strength. You are one of those spiritual rope-walkers. In *The Song Celestial,* Krishna says : "A good man must think of ME (God) performing every function of life." It is too true. When there is no witness, He is the most vigilant and active in noting our lapses if also our merits. Our merits count for nothing. For that is what we owe. Our lapses simply swell the heavy debit side. Beware then; think of the articles of our agreement, and God willing you will be safe. I know that I am addressing myself to a condition which existed one month ago and which, if it is existent at the time I am writing this, may have made a big alteration in your life. But I have very great faith in you — enough to know that you cannot fall.

Stewarts and Lloyds have not yet sent the material. They will next

[1] *Vide* p. 80.

[2] *Vide* also *Satyagraha in South Africa,* Vol. XXIX, p. 206.

week. Fencing is steadily progressing. Desai and Albrecht attend to it chiefly. Ramdas and another young man go to help. I am engaged in making sandals for the coming Bazaar[1].

The money for the bore-holes is being paid from your account at the Natal Bank. I have paid in all £85 yet. They have not served the final account.

The school is going forward but not forward enough to satisfy me — chiefly owing to my defects. I am learning. I have not succeeded in drawing the best out of the boys.

With love to you all,

Yours sincerely,
UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

73. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

TOLSTOY FARM,
LAWLEY STATION,
TRANSVAAL,
November 19, 1911

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

You will be pleased to hear that Call is now at the Farm. I went over to Pretoria to fetch him. He is looking fit and well. He was overjoyed to be discharged from the asylum which he did not like at all. He has been discharged only provisionally. I have signed a paper undertaking to look after him and to produce a medical certificate at a later date as to his sanity. His memory is certainly weak but he is not insane in any shape or form. I am giving him your felt mat and your blankets. He is using bed-sheets. I propose to keep him with me during all the Farm week. We sawed wood together this morning. Gordon has come to see Call. I feel somewhat angry with myself. I should have gone to Pretoria earlier. In that case probably Call would have come to the Farm earlier. As it is, he wrote to the Lapins who telephoned to me. Hence his discharge.

Stewarts & Lloyds' man comes tomorrow (Monday) to erect the windmill. John has now got 4 oxen. I have to pay £ 32 for them and a plough.

[1] The Indian Bazaar organized by Mrs. Vogl, who sympathized with the Indian cause and took a keen interest in Indian women. The Bazaar had been held by her in 1910, and in 1911 was inaugurated on November 15 by William Hosken.

I am surprised to learn that you did not receive any letter during the week you wrote your last letter. I have never failed and hope not to in future so long as you are away.

I am glad to have the news about your niece. Nevertheless my remarks of last week are not without their use.

The fence is all but complete. I am not satisfied with the way in which the gate has been fixed. I do not know the thing and Albrecht in my opinion has made a mess of it. Poor man, he worked at it 3 days. He will work again at it. Only 500 yards are now left.

The Bazaar went off very nicely.[1] The Mayor and the Town Clerk were present. Nearly £100 profits were made; no raffle was permitted.

I fear that we shall not have much fruit this time in our garden. This is due to want of rain. And I was not able to water the trees.

Lapin felt disappointed over not hearing from you at all after you left Madeira.

I hope that you have been writing to your brother here.

I think that your letter to Mrs. Ritch was very good.

With love to you all,

Yours sincerely,
UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

74. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

November 26, 1911

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Today is Sunday. I came into Town last night as I have to go with Cachalia today to Krugersdorp to make collections for the Polak deputation.[2]

Call too is in Town. He came in yesterday morning. Call will not stay long at the Farm I fear. He does not like anybody on the Farm except myself. He cannot bear the sight of children (Indian). He considers that no one on the Farm knows how to eat, sit, walk, run or stand. The slightest thing upsets and irritates him. I do not let the children go near him. When he eats, the children are not to be near him. He has the kitchen verandah all to himself. I have withdrawn the night school from the school room and it is held in the kitchen room. Special food has been brought for him. Of course the above condition shows disease. He tells me these things quite freely. I am now

[1] On November 15; *vide* also P. 91, *fn.* 1.

[2] *Vide* Vol. XI, p. 67.

seeing whether Call could be placed elsewhere. If he had all the conditions agreeable to him, he is likely to recover quickly. Beyond good, non-stimulating food, fresh air and good surroundings, he needs nothing more. Call's condition shows how bad we must all be. Call's bad points come to the surface because the poor man has lost control over himself. But Call at his worst seems to be an angel and certainly a good man compared to what we should be if we lost control over ourselves and the worst in us had full play. The inner man must be in harmony with the outer. We ought to be able to think and feel as we act. That is, if I act politely towards you, I ought to feel that also. Do I always think and feel well of people when I act well with them? I am afraid it is not always thus. To that extent that I fail, I am a liar. And yet I must not act otherwise. I must continually try to eradicate feelings and thoughts which are contrary to my actions as they ought to be. Then I should be a wholly truthful man. May you and I have the privilege of becoming such men. I am full of thoughts on this matter which if I had the time I should put down in this letter but I must close.

Your remarks on your niece are good.

The windmill was finished on Friday. We shall begin to draw water from Tuesday probably. Call may lay the piping. He has offered to do so and if he is well, I shall let him.

With love to you all,

Yours sincerely,
UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

75. LETTER TO A. H. WEST

M. K. GANDHI
ATTORNEY

21-24 COURT CHAMBERS,
CORNER RISSIK & ANDERSON STREETS,
P.O. BOX 6522, JOHANNESBURG,
November 27, 1911

MY DEAR WEST,

An otherwise excellent number has been spoilt today by the letter-press on the supplement. It looks altogether too bad to describe the Mayor, Mayoress, etc., as being next to me. It looks very inappropriate, and Mrs. Vogl, who was the centre of the show, ought undoubtedly to have been mentioned. I don't know whether Miss Schlesin

wrote to you, but I told her she should ask you to insert all the names.[1]

With reference to the £3 tax, the first step to take is not to advise the men to refuse to pay the tax, but for the Congress to send a petition to the Prime Minister, signed by all the Indians in Natal – say 15,000 signatures. There should be a mass meeting held. The Congress should then ask the Indians in the other Provinces to support. We must then await the reply from the Prime Minister. Then there should be a petition to Parliament next year, and, if Parliament rejects the petition, there should be an appeal to the Imperial Government by the Congress aided by the other Associations in South Africa. Finally the refusal to pay the tax ! Then, undoubtedly, the Congress should undertake to feed the wives and families of those who may be imprisoned. The men would undoubtedly go to gaol, if there is a body of earnest workers. For this purpose, either you will have to be in Durban continuously, or someone else will. The thing cannot be taken up haphazard. If the men were asked to go to gaol today, I do not think you would find anybody taking up the suggestion, but if the preliminary steps as described above, are taken, by the time a final reply is received the men will have been thoroughly prepared to face the music. I know, too, that the thing is quite capable of being done, but one man at least must be prepared to devote the whole of his time to the matter.

If it were a question of deciding whose word was to be accepted, I should any day prefer Thakar's to Virji's. However, I have written to Virji, and there may be a letter waiting for me at the Farm.

Thinking over the teachers for Campbell's[2] Estate, I think it might be as well for you to tell Campbell that you would want three or four months' notice to supply him with a teacher. He should also give you the salary he is likely to offer. For Hindi we might spare a Gujarati man from Phœnix. The experiment will be so valuable, that we might lend the services of one reliable man and, for a good Tamil teacher, we might have to import a good man from India.

I am glad you were present at the function to Hosken & Co., and that you subsequently drove with Hosken. He is, you must have noticed, a very frank and enthusiastic man. I hope he will visit you at Phœnix. Who drew up the address to Hosken and the others ?

I consider Lutchman Panday's suggestion to be quite impracticable. There are not sufficient workers to form an Association of the kind

[1] *Vide* also pp. 97- 8 and Vol. XI, pp. 251 and 270.

[2] Marshall Campbell, Chairman, Board of Directors, Natal Estates, Ltd.

he suggests, nor is the movement of Indians in the different Provinces so unhampered as to allow of such an Association doing useful work.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

76. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

December 3, 1911

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Today is Sunday. Gordon is here. He is keeping well. His farm is still unsold.

Your brother is to be married today. He sent me the invitation. I wrote wishing them a joint happy life. He invited Call to stay for a few days at his house and to look after it while he was away. Call left the Farm yesterday. He is still unhinged. He likes no one at the Farm. He said if it was a matter of choice, he would prefer the asylum to the Farm. I let him do pretty much as he liked even to the extent of spiriting leather. He took it into his head to make for himself a pair of sandals. He made a horrible pair. He is never of the same mind for two minutes. Of course I shall watch him wherever he is. How nice it would have been if you had been here. He likes you immensely. He thinks that you are his only great friend. I am trying to get compensation for him from the company. He has been offered £3-2-6 per week. I am still in correspondence with the manager.

The windmill is working. The wheel does not turn the whole day long. Naturally, therefore, we do not get 9,000 gallons of water per day. The water is allowed to run into the dam but it has not reached there yet. I might lay the pipes as far. I shall go slowly.

£100 were cabled to you last week. You had written to Kennedy who was then in Durban. Miss Friedman asked me and I drew a cheque for £100 and the manager cabled transfer of £100 to the Bank there.

I am certainly sorry that you are considering commercial propositions. You have not gone to Europe for *that purpose.* We did discuss these matters here and you seemed to think that you would clear off the bond from the property itself. He who would be good and do good must have patience. As in diseases so in other matters we must let Nature have her course. Our business difficulties are also a variety of disease — mental it is true. And we may no more suppress these diseases without suffering from other eruptions than we may

physical diseases without their breaking out in another form. We have to eradicate them and there is only one way of doing so. I agree with your analysis of Fisher Unwin. I too met him when I was last there. You had introduced me to the Daniels in your previous letters.

If Kennedy is at the office tomorrow, I shall discuss with him the question of your staying longer and if he is agreeable I shall cable. I am anxious that you should stay there as long as you like. Only be sure that you do not stay for your pleasure, it may be ever so subtle. The condition also should be that you are to stay only with Mrs. Mayo or return. Germany is certainly not now the place for you. We are not intended to *seek* temptation. We can resist it only when it forces itself on our attention.

Did I tell you that the boys had left off the saltless diet ? I noticed that they were getting tired. So at present only Medh, to an extent Mrs. Gandhi, and I are saltless. With me it seems to have come to stay. Even with the simplest diet it is possible to overeat than under-eat. Why then need we multiply dishes ?

We had fair rains of late. We are therefore having a good crop of apricots. And so we have the eternal stew.

You want me to discuss with you the Indian tour. It is probably as well not to go. Personally I think that it is time for you to return. But you are the best judge. If, therefore, you wish to stay on and that at Aberdeen, you may do so if Kennedy is agreeable. Please do not mind me. It is no trouble to me to look after things here. At present, it is Miss Schlesin who looks after them. I simply sign and endorse cheques.

There are now 15 boys at the Farm. Some of them are very good but I am not satisfied with one or two of them. I could not reject them as they accepted the conditions on the Farm.

With love to you all,

Yours sincerely,
UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

CWMG XCVI

77. LETTER TO A. H. WEST

M. K. GANDHI
ATTORNEY

21-24 COURT CHAMBERS,
CORNER RISSIK & ANDERSON STREETS,
P.O. BOX 6522, JOHANNESBURG,
December 4, 1911

MY DEAR WEST,

I have your letter. I return the Aiyar[1] correspondence for you to file there. I do not want to keep it here. At the same time, I do not wish to destroy it.

Your report on Eastern Vlei is very good. I certainly think that we ought to take notice of the Henwood case. Even if the man was a thief, it was nothing short of persecution; and, if you do not consider the thing to be stale now, you should still publish it. When the man has finished his sentence, he may be interviewed and more may be published, but the case should be followed up. Indeed, it would be well to post up somebody in order to meet him upon his discharge. So far as I am aware, Magistrate's notes can certainly be seen as a matter of right by interested parties.

I intended to write to Khan asking him to waive his fees about Muthuswamy because the amount has to come out of passive resistance funds, but I thought that I should ask you whether I should do so before writing the letter. This I forgot to do. Shall I now write or do you think that the amount should be paid without more ado ?

With reference to the supplement, if the dog were in the centre, I think that your remarks would have been justified. As it is, the dog in the present instance was not sitting in the centre, but Mr. Hosken was, and, if you had said 'Mr. Hosken is in the centre with Mrs. Ellis to his right' and so on, it would have been all right. No one can be held responsible — not even the photographer — for the arrangement of those who sat for the group. I went there at the last moment, and, so many important persons having come in, I hardly think that Mrs. Vogl also could control the thing. Without giving the official designations, the names could have been printed. But, of course, you could not

[1] P. S. Aiyar, owner and editor of *The African Chronicle* published from Durban; Honorary Secretary of the Anti-£3 Tax League formed in September 1911

reason this way, not having seen the Bazaar and not having been intimately connected with the work. But I do say that you should have seen the impropriety of introducing the chief members of the group through me.[1]

I consider you to be entirely capable of handling the £3 tax business, but I am not just now in a position to feel the pulse of the community there. Whether, therefore, they would rise to the occasion or not is entirely for you to judge. You should, therefore, discuss the thing freely with them, tell them that you would be prepared to stay for a month in Durban and work the thing up, if they want you to do so. But, of course, after having gone into it, it would not do for you to limit yourself in any way. You will have either to do or die. You may stay in Durban for a month — less or more. I personally cannot set any limit to your work and say, 'All right, work for a month, and then things may be left to take their course'. That could be done, if I were managing the thing, but, in this instance, if the thing is to be done at all, I want you to become the initiator and organizer. Your responsibility will, therefore, be towards yourself and your God. If I felt like being free to head the movement, I should plunge without a moment's hesitation, but, just now, I am not in that condition at all. I shall certainly criticize you freely, and watch the working, and give advice. More I cannot do. So that you must count the cost before embarking on the enterprise. You should also take care that you do not in any way clash with what Aiyar is doing. I have now learnt something about Munroe. I have distrusted the agitation from the commencement, that is, I have not been able to consider it to be unselfish. Apart from this question, if it is necessary for you to stay in Durban with the family for a month, of course you should do it, looking to me for the deficit for that month's expenses.

I should like to see the text of this address to Hosken. Was it so long-winded as suggested by Aiyar ? You will do what you think is proper regarding Jamni. Anandlal has commenced collections[2]. I share the view you have expressed about him. If Manilal is not to come during the month, you will have to get him to cheerfully reconcile himself to the delay. The coming here is with him on the brain now, and I do not wish to discourage him at all. I do not know what is going to happen to him or to any of us in March. If you detain him there, let him realize that he should put the exigencies of the work there before his inclination and take pleasure in the thought. I shall go through

[1] *Vide* also pp. 93-5.

[2] *viz* subscriptions for the Indian Famine Relief Fund ; *vide* also Vol. XI, pp. 182, 190 and 197-8.

the essay you have sent, and we shall certainly publish it if the ideas are at all acceptable. You may nurse the lad, even while he is out of Phœnix.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

78. LETTER TO A. H. WEST

M. K. GANDHI
Attorney

21-24 COURT CHAMBERS,
CORNER RISSIK & ANDERSON STREETS,
P. O. BOX 6522, JOHANNESBURG,
December 8, 1911

MY DEAR WEST,

In the papers I am sending today you will find interesting correspondence regarding the £3 tax. Here is work for you. Can you, and will anyone assist you, to collect statistics showing in what cases the tax has been remitted ?[1] Is it possible also to find out all the serious cases in which remission has not been granted ? The more statistics we can give the earlier will be the repeal of the tax. It seems to me that it is possible perhaps to get Europeans in Natal to sign a petition for its repeal, and, if we can get an influentially signed document, we can certainly bring about repeal during the forthcoming session without resort to passive resistance.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

[PS.]

The full text of the Germiston Judgment herewith should be reproduced.

From a copy : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] *Vide* Vol. XI, pp. 199-200.

79. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

TOLSTOY FARM,
LAWLEY STATION,
TRANSVAAL,
December 10, 1911

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

For the first time since your departure from London a week has passed without a letter from you. You have so used me to the regularity of your correspondence that last Thursday left a sad blank when I saw among the letters nothing from you. But I know that you were travelling. You told me you were leaving for Berlin on a Tuesday or Wednesday. I therefore assume that you were travelling and without reach of a station where you could post your letter to be in time.

Gordon was here today (Sunday) as he was last Sunday. He likes to be here. He is keeping well.

Call is still in Johannesburg. He may leave for London next week. It all depends upon the Medical Superintendent of the asylum. Call is by no means right yet. But probably a voyage will be the best thing for him. He may be a total wreck for ever, i.e., remain an imbecile. He is no lunatic, but he has no control over himself.

The fencing is now almost complete. Just a little finishing is required — probably there is a day's work. We are drying apricots in the manner suggested by you in your letter from Potchefstroom.

I had a talk with Kennedy. His answer as to further prolongation of the agreement was not quite satisfactory. I have asked him to think [it] over and let me know. He seemed to resent the fact that you had not written to him in the matter. On the whole I think it is better for you not to take more than the time you intended to when you left. After all 8 months is a fair time. You could still pass a few weeks at Mrs. Mayo's. I certainly think that you have stayed enough with your people. They know now what you are. Their assimilation of your (our) ideals now depends upon your living the life according to the ideals for a length of time. But you and I are not living the life for them or anybody else. We are living the life because we want to, irrespective of what the rest of mankind do.

Your brother was duly married on Sunday. Herewith a cutting, if you have not received it through other channels.

I have now 18 boys in the school, much to the disgust of Mrs. Gandhi. And yet I must continue as I have begun. There is no looking

back. One hesitating step and I perish. We have now 4 Mohammedan boys.

With love to you all,

Yours sincerely,
UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

80. LETTER TO A. H. WEST

M. K. GANDHI
Attorney

21-24 COURT CHAMBERS,
CORNER RISSIK & ANDERSON STREETS,
P.O. BOX 6522, JOHANNESBURG,
December 22, 1911

Attorney

MY DEAR WEST,

Yes, with reference to Obligadoo, we ought to get the chargesheet. I want to see the two counts on which he was prosecuted. You will see the Prosecutor accepted his plea of guilty on the first count and was satisfied. Generally, when a Prosecutor does that, you may depend upon it that he has a very weak case, and, as a matter of fact, this plea of guilty ought never to have been accepted by the Magistrate as a plea of guilty, because the accused has qualified it, saying he was in want of this money and took it. This qualification immediately takes away guilty knowledge. The mere taking of the money was certainly not theft. The sentence, of course, is preposterous.

Of course, the leaders will not take up the £3 tax agitation without your harassing them. Aiyar may be left to himself and he may have all the credit and all the glory. We simply do the work if the leaders are ready to do their share of it. When Parliament opens, of course we shall have to get Mr. Alexander to ask questions. Meanwhile you should get the facts independently of the Ministers. They will not help.

I have asked Manilal to pocket his own inclination and do as you advise him, and I think that his feeling need not be considered so long as his services are required there.

I have written to Muthu exactly in the same sense that you have spoken to him, and, if you want him, by all means have him, but it must be understood that he will have to do plenty of out-door work.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

81. LETTER TO MILLIE GRAHAM POLAK

February 17, 1912

MY DEAR MILLIE,

What a horrid thing that you should get chicken pox ! Henry says it was due to the sin of going to Delhi even after the event. Whatever the cause, I am sorry you were not able to attend the Congress sittings. It was quite like you to have turned your illness to good account by reading on things Indian. I hope that the illness has not left you weaker. These illnesses if properly treated invigorate patients in the end.

Waldo is evidently having a good time of it here.

I hope you are not worrying about Amy. To worry where we cannot help if possible is to render us still more helpless for future service.

Of the bill and the prospects of the struggle, you will learn from my letter to Henry.

Manilal, Ramdas and Devdas are with me at present. They are all well. Manilal will be going to Phœnix shortly. Hoosen too has been paying a visit to the Transvaal. He proposes to leave for India shortly.

I have now 25 boys on the Farm — 8 Mahommedans, 2 Parsees and the balance Hindus. Of the latter, 5 are Tamils, one Calcuttan and the rest Gujaratis. They are divided into at least four standards. Medh, Pragji and Jamnadas assist me at school. Gujarati, Hindi and Tamil are being taught besides English. I shall find it somewhat difficult to manage the school if and when Desai and Medh go to India.[1] I want to teach the boys sewing. Mrs. Vogl has been coming once a fortnight for the purpose. Poor woman. She has her old trouble coming on again and again. The doctor has now forbidden railway travelling. So the class may be interrupted. But I have learnt sufficient to continue the class for some time. Sandal-making is going on regularly. I make my own shirts now. Ramdas, Devdas and I wear shirts of my own make. Mrs. V. is quite proud of her new pupil. But I fear she conceals the true fact when she credits me with having turned out an excellent shirt. I have just finished Devdas's knickers too. During the past six months, we must have made nearly 50 pairs of sandals—mostly for the Farm boys. Some have been made to order also. I sent one pair to Maud and if you give me the tracing of your right foot, holding the pen perpendicular I shall do myself the honour of making a pair for you. Mrs. Vogl and Miss Schlesin have theirs.

[1] Pragji Desai and Surendrarai Medh left for India in the second week of March 1912, *vide* Vol. XI, pp. 244-5.

I think I gave you the school hours. Rise at 6 a.m., breakfast 6.45 a.m. — home-made bread toasted or fried in ghee and cereal, coffee or milk (condensed I am sorry) and stewed peaches 7.15 manual work — some hoeing, some in the kitchen, some wood-chopping and others sandal making and sewing — 10 a.m. bell for bathing, 11 a.m. to 12 noon diner — rice and curry and bread, fruits if any and some cereal and milk preparation for those boys who are experimenting in saltless diet. 12 to 1 boys read for themselves. 1 to 4.30 schooling. 4.30 to 4.45 drill. 5.30 p.m. supper—wholemeal porridge, milk, stew and coffee and bread. 7 to 8 some religious reading and hymns — Gujarati, Hindi and English. Religious reading from Mahommedan scriptural books, Parsee and Hindu. At 8 p.m. boys are free to go to bed. I sleep with them on the open verandah. Mrs. Gandhi too sleeps on the open verandah with the boys who cannot be accommodated on the verandah where I sleep. Devdas shares Mrs. Gandhi's bed as of old. Boys do their own washing. On the Farm they wear nothing but the shirts and trousers. If it is cold, they wear jerseys and jackets too if they wish to. There is hardly any compulsion used. Appeal is always made to their good nature for making them do anything. All boys must be vegetarians and non-smokers at least on the Farm. No boys may come from outside to have tuition only. Parents pay 3/- per month for board. They pay also 10/- for books. The 10/- should last six months. And now you have the whole picture of the school. They are taught English, arithmetic and their own mother tongue. History, geography, etc., are taught incidentally.

With love,

BROTHER

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

CWMG XCVI

82. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

December 20, 1912

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I am now reaching Durban. Up to Newcastle I had a compartment all to myself. From Maritzburg it became crowded. A native friend usurped my seat whilst I was walking along the platform. I thought I would walk and risk losing my seat. Could not manage two meals yesterday. I shall see what happens today.

The Indian visit fills me — consideration of it in detail sends my brain whizzing. Why need I think so much about it ? 'One step enough for me.' That step is the patient to whom I am going. He drove out the Indian visit from my thought. So much of self.

Now you are in a seesaw. Your mind is a spinning top set in motion at its highest. Well, the comfort before us all is that we cannot peep into the future and we cannot control all the forces that mould us. Only this we know that one of such forces is ourselves. So that our duty is done when we have performed to the best of our ability our own part. What is your own part ? To make up your mind for the immediate future and stick to it manfully. You have made up your mind. Now it remains to stick to the resolution. It means your refusing to waste your time even by your mind idly thinking of other projects which might have been better.

Do your Hindi, fix up Mountain View and African Building, wind up your office and do not worry about Call or Geevers[1] or anybody else or anything else.

For your food, while you need not just now return to the pure fruit diet, you may only take up bread and oil and not milk and ghee. Later only may you take these up if they are found necessary. Bread should have its trial without ghee and milk. That would be a scientific experiment.

Hope that you will have things not to be kept on the Farm packed up.

Will you remember that you may not even spend a penny without careful thinking ? The next year or eighteen months or more are the time of your life.

Yours sincerely,
UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] *Vide* also Vol. XI, pp. 402 and 407-9.

83. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

December 26, 1912

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I find that I cannot leave before next week. The patients are progressing. I am making safe experiments with one of them and it appears to me that he will recover much more rapidly. It consists in eliminating milk from the dietary.

Will you please have those things which have to come here packed slowly ? I should like to shorten my stay there as much as possible. The contents of each case should be noted in a book.

I have been thinking over your letter. I think that we often manufacture sorrows. Instead of simply saying to yourself you are going to Phœnix and then to India, you are thinking in advance what awaits you at these places. May you not think thus : 'I shall go to Phœnix. I shall take up work which I can do and no other. If I cannot find anything to suit me and Phœnix appals me, I shall leave the place. I do not mind admitting defeat. I shall go to India. I shall try to like it. I shall try, too, to find pleasure in the work before me. If I still fail, I shall not lose. I shall be the gainer for having tried.'

This is a safe attitude and it is the attitude of the average man. Why should you worry by trying to know the whole future ?

With love,

Yours sincerely,
UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

84. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

Wednesday [*January 8, 1913*][1]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

For me, last night was momentous. Let me try to explain. I feel that you are accepting my conclusions without being ready to follow them out. Such a man dare not risk the unbalancing of his mind in the attempt to follow out somebody else's conclusions. If you had proved for yourself the correctness of the theory of life as I have endeavoured to sketch it, if you had an inner conviction, if your belief in future

[1] The addressee has recorded on this letter : "Mr. Gandhi left on the 9th, Thursday for Phœnix and he handed this letter to me."

life was unshakable, if you had become sick of the world unto death, if money had no attractions for you, if you were not influenced by your surroundings, if you were longing for poverty and suffering, it would be your duty to attempt to live the new life. But you are not any of these things, so I think that you *ought* not to think of India or work in Phœnix just now. I have an inner conviction about the things I have mentioned. My conclusions are my own and I ought to risk even the unhinging of my mind in the attempt to live the new life.

My mistake was in trying to force your pace and thinking that you could not but be right in trying to *do* right. But the trying to *do* right would not have been *your* act. Or the many thoughts that arise in your mind, e.g., about Mr. Alexander[1], or getting more work or more money, would not find place in your system. The fact is, we cannot help ourselves beyond a certain point. I feel sure, as I did not up to last night, that your duty is just now to adhere to your practice and your material advancement. In doing so, you have to watch yourself. You *must not* abandon the simple life, you *must not* revert to the rake's life and pursue your calling as in trust for others. Make very little use of your riches for your own comforts and keep poverty and suffering as your goal. So doing, you will be more in tune with yourself and it will be possible for you to come to India with a better preparation. Instead of India being a preparation, let your practice be it. After all it may only mean one year, it may even mean less. But, meanwhile, you cannot live a double life. You cannot prepare in Phœnix for India. You prepare for it in the midst of social attractions. You will thus test yourself. You will soon know when you are ripe for the change. I was wrong in presenting India before you quite so soon and wrong in suggesting a study of Hindi. You may drop the latter for the time being. Of course you will continue it, if you like the study. Under this plan you would come to Phœnix as a visitor as often as possible and comparing the two lives you will make your final choice. Such is the result of my last night's hard thinking. I hope you understand my meaning. You will do exactly as you please but in my opinion you would err in thinking of India.

Herewith draft letter to Alexander.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] Morris Alexander, Jewish Member of Parliament from Cape Town

85. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

Saturday [*January 11, 1913*]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Just a line to say that I got the message about the fares for the Naidoo boys all right.

Here we are quite comfortable but I do not know that you could stand this life. We were most of us on the verandah sleeping side by side. Jeki[1] was next to me. We all sat at the same table last night to dine — we were 20. The work is good but hard. I have been up since 4.30 a.m. and now it is 5.40 a.m. I woke up the boys at 5.20 a.m. We are in all 23 in one household. In the light of what happened at the station, in the light of what is happening here, consider my letter well. Over my meal yesterday I could not have taken more than 10 minutes. I think I took the least time of all and I did not gulp. I have simply found out, I hope, the right food for me. One can only die in the attempt to find the truth. I am passionately in search of it. May you not for the time being follow my career from a distance ? Poor Mrs. Gandhi and poor you ! Mrs. Gandhi must have felt simply shocked to see her neat little home turned into a menagerie. But she took it all quite calmly. Your case is somewhat different. She is bound up in my life. She is not on the fence. You are not bound up in me and you are on the fence. All these things should put you on your guard. I therefore urge again : do not be hasty, nurse your office in terms of my letter, come to Phœnix whenever you like partly to share my life but not wholly, and you will test yourself. Watch me just now not with a friendly eye but a highly critical and fault-finding eye. Assimilate the joint life as we have lived it hitherto but in my flight now hesitate, watch and wait. More when you come here. You will observe things for yourself. Please understand me. I do not want to put you off. If you will take the full step in spite of my warnings, I will not stop you.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] Jayakunvar, wife of Manilal Doctor

86. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

PHŒNIX,
Thursday [*January 23, 1913*]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

My heart yearns often to write long letters to you, but I am obliged to deny myself the pleasure. Such is the life here. From 4.45 a.m. to 10 p.m., I do not think I waste a single moment in talk. I see no visitors except on Sundays. But even Sunday is no free day with me. On no other terms could the new scheme be worked here effectively. My meal never now takes more than 15 minutes. Between 11 and 12, bathing and dinner are finished. Boys do no washing of pots now. Miss West alone does it and she is at the school at the stroke of 12.30 p.m. I do little personal correspondence now. Even my London letters are only a few lines. Thus do I cope with the day's programme but only barely so. The tension does not irritate me. It gives me greater pleasure.

How I wish you could stand this life. But I fear it is too much for you, at any rate at this stage. How long I shall stand it remains to be seen. But you will come and see things for yourself. Meantime you are comparing notes and collecting your thoughts and yourself. I know that you will not allow your head to guide you but your heart.

I suggest your putting the wagon and the mules at an auction sale as also everything else not required there. Your books I am keeping as they are in their cases. Only those tools which I require myself I have taken out and not the others.

I am just now on my trial. The Government have rejected two of the names given by us of educated entrants. This is a matter of principle and I have told them that passive resistance will be revived if they reject our nominees[1]. So I might any moment have to abandon work here which is moulding me and those who are with me. Secondly, I have as a matter of principle boycotted the Congress as I boycotted the Swami. This I have done because of Anglia. My step may bring on a great deal of trouble. I must prepare myself for it. God will help me. I know that I should be a coward if I took any other step.

I am glad Geevers has at last left you. I have often blamed myself severely for inflicting him on you. I cannot to my own satisfaction sufficiently apologize for the serious blunder I committed. Anyhow that

[1] Vide Vol. XI, p. 438.

incident opened my eyes to my weakness — that of vaulting ambition wrongly to serve.

With much love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

87. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

PHŒNIX,
Friday [*January 31, 1913*]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

We are planting banana plants. Sam was superintending. His holes were not in a line. He asked me if it would matter. I said 'no' so far as I was concerned but that if you were here, you would certainly insist on the holes being in a line. The next row of holes was straight. I mention the incident to tell you how near you are to me in all I am doing. I think of you continually during all the gardening operations and often wish you were near to advise me. I relate the incident also to show how we two would have acted in the matter. I knew the holes *were* wrong and allowed them to be proceeded with. You would never have allowed it. You would have had the wrong holes filled in. I do not attach any permanent value to this work. To me it is useful only in so far as it trains those who are engaged in it. The work itself is being continually done and undone. One man builds, another destroys and rebuilds according to his notions of rightness. Who is right ? Who knows ? But we do know when we act to our souls' profit and when we do not. And that is all that matters on this earth. It would certainly be a great thing if you would walk with Medh and Desai. Do if you can.

No, I do not work in the knowledge that I am always to be in it. On the contrary, here I am preparing for my withdrawal. It is highly likely that some of the programme here you would like very well.

I have an uneasy fear that you are buying there things for the household which I have removed. If so, I shall feel deeply hurt.

More in my next. I have not had the time to go through the accounts.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

88. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

PHŒNIX,
Thursday night [*February 6, 1913*]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I have your long letter. It made me sad. I can entirely enter into your feelings. I will not, therefore, strive with you. I quite see that you should now proceed along your own lines. And I have no fear, so long as your heart rules your head. You will come to India when you feel absolutely impelled to do so. And to Phœnix too you would come whenever you feel like it and not before. If you want me to return any of your tools or books, please say so. I should feel deeply hurt if you did not do so. I have told you that I have not even unpacked your books and your tools too are still most of them in the box.

My life is becoming harder day by day and I do feel that you would not be able to bear it even if you tried. Just now I hardly speak to anybody, so finely cut has my daily programme become. My meals too are invariably taken whilst I am serving the boys and as a rule I am finished by the time the boys are finished. There is not a moment's rest after the dinner. This I find absolutely necessary at least for the present. Miss West has entered into the thing whole-heartedly and works away the whole day. I would certainly like you to pay us, when you feel like it, a visit, examine the working and criticize. I know that in many things there is room for improvement. Only I cannot see it. I do need a friendly critic. West is excellent but he has his limits. His resources are exhausted and he is himself immersed in his own work.

Medh tells me you have advanced him £22. It was perhaps as well. You were certainly not bound to do so. Only his is an exceptional case. I hope you will not allow it to be used as a precedent.

Of course when the proper time comes you should remind Naidoo about the loan.

Can you remember anything about Mr. Doke's father's memoir I had ? I cannot find it among the books sent here. I should not forgive myself if the book is lost. What about Just's book ?[1] We have to send it to Mr. Gokhale.

I shall say nothing about the Kaffir[2] boy. I must now watch you and wait. You are making an experiment with yourself. I can but pray that you may come out of it quite successful.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] *Return to Nature*; *vide* also Vol. XI, p. 461.

[2] A term by which the native African communities in South Africa were described. The expression, however, is no longer in use.

89. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

PHŒNIX

Friday [*February 7, 1913*]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

We are about to finish the work of the week. Your letter is pathetic. I feel now that I was unwise in hastening the packing of your books and tools. I can quite understand how you must be stinting yourself. I do not mind the stinting. It can only do you good. I am simply blaming my hasty judgment. I ought to have left the packing of these things to you. In that case, under the altered programme, neither the books nor the tools would have come here. But now I do beseech you to think out what you require and it can be sent to you or you could take the things with you when you are here.

If you can have Mr. Sharpe as your companion in your walk, it would be certainly good. But the walk ought not to be undertaken unless you feel sure that you could be absent from your work for so long a time.

In my opinion, now that you are living at Mountain View, you should not think of building a house but you may, by your own exertion, turn it into a nice orchard. That will give you perennial joy and healthy occupation. But these things we can discuss when you are here.

I do wish that you will leave off thinking about the synagogue. It was not to be yours. Why should it now worry you ? What does it matter if your plan has been copied by someone else ? Is it not rather a matter of pride that it has so commended itself to the people ? And why be angry that Cohn has acted as he has done ? May he not act according to his nature ? When we become angry that someone has done an evil act, it really means that we might have done likewise. We do not get angry that a snake acts as it does. Just consider this and tell me whether there is a flaw in the thought. Now I must stop, as I am interrupted.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

90. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

PHŒNIX,
Monday [*February 17, 1913*]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I do hope the mules have been found. I congratulate you upon your pickaxe work. You know how deeply hurt I would feel if you buy any tools of which I have a supply here. I shall certainly pack up your tools and send them. But I should be considerably helped if you could let me have a list of the most important ones which may be sent at once. The rest you may take with you when you come. I do not go to Durban and as a rule nobody does now. Other arrangements have been made for Town work. So we should not know who is going to Johannesburg.

Mr. Gokhale absorbed so much of my time because his possibilities are great and he has a very lofty character. I love India even impersonally. He is the man who can render her the highest service. Naturally I want to see him as perfect a being as possible. He is my political teacher. For that reason also I would like to contemplate him in his perfection. Hence my almost exclusive service to him. Am I understood ? I may not have convinced you. But I want to clearly explain my position. Conviction may then come.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence, Courtesy : National Archives of India

91. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

PHŒNIX,
[*February 25, 1913*]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Your letter calls for a long reply. I see that you are very unhappy. The remedy is not in Palestine, nor in studies in London. It lies in two things : either in applying yourself entirely to your office and studying whilst in practice or in your living with me and coming to India. The first is hardly feasible for you as you are; the second is, as you yourself say, the course for you but it is hard. There's the rub. You want to

avoid difficulties and yet do the right thing. The two things are inconsistent. You would study in London. That is an easy life and pleasant. No worry of office. You would go to Palestine and there (at the bottom of the idea) have an independent and simple life, such as you have come to appreciate. It won't do. You have to see happiness in unhappiness and feel that life is made up of worldly miseries which rightly understood hammer us into shape. You cannot serve God and Mammon. The Mammon of ease, self-pride, luxury should be permitted to do its worst and inflict all the hardships it can by depriving us of its gifts. Then and then only could God be enthroned in our hearts. Thus far I can see quite clearly. Whether you should go to India with me or whether you should continue your practice is a difficult question to answer. It largely depends upon yourself. My suggestion is, come down here for a brief visit. See things for yourself. We would compare notes. And then you may tentatively decide. You could usefully occupy yourself doing gardening in the morning. The afternoon you could devote to study. We could chat on Saturdays and Sundays and thus you could pass a fortnight, longer if you wish. What you should do is to think for yourself but not independently of me. We would discuss, thrash out and then you will finally decide what to do.

The charge of your being able to do things with me which you would not continue for long without me is not without foundation. Only the analysis made by those who bring the charge is faulty. You are not hypnotised. You are acted upon by what is good in others. My life seems to stand your scrutiny and therefore you often prefer my judgment to your own. And that is what every one of us does. We worship our idols. I surrender my judgment to Mr. Gokhale's in matters in which I hold him to be my superior. I surrender my judgment to yours in gardening, architectural and several other matters. But it would be false in either case to consider me as hypnotised either by Mr. Gokhale or by [you][1].

I shall pack up the tools and send them to you, I hope before the week is out.

More later. The time for the evening school is on.

With love,

Yours,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] The original has "me".

92. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

Unrevised

PHŒNIX,
Wednesday night [*March 5, 1913*]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Your letter calls for a prompt reply. You are in a self-searching mood and are therefore hypercritical of yourself. I do not mind it at all if you make good use of this self-examination. But it has its limits. Carried too far, it makes one morbid and sometimes leads to loss of mental balance. If you have wasted 42 years then do not waste the 43rd. Let the past be a beaconlight. But you seem to have become prostrate before the enormity of your own wickedness and so almost seem to wish to remain in it. But why all this imputation of vice and weakness to yourself ? Are your contemporaries stronger and better ? I deny. They are more amenable to the voice of Satan than you are. Have you wasted your life in that you have overcome ten thousand temptations and succumbed to the ten thousand and first ? By all means avoid now the second mistake after the ten thousand and first and take courage from the fact that you had strength to resist ten thousand attacks. Find out the cause for the stray mistake made and you will certainly avoid it. The true remedy is to compel yourself into ceaseless activity. Refuse to believe that you are weak and you will be strong. Believe continuously that you are wicked and you will sink.

Have you never done a good turn to anybody? Have you never given a helping hand to a stranger ? Have you never denied yourself pleasures of life ? Why do you attract Mrs. Mayo to yourself or Maude ! Why do you gain the ear of Liddle when others fail ? Why have you been often saved against yourself ? I do not suggest that you may pat yourself on the back for these things. But you must use these good points to enable you to go forward. A man in the midst of plague-stricken patients gets frightened and has the plague himself. You imagine yourself to be in the midst of plague-stricken companions conjured up by your imagination and may well end by getting the plague yourself. Why not think that these companions are passing phantoms that will disappear before the other healthy-thought companions you may create for yourself. And after all, this heart-searching is a species of subtle pride. At the bottom, there is the desire to shine, to be considered, rather than be, good. If this is not true, you know yourself that you

are good because you try to avoid evil. The world, however, knows only your failures. Are you pining to show the world your successes ? If you are, you are on the wrong track. But I know that you are not consciously pining. I do know, however, that you are desirous of showing to yourself service. But why desire so ? The only legitimate desire we can have is to perfect ourselves. If we keep that as our goal, we shall never despond, we shall never weaken; we shall ever go forward and never go mad. You are made for this better state. For Heaven's sake do not unmake yourself by thinking evil of yourself as you have the knack of doing when the mood comes on you.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

[PS.]

I have your books in mind. I am letting West read them.

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

93. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

PHŒNIX,
[*March 12, 1913*]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

The above[1] is soul-stirring. I was teaching one of the boys this morning and came upon it. I thought it so fitted your case at many points that I would have it copied. Please read and reread and come out of Doubting Castle after having killed Giant Despair.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

[PS.]

I have not written to the Countess[2]. I thought I would await Mrs. Mayo's letter. As you will soon be on the tramp I am not sending the agricultural books. Is it right ?

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] An extract from John Bunyan's allegorical work *The Pilgrim's Progress; vide* Appendix I.

[2] Presumably Countess Tolstoy

94. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[PHŒNIX]
Monday [*March 31, 1913*]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I have your two letters. My cold is a thing of the past. I was living during the damp weather on abnormal food and treating too many patients and having no exercise. The food was mainly monkey-nuts and lemons. There was no physical exercise. I gave myself exercise, I left off monkey-nuts, took hot water and lemons and blanched almonds. The effect was magical : the cough vanished in 48 hours. I have now returned to monkey-nuts, cannot afford almonds and do not want to eat them myself when I cannot share them with the children, nor do I need them now. The boys' cough I have not been able quite to trace the reason for. But they too are better. I agree that we all could do with much less than we eat. It is not possible to force the boys to eat so much and no more. I try to coax them.

Herewith draft reply for Heymann. I think it is better to rest on your last letter and not now argue.

Hope you will get a better price for the mules and wagon.

Did you get the book I sent you ? If you are stopping there long, I could send you the other books you mentioned.

Your commission for Dar-es-salaam is receiving attention.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

[PS.]

The Free Age Press may reprint the letter. We have nearly 10,000 copies which they may have at the cost price.

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

CWMG VOL

95. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[PHŒNIX]
Thursday [*April 3, 1913*]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I was unconsciously addressing you Upper House.[1] I note you are angry. I carried the information to you from here as soon as I could. For Johannesburg will you blame me ? And yet you may. Why did I not specially ask Miss Schlesin to do so ? Well, I expected her to keep you informed. I shall, I hope, know better next time. Now please get from Miss Schlesin a copy of the letter I have written myself to the Interior.[2] I have no spare copy with me.

You are hard on Mr. Gokhale. Your defence of Mr. Hosken does your heart the greatest credit. I agree with all you say about him. I wish you would forget in our relations that I am an Indian and you a European. There are undoubtedly moments when those who are the nearest to me do not distract my attention at all. You have given me the privilege of considering you to be one of the nearest.

I am interrupted. More next time.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

96. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

April 5, 1913

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I cannot plead guilty this time. I have undertaken nothing new. But I must discharge the burdens already taken on whether I like the thing or not. My work is so well concentrated and divided and regular here that practically even a minute counts. But I hope some day to have some rest from this toil. As to food, I can do no more than I am doing. I simply have not the heart. Anyway I do not suppose anyone here is keeping better health on the whole than I am. Then why grumble ? More anon.

[1] In the superscription Gandhiji had begun to write "Upper", but scored out the letters "Upp" for "Lower".

[2] *Vide* Vol. XII, pp. 1-2.

You shall have the books.

Yours,
UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

97. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[PHŒNIX]
Monday [*April 7, 1913*]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I have your letter. It was Miss Schlesin's ordinary duty to inform not only you but everyone interested in the movement. But I hope to do better next time.

Ritch is entirely wrong. The feeling cannot be inflamed. I have drawn attention to what is a fact. The idea is certainly to educate the people into knowing how invidious distinctions are drawn. If truth costs the advocacy of Lord Ampthill or one greater, we must pay the price. Was I now prepared to sacrifice the goodwill of both Lord Ampthill and Mr. Gokhale ? In these matters Ritch cannot be followed. I never received the wire you refer to. I see you are getting bitter against Mr. Gokhale. He certainly never considered you to be unworthy and how could he who knew everything consider you to be in any way interested ? On the contrary, he used to think of you as the only entirely disinterested European of the inner circle. Now you are showing your morbid sensitiveness which sometimes attacks you when you are at your weakest. Your attack on him in defence of Mr. Hosken was good. But your attack on him in regard to yourself is unworthy of your better self. You have become like Cassius brooding too much. I hope you have not also like him become lean on that account.

I hope your books will leave with this. No, Miss Schlesin now gets nothing for all she is doing. Geevers was here to say good-bye. I extended the usual hospitality to him but did not have many words with him. We talked platitudes for a few minutes and I left him alone. He understood the situation. I did not interrupt any of my work. When he left he abruptly asked for 25/10 which I gave as I did not want to enter into discussion with him. He said he would return the money. I do not even know his London address.

The concern that Dr. Mehta and Sorabji show about my health shows what a low opinion they have of me. If they gave me any credit for being a hygienist, they would never show that concern. Now you

want to add your quota. Is it not too funny for words ? How can I be [a] hygienist if I do not show good health ? I assure you it is not being neglected.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

98. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

7 BUITENSINGLE,
April 8 [*1911*][1]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

You are certainly not regular about letters this time.

This proposed London visit causes me a deal of worry. Again to leave Mrs. Gandhi and the two youngsters, again to masquerade in the wretched costume, etc. You know here I have not observed the rules of decency. I go about the House of Assembly and to Smuts in sandals and my usual jacket. I wore the shoes for two days. I saw that they were uncomfortable and really not necessary. So I discarded them. I am none the worse received for that reason. You will say perhaps it is because the men I meet are too gentlemanly, not that I am wise or right in breaking the social convention. If you did say so, you would probably be right. But that is just my position. If it were not for the passive resisters who are anxious for a settlement and for Polak, whom I want to see in London with his wife, probably I would not make even this effort and simply trust to passive resistance pure and simple to do its work.[2] What is one to do. I am torn by conflicting emotions as to this London visit. Now you have the whole thought running through my mind.

Still on saltless diet. It causes me no worry. The quantity I take now is very small. I have little exercise.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] By an error the letter appears here. The date-line and contents corroborate the year 1911. It should therefore be read in the order of chronology as item no. 38, i.e., after the one to the addressee dated [April 5, 1911].

[2] Gandhiji's "worry" crystallized in the years to follow into stout advocacy of the Indian national costume for Indians. For a defence of "his manner of dressing"; *vide* Vol. XIII, pp. 450-1.

99. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[*April 7, 1913*][1]

The largest and most important book leaves today. Then there remain :

1. *Rural Hygiene*
2. *The Earth in Connection with Preservation of Contagia*
3. *The Dwelling House*
4. *Hints on Fruit Growing*

These will follow. Do you want the educational books also which I took with me ? They are most of them worthless. I have looked into them. But *The Dwelling House,* noted above, you as an architect should study. It is a good book. It will leave tomorrow not today. I am having an extract made from it.

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

100. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[PHŒNIX]

Wednesday [*April 9, 1913*]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I like yours to Dr. F. but not to Mrs. Mayo. Was it dictated ? It is cold and prosaic. Both the letters show in what mood you are at present. The best of you is that you can conceal nothing. More when we meet. My letter to Lane and wires to the Government[2] you will get from Miss Schlesin. The Bill as published is rotten and there seems to be no help from passive resistance.[3] I sent off *The Dwelling House* yesterday.

Yours,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] Although the text of the note is placed in the source as post-script to the following item, dated April 9, it appears from the contents that it was written on this day, following the letter on pp. 118-9.

[2] *Vide* Vol. XII, pp.7-10.

[3] ibid., pp. 13-14 and pp. 16-17.

101. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

Friday [*April 25, 1913*][1]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Manilal has taken out your things. He will pack them and send by goods. He does odd things only in the morning, hence the slow progress of the work.

You will be pleased to know that Devdas and Fakiri ran to the station and back in 35 minutes and Sivpujan in 29.

Gokhale had a nervous breakdown. Beyond the letter you saw he has not written to me, either, as he promised to on the work itself. But why should you even for his sake mislead people ? If you feel that he should have written and he has not, you could certainly say you expected a letter but had not received one. You cannot hide behind the shelter of the statement that you belong to the majority and I to the minority.

Do you remember the story of Dr. Primrose in *The Vicar of Wakefield* ? He used to give a horse to the guest whom he did not want back. He lost both the horse and the guest and was satisfied. This is a fine illustration of returning good for evil. Geevers asked me just when he was to go to the station and I to my work for the money. I asked, I think, exactly two questions. They did not satisfy me. But not to give would have caused delay, waste and irritation. I thought the best thing was to give even from the fund I have and be done with. It was the penalty I paid for having countenanced him at first and then having inflicted him on you. Am I clear ? You may pursue the subject still more when we meet.

I may leave here on Monday, though I am not sure. I may stay a day or two and go to Cape Town.

From Phœnix the resisters will be Mrs. Gandhi, Chhaganlal, Mrs. Chhaganlal, Mrs. Maganlal, Jeki, Hanif, Coopoo, Manilal, Govind, Ramdas, Sivpujan, Sam and Solomon. I may have omitted a boy's name. The women's names are for your use only. Miss Schlesin knows I think that Mrs. Gandhi and Jeki will join. But I do not think I wrote about the others. I have sketched out an elaborate programme which I have not the time to set forth here.

[1] From the reference to Gokhale's nervous breakdown, to which reference is made by Gandhiji in his letter to Gokhale dated April 19, 1913; *vide* Vol. XII, p. 41. The Friday following this date fell on April 25, 1913.

Hoosen Doud's son has arrived a wreck vomiting blood. Perhaps you would like to write a word of sympathy to him or Doud.

I hope Albret will pardon me for not writing in reply to his advice.

Yours,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

102. NOTE TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[P.O.BOX 2493]
JOHANNESBURG,
April 26, 1913

1. The architect business should be wound up with the least possible delay at the most in 3 months; the decision should be announced at once.
2. The Mountain View property should be sold without reserve within 3 months.
3. Tolstoy Farm should be kept practically at any cost.
4. The African Building should be the primary occupation.

ON PROP. 1

You are not a competent architect. Study seems to be almost impossible but even if it were practicable, it is not desirable or profitable. The beer-hall business is the best warning that you must subordinate your conscientious scruples to your business. Its continuation means a loss of moral fibre and a reluctant fawning upon people whom you would rather keep at a distance. And after all the fawning and all the abandoning of principles, it is a question whether the business has any money in it. And the business ties you down as nothing else can if you are really to nurse it and give satisfaction to your clients.

ON PROP. 2

Mountain View is a veritable Devil's temptation. It simply absorbs money and energy without any certain prospect of preventing a loss. It is better to lose even £1000 or more than to sink more money and risk losing even that. A wise and cautious man will never fear to abandon a proposition which was wrong in the beginning. Your action just now is like that of a man [who] fearing to let his rotten shares go, buys in attractive-looking ones to recoup himself for the loss on the rotten ones forgetting all the while that the others may prove just as bad. The Mountain View proposition is decidedly a speculation and an honourable man should never speculate, much less to avoid a loss.

The dividing line (if any) between speculation and gambling is very thin indeed. It is a niggardly spirit that fears to lose.

ON PROP. 3

Tolstoy Farm cannot be given up because of the memories connected with it and because in the event of your leaving South Africa for any new enterprise, spiritual or other, you are in a position to look back with satisfaction upon something accomplished in a concrete manner.

ON PROP. 4

The African Building is the cleanest and most reliable asset you possess. It is also the most heavily burdened asset. And if you want to avoid insolvency in case of unforeseen misfortunes, you will be wise to increase the monthly income from it so that you can pay out the bond debt as quickly as possible. It provides steady and healthy occupation according to the ordinary European standard. It will not unduly fetter your movements. There is nothing of a speculative nature about it. The social atmosphere of Pretoria is much purer and calmer than that of Johannesburg. Being on the spot, you have a far greater opportunity of getting a buyer for your lease so as to relieve you from the bond debt and leave you £2000 clear after paying all your other debts. The monthly withdrawal of £25 enables you to live comfortably and meet your ordinary wants.

GENERAL REMARKS

It is necessary to map out the future course in detail and take a solemn vow never to depart from it. Your position does not warrant any help to anybody, whether friends or relatives. It is quite wrong, I feel sure, to send £30 to Mrs. Daniel and equally so to send £12 to Mrs. Mayo annually. Just consider your position by taking a few figures. Add up your monthly expenses thus :

Salaries
Rent
Sundries
Household
Rates on Mountain View
Premiums on policies
Rates and premiums and rent on African Building
Personal expenses average
Contributions such as Mrs. Daniel, etc.
Interest on loans

Against that put down your monthly income and you will find that you are running your various businesses at a loss, thus showing that you are an insolvent. You ought to make out this statement not roughly

but accurately. Again, make out another list putting down all your assets and all your liabilities and then find out what the assets will fetch today under a forced sale. And if you come to the conclusion that they will not pay your creditors, you are an insolvent. Remember that the forced sale at a current bank rate, a fixed bank deposit, etc., fetches the same amount as an ordinary sale. You have practically not a single asset worth mentioning of this character. The reason is obvious. You have never laid by any money as a prudent worldly man would. Your transactions therefore were of a speculative character. From that original taint not even the African Building or Tolstoy Farm is free. But you cannot abandon these unless you are ready to embrace poverty as you would a brother or sister. My recommendations are therefore intended for you as you are at your ordinary best, not your very best.

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

103. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[PHŒNIX]
Wednesday [*April 30, 1913*]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Probably you would be expecting an early letter from me. Hence this at 5.45 a.m. before I go down to the field.

Did you write to Hoosen ? The sooner you do so the better, if you have not done so already.

I have not been keeping a regular diary, so here is my resolution. I am not to accept any pecuniary assistance from you until I consider that you are not in an insolvent condition. Consider well the propositions[1] I have jotted down and having done so come to a decision quickly. Do not be more than a week over your decision. I feel sure nothing but vows would save you from yourself.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

104. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[PHŒNIX]
May 1, 1913

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Incidents have taken place in the Farm which have agitated me much. Devdas made me weep today as I have not wept for years.[1] I shall tell you all about these things when we meet. They drive me more and more into the jungles of India. This may be counted as a weakness of mine and that it may be proof of coming imbecility. Only something within me tells me that I am more and more being driven to Truth. You know that in my search for it nothing will daunt me.

Your simile is right. But if in the attempt to straighten out the back it breaks, you have to suffer the breaking. Do you nurse a tree whose trunk is rotten though stiff ? Or do you cut it off and sometimes even see to it that your trim digs deep enough to tear away the roots. So it is with us. You and I can but break in the pursuit. Better to do that than to sit still, remain drones and parasites. I know that parasites as well as drones have their place in nature but we are parasites and drones out of place. Just examine the last working of your mind. You suggest flying to Norwich, as if a loan would settle everything ! The true position is that the loan would follow if you only woke up to a sense of your own duty and began to work at it. No loan is required to wind up your business or to stop the fever at Mountain View.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

105. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[PHŒNIX]
May 5, 1913

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

My analysis of your position reacted upon me and made me feel that if my remarks were sincere (and they were that absolutely) I could not possibly let you spend a penny on my behalf without being guilty of having participated in a fraud upon yourself, your creditors and

[1] *Vide* pp. 126-7.

myself. My resolve was a most natural consequence of my discovery long ago made but realized only during our last communion. No matter what others may say, I should defend the position before all that you are today in an insolvent position. To fully grasp the truth is to avert the crisis and make yourself solvent. Your condition is not hopeless or helpless. But every insolvent is not necessarily helpless. If he can enter into a composition with his creditors he can pay 20/- in the pound. But at the moment he has not the money to pay his creditors and is therefore insolvent. Such is undoubtedly your position.

All the same, you are bound to send the £200 to your brother-in-law. Only I wish it would be the final lesson of your life. Your position does not warrant the gift. It is no use calling it a loan nor can it do any good to your brother-in-law. But a promise is a promise and you should send the money. Will you then seriously set to work so that your position becomes sound, i.e., you can confidently say, 'I have no debts I cannot pay on demand without a loss'. To arrive at that stage, I feel that a firm adoption of the propositions suggested by me is necessary. That alone will save [you]. And the very effort will provide you with an occupation which is bound to raise you.

Now for your modifications. I must say I do not like them but you must be the final judge. If that is the utmost you can do, then let that stand. I return the paper. Anyway, please resolve quickly and act promptly.

Please let me know if you have examined your tools. If you find any missing and you want them, please let me know.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

106. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[PHŒNIX]

Thursday [*May 8, 1913*][1]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I do not want to keep you in suspense. Had I had the time I would have given you the Devdas incident earlier. Even now I shall be brief. We have all only just returned from Verulam after the Temple-opening ceremony. Devdas ate stolen lemons at Inanda Falls although he had promised not to do such a thing again. When he was faced with the

[1] Gandhiji opened the Hindu temple at Verulam on May 8, 1913, a Thursday. For reference to the Devdas incident, *vide* p. 125.

fact, he was inclined to be naughty and sharp. This grieved me much. And his last defence broke me entirely. He said he did not immediately confess his guilt as he was afraid of being hit by me, as if I am in the habit of hitting boys. And so I felt that by way of lesson to him I would deposit a few slaps on my cheeks which I did and then felt the grief so much that I wept bitterly. More later.

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

107. LETTER TO MILLIE GRAHAM POLAK

BOX 6522,
Thursday [*July 10, 1913*][1]

MY DEAR MILLIE,

So Henry is on the waters on his way to London.[2] Such is the uncertainty of the life of those who are associated with me. It was very brave of you to have permitted Henry without a murmur to separate from you. I need hardly say that you will as before unreservedly fall back upon me for your wants. You will not leave me to anticipate your wants, will you ?

There is no reply yet from General Smuts. I am expecting one every day. The strike has dislocated many things.[3]

How are you all getting on ? I am not likely to leave here, if at all, before Monday next.

With love to you all,

Yours,
BROTHER

[PS.]

The Bazaar was a social success but not a financial success that it might have been.

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] H. S. L. Polak left for London on July 10, 1913 to assist Gokhale in representing South African Indians' case. From the contents it is evident that the letter was written on this day, a Thursday.

[2] *Vide* Vol. XII, pp. 138 and 156.

[3] ibid., pp. 132-5.

108. LETTER TO MILLIE GRAHAM POLAK

July 13, 1913

MY DEAR MILLIE,

Herewith a cheque for £12.

I had a wonderful meeting last night. Manilal insists on observing the same penance vow that I am. His fast too therefore starts from today. And yet I know that in spite of all that, there may be no change of heart. But I must continue to trust and believe. I take it that you will bank all the monies that may be received there and send me the deposit slips. Is Solomon keeping the books ?

Of course you may come down during the fast week too. And if Voysey offers to come during the week, let him come. West will attend to him.

With love,

BROTHER

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

109. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[PHŒNIX]

Thursday [*July 24, 1913*]

When will that incomparable time come when I shall be free from bondage—outward and internal ! When shall I go along the path of the good, having burst the bonds of all associations ?

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I propose in my letters to send you translation of one verse per day from the hymn I explained during the fasting week. Let the verse you receive be your chief thought during the day and may it be also your guide.

I have your letter. I was delighted to find you fared so well. I was somewhat afraid. The portion you gave yourself was very moderate. I am just now extra cautious, so much [so] that I am very hungry tonight. I had only four tomatoes boiled with the skin off and a pineapple with a few monkey-nuts. I had besides a spoonful of the pawpaw vegetable and a lemon squash. I worked a little in the garden too. Manilal is much better today. He takes two meals. He feels very

hungry. He eats well. He worked at the office today and was not so morose as yesterday. I cannot describe to you how I miss my bed companion.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original: Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

110. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[PHŒNIX]

Friday [*July 25, 1913*]

Having become detached from the qualities of matter, I should consider the body as given to me only for the sake of self-control. There should never be any thought about anything else. There should be not the slightest trace of attachment to bodily pleasures.

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Such is the second verse. I am quite aware of my limitations in translating. I can neither give you the music of the language nor the full spirit of the thought. These you must fill in from your imagination.

I have a letter from Mr. Gokhale in which he apologizes again for not writing to you.

Manilal has given full day's work today. The strain had told on Mrs. Gandhi. She is now in bed. Did I tell you that Jeki had become saltless ? She is that for 8 days as a trial.

Hope you have seen Strukey (?), also the people who were to be seen about the Farm. You should try to pay a visit to the Farm before you return.

You ought to give yourself some time every evening for some uplifting reading.

I am still feeling weak and have not the courage to walk even to the station and back tomorrow, at 11 a.m. I could do it about 7 or 8. But I may feel better tomorrow. I had a fair meal today — 6 bananas, pawpaw vegetable, orange and date jam and $\frac{1}{2}$ spoonfuls olive oil, also 2 oz. monkey-nuts.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

111. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[PHŒNIX]

Monday morning [*July 28, 1913*]

When the ignorance that deflects true vision is removed and when a knowledge that the body is totally different from the soul is acquired, the seeker will remove all obstacles to true knowledge of the soul and begin to centre on the soul.

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

According to our contract I have omitted the Sunday letter for want of train service.

Manilal, Raojibhai, Maganbhai, Ramdas and the new boy Gokuldas walked to Inanda Falls yesterday. Manilal has gone back to one meal only now.

Parsee Rustomjee is here for a few days. Jalbhai has rejoined his father. You will fix up the oil when you return.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

112. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[PHŒNIX]

Monday night [*July 28, 1913*]

Steadfastness of the soul shall last to the end of one's earthly existence. And it shall not be capable of being disturbed by afflictions from without or within, no matter of what nature.

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Your two letters before me. Your start was certainly extremely encouraging. I hope that in spite of the temporary outburst of anger, you have been able to continue the progress. May you have strength to carry out your resolutions. I envy you your walks. I do not think I have yet regained my strength. It is an effort to rise up the hill.

Manilal is now almost normal. He seems to have picked up strength.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

CWMG - XCVI

[PS.]

If the Farm cannot be sold, the security you have offered seems all right.

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

113. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

Tuesday night [*July 29, 1913*][1]

Even the religious discipline must be only with a view to gaining self-control. In a full knowledge of the soul, one must abide by the precepts of the Prophet (Jin). And even these fade away as the soul rises higher in the acquisition of self-knowledge.

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Naturally there was no letter from you today as you could have none from me. Friend Rustomjee is still here. He causes me no trouble and takes very little of my time. He does not want to go to Durban until the two boys have quietened down.

Praying for the continuation of your progress, with love,

UPPER HOUSE

[PS.]

Do not forget to bring the oil please.

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

114. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[PHŒNIX]

Wednesday [*July 30, 1913*]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I have your two letters in one cover. Have written to both B. Alexander and Mrs. N. Kallenbach.

Your statement of figures is somewhat rosy. But if the loan can be raised and the office fixed up as you suggest and Mountain View safely let on a lease subject to the right to you to sell and cancel the lease if necessary, you may come out all right. I certainly think that the £500 for the material on the Farm should be somewhere included in your figures. It is as well. The money need not be paid now, especially while the struggle is considered probable. But the matter should be kept in view.

[1] From the date of the preceding item, which was written on "Monday Night"

Have you been able to fix up John of the Farm ? And what of D. Pollock ?

My advice still will be to let the Farm go if there is a buyer for the full value.

Manilal is regaining himself. He works out his hours. He eats very well. I am eating well, take a long time over my meal and am not satisfied. I am very weak. The after-effect has been the worst with me. The ringing noises in the ears were there before but they are very persistent. I am not capable of great physical effort. But I think I shall slowly regain my strength. The mental capacity is still great. The mind seems never to be fatigued. It is an effort now to get up at 4.30 a.m. Today I got up at 5.45 a.m.

Jeki works away nicely and cheerfully. Did I tell you that Manilal had reverted to one meal ? Raojibhai, Maganlal, Ramdas, Devdas, Dahya, Sivpujan and Revashankar also have one meal. Mrs. Gandhi is still bed-ridden. She is purely fruitarian. It is hard for her.

Here is the 6th verse.

> There shall be freedom from indulgence in the passions rising from the five senses and there shall be no attachment to the working of the senses. The soul must move without being limited by the bondage of place, time and matter, subject only to the working out, without attachment, of its own previous actions.

Of course you will not hurry to come here so long as you are enjoying peace there and attending to and winding up your affairs in the spirit of the above lines, i.e., with sufficient detachment.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

CWMG - XCVI

115. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[PHŒNIX]
Thursday night [*July 31, 1913*]

He is angry with anger, he has sense of respect for his own humility, he is the seer of the false show about him but untouched by it and he is avaricious of avarice itself.

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

You are certainly keeping up the momentum. Am glad you have taken up spiritual reading. It is proper food for the soul.

Have you heard from or about Albrecht ?

I am too much disturbed to say more.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

116. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[PHŒNIX]
August 1, 1913

There shall be no anger even against one who does us serious harm and there shall be no pride even though an emperor should bow the knee before us; there shall be no self-delusion even though the body may perish and no ambition though we may command the wealth of a Croesus[1].

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Yes, you need not come away leaving work that may be progressing under you. I am glad you had a heart-to-heart chat with Mrs. Binion. I know that when we meet again, you will have a great deal of your experiences to give me.

We may take it that the loan will not be an easy matter. If Gordon can take over the Mountain View property as a business proposition, your troubles are practically solved. He can hang on to it and therefore he can have nothing to lose. Did you mention it to him ? He may do it in order to free you for your spiritual growth. The knowing friends may reserve you for work they will not or cannot do. It is true they may say yours will be purely an experiment. Why not ? We make experiments in mundane business. So we may in spiritual matters.

[1] The last king of Lydia, 560-546 B.C., reputed to be the wealthiest man of his age

If you are staying long, how about your food ? The best thing would be for you to buy sufficient meal and bake bread and biscuits yourself. You [need] not go in for the thing wholesale. The wheat you have there you may bring with you when you come. As you are falling in love with your solitude and as you light the stove regularly, it is no trouble to bake once or twice a week. We have made here banana flour and almond coffee. As Mrs. Gandhi is a fruitarian, you may expect all these delicate complications.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

117. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

PHŒNIX,

Thursday [*August*] *15* [*1913*][1]

He shall be naked, he shall be shorn, he shall be unwashed, he shall not have to wash his mouth; he shall neither ornament his hair nor any other part of his body and he shall have gained complete mastery over himself and have been free from every form of bondage.

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

It is now nearly 5 a.m. It has been intensely cold and windy these two days and we have been obliged to sleep inside the room. I have a cable saying Polak is leaving on the 30th August and reaching here on the 28th Sept. I am delighted. If there is a settlement, he will be here just when we are ready to leave. And the cable from Dr. Mehta says: "I do not agree with you. Terrible outrage has been done, damaging to all. I do not approve of your action." This has reference probably to hair-cutting or to all the penances and vows.[2] We shall see. He cannot understand. He is too much in the world. Hope the fire generated by the fast continues.[3]

With love,

Yours,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] The month and year are inferred. However, "Thursday" and "15" do not tally.
[2] *Vide* also *Satyagraha in South Africa,* Ch. XXXV (Vol. XXIX, p. 196).
[3] *Vide An Autobiography*, Part IV, Ch. XXXI.

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118. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

August 16, 1913

He is equidisposed towards friend and foe; he is equiminded whether he is respected or insulted; he is the same whether he lives or dies and is of the purest mind when he is released from the bondage of the world.

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

This I am writing at the Press whilst the preparations for printing are going on. I expect to hear from you about Hoosen and Jalbhai. If an opportunity occurs you will not fail to sell either Mountain View or Tolstoy Farm. I wish you could now let the mules and the wagon go. I suppose you have already paid many times 4/- to make up the £2-10 which you would have lost if the mules had gone a fortnight ago. When you run short of your supply of provisions, you will not fail to bake I know. What about the oil bill ? If you let me have it, I shall send you cheque.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

119. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[PHŒNIX]

Monday [*August 18, 1913*]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I am glad the loan is about to be paid up. The calmer you are in all your dealings, the better you will be and feel. This is a truism but it is well to see it repeated by a friend in black and white. For according to yesterday's verse, you have to stare lions and tigers in the face in lonely mountains unmoved. That day may be far off but a beginning must be made and the face set forwards. Dickson is friendly to an extent only. He has to serve not two but three masters — you, the company and himself. The order of service is, of course, the reverse. If he can serve you after serving himself and the company, he will certainly do so, equally certainly not otherwise. Let us realize this fully and act accordingly. We must not expect the impossible from him.

The Doke memorial service[1] may bring me to Johannesburg on Sunday. I am awaiting a reply from Smuts too. I take it you are taking an active part in alleviating the grief of the family. You will sign no documents regarding the loan or anything else.

Of course it would be monstrous if you thanked [me] for anything done there. Either it is your home equally with mine or it is not. Love does not — must not — speak, never thank.

Mrs. Gandhi is getting on but slowly. She becomes in the same proportion that I can become impersonal and therefore purely gentle towards her, no matter how she behaves. If I consider her my own specially and then become hot, she too becomes heated and both of us suffer. How true that we are all in the same boat. One man springs a leak and if we sit with folded hands, all must sink. Another who knows repairs it and even the mad one who sprang the leak is saved ! Why not ? Both did according to their lights.

Here is the 12th verse :

> He does not wince even whilst he is going through severe austerities; he is not pleased because he has delicate dishes spread before him; he believes that a particle of dust and the riches of the gods are all transformations of the same matter.

With love,

Yours,
UPPER HOUSE

[PS.]

It was very cold here too during last week.

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

120. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

PHŒNIX,
Wednesday morning, August 20, 1913

Thus having gained victory over impediments to the building up of character, he shall enter upon a stage where one's acts are of the purest; and then having thus gone up step by step, he arrives at a state in which there is contemplation of the Highest and Purest.

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

You must have received the news from Miss Schlesin of my intended departure for Johannesburg on Friday, reaching there early on Sunday morning. I can ill afford to come just now. Mrs. Gandhi is so bad and she is helpless and entirely reliant on me for everything

[1] For Rev J. J. Doke; *vide* Vol. XII, pp. 167-77.

just now. But I fancy that I ought to attend the memorial service. If Mrs. Gandhi is very bad by Friday, I might be obliged to cancel my departure. And if she is not well, I would like to return on Monday. If she is well I would stay and force the pace with General Smuts from whom I have now a wire saying my proposals are under consideration by the Cabinet.[1] Thus you see one has to be at the mercy of fate even regarding one's immediate movements. But as Carpenter has pointed out, we make emphatic arrangements about the future. The more ignorant we are, the surer we become!

With love,

Yours,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

121. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

PHŒNIX,

August 21, [*1913*][2]

Having crossed the great ocean of illusion, he shall rest where there is no darkness and having become entirely free from desires and being centred in Self, he shall attain the pure knowledge.

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Am preparing to come. Manilal will probably go with me and if I have to return to Phœnix immediately he will stay there till I return. Dahya also comes with me. So you see I am not pressing anyone to keep his boys with me. Hanif is in Durban on his way to Mombasa. What a tragedy! Mrs. Gandhi seems to be somewhat better.

I am glad you find in Grimmer a good man. The firmer you are in your ideals, the more you will naturally impress people who should be impressed. But it is a long discipline of which we dare not be weary. Yes, you may have to mix with and live among stinking men. Better therefore to make a virtue of necessity by travelling 3rd. But of course I had suggested your travelling 2nd, as you had your 2nd excursion [ticket]. That you phoned to Gordon having gone earlier is nothing. But the whole thing is nothing. I simply pointed out how a poor man would have less acted.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] *Vide* also Vol. XII, pp. 161 and 588-9.

[2] From the contents

122. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

ON THE TRAIN,
Thursday [*September 4, 1913*]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

You *must* be firmer with yourself. You often speak and give opinions on the spur of the moment. That is called being impulsive. And you are impulsive — very much so. Now the last hymn we sang was : "Take my life", etc. I know that neither you nor I have given our life or anything *completely* to God. But is it our earnest longing to do so? If it is, our impulsiveness must go — I can give you scores of instances where you would have spoken otherwise if you had thought before speaking. Do you know that you harmed Manilal by suggesting that you would surrender your ticket if he wanted to go or was going as far as Germiston. The ticket is untransferable. That is one thing. I had to say that there was no occasion for him to go whereas he might have thought differently and therefore he might consider my judgment to be harsh. This is the last illustration of what I want to say : 'Think before you speak and look before you leap' (as in the case of the proposed lease in Pretoria). You have need to examine yourself much more than you are doing — though you are doing a great deal, it is not enough. I shall save the 2/6 for the bed. I know there will be no need. I saved 6 d. by not buying tomatoes on the spur of the moment. Medh did not stock my basket with tomatoes. He had sent his messenger. Manilal did not pluck your nice tomatoes. The flesh wanted to spend 6 d. the spirit resolutely declined to yield and triumphed. I am none the worse for having not had them. I did not act on the spur of the moment. This does not mean that I never act or speak hastily. But you must not copy me in my weaknesses.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

[PS.]

Please hand [over] the enclosure to Manilal at the first opportunity.

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

123. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[PHŒNIX]
September 6, 1913

15

There, all the evil-producing acts are destroyed, the very seed of incessant births and rebirths is burnt up, and the soul shines all light, all power, all purity and the knower of everything.

16

There, only the natural actions are performed automatically without touching the soul which lives out the life in the present body and after leaving it ceases to be liable to put on more bodies.

17

There, all the bondage of matter is loosened in thought, speech and body. That state is one of supreme bliss and completely free from bondage.

18

There, untouched by anything, the soul sits spotless and steadfast. It is the essence of life incomparable, indescribable; it is in its natural state.

19

It is a state attained by previous effort. It is the highest and it is the abode of the Perfect. The soul is there all knowledge and absorbed in divine contemplation.

20

Even thought-perfect soul, although it realized this state, could not describe it. How can anyone else describe it ? It is only to be known fully by self-realization.

21

My mind is fixed upon that state. I am incapable of reaching it in my present state but it is my sole ideal. Rajchandra, the author, is determined by God's grace to attain it.

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Here are the balance of the verses. You may take them down one by one or together. But contemplate them well.

Hoosen I found a little better.[1] He now wants some of the books

[1] Haji Hoosen Dawad Mahomed who had been ailing, passed away on September 22, 1913; *vide* Vol. XII, pp. 204 and 222-4.

Daniel has sent. I am forwarding them.

Yours,
UPPER HOUSE

[PS.]

Please tell Manilal I am not writing separately. The verses are my letter to him.

19[1]

[*September 7, 1913*]

My house is high, my sons are respected by good men, I have inexhaustible wealth, I have a beautiful wife, I am young — thus reasons man steeped in ignorance and considers this universe to be indestructible and allows himself to be imprisoned in it. But those who are far-seeing renounce the world, knowing it to be transitory.

20

O my soul! live joyously on fruits, roots and leaves. Let mother earth cover you; let us go to the forest where we do not have to meet people who know not discrimination, who being diseased with money fever, utter thoughtless words and where we do not even hear such people's names.

September 9, 1913

34

There is fear of disease in enjoyments, there is danger of destruction in having a family, there is danger from kings in having riches, there is danger of ignominy in trying to be respected, there is danger of creating enemies in showing one's physical power, there is danger of disfigurement in having beauty, there is danger of disputation in discussing scriptures, there is danger from the evil-minded in being endowed with high qualities, there is danger of death in having the body — thus is everything a cause of fear. Only complete renunciation is free from fear.

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I have your two letters. I am glad that realization of weakness now does not make you despondent but nerves[2] you for the struggle that is to come. I find that if we have trust in the Supreme, every difficulty we face shows its own way out of it. 'One step enough for me' was not spoken by an inexperienced man.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] The numbering of verses here is evidently duplicated; *vide* pp. 139.

[2] The source has "ennerves".

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124. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

September 10, 1913

What is there not surrounded by its enemy? Birth is swallowed up by death, beautiful youth by old age, contentment by desire for wealth, the happiness of calmness by the blandishments of a clever woman, high qualities by the jealousy of the jealous, the forest beauty by snakes and adversity by instability. (That is, a man loses his tranquillity in adversity which should otherwise be for him a beneficent school of experience.)

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

These verses require pondering over again and again. They are results of experience double distilled.

I saw reference in your letter to business talk. But you should not hesitate to write about it when you are thinking about [it]. To me it is an index to one's mental state. I know what friend Rustomjee is when the first thing in the morning he talks about what there should be in his store and how his sons should behave towards him. If he were to suppress the talk, he would want to appear to be otherwise than he is. You should therefore cease to talk business when you cease to think it. For the time being, therefore, I expect you to discuss all your business with me. There is no wire from Pretoria yet. It is now 4.45 a.m. and the boys are preparing to walk to Durban. They will witness the football match and return in the evening.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

125. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[PHŒNIX]

September 11, 1913

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

So the struggle is to start.[1] I have sent you a wire today. You should see Chaplin[2] and suggest his writing to Smuts. See also Hosken. Draw attention to Gokhale's doing and Lord Ampthill's [and] Lord Curzon's advocacy, etc[3]. We start on Monday or Tuesday. Further

[1] The reference is to the impending Indian struggle; *vide* Vol. XII, pp. 182-8.
[2] Drummond Chaplin, Member of Parliament
[3] *Vide* also Vol. XI, p. 495.

news tomorrow. You should clear post on Sunday morning and Saturday evening, the latter if you are in town.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

126. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[PHŒNIX, *September 12, 1913*]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I have your letter. It is strange you did not receive my letter on Monday. I gave it to Sorabji to post. But the careless boy evidently never posted it or posted it too late.

If I receive a reply tomorrow that Cachalia's letter has gone, I shall send the resisters from here on Monday. They will reach Volksrust on Tuesday. You should leave Monday night by the mail train so that you are at the station when the Kaffir Mail reaches Volksrust on Tuesday evening. You should simply watch as a spectator. They are not to speak in English. One of them only will speak in that tongue, interpret for the others. They will not give finger-prints. If the police arrest them, they must ask for shelter at the police station. If the police do not arrest them, you should, there and then, buy tickets for them and proceed to Johannesburg. I then suggest their being housed at Mountain View. If strangers don't come, it might be well to make Mountain View the headquarters. But you are to be the judge, not I, of this thing. If they are to go to Mountain View, you may buy nothing but leave instructions for purchases so that you have full stock at once. No more than Boer meal and a little *dholl* and rice will be required and fruit and nuts of course. If they are arrested, you should attend court, send full wire to me from Volksrust as also full letter. If they are imprisoned you should immediately see the gaol doctor and the jailor and tell them of religious and health foods they may take and may not take. But you should also say that they will not complain if they do not get what they want. Mrs. Gandhi will be purely fruitarian. Jeki and others will not touch bread. Some of them will be able to take only one meal. The names and further details later. It is well that you will be free from your business even if passive resistance is to start. Your whole time will be wanted for the struggle. You should read my letter to be signed by Cachalia most carefully.[1]

Yours,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] *Vide* Vol. XII, pp. 183-6.

127. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[PHŒNIX,
September 15, 1913][1]

DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I am dictating this to Ramdas as I am eating. I have your two letters. When you meet the train tomorrow you will not at once identify yourself but simply watch as a spectator. I am sending special foodstuff for Mrs. Gandhi. Until she is in jail she will use the food I have prepared. When she is sentenced you should take charge of her food and after you have received permission to give her special food you should take charge of the food. After the sentence and after you have made arrange[2] ments you should give it to the gaoler. So far as possible you would arrange for her to receive the food from the Government. She is only fruitarian, for health and religious reasons and she can take olive oil, bananas, plums, dried figs, almonds, tomatoes, grapes, oranges, lemons, banana flour, apples. You will stay there until everything is fixed up and either come here or return to Johannesburg according to the exigencies of the struggle and of your own personal affairs.

About your business, we shall talk later or I shall write later on.

Yours,
FOR BAPU,
CHHAGANLAL

[PS.]

The party includes Mr. Rustomjee Parsee.

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] The addressee was to meet the train with the satyagrahis on Tuesday; *vide* p. 142. From the reference to "tomorrow" it is evident the letter was written on Monday which was September 15, 1913.

[2] The letter up to here is apparently in Ramdas Gandhi's hand, the remaining half being identifiably written by Chhaganlal Gandhi. The word split here ("arrange-") marks the end of the first page of the letter.

128. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[PHŒNIX,
September 17/18, 1913]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

You are carrying out your resolution to do your very best, as you have said in your rail-post letter from Johannesburg. But it causes no surprise as I have never doubted your ability to rise to the occasion. In some cases I impertinently consider that I know your merits and demerits more than you do. And it ought to be so, seeing that I am the Upper House — your better half. Only please do stop me when I go too far in piling on the agony. You know my way. I do not consider co-workers I hope including myself, when we are moving towards an ideal as we are in this connection.

On no account should the officers know the names of the passive resisters who, I now think [should] even decline to sign their names in Gujarati before being sentenced. Of course, you will be conducting your office from Volksrust whilst the passive resisters are awaiting their fate.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

[PS.]

I am wiring *post restante.* You will instruct the Telegraph office where the wires may be delivered.

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

129. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[PHŒNIX]
Thursday [*September 18, 1913*]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I have your letters and wire. What a relief you are there. The party should not give any further information to the authorities and they should not give even Indian signatures—certainly not finger-impressions or other means of identification, until they are sentenced to be imprisoned and then, too, if they are satisfied that they will have to fill in the full term of imprisonment. I had intended to leave here on Saturday.

Now unless you all and those at Johannesburg think otherwise, I do not propose to leave here until the trial is known.[1] Meanwhile you should devote your leisure to study. I take it you are keeping Johannesburg well-informed. I am wiring to you just now.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

130. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[PHŒNIX]

Friday [*September 19, 1913*]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I hope you have been receiving my letters regularly there. As I have already said, you would ask the resisters to demand being sent to gaol as awaiting-trial prisoners, if the proceedings are delayed. Do the merchants find the food there or do we have to pay for it ?

You are yourself controlling your purse there, I hope. I shall want an account of every penny you spend. How do you pass the spare time there? Do all the merchants of Volksrust get *I.O.* ? You should look up Chergan Dhobi who is living on the boundary line. He was, during the late struggle, the most hospitable of all. I believe he once vacated his own house in order to find shelter for resisters. Have you heard further about the lease in Pretoria? I have been thinking over the trap.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

[PS.]

Polak lands at Cape Town on Saturday. You may read the letters (herewith) which are in English.

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] The trial came off on September 23.

131. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[PHŒNIX]

Friday afternoon [*September 19, 1913*]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I may send you more men in advance of me. Three may leave Pietermaritzburg today. In that event, they will wire you names and train of departure. It might be as well, if they place a trap at your disposal to meet these men at Charlestown and have a chat with them before they reach Volksrust. They may leave with me also. I take it you have made arrangements for delivery of wires to you promptly. If you want me to make other arrangements, please give me the address to which I should send your letters and wires.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

[PS.]

Indian Opinion is being sent to the gaoler. 3 copies will be sent to Mr. Badat so that all may get copies to read. If Mr. Badat is not a subscriber, you should collect one subscription from him at least. Perhaps you want the enclosed embossed envelope.

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

132. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

Saturday [*September 20, 1913*][1]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I have wired saying I was sending instructions. Here is the draft letter.[2] This will be in your hands on Sunday. Please let Chhaganlal copy it and sign and deliver immediately. I have kept a copy for *Indian Opinion,* which will be printed for the Wednesday issue. Please send me full information by wire, so that I may give it in *Indian Opinion.* If they do not reply or reply evasively, you may board the train without taking any tickets. If they detain you next morning strong men should walk out to Sandfontein only seven miles I think and the ladies unless

[1] This appears to be the "Saturday letter" written to the addressee; *vide* p. 148 and also Suppl. Vol. I, p. 510.

[2] *Vide* Vol. XII, p. 203.

they wish to walk should be in a trolley to be hired with Mr. Rustomjee in charge. You may there entrain. If they arrest there, splendid. Then they must keep all in custody. If they do not, simply pass the night out on the Veld. You will have sufficient provisions and proceed early morning on your wagon journey. It will be simply splendid and romantic. You, I know, will love it. But the others too will fall in with it. So you will continue until you reach Johannesburg, always trying the train whenever you can.

Yours,

UPPER HOUSE

[PS.]

Am sending this Box 8, Care Badat so that you may get it even on Sunday.

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

133. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[PHŒNIX]

[*September 22, 1913*][1]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I have your letters. I still expect a wire from you. As we are issuing on Wednesday, I must not wait to write at length. I only hope that your expectation will be realized. You do not seem to have received my letter on Sunday. Anyway I expect a wire from you at noon. More, therefore, then. No time to write separately to the others just now.

I wrote to Miss Schlesin saying she need not worry about replying to the papers. As it so happens the *Leader*'s is an inspired article and reproduced in the *Mercury*[2].

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] From the contents; *vide* the following item.

[2] *The Natal Mercury; vide* also Vol. XII, pp. 198 and 206.

134. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[PHŒNIX]

Monday afternoon [*September 22, 1913*]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I have been most regular in my correspondence. I cannot understand how 3 letters were delivered to you at the same time. In several cases I sent train letters. However, you got my Saturday letter[1] in time. I have your 3 wires. I am delighted that they are at last deported and that they have recrossed. I hope now to hear from you next as to sentences. If they are [sentenced] it would be well for you to stay there two days and arrange for special foods for Mrs. Gandhi and others who may need it. You may have a heart-to-heart chat with the doctor who is a nice man and tell him of Maganbhai's disease too.

If they are gaoled, I shall leave here on Thursday. That gives you [time] there till Friday. If I bring a large contingent, you should stay over and see them through. If on the other [hand] I have only Budrea with me, you will not stay but join me, i.e., if I am not also stopped. Wednesday will just give me time to wind up for the next issue here.

You and I have our work cut out in Johannesburg and if all goes well, we may settle the matter in a month's time. There are indications in the newspapers themselves.

The resisters tell me you have been a tower of strength to them. Mrs. Gandhi says most pathetically that you are all attention to her. I simply pass these sentiments on to you.

Have not yet had a wire from Polak.

Will you please arrange with Badat and others that they look after those who may follow?

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] *Vide* pp. 146-7.

135. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

Thursday night [*October 2, 1913*][1]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I certainly did not like to part with you. But the parting was inevitable. Remember the resolutions of the Yom Kippur day[2]. You must constantly check yourself.

Did you feel any the worse for the turning of the wheel ?

You will see to Chaplin, Hosken, the London *Times* letter. You should keep in touch with the reporters. Ask Cachalia to see you daily and inquire when he is going to jail. P. K. Naidoo and others may cross to the Cape border at Fourteen Streams. Will you open correspondence with Merriman, Schreiner and others ? I should even send them a copy of the London *Times* letter and ask for their authority to sign. But of course I am just now suggesting your writing about the Committee. Please tell Manilal if he is free that I did not write as I expected him to be in gaol regarding the Asiatic Act charge.

My interview with Dada Osman was a study. But otherwise it was not of any use.

Hope you had a fairly comfortable journey.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

136. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

Wednesday night [*October 22, 1913*][3]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I am sorry that I was impatient with you regarding Baker and the walk to Chaplin's. Baker's business simply shakes me. I feel it deeply that one whom [I] so love has such a base commercial side to his character. And how could I put on speed when I can hardly walk? It was torture to be told to walk fast in my present physical state.

[1] From the reference to the addressee's departure; *vide* Vol. XII, p. 236.

[2] Day of Atonement among Jews

[3] From the reference to Manilal's arrest which took place on October 23, 1913, and also from the reference to Gandhiji's presence at Dannhauser on this day; *vide* Vol. XII, p. 247.

I am surrounded by men. I have recess as Mr. Lazarus is talking in Tamil to some men. Went to Dannhauser today. It was a grand meeting[1]. The strike[2] is a real thing. It is now making itself felt. Had an interview (unofficial and private) with Deputy Protector. Nothing in it. Had a long discussion with some other Europeans too. We are not without sympathy. All the youngsters who went with me got arrested but Manilal. He will go in tomorrow.

The Press is undoubtedly boycotting us. You should ask Pollock why. You may see Micel-Dunn too. The reporters are powerless to help. I think the Editors have received a hint from the Government.

If Cachalia came here it would be splendid. Try. You should try also to collect rice or cash. We shall now want it quickly. It might be cheaper for Johannesburg to give cash. But if they give rice, let them give rice and you may sell it. You should get circulars sent everywhere.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

137. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

NEWCASTLE,
October 23, 1913

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Just now it seems to me that a solution has been found for the building proposal. The strikers must leave the mines. Otherwise the strike is bound to collapse. I am therefore inviting them to come out. If they do, one of us will march with them to the Transvaal border to court arrest. We should be arrested on the way. This avoids the difficulty of lodgings, etc., and keeps the men going. The situation is certainly difficult and serious. The strike is now having its effect. But unless some such thing like the above is done, the movement is bound to collapse. You should carefully watch the Press. You should constantly make it clear that we do not wish to break the Provincial barrier. Our only purpose is by intense suffering to make a striking demonstration against the £3 tax. Not a minute to spare. I hate writing.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] At which over a thousand Indians decided to strike work

[2] In Natal collieries, *vide* Vol. XII, pp. 244 and 248.

138. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[*October 26, 1913*]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

This will be given to you by Medh. I have been on the move all the time. My meal times have been changed. Soon after ablutions I take my meal. And the ablutions take place early enough. If I did not do that I should get no time to eat.

The coal miners' Conference was all right.[1] They have sent a cable to General Smuts which they await a reply to. I am now on the veld and surrounded by people at Hatting Spruit.

With love,

Yours,
UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

139. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

NEWCASTLE,
October 27, 1913

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I arrived here this morning to find your welcome letters and your interview with the *Times*. I see you are going strong. It would be splendid if the women came. Yes, they may have their tickets for Newcastle. I want Mr. Cachalia, Imam Saheb and all the Mohammedans here just now. Anglia and Dada Osman are making much mischief. I have written Cachalia to that effect. He and the others are required to counteract the mischief.

The Conference was good. They threatened, they flattered, they tried everything to wean us from the strike. But it could not be done. Now they are in communication with the Government. We may know the result any day. All the largest mines are now out but the one at Elandslaagte. We are trying for it. To bring out the men proved easy. To keep them is most difficult. But fortune has favoured us up to now and may continue to do so. Thambi, of course, is by far the best worker. And another Naidoo almost bids fair to rival him in energy.

[1] The Conference was held at the Chamber of Commerce, Durban, on October 25; *vide* also Vol. XII, pp. 252-4.

You will observe that under the new plan we do not need a camp. We simply march out the men. Women and children will have to be looked after.

I shall be continuously on the move but you may treat Newcastle as my headquarters.

With love,

Yours,
UPPER HOUSE

[PS.]

I take it that these letters are shown to Miss Schlesin too.

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

140. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

ON THE WAY TO VOLKSRUST,
October 30, 1913

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I sent you a full message from Ingogo which I hope you received.

Mr. Mahomed Meer is at Waschbank. He has the 'phone. It was he who gave the information about the Ramsay Collieries assault. Please inquire further. You know that I telegraphed to the Protector at Durban and the Interior.[1] You may now inquire further through Meer and if there [be] any workers, send one to make local investigation.

The women need not march to Volksrust. If they would, they may as far as Ingogo and entrain there. But there should be someone to join them from Newcastle. Mr. Seedat at Ingogo seems to be a decent man. He gave biscuits, tea, bread, etc., to the men without stinting. He gave me cigarettes too for them. I have asked him to pay the express fares for the women and some men who could not and would not walk. There must be quite 40. If the women who want to go to gaol wish to entrain, they may do so. As much as possible, please discourage movement to Phœnix. If you have sufficient accommodation there, the women should be kept and fed there so long as possible as you have plenty of rations there and fine workers in Mrs. Lazarus and Miss Thomas.[2]

If I am arrested, you should immediately transfer the Johannesburg balance in your name and open a separate account called Agency

[1] *Vide* Vol. XII, pp. 254-5.
[2] ibid., p. 512.

Account. I may be fined. I shall make a statement to the effect that I have nothing I can call my own, that I have given up everything and that even in those things which are in my name I have no interest of my own. You and others should likewise say and return *nulla bona.* In order to avoid technicalities the accounts may be transferred. The account at Durban should be withdrawn and it should be redeposited in the names of West and Maganlal, either having the power to operate upon it severally. The paper too should be transferred in the names of West and Maganlal and the trustees may transfer it and the Press to them at pepper-corn rent.

All the men, as soon as they are there, must be marched out. They must take two days' rations with them. Some stupidly did not fill their pots.

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

141. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[*October 30, 1913*][1]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

We reached in excellent condition at 5 p.m. The men have done extremely well. The store-keeper here is supplying tea. It is big thing because of the labour involved.

I have just telephoned asking that Mr. Badat should go to Pardekop. We shall march out early in the morning so that some distance at least may be cut before daybreak. I am sending back Mr. Vallibhai's[2] cart but am trying to procure other transport.

I am almost inclined, if the men can be somewhat disciplined, to march through Johannesburg and hold a meeting there. The merchants may give a feast to the men. You may discuss with Cachalia through the 'phone. Hosken and others may be invited. Please tell Miss Schlesin that my proposed letter should be deferred till the march is over.

There, as I have said, Chergan is the most reliable man for the strikers' residence[3]. But if all are not accommodated there, the one next man is Sivpal who is above Chergan. It is at these two places that you should concentrate the majority of the people. Then comes Ramkhelawan who can take many people, but you must not establish a kitchen there. There are men also at Rughbir's, towards Newcastle way and beyond the corner Indian store. If you succeed in getting

[1] From the contents; *vide* also the preceding item.

[2] Valli Peerbhai

[3] *Vide* p. 145.

two kitchens established it would save your much work and you will be able to move about. Men who may come should be served only with bread or porridge. Rice is a great bother. No tea to be provided but only sugar. This will simplify matters. But you will use your own judgment. You will examine and list the jewellery the men have sold and deposited. Polak should be furnished with the itinerary. I will say no more just now. I hope you had a nice luncheon and that Miss Schlesin had something to eat. So long as she is there, you should look after her food.

I suggest your seeing Mrs. Anton, the baker's wife. She is ill. I have recommended Kuhne's bath and our bread. You may offer to explain.

Yours,
UPPER HOUSE

[PS.]

Please remove from the jacket lent by Mr. Vallibhai a packet of stamps I left.

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

142. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

CHARLESTOWN,
November 3, 1913

The enclosed letter was written on the way.[1] It is unfinished. I have seen the quotations for tents, and it seems to me that, after all, bell-tents would be the cheapest and the easiest to fix up. One bell-tent takes in twelve men. At that rate in order to accommodate 1,200 men, we should want 100. The figures then amount to £75. That would be, in my opinion, prohibitive. The alternative is to buy tarpaulin and make our own tents and poles. It seems to me that this could be easily fixed. If we could sew them on to the tarpaulin, the thing would be quite substantial, but it may be too long. In that event we shall have to use handles. I am now writing without any experience whatsoever, but I am giving you all these suggestions for what they are worth. At the time of the Zulu Rebellion[2] we had tents which when erected simply looked like the wings of a roof without any wall. There were pegs which were to be driven in. They could easily be rigged up and two slender poles kept them erect. They were V-shape inverted, and if these tents could be bought probably they would be the cheapest.

[1] *Vide* pp. 152-3.
[2] Of 1906

Six could at a pinch be put into these tents. I would like to carry these tents myself on the march, failing that tarpaulin. Having known all these things, you may do what you like, but what I want is sufficient cover for my journey. The same cover I shall use in Charlestown until I have commenced the march.[1] As soon as you can supply me with sufficient tents, you may send me all the men there, so that we could concentrate all the women and children at Charlestown. All the men must march, the women may get trains. Whilst you are in Johannesburg, you must see Mr. Cachalia and others, and get them to send vegetables, oil, rice, mealimeal and even coal — whatever they can beg. Not a single consignment has yet arrived from Johannesburg, and it is certainly discreditable that the merchants have not yet sent anything.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

143. LETTER TO MILLIE GRAHAM POLAK

DUNDEE,
Wednesday [*November 12, 1913*][2]

MY DEAR MILLIE,

You are brave. So I know you will consider yourself a proud and happy wife in having a husband who has dared to go to gaol for a cause he believes in. The £3 tax cause is the cause of the helpless and the dumb. And I ask you to work away in the shape of begging, advising and doing all you can. Do not wait for their call but call the workers. Seek them out even though they should insult you. Miss S. knows the struggle almost like Henry. Assist her. I have asked her to move forward and backward and assume full control. Draw upon West and Maganlal for your needs. May you have strength of mind and body to go through the fire.

With love,

Yours,
BHAI

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] The March commenced on November 6 ; *vide* also Vol. XII, pp. 258-9.

[2] The addressee's husband H. S. L. Polak, along with Hermann Kallenbach, had courted arrest on November 10, 1913. Gandhiji was sentenced on November 4 and sent to Dundee. He was removed to Volksrust on November 13. This letter was evidently written on November 12, 1913, which was a Wednesday.

144. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

PRETORIA, BOX 1156,
January 14, 1914

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

The uncertainty of our stay here made me neglect correspondence. And I have been continually with Mr. Andrews[1] from rising hour to bedtime talking about the question or religious topics. I often say to myself how nice it would have been if you could have been here. But I am sure that it was the best thing for you not to have come. You would have been held up like us and what is worse, Mr. Andrews would never have talked with the same freedom if he had to talk to two instead of one as now. He entirely lives the Indian life and loves to live among and with Indians. He had a two-hour interview (private) with the Governor-General[2] and he preached at the Cathedral here last Sunday.

You being with Mrs. Gandhi I am free from all anxiety. The interview with Smuts has been indefinitely postponed. He had brief talks with him but on the question. Sir Benjamin[3] is due to arrive today. You may now write as if I am not coming there for some time.

With love,

Yours,
UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] Charles Freer Andrews (1871-1940); British missionary who shared a deep friendship with Gandhiji; devoted many years of service in the cause of Indian people.

[2] Sir Herbert John Gladstone

[3] Sir Benjamin Robertson, who had been deputed to give evidence before the Indian Enquiry Commission set up by the Union Government on December 11, 1913 to inquire into the causes of the strike and consequent disturbances

145. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

PRETORIA, BOX 6522,
Saturday [*January 17, 1914*][1]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I have your wire. You will have seen yesterday's news in my letter to Polak. The interview with Smuts as also with Robertson was good. I discussed the passive resistance points fully. I have not the time just now to set them forth. But I shall try to do so in my next letter. Mr. Andrews had nearly $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours with Sir Benjamin today. He meets an Indian deputation on Monday. Now we shall have to await events. Mr. Andrews is a wonderful man full of wonderful experiences. I am most anxious to nurse Mrs. Gandhi. She needs it and asks for it. But I am still a prisoner and cannot give her the attention I should like to. Lazarus may come there from Newcastle. If he does you should soothe him. Miss Schlesin wants instructions about the ladies who are coming out. I have given them in full in my letter to Polak. I am, therefore, not writing to her separately. Please tell her so.

You will keep your eye on all who are to be discharged. They should be met at the gaol gates by someone responsible.

I am anxious to know all about Mr. Pearson from you.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

146. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

PRETORIA, BOX 1156,
Sunday [*January 18, 1914*][2]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I have your two letters.

As to the handwritten letter, all I wish to tell you is that I sensed your fear. You need not fear at all however. The result has been and will be contrary to that you have feared. All is gain for you and me. I see that our difficulties in India will probably be less than we had expected. But as you say, you want me to discuss this when we meet. So I shall say not more.

[1] From the reference to the interview with Smuts, which took place on Friday. January 16; *vide* Vol. XII, pp. 324-6.

[2] From the contents; *vide* also the preceding item.

I was pained to see P. K. Naidoo's letter. I look to you to soothe them. The complaint is not without foundation, I fear, and Miss Schlesin is probably at the back of it. But you are just the one to deal with the crisis.

I endorse all you say regarding *Indian Opinion.* And if the paper can be turned out there, certainly it should be. In the new circumstances that we have found, West's presence is certainly not needed in Durban now. If the struggle revives we shall have to see. We could at any time get our stuff printed at the *Mercury* office. The current number is undoubtedly horrible — nothing of it was printed at Phœnix, is it not so? I have already suggested to West that he might now shift to Phœnix. Neither Mr. Andrews nor Mr. Pearson require guides. In all these matters however you should take the initiative. Consult me by all means where necessary but you may ignore me too when there is no time for consultation.

I am pining to come down and nurse Mrs. Gandhi. But I feel that I dare not do so just at present. I must treat this as of primary importance. General Smuts now knows my domestic position and he may hurry forward if he likes. In any case it cannot be long delayed now seeing that the industrial crisis is now practically over. Meanwhile Mr. Andrews is moving forward. He has got a wonderful grasp of the central position and he is pushing it forward with all the spiritual force he possesses.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

CWMG EXCVI

147. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

PRETORIA, BOX 1156,
January 19, 1914

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I have your letters regularly now. If Mrs. Gandhi continue to improve, I would like to finish everything here and in Johannesburg before returning. I owe a visit to the Johannesburg people. They are most anxious. I hope you will study Mirza. I am glad the boys are now settling down to work.

I return the letters you want me to. I shall certainly try to remember the oil. But what if I pass Germiston by the night train. Remember, too, there is still martial law.

I have asked Lazarus to run down to Durban himself, but if he does not, you may certainly go there and see the people who receive rations, etc.

Ephraim wrote to me too in the same strain as in the letter sent by you. If his account is true, and it must be, Sir Benjamin is worse than Lord Emmott. He is a dangerous, weak and shifty man. He would not dare talk in that strain to you and to me. Even Ephraim could see that he was frightening. We have to watch him. Fortunately, we are passive resisters and we cannot be harmed by anybody but ourselves. So if we fear ourselves, one need fear no earthly power. He left a poor impression on Mr. Andrews and me. I send you the letter received by me also. Please show both to Polak, West and others. Andrews has seen both. Do Christopher, Lazarus, Lazarus Gabriel and others come near you? How do you find the atmosphere in Durban?

My task here is incomparably easier than that of the workers there.

How are you keeping mentally and bodily? I hope you are not spending money uselessly. Remember your aim is poverty. Realize it whilst you have the resources.

Andrews is away just now at the Government House lunching.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

148. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

PHŒNIX, NATAL,
[*February*][1] *5, 1914*

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I have your wire. I do not understand why Andrews hastened his departure for the Cape. However I sent the wire to Kimberley.

I enclose Kennedy's letter. Although he does not want a reply I am sending a brief note saying he ought not to worry over the past, nor should you. The best thing is to ignore Hastings except to meet the settlement arrived at.

Sir Benjamin and Slater came yesterday and stayed about 2 hours. He suggests that I should be in Cape Town by the 18th. I am most anxious not to leave Mrs. Gandhi. Two days ago she seemed to be sinking. But from yesterday she has begun to brighten up. She ate well yesterday. If she recovers it will be due to the fast and the leaves.

Please do not involve yourself in anything further and come away as soon as you can or you may accompany me to the Cape. I would leave it entirely to you.

Your missing spoons have been traced.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

149. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

PHŒNIX,
NATAL,
February 10, 1914

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I have your letters. The very fact that you ask yourself the question whether you have profited during the two years is a sign of progress. The voice within is still clear and emphatic.

I shall see to Pearson being paid. I may leave here on Thursday with Mrs. Gandhi on my way to the Cape. In that case I should be

[1] The source has "January", which is a slip. Sir Benjamin Robertson visited Phœnix on February 4, 1914.

there on Saturday morning, leaving the same day by Diamond Express. I should so like Pearson to stay there for that will be my only chance of meeting him, if I do leave on Thursday. Who is sending an account of the meetings?

Aboobaker's cheque received and handed to Mr. Omar.

Mrs. Gandhi progressing. I note what you say about Fremeren.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

150. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH[1]

February 14, 1914

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Now that you know the worst about Ritch, you will have to handle the matter in the gentlest manner possible. If anything is disclosed apart from my side, you will step in at once and in any event see to it that you secure control over all the funds that may come in in future. What a tragedy. I do feel like taking you away and both of us escaping to the jungle. What a snare and delusion this wretched civilization, in the midst of which you and I are still living and of the bitter fruit of which we are still tasting! Woe to us if we tarry in it a minute longer than may be absolutely necessary. Do wind up your affairs satisfactorily and flee from the tyrant whilst yet there is time. Do not deceive yourself into the belief that we are saved until we are quite out of it which we will not be quite even in India all of a sudden. The Indian visit will be merely a preparation for the glorious future which must be unalloyed by the poison of the modern craze. Do not put your trust in money please. You know that you are free to come to Cape Town whenever you wish to come. Only finish your work there, both public and private, for there may be no time left after the legislation in Cape Town.

With love,

Yours,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] A note at the top of the letter by the addressee reads : "In the train on the way between Johannesburg and Cape Town Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi left Johannesburg 14-2-1914."

151. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

7 BUITENSINGLE,
CAPE TOWN,
[*February 17, 1914*][1]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

We reached yesterday morning without any extra discomfort on the way. Andrews leaves on Saturday. He has done very wonderful work here indeed. He has again seen Gladstone, Newman, all the newspapermen, most of the judges and has been lunching out almost every day with some notability or other, his main topic of conversation being always India and Tagore or the Indian question here.

Jamnadas is here and two other young Indians who were his fellow-prisoners. They are all at present being accommodated at Gool's place. I am really ashamed to have to be here with Mrs. Gandhi but he would not hear of my having rooms myself.

Has Ritch returned or have you heard any more about him?

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

152. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

7 BUITENSINGLE,
CAPE TOWN,
February 18, 1914

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I had your letter sent to Phœnix redirected. There is no doubt that Andrews has done most wonderful and ceaseless work. His address was brilliant and Lord Gladstone made a speech which was very good.[2] You must have seen it in the papers. I shall send you copies. As soon as Andrews is gone I would like to send Manilal to Johannesburg. I am here for a month or more. Whether you come here or not I

[1] From the reference to Gandhiji's being in train (*vide fn.* to preceding item), it appears he reached Cape Town on the morning of February 16. This letter was written the next day and C. F. Andrews left for England on February 21, a Saturday.

[2] C. F. Andrews had addressed the university students on February 17 on Rabindranath Tagore; *vide* also Vol. XII, pp. 353 to 356.

think the best thing is for Manilal to stay and work at Mountain View by himself. But you will have to be fairly strict with him. He has not gained by his gaol experiences. And you may leave him only after he is in fairly full swing. But please let me know what you feel about this. I would like him to come out to Johannesburg as soon as Andrews is off, subject to your consent. You may, therefore, wire if you think fit.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

153. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

February 22, 1914

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I have your two letters and wires. I am glad you were successful at Pretoria.

Even if Ritch has not finally left Johannesburg, the step he has taken warrants all my reflections. The contemplated removal to Mombasa is the act of a mad man. And his sudden departure without any consultation with anybody is undoubtedly lunacy. The use of the £500 is wilful misappropriation. The use of my money was legitimate. The inability to reply was capable of being understood or at least explained away.

I did not wait for wire regarding Manilal. I found that he must leave Cape Town. The atmosphere was enervating for both the boys. Both Manilal and Jamnadas therefore left today, Manilal for Johannesburg and Jamnadas for Durban. They both interrupt their journey at Kimberley. Manilal, therefore, reaches you on Wednesday morning. There is nothing too wrong with the boy but he needs a calmer and quieter atmosphere which Mountain View will provide.

When you find that Manilal has regained his balance and may be safely left alone, I presume, you will come here if your business allows it.

Miss Moonsamy[1], a passive resister girl, is dead. I hope you have been to see her people and consoled them.

Our friend Habib Motan is here making all the mischief he can.

Mr. Andrews has continued to remain a rare man to me. He got a marvellous hold on the elite of Cape Town and he has calmed

[1] Valliamma Moonsamy Mudaliar, who died after a long illness on February 22, 1914; *vide* Vol. XII, p. 357.

the atmosphere in a wonderful manner. His affection for the poet[1] is phenomenal. He called him his Guru at the University lecture which was a treat[2]. More when we meet. I am longing to have early morning walks with you on Table Mountains and sleep on the roof of the house quite in the open.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

154. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[CAPE TOWN,
February 24, 1914][3]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I have your letter enclosing Ramdas's and others'. You may well want to treasure Ramdas's letter. It is a gem. The boy seems to be shaping beautifully. If the composition is his own, it is also good. Thambi is now there. Please collar him and pacify him. Mrs. Gandhi is better but she has ups and downs and continues to cause anxiety. Imam is doing good work. We have not come here a moment too soon. Mrs. Gandhi and I went over to see Miss Hobhouse. We saw there Mrs. Botha and Lady Gladstone. Miss Hobhouse has a divine face. Have never seen a diviner face. Gokhale by his features took me by storm. Miss Hobhouse has done likewise, only more so. I feel like gazing at her in awe for hours.

Thursday, March 19

The above was found among my papers. I knew I had mislaid this. But I think that I gave you the substance of what is above written. However, you should have it as it is.

The report of the Commission is very fair and reasonable.[4] It is a creditable document and a complete vindication of our position.

With love,

Yours,
UPPER HOUSE

[PS.]

Herewith Call's letter. You should drop him a line.

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] Rabindranath Tagore
[2] *Vide* Vol. XII, pp. 353-4.
[3] From the reference in the letter written the next day; *vide* the following item.
[4] The Indian Enquiry Commission; *vide* Vol. XII, pp. 389 and 396-9.

155. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

7 BUITENSINGLE,
CAPE TOWN,
February 25, 1914

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I fear that my letter written to you yesterday has either been destroyed through mistake or enclosed in a letter to Polak.[1] For I see Ramdas's letter before me and I thought I would post your letter myself after dinner, which I did not do. I do not know what is going to happen to Mrs. Gandhi. She hovers between life and death. Her appetite seems to be coming to her. But she has again developed the ominous swellings which frightened Dr. Gool who asked to examine her urine. His examination has led to no results. And the swelling persists. He is a good man. He never interferes.

Solomon has undergone his operation but he is causing anxiety, so Polak wires. He is receiving best attention.

What is happening just now is that I am becoming a society man and Miss Molteno is the instrument. She insists on introducing Mrs. Gandhi and me to all the families she knows. Yesterday, we went to the great Estate of the Moltenos and met several people. That is the nature of work just now. She is undoubtedly a tactful peacemaker.

Sir Benjamin continues consciously or unconsciously to cause mischief. He is now in league with Habib Motan, whom I saw with our friend Nooruddin and Morris Alexander of Johannesburg coming out of Sir Benjamin's office as I went in.

Manilal must be there now. I hope you will try to be with him as much as you can. If he remains morose I suggest your taking him with you to your office and using him for office work in so far as you may and can. I should like you to take your meal with him for the time being.

You will be agreeably surprised to know that my eldest brother[2] who used always to go strongly against me has now completely changed and repents of his past letters and thinks that I have not discredited the family after all as he used to think before. He is ailing and his one wish is to see me before he dies. His is a most pathetic letter this time.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] The letter was later traced and sent to the addressee with one dated March 19, 1914 ; *vide* the preceding item.

[2] Lakshmidas Gandhi

156. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

7 BUITENSINGLE,
February 27, 1914

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Why very Low House? I see nothing wrong in your letter regarding food. I have seen nobody who has been able to deny himself so much of the world's good things of life as you have. And what does it matter if you have been taking macaroni about which you have so satisfied yourself. Indeed if you went back to rice and tomatoes, I should not worry. I would certainly like you not to go back to vegetables. But your dissatisfaction is that you have been obliged to discuss your food so much. We are food reformers and so we cannot help it. When our reform becomes part of our nature, we shall cease to discuss it. If I discuss it less than you do (which I doubt) it must be because mine has become more natural to me than yours to you. Though I love and almost adore Andrews so, I would not exchange you for him. You still remain the dearest and the nearest to me and so far as my own selfish nature is considered I know that in my lonely journey through the world, you will be the last (if even that) to say good-bye to me. What right had I to expect so much from you !

Now about Manilal. I have given you some idea. He and Jamnadas appeared to me unbalanced. They did the very things that they used to criticize in others. For instance, they give themselves every indulgence that they denied themselves at Phœnix. If Hanif too[k] something outside Phœnix, both of them used to bring it to my notice. In spite of Manilal's sad experience, both took the greatest freedom with the girls. They [were] surrounded with much attention and love from all the members of the family. Dr. Gool who is such a noble soul but yet youthful, made a deep impression on them by his suave nature. The result was that the boys' faculty for thinking, study or work was paralysed. They rose after 6 a.m. They never studied. Their talk seemed to me to be unnatural. They found themselves placed in gaudy surroundings which unhinged them for the moment. I felt that to give them a month of this life would be to hurt two very sensitive young promising plants. I spoke very sharply and bitterly to them. They have resented my tone and my speech as also my action. The discovery I made on arrival was so shocking that I certainly became impatient. But I am sorry neither for my action nor for my speech. I had a right to expect them

not to misunderstand me. After all I have sent them away to my personal discomfort and for their advantage. My presence in their midst could not have counterbalanced the unperceived mischief that was working its way into their system. Jamnadas must therefore naturally go to Phœnix and Manilal not to Phœnix whilst Jeki is there and that when I am away. The only alternative for him was to be at Mountain View where he can do the right thing just to the extent that he is able. I wished to place both in circumstances most favourable to their spiritual growth. I have advised Manilal that he ought to religiously avoid baker's bread, tea and coffee and that he should rarely go to Town, never eat the Town food and never sleep in Town. But I have told him he is a free agent. He need only adopt that part of my advice which appeals to him and no more. I do not want him to do anything for my sake. I want him to become not a creeper but a vigorous tree.

I had another glorious interview with Miss Hobhouse yesterday. We discussed you fairly fully and I have told her that it is likely you might be here whilst I am also here. She is General Smuts' guest tomorrow (Saturday). Miss Molteno too has been very attentive and helpful.

Will you select a tablet for the two deceased. Valliamma's death I felt most keenly. My first disappointment was that not a single Gujarati had died. Even I was left alive when those that did not want to die had gone. I then became conceited and felt that those that had died had done so because they had lived a most unnatural life. If anybody should have died it was Mrs. Gandhi. There is no guarantee even now that she will live. But she seems to be rallying and would certainly have succumbed under the orthodox treatment. And yet the desire in me to die is overpowering. I am unable to stare a Tamil in the face when I recall these deaths. It is weakness I know. But it is there. Consult Naidoo about the stone, please, and both can be put on when I am passing through Johannesburg. I should be delighted.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

157. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[CAPE TOWN]
Sunday [*March 1, 1914*]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Mrs. Gandhi wanted medicine. She had it in the mildest form from Dr. Gool and she is now laid up with fever, aches all over and pain in the stomach. The crisis may have been coming and the medicine may have nothing to do with this serious relapse. Anyhow the latter is there and there is no escaping it. For her death will be the finest deliverance. But we are in God's hands. Let His will and not ours be done. I am by her side day and night. I commenced today reading the *Ramayana* to her. She cannot listen longer than ½ hour. Yet it is something. You may read this to Manilal. There is no cause for anxiety. And he need not fret. She is certainly most resigned and has commenced fasting again.

I am drying some bananas for you. It is an experiment. This is not for bread but for stew which will be substantial and not sweet. We must perpetuate Valliamma's memory. Can you suggest anything? Confer with Naidoo and others.

With love,

Yours,
UPPER HOUSE

[PS.]

How are your affairs progressing? Have you fixed up Kennedy? How is Mr. Forrest? Is the office paying its way ? Is the new lease fixed up to your satisfaction or is it to be a loss? What about Tolstoy Farm? If there is a settlement I shall be impatient to go. You should therefore finish all your projects at once. We may have the Indian Bills even next week.

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

158. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[CAPE TOWN]
Monday [*March 2, 1914*]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I have written to you about perpetuating Valliamma's memory. Three Tamils have now died. I think that if there is a settlement there will be a large surplus left. A part of it may be used for building Valliamma Hall in Johannesburg attached to which may be a school building or which itself may be a school, etc. There may be an outhouse for guests, etc. It should stand on a stand by its[elf][1]. It must be in Johannesburg. We shall have plenty of money for the purpose. Confer with Naidoo first please. Will you have this copied and sent to Polak and Miss Schlesin and West for consideration ? After the settlement, I shall have no time left. My brother being very ill, I should like to leave at once.

With love,

Yours,
UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

159. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

7 BUITENSINGLE,
March 4, 1914

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I propose sending Polak to Johannesburg to take charge of the practice there. Ritch finished, you and I in India and Polak in England, why, the thing is inconceivable. And the whole structure must topple over. I have, therefore, suggested that Polak should take up Johannesburg as headquarters and not go to England for the time being. And he and she have most loyally accepted the proposal. I have suggested too that Mrs. Polak should go to England leaving Polak alone here. But she does not cherish the idea. They should rent Mountain View from you and live there. I do not know what they will do. At the same time I do not know whether [the] proposition is a suitable

[1] This portion of the word, at the end of the line, is damaged in the source.

one for you. It must be a business proposition this time. We are princes and just now we must spend money in a princely style. There is no need, therefore, for me to ask you to give me Mountain View. On the contrary, I am thinking of your own dispositions in this connection. If Mountain View can be sold or a better tenant can be found, you need not think of Polak. The proposal has to suit you both.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

160. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

7 BUITENSINGLE,
March 7 [*1914*][1]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Here is the inscription[2] in 3 languages. The Tamil one you should procure there. The dates have to be filled in, in each case.

Yes, it would be sinful to desire death in cowardice but not when one saddened by grief outside desires it. If properly desired, I think it uplifts one and fits one better to meet difficulties involving danger to one's life.

Mrs. Gandhi's state still remains uncertain. Mrs. Alexander called in to see her and was inquiring about you.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

161. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

7 BUITENSINGLE,
March 8 [*1914*][3]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

If you are sufficiently composed why not re-commence your Gujarati. It would be such a gain if you knew something of it. And you will easily pick it up by getting the household words and commencing to talk straightaway.

[1] From the contents
[2] For the Valliamma Memorial
[3] From the contents

CWMG XCVI

Eric has written to me about Polak. Of course if Ritch comes and wants to practise, Polak will not worry about it. But I know that Ritch will not resume practice. He is hopelessly insolvent. He has broken his vow. He had gone away without notice. He is mad. I have to [tell] Eric about it. I want to give him about £150 for the pressing debts. I am wiring Phœnix to send you cheque for £200 so that you may have enough for disbursements.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

162. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

7 BUITENSINGLE,
CAPE TOWN,
March 9 [*1914*]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I have your two letters and wire.

If I were you I would not disturb the meals you have arranged. Do not change what seems to agree so much only so that on occasions you can do without them. Manilal won't save all the time you imagine. Your description shows that the preparation must take 1½ hours. But that loss of time need not worry you. So long as there must be cooking so long must there be loss both of time and life. But habits of long standing cannot be altered in a day. You will observe that my tolerance is again reasserting itself and I am becoming more and more indifferent to the surroundings. Mrs. Gandhi's sickness has given me food for introspection and a review of the past. I am glad Manilal is regaining his balance.

Mrs. Gandhi's recovery (if the improvement continues) is almost a miracle. And she has responded to our natural treatment. I feel too that medical treatment would have killed her, not that she is certain now to live. But hope has revived. I had prepared her for death and had made arrangements for her funeral. There is a crematorium here built owing to the energy of Lucheram[1]. She has remained very calm and sweet. I have now introduced in my life the counting of beads. I sing hymns to her in the morning and read the *Ramayana* to her in the evening and also sing hymns. Mrs. Gool sometimes comes and listens. My food you should know — tomatoes peeled by warming them

[1] Chooharmal P. Lucheram

and banana flour and coconut biscuits, also ground monkey-nuts or dried bananas stewed. The latter was tried for you. I had it for the first time today. It takes no time and by itself makes a perfect dish. There was very little water in it. Of course, there was oil. Mrs. Gool prepared it. If Mrs. Gandhi or I had made it, it would have been better I fancy. I add, of course, fresh fruit, principally grapes and a few almonds which I have been taking for the past week to test their effect on the eyes which have much troubled me. I take, I think, five tomatoes — though I am not sure. The whole preparation does not take Mrs. Gool longer than 30 minutes, if that. But on a good stove the tomatoes to be soft should take no more than 5 minutes and the banana when done not more than 15 minutes. This much cooking is a concession to Mrs. Gandhi and a temporary indulgence for my palate. Peeling of tomatoes is a necessity. But alone I should peel them without warming.

Now for P. K. Naidoo, I was bound to give him the best advice. And I offered Phœnix. It is today partly a passive resistance farm. Whilst we may not disturb the even tenor of the Phœnix life, force of circumstances must interrupt and then the settlers are involuntarily tested. We may not expose ourselves to temptation. But when it comes, we must face it. Or we have no character. I may not put my hand in a lion's jaw but may I fly away from it when it is in front of me? The simile must not be carried too far because I see it is not a perfect illustration. For if you may not fly away from the lion, you may not from a seductive woman. As a matter of fact you must fly away from both if you cannot face them without fear. You may not kill the lion and you may not succumb to the woman. Reverting to Naidoo, when a man asks me what he should do, must I not propose the best for him? The secret of Phœnix is that it will and can harbour those who will conform to its fundamental rules. And if Naidoo can stand them he will be a help to himself and to Phœnix. Shelat[1] came, was found wanting and went. Even Harilal Thakar went. And Anandlal and Virji. There is a natural process of winnowing going on at that very wonderful place. I call it wonderful although it is partly my offspring. I have no doubt it was conceived in the purest spirit, it was born amid most strenuous and holy circumstances and it has been nurtured on a spiritual diet which has been and is being continuously purified more and more. It can become a place that would not hold an impure soul. The future depends upon West and Chhaganlal mostly and partly on Sam. Raojibhai and Maganbhai may be taken away from Phœnix at an early date though not for a year or so perhaps.

Thambi has written to me. He is very bitter against us all. We

[1] Umiashankar Manchharam Shelat

must meet his bitterness by the greatest gentleness. Simply walk over to him. Tell him you do not want to hurt his feelings. And if he is unwilling to talk, come away. Repeat the performance till your love conquers his passion. This we must do so long as he is not found to be, as he is not, a bad coin.

Your affairs I understand a little. I will say nothing. What I may not like I shall tolerate and watch.

I have asked opinion today by wire to post you cheque for £200. From this you should pay Eric in any event for the pressing calls upon the family to the extent of £160. The Newcastle Hospital bill should not be paid by you. But Miss Schlesin writes to me saying she has transferred it to you for you to contest with the Government. But if there is to be no contesting, please pay out the Passive Resistance funds, not your own.

Be cautious about paying P. K. Naidoo or others. Refer them to me when you are in doubt.

What a long letter this ! I think I have covered all the points raised by you.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

163. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

7 BUITENSINGLE,
Tuesday [*March 10, 1914*]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

The greatest grief imaginable has befallen me. My brother[1] died yesterday, I suppose simply thinking up to his last breath of me. What a passionate wish it was on his part to meet me ![2] And for me I was hurrying everything on so that I could go to India with the quickest despatch and fall down at his feet and nurse him. But it was not to be. Now I must go to a family of widows with my poor self as the head. You who do not quite know the Indian patriarchal [system] cannot quite realize what this may mean. Anyway my desire to go to India is keener than ever. And yet who knows! I doubt very much whether I shall ever realize that desire. However, I must prepare for the pilgrimage and then calmly leave it in the hands of Him who wields the almighty power.

[1] Lakshmidas Gandhi; *vide* also Vol. XII, p. 385.

[2] *Vide* p. 165.

These shocks make in me still more intense fearlessness of death. Why should the event agitate one? The grief itself has a selfish touch about it. It is no calamity that my brother is dead, if I am ready to meet death and consider it as the supreme and welcome crisis in life. It is because we fear death so much for ourselves that we shed tears over the deaths of others. How can I who know the body to be perishable and the soul to be imperishable mourn over the separation of body from soul. But there is a condition attached to a real belief in this beautiful and consoling doctrine. He who believes in it must not pamper the body but must be its ruler. He must regulate its wants so as to make it serve the dweller within and not allow the body to master him. Not to grieve over the death of others is to accept a state almost of perpetual grief for this connection between body and soul is itself grievous.

These are the thoughts that rule me just now. I shall not write another such letter just now. This has written itself. Please, therefore, pass on to Polak. Let Manilal read it. And then you may pass on to Chhaganlal for West and others to read.

I am revolving the idea in my own mind of help for the indentured.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

164. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

7 BUITENSINGLE,
March 15 [*1914*][1]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Yes, you may expend the amounts you suggest on the stones. The inscription on both should be the same, only the names and the dates will vary.

I know that I have your sympathy and more in the affliction that has befallen me. But I must not say thanks to you. We are so indivisible — one soul in two bodies.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

[PS.]

Bananas are and should be unripe. Remove the outer skin, cut them into thin discs and dry in the sun 3 days. They are ready to be stored

[1] From the contents

away when they are quite dry and brittle. They can be ground to any fineness or thickness and can be cooked as they are. With nuts and oil and tomatoes they make a perfect meal. But, of course, this is not ideal. The ideal is the uncooked meal. It is however the nearest approach and the least expensive. For travelling where you may not get fresh fruit it is perfect in the form of biscuits. These with dried unripe mangoes could be carried for an army. And they would form a most nourishing diet not at all sweet. Mrs. Gandhi is better but not satisfactory. I fear that she has a fatal trouble in her stomach. The only cure for her so far as I can see is a prolonged fast with the *neem* leaves water. She may have cancer of the stomach. This never yields to medical treatment but it must yield to fasting treatment if the patient has stamina. Mrs. Gandhi has that yet, I think. This information is however only for you. This is alarming and I am only conjecturing. I have informed Chhaganlal. She moves about but in the heart of her hearts she herself is not satisfied. The swelling recurs most obstinately. I am slowly preparing her for the worst again. But the agony may be prolonged. What a cruel man I must be or can be to thus contemplate the death of others. However, such is my state just now. Nothing moves me permanently. If Eric has not the cheque he may have it without questioning. I think you should discuss these things with Polak. The latter may not with the family so long as he is not *persona grata.*

The report will be out on Wednesday I think.[1] This is still supposed to be private. We may then expect the Bill[2] early.

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] The Solomon Commission Report was presented to Parliament on March 17, Tuesday.

[2] The Indians' Relief Bill which was published on May 28, *vide* Vol. XII, pp. 421-2 and Appendix XXV.

165. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

7 BUITENSINGLE,
March 20 [1914][1]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

You seem just now to be the busiest man in our circle. Your correspondence is invariably (almost) written in the train. Well, I hope, the result of this activity will be greater peace for you and a great benefit to the circle. I am not joking. I am serious though naturally I am sceptical about the value of such restless activity. But under exceptional circumstances it may be the lesser evil.

You asked me a question about the counting of beads. I forgot to deal with it. There is undoubtedly great efficacy in knowingly and deliberately uttering some sacred name as often as you can. The love of the owner of the name then grows on you and you ultimately merge in Him. Now every rosary has a stated number of beads. The Hindu rosary has 108. You take the 108 names of the deity once every turn of the rosary. And as the number of the beads is fixed you never omit a name. Thus you simply contemplate the name without worrying to know how often you have taken it or whether you have omitted any. The Muslims have 99 beads to correspond to the 99 names of God. Some Hindus simply mutter the same name. In that case the number of beads is of no consequence so long as it is the same rosary. You are in a position to know then how often during the day you have taken the sacred name. Thus to mutter the name of the Highest without a selfish purpose is a most desirable practice. Hence the universality of rosaries. I want to continue the counting if I can. The more secretly it is done, the better of course. The early morning and sunset are the best times and I try to keep these times at present. I do not — cannot for my eyes — get up very early nowadays. I am going to try again. I cannot just now have my eyes examined or take another pair of spectacles. I want to observe the effect of the Indian climate on the eyes.

Another question of yours was why was *Indian Opinion* transferred to West and Maganlal? Simply because the Trust-deed[2] contemplates it and the Trustees should not [be] made responsible for what may appear in *Indian Opinion.*

Yours,
UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] From the contents
[2] Of September 14, 1912; *vide* Vol. XI, pp. 320-5.

166. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

7 BUITENSINGLE,
March 21 [*1914*]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Yes, I have given you a most thankless task to perform. I hope that you will be able to make a healthy impression on Eric. My analysis of Ritch was, I feel convinced, perfect. His children are suffering for his sins. It was a most recklesslike [*sic*]. No more than the present debts are to be discharged and then to the extent of not more than £170 so far as I can see at present. Do not sour Eric by too strong words. We can only put them in the best position possible and then they must rise to it or fall.

As for Mrs. Polak, she must follow her own inclinations. She is a different type. She knows or thinks she knows what she is doing. She is a superior woman. And Polak is a gem of the "purest ray serene".[1] He can reflect those he loves. After all the money must go the way it has come.

The best translation of *Ramayana* is I think Griffith's. What you want is a translation of Tulsidas's *Ramayana* and no other. I might some day dictate it to you. Meanwhile you should procure Dutt's rendering of the substance.

The Parliament rises for holiday on the 9th April and meets again on the 22nd. Whether therefore the Bill is brought or not before then I propose to leave here at least on the 9th but it may be much earlier.[2] I must see. I shall know more next week.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] A popular poetic metaphor authored by Thomas gray in his "Elegy in a country churchyard"; *vide* also Vol. XIX, p. 211.

[2] The Indians' Relief Bill was introduced in the House of Assembly on June 2; *vide* Vol. XII, pp. 421-2 and Appendix XXV.

167. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[*April 4, 1914*]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Herewith Miss Hobhouse's farewell for you to keep. You may explain the meaning of it to Manilal. Her preface is wrong if it were universally applied.

You have made a great change about getting up. You can keep it up if you adhere to the retiring time which you should do.

Mrs. Gandhi is still practically fasting. She is taking wheat coffee without milk or sugar in addition to the infusion of the leaves. The swelling has not left her entirely but I think it is going. Anyway I feel that no other treatment could be better.

The whole of my time is given up to her and she takes it all. She resents my absence even for an hour. She is helpless without me.

With love,

Yours,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

168. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[PHŒNIX]

Tuesday [*April 7, 1914*]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

You will remember the following in the 2nd Chapter of the *Song Celestial* : "Anger leads to madness which brings on loss of memory. Then the intellect becomes weakened till at last the man himself is undone." Why did you give vent to anger? Manilal describes the apple incident[1]. Was that the cause? He says he retorted and was sorry. Anyway your early rising must be for the sake of control of passions.

It is obvious we both fasted practically the same day. For me it was the nativity of Rama. And I had decided in Cape Town that as we laid so much stress on *Ramayana,* I would fast that day and then I further decided to fast every eleventh day of the two halves of the month as I used to before[2]. There is no fixed limit for this,

[1] *Vide* Vol. XII, p. 407.

[2] *ibid.*, p. 408.

so that I fasted on Saturday and then again on Monday. Hence I was up this morning at 2 a.m. Manilal's was the first letter I wrote and yours is the second. You know how little sleep I need when I am fasting.

I have made a very drastic change here which I am asking Jamnadas to describe in his letter to Manilal. He will do so and Manilal must give it to you. Here I would only say that I took a vow on Sunday that I would restrict myself to one helping only whilst at Phœnix. I should endeavour to carry it out elsewhere also.

Mrs. Gandhi is lingering. She is taking a little food now but it is next to nothing. At this rate she can't live many months if that. Yet who knows ?

Please return the inscription I sent you. I shall have it rewritten in bold letter.

I see here a bag containing your papers. It has some letters from Mrs. Mayo[1], etc. I thought I would search there for your Standerton papers but my search was vain. I cannot get over the loss of those papers.[2] I cannot reconcile myself to the idea of their having been deliberately stolen. If they are not mislaid, they must have been lost by you owing to your usual habit of rushing. I do not ask questions but I have a vague fear that even now you are rushing and spending money in what to me would be idle speculation. But it is as well I am not with you. Let your progress go along your own line. How long could I reason? Only think, think and think forty times before you do anything at all. Haste is waste. 'Hasten slowly' was Lord John Russell's motto.[3]

And you seem to me to have been hasty in judging Andrews. I fancy that I know him better. Anyway, he does not consider every Indian to be a saint. Nor is he like Hearn.[4] Hearn began by loving the Japs, Andrews began by suspecting Indians. Remember he came avowedly as a missionary to convert. But this is enough. I cannot begin another sheet and must write other letters.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] Mrs. Isabella Fyvie Mayo

[2] Gandhiji had been arrested on Standerton Road on November 8, 1913 during the third and last satyagraha campaign before he left for India; *vide* Vol. XII, pp. 261 and 517-8.

[3] For similar references by Gandhiji to illustrate his point, *vide* Vol. XI, p. 196.

[4] Lafcadio Hearn, British journalist, author of several works on Japan, who married a Japanese woman and became a Japanese citizen

169. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[PHŒNIX]
Friday [*April 10, 1914*]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Just now I am nothing but an efficient nurse devoting my whole energy to my task. Mrs. Gandhi is my sole consideration and she claims me. If I am away from her for any length of time she cries bitterly. I do not know what is to become. She may recover but there is not much chance. She will linger on for a while but cannot survive this illness. She has to be helped to do everything. I am only praying that there may be no imperative public call on me whilst I am doing this work.

You will now see why I cannot give you love letters at present. I did not or did I tell you that I do not want to perform the opening ceremony regarding the tombstone and I ought not to. We should get our old friend Hosken or any other you may think of.

The drastic changes made here are most satisfying. If they continue, they will form a splendid structure but we shall see. When I have more time I shall go into them more fully.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

170. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

April 12, 1914

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Your letter of the 9th is petty, touchy and spiteful. It has made me sad and shows that all your so-called reforms there are simply superficial. What you call a circular letter is no circular letter. It was addressed to you and Polak. In your letter of the 8th, you complain of absence of my letter and in yours of the 9th you resent the very letter which explains absence of anything from me. Polak went for me for not writing and not getting Miss Schlesin to write about Mrs. Gandhi's health. You, Polak and Manilal are sufficiently interested in her health to want to know about it daily; hence the letter from Miss

Schlesin and the instructions that she herself should write as often as possible. There would have been no such letter had Mrs. Gandhi not been sick. Now tell me wherein I was wrong in sending you what you call a circular letter. Do you see my point and your pettiness? You are entirely right when you say you are jealous (and wrongly so) of Miss Schlesin and Andrews. Because she wrote the letter, it became an offence to you. And as if your letter, warning me not to send you a circular letter was not enough, you must perforce remark underneath Miss Schlesin's letter, "Please do not send me such circular letters henceforth". You should be ashamed of having done this.

Manilal writes saying that you were surprised that I should have asked him to retire even [if] you might not have. Why surprised? You and Manilal are not equals. Manilal is a lad having to form his character. If he wants to cultivate the habit of early rising, it is essential that he retires early. Your hours may not be regular. Manilal not being a businessman need never have irregular hours. And I should have thought that you would encourage the boy to keep strictly regular hours even though you may not. I certainly do not expect the boys to keep awake with me because I retire late. If Manilal has misunderstood the position, you may explain it to him. I feel the same thing about his food. If he wishes to keep to a particular course of diet, he should not change with you. If the entirely fruitarian experiment had agreed with him, you should have allowed him to keep to it and made the complicated changes only for yourself.

Mrs. Gandhi is much better but an event happened yesterday which once more proved what I have told you, namely, that she has both the devil and the divine in her in a most concentrated form. She made yesterday a most venomous remark : "Who has opened Devdas's drawer?" suggesting that Jeki had tampered with it. She spits fire on Jeki. I gently remarked that I had opened it. "Why?" was the growling query. I said, "In order to see whether I could find a sheet for you." "That does not contain sheets," was the retort, so much as to convey to me that I had not opened the drawer but I was telling a fib to shield Jeki. This was too much. And I again gently but rebukingly remarked that she was sinful in her thought and that her disease was largely due to her sins. Immediately she began to howl. I had made her leave all the good food in order to kill her, I was tired of her, I wished her to die, I was a hooded snake. The manner of the delivery of these remarks was most vicious. I told her even though she was ill, I could not pity her in her sins. The more I spoke the more vicious she became. I kept completely self-possessed. I apologized to her and told her that henceforth even to that extent I would not remonstrate

with her. Nor would I. She has a character and she has none. She is the most venomous woman I have ever met. She never forgets, never forgives. She is quite normal today. But yesterday's was one of the richest lessons of my life. All the charges she brought against me she undoubtedly means. She has contrary emotions. I have nursed her as a son would nurse his mother. But my love has not been sufficiently intense and selfless to make her change her nature. What wonder if Anglia and others cannot respond to my skin-deep love? What wonder if they misunderstood me? Truly she has so far been my best teacher. She teaches me emptiness of the world, she teaches me patience, forgiveness, greater need for self-sacrifice, for love and charity. The incident leaves me, I hope, a better, wiser, more loving man if it also leaves me sadder. Yes, a man who wishes to work with detachment must not marry. I cannot complain of her being a particularly bad wife or bad woman. On the contrary no other woman would probably have stood the changes in her husband's life as she has. On the whole she has not thwarted me and has been most exemplary. But how can a leopard change his spots? And yesterday's incident would probably not have happened either in an ordinary household. My point is that you cannot attach yourself to a particular woman and yet live for humanity. The two do not harmonise. That is the real cause of the devil waking in her now and again. Otherwise he might have remained in her asleep and unnoticed.

I wish you would not just now repeat walks like the Pretoria walk but allow Manilal to follow the even tenor of his life.

With love,

Yours,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

171. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

April 17, 1914

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

How curious! No matter how intimate I may be with Gokhale or Andrews or anyone else, you will always be you and you alone to me. I have told you you will have to desert me and not I you. So that I should like you finally to dismiss that fear from your mind. If I am called upon to enter Gokhale's mansion or Andrews' without you, I will refuse to enter. Only my own movements may become too hot for you and you always wishing to go the whole length with me may not be able [to] and may fall back. Our joint life does not demand coincidence though that is what you are bringing about. If I can lie on a stone bed and you cannot, you should certainly have a mattress underneath. And though you may lift a ten-stone weight, I shall certainly not attempt to do any such thing myself and still not feel ashamed to be your companion. I shall put up with you and love you just the same notwithstanding what you may call your limitations, even as you have to do likewise to me. We can therefore but go forward — as far forward as our legs will carry us and no farther — and still be together, one soul and two bodies. Please therefore be at ease so far as my side is concerned. Take care of your own and everything else will follow.

I have not received the letters you say you are enclosing.

Death for Mrs. Mayo can only be welcomed by her friend.[1] She will go to a higher state and we must not form attachments for the sake of the bodies of people. Through the body we learn to know them but we do not need their bodies to continue to love them.

I shall have the inscription copied as you suggest.

I suppose I need not repeat here the information about the changes here that I have given to Manilal.

Mrs. Gandhi is decidedly better. It remains to be seen whether the change continues.

Some members of the Theosophical Convention visited Phœnix on Tuesday. They were 9 in all. Miss Pillenbury was one of them. I have asked her to describe to you the visit. They dined here. It was the simplest style, no strange food was given them. Indian marrow,

[1] Mrs. Mayo died in the second week of May 1914; *vide* Vol. XII, pp. 415-6.

rice and potatoes and rice pudding cereal, coffee and fresh lemon drink. Old Nelson was one of the party. They seemed to be pleased. I had sent the message that those who cared could come and visit the Settlement.

With love,

[PS.]

Gokhale has cabled inquiring whether I would visit him in London before going to India. I have answered I might if absolutely necessary, Mrs. Gandhi's health permitting. We shall see.

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

172. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

April 17, 1914

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

What about the house at Mountain View which the Polaks want to buy from you? What are the terms you have suggested?

I have a letter from Douglas Hall, written for Gokhale, asking me if I would go to London before returning to India.

Mrs. Gandhi is still feeling well. If the improvement continues, it may be all well.

Yours,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives or India

173. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

April 28, 1914

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

You ask me whether it will be inconvenient for me to have you here. What a question? You still observe the distance. What though it were inconvenient? You have still a right to come. So come when you like. Only I may have to leave for Cape Town any day now.

I have been unable to write to you for some days as I have not been able to get up early for the last few days, the nights having been disturbed by Mrs. Gandhi. She is getting better but sometimes requires service during night. The discipline here is becoming more and more severe. The boys may not now get up late on Sundays. It is the same hour for all the days, i.e., 4 a.m. Only two meals are served now.

The times are 10 a.m. and 5 p.m. Two days in the week are saltless. The little ones get two bananas and a *naarangi* each at 7.30. The youngsters rise at 6 a.m. The school hours are 4.30 to 7 a.m., 7 to 9.30 physical labour, 9.30 to 10 bathing, 10 to 11.30 dinner, etc., 11.30 to 2 school, 2 to 2.30 recreation, 2.30 to 3.30 Press work, 3.30 to 4.45 agriculture, 5 p.m. supper, 6.30 to 7.30 p.m. service. To bed at 8 p.m. Coffee has now been rejected because I do not want any makeshifts in India. Please let Manilal see this as I shall not be giving him a separate account.

Your scale of diet is too extravagant and rich. Here we allow no more than one ounce of oil per head. You take nearly 6 oz. per head. The other allowances are also on the same liberal scale and it therefore makes the body gross. The scales should be fixed with some consideration for the lives of the poorest of mankind. In any case the scale cannot be followed in Phœnix without causing very great disturbance. We are now using gingili[1] oil as I have been able to procure the finest quality. I commenced the experiment first. The taste has agreed with all. Whether it will agree with all constitutions here remains to be seen.

As for Polak, could he not buy the property and pay rent and interest at the same time? I say this without much consideration. The whole to be paid over in, say, 5 years' time.

I am writing this under too much disturbance. The inscription is being sent by Jamnadas. I must not perform the opening ceremony.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] Gandhiji has spelt the word as "gingelly".

174. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH[1]

[PHŒNIX]

Monday [*May 4, 1914*]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

You must excuse my not writing to you regularly. I have not a minute to spare and I have no heart to write just now except when I am obliged. I am unable to get up early and unless I can do so I cannot write. The new discipline taxes me to the utmost.

Your telegrams I have misunderstood. I still do not know their meaning. I do not know whether you have to give me some news of further distress or what. However, your letter will say something.

I have, I think, answered all the points you summarised in your last letter. The Nagappan inscription, Manilal can write from Valliamma's. I have not before me the exact dates.

On your diet scale I should like to write more fully when I have the time. Mrs. Gandhi continues to be better.

With love,

Yours,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

175. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

May 6, 1914

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Jeki has been found lying more than once. I therefore told her that she could not stay away from her husband unless she was absolutely superior to him. Indeed she is inferior to her husband. The latter is no hypocrite. But Jeki is a finished hypocrite. You may understand what all these discoveries must have cost me. However she has now consented to go to Fiji. I have Dr. Mehta's authority by cable. So she goes next Sunday escorted by Miss West. She leaves by a Castle boat for Cape Town, and will there book for Fiji.

You did not ask for the English inscription. You had it there. You

[1] A note by the addressee at the top of the letter reads : "Written during the 'Fortnight Fast' ".

asked only for Gujarati. And that you have. If there was anybody's fault it was mine for the delay. But perhaps you will understand why I was delayed. Nagappan's I have written to you about already.

With love,

Yours,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

176. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

May 7, 1914

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Pardon me for not writing to you promptly or fully. I have not written fully because your letters have not been with me at the time of writing. I have not written promptly because I get no time. Jeki and Mrs. Gandhi have put such a severe strain on me that I feel like doing nothing at all. I have never been so sorely tried as I am just now. I cannot write everything because I have not the energy but when we meet you shall have it all.

I am keeping your letter before me today, so here are the answers.

1. I say that the walks to Pretoria should be stopped. If you want to cultivate regular habits, disturbances should not occur.
2. Yes, there is a letter from the Poet and it is a nice letter. I shall have it sent. It is not by me just now.
3. If I must go to London you may not come because you will be taking the party to India. I should go to India from London.
4. Isaac I fancy is going to Johannesburg. He will not be allowed to come to India. He is just now at Phœnix.
5. Dahya has offered to come to Phœnix and I have said he may. I do not know that he will come to India. Jeki will probably not go to Cape Town as I can get a boat to Australia on the 31st May. But I am not sure. I see there is a boat to Australia on the 20th from Cape Town. I am inquiring.

I have answered about Valliamma and the Valliamma Hall. As to Polak's property, I must consider. The matter may not be done in a hurry. More later.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

177. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[PHŒNIX]
Sunday [*May 10, 1914*]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

You must have little love for me if it is dependent upon letters from me and if it misinterprets absence of letters and does not believe that there must be sound reasons for the extraordinary absence. I have told you that latterly I have gone through mental shocks and agonies I have never gone through before. I do not want to write anything. I do not want to talk to anybody. I want to live in solitude and yet I am talking, writing and living in company. In the day-time I can do little writing. I am unable to get up early in the morning. Can you not enter into my feelings and let your love overlook the omissions and the faults?

Here is Valliamma's inscription in English. This I think finishes the list, does it?

With love,

Yours,
UPPER HOUSE

From the original: Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

178. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[PHŒNIX]
Wednesday [*May 13, 1914*]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Love is mute, it does not complain. Love is blind, it sees no fault. Love is deaf, it hears no tales. Love ever gives never demands. Love is constant, never varying whether in adversity or prosperity. Love is never hurt. Love never tires. How has yours fared of late!

Manilal knows nothing of Manilal of Fiji. He is an infatuated lad. Now that I know Jeki, I know that she is not a patch upon Manilal of Fiji. The latter is an honest man. He has felt what an injured husband would feel. Is it any wonder? He has bluntly given vent to his feelings. Is it not honest? I could only keep Jeki away from her husband only in the belief that she was infinitely superior to her husband. Now I

find that she is inferior. She is a liar, a wretched hypocrite, without pity, without remorse, full of evil passions. Could I ever keep her from her husband ? Why, she would soon be as bad as he is and take part in all his enjoyments. Why should she not?

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original: Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

179. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH[1]

PHŒNIX,
Sunday [*May 17, 1914*]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I have not the energy to write to you myself, but it is better that I dictate something rather than I should let you remain without any letter at all. Manilal will give you a translation of my views on regular walks to Pretoria. This fast[2] has been a very rich but very bitter and painful experience. I have suffered tortures and I am still suffering. It has left me utterly exhausted. However, more I must say later. If you have to go to India in charge of the party, of course I shall meet you at Bombay because I shall precede you and you will certainly be better able to cope with the party on boat than I can. When I go to Cape Town, you will certainly accompany me. I may be in Johannesburg during the week in order to be able to attend to many matters.

Yours sincerely,
FOR UPPER HOUSE,
CHHAGANLAL

From the original: Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] This letter was followed by a letter to the addressee from Chhaganlal Gandhi; *vide* Appendix II.

[2] *Vide* Vol. XII, pp. 410-11.

180. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

May 18, 1914

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

This fast has brought me as near death's door as possible. I can still hardly crawl, can eat very little, restless nights, mouth bad. But it would be all right. The fast was a necessity. I was so grossly deceived. I owed it to Manilal of Fiji, to Dr. Mehta, and to myself. It was one of the severest lessons of my life. The discipline was very great. Everyone around me was most charming. Mrs. Gandhi was divine. Immediately she realized that there was no turning me back, she set about making my path smooth. She forgot her own sorrows and became my ministering angel. And she still remains the same. The result is that she is better in health. I appealed to all not to go in for fasting but to rejoice that one of themselves was trying to purify himself. All caught the fire and I was helped all along.

I felt it my duty not to let you or Polak know because that would have thrown additional care on me and no good purpose could be served by informing you. The step had to be taken by me prayerfully and I took it. I would not miss the experience. What the effect will be I do not know.

Please let Polak read this so that I may not have to write the same thing twice. I am still too weak to write much.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original: Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

181. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

Tuesday [*May 19, 1914*]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Please read the enclosed and return.[1] I am much better today and for the first time working at the Press. More later.

With love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] The enclosed letter from Emily Hobhouse is not available.

182. DRAFT FOR HERMANN KALLENBACH

CAPE TOWN,
June 30, 1914

I shall talk to Hoekstetter on business only calmly and dispassionately without any exaggeration.

I shall not be irritated with Wilson but put up with his weaknesses even as I would expect others to put up with mine.

I shall not preach to anyone, i.e., not speak to anyone about my life or to anyone about reforming his own, knowing well that I have yet to reform myself and find my ground.

I shall not do more with Dickson than merely asking him to assist me if he would.

I shall consider that with M. I was enjoying freedom, without him I am in prison and therefore be more strict in observing the discipline:- I shall rise earlier, I shall count beads more attentively, I shall not take more than 15 minutes over my stick, shall not take more food but less food, I shall not think evil of anyone and try to be loving and charitable to all and I shall always, before retiring and at the time of rising, ask God to give me strength to follow the Truth wherever it may lead me.[1]

2. I shall daily before using the beads read Thomas a Kempis.[2]

I shall always try to remember "Not to seek to be anything", but "To seek to be nothing".

I shall specially be silent to and patient with all my relations.

If only possible walk from and to Mountain View. I shall try to avoid irritation of any kind in my communications with all my workmen and contractors at Mountain View, in the office, at Pretoria and with any person I have any dealings with.

I shall daily think of Cape Town's discussions, resolutions, vow of silence, real understanding, what my life has been and what it has to and must become, so that I am more ready and fit instrument when I meet M[3]. at Phœnix or Johannesburg and we take the work up in exactly the same manner as we left it.

The above and anything to be added, I shall read twice daily, morning and evening.

Avoid familiarity and speak as little as possible wherever you may be. Remember your vow of silence.

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] Up to here the draft is in Gandhiji's hand.
[2] *Vide* also p. 200.
[3] Illegible in the source

183. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

Sunday morning, July 5, 1914

MY DEAR FRIEND AND SEEKER,

First the experiment. My ration was 3 bananas, 4 apples, 2 oranges, 6 *naarangi*[*s*], 4 dates, 4 oz. monkey-nuts, 2 spoonful oil and lemon and orange squash. Had no noises and only one motion for the whole day well bound. I am looking forward to the result of yours which is so thorough.

About Joseph, you were hopelessly wrong. You ought to have bought his ticket—Polak could not be considered. If you did not want to buy, you should not have taken the money and having failed to do either, you should have had the courage to give Joseph the real reason for not buying. It was a lie. Do you think Joseph could not understand? He was quite nice and allowed us to chat away. He was no disturbing factor. Turn your reading to account. Not until you have truth in you, will you make real progress. Fear God only. Do not fear man. Be ever brave but be truthful or do not speak. You could easily have said, 'Joseph, and Polak and Gandhi are going to have a private chat. So better not go but if you must, ask their permission or I cannot help you to get the ticket'. That would have been gentlemanly and honest.

Hope Medh sent the wire to Union Castle.

Finish everything without worry.

May God give you strength and courage.

With love,

Yours,
DAS

From the original: Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

184. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[PHŒNIX]
Monday [*July 6, 1914*]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I posted a letter to you at P. M. Burg yesterday.

The boys were in Town. We had a good meeting. Then we took the train to Avoca and walked from there. It is now exactly 2.55 a.m. I woke up at 1.40, left the bed at 2.25, retired at 10 p.m. and slept

away at perhaps 10.30 p.m. after a chat with Mrs. Gandhi. I am none the worse for the walk. Mrs. Gandhi has reconciled herself[1] to uncooked diet now so that there is not much danger of my taking cooked fruit.

They in Durban want you even though it may be for a day. I have told them it is difficult.

Hope Medh sent the wire to Union Castle.

If I am able to get up as early as I have today, I should give you a daily letter.

With love,

Yours,
DAS

From the original: Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

185. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

Tuesday [*July 7, 1914*][2]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Today I woke up at 4.5 and left the bed at 5.5. Retired last night at 11 p.m. The food was all uncooked. I had Phœnix oranges and Phœnix tomatoes. The former were very nice. Mrs. Gandhi feels all this but is afraid to interfere. She is still pleading with me that I should take banana *chapati.*

The extract I sent you yesterday was from Ruskin's writings.

It is fairly cold here. My packing was practically finished yesterday. Please tell Medh that after all I shall have to bring Revashanker with me.

With love,

Yours,
DAS

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] The source has "myself".

[2] From the contents it appears that this was written after the preceding item; *vide* also the following item.

186. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

July 9, 1914

MY DEAR FRIEND,

No letters from you for the last 2 days. Manilal says there should be with you my shoes and neckties, etc. I have not a collar left nor more than one tie. Please search and if the shoes are there you may get them stretched.

Yesterday's function was good — I acted for you and against you.[1]

I am writing this in the Durban train. Am paying the passage here and sending all my luggage here so that there may be only a little to carry.

With love,

Yours,
DAS

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

187. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

PHŒNIX,
July 10, 1914

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter today. This time I do not want to miss a single day if I can help it.

I have here your waistcoats and trousers which I am bringing with me as also your papers.

Yesterday and today I have not been able to get up early having retired after midnight. The functions in Durban compelled me to take only the 9.30 p.m. train from Durban. The temptation to take cooked fruit was great but it is finished now. I am not likely to succumb between tomorrow and Sunday. Here is the train coming — so good-bye.

With love,

DAS

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] For Gandhiji's speech at the farewell function organized in his honour and for Kasturba and Kallenbach, *vide* Vol. XII, pp. 445-7.

188. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

S. S. "ARABIA",
December [*23, 1914*][1]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

This is the fifth letter I am writing to you during the voyage. The first was written before reaching Sheerness. My last letter was written in a gloomy mood. But somehow or other the gloom went with the disappearance of the gateway to Europe. It is strange yet true. But why strange ! Perhaps it should be considered quite natural.

Our joint life is becoming stricter. Our menu now is for Mrs. Gandhi a portion of the special bread, three biscuits soaked in water, 3 plums, a fig, two tomatoes and 3 oranges, also a spoonful of oil and 6 almonds. This twice a day. Mine was ground-nut, butter spoonful, two biscuits, 6 plums, 2 oranges, one tomato and teaspoonful pine kernel. This for breakfast; for the evening meal ground-nut preparation with the other things and no biscuits but 6 walnuts. Before retiring, I shall drink a lemon. These simple meals satisfy us both and now for me there is no hankering. The only thing to complete our happiness would be your presence. We always talk about you at meal times, what you would be doing there at the time, how you would make the stewards work here and how you would have insisted on some cooked things and how you would have wanted more tomatoes and more oil and how I would have protested against both. This return to the old style has improved my health wonderfully though the pain in the side has not yet left me. However, that may leave me in India. Today I have worn somewhat to Mrs. Gandhi's disgust, the Indian dress I used to in South Africa. The passengers looked surprised as I appeared on the deck but I think the surprise has passed away.

I have been more and more devoted to my Bengali studies and I fancy I have made marked progress. Before retiring I invariably read the *Bhagavad Gita, Ramayana* and sing one hymn.

We have mixed but little with the passengers. One very noted suffragist is on board. She has become interested in us. So we talk to her now and then.

So much of our life. But yours — we left you unhappy, a lonely calf! That cow must be wretched that leaves her calf! And yet the

[1] The source has December 3 in Gandhiji's hand, evidently a slip as he set sail for India on December 19, 1914. From the opening sentence in the letter, the date is presumed to be the 23rd, the fifth day of voyage.

leaving was the only thing possible and I think it was the best. I shall feel very sad if you keep me without a cable even when we reach Bombay. I dare not expect any news of you at [Aden][1] which we reach tomorrow.

And now a personal touch before I reach India. I have been harsh to you, apparently cruel even, rude too as you thought. But the words came out of the purest love. If I did wrong, it was not because I loved you less but because I loved too well. I became impatient to see you do what I thought was the right thing. Pardon me then if I hurt you as I know I did. You made no secret of it. I did not heed it. I hope I did right in not heeding it. Let that love keep you and me on the path we have chosen. It is a strange path, it is difficult but not inaccessible. With sufficient attempt we shall reach it. The glory, if we want it, lies in the attempt not in the reaching. Tolstoy even said that the goal ever receded as [one] went nearer.

Mrs. Gandhi, who is sitting by me, wants me especially to send her love to you.

And now, may this letter be redirected to you in India. May you have left before this reaches London. If it does reach you in London, please give the purport of this unless you would read it to Sorabji, Gandevia[2] and Mehta.

With love,

Ever Yours,
OLD FRIEND
LATE UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

189. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

December 26 [*1914*]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Much to our surprise there was no cable from you at Gibraltar. The inference I drew was that there was no reply yet received. We reach Malta tomorrow (Sunday). I hope to have a word from you then.

The voyage has been uneventful. The pain in the ribs continues. The weather is still cold, though the sea is calm. Our menu still continues the same. I have taught the baker how to make our bread. So I am making use of Allinson's meal they have on board, thanks to your

[1] The source has "Arden".
[2] Secretary of the Indian Field Ambulance Training Corps

foresight. He makes it much better than we should. I asked him to whip the water before adding it to the flour. This aerates the bread and makes it very light. They supply delicious oranges and now tomatoes also. So you see we have really more than we want. Though the temptation to take cooked food is great (the 2nd Steward has offered to have anything specially prepared) we have hitherto resisted it.

I do not get up early. There is no stove to warm myself at. I, therefore, remain in bed up to 9 a.m. and keep warm. Mrs. Gandhi does likewise.

I do fairly decent strolling on deck. The groins are still keeping well.

For reading what time I get I devote to Bengali. I write as much as I can in order to get a hold on the alphabet. Not much time however can be given to study owing to the severely cold weather. One cannot keep warm for long.

So much for ourselves. What about you, I wonder! Mrs. Gandhi often misses you. It shows how people are sometimes appreciated when they are not available.

I can only repeat the formula. Do not allow circumstances to master you. We are made to master them. If we succumb to them, they unman and enslave us. If we control them we ever ascend and grow manlier. Study of Gujarati is a necessity. And do read *The Light of Asia,* Bunyan, Thomas a Kempis again and again and yet again.

I take it you are giving some time to Mrs. Olive Schreiner. It may not be amiss to give W. P. Schreiner a call. His offices are in Victoria Street.

With love,

From Your
OLD FRIEND

From the original: Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

190. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

December 30 [*1914*]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Yet no cable from you. You have made me somewhat anxious. I am hoping against hope that I may have something from you at Port Said this evening. For we reach that place about 9 p.m. tonight.

I have had somewhat of a setback. The piles reappeared and the pain in the side seemed to be slightly greater than before. I attribute the piles to the pure wheat bread I described to you. We have therefore dropped it and we are now living purely on biscuits made there and fruit. The piles have subsided and I am hoping that the ten days that now remain will not cause any complications. I have found a very decent Bengali scholar. So I am reading Bengali with him. All the time I can get is given to Bengali only. Mrs. Gandhi too is not well. She is just now beside me with a severe headache on. I have put her in one of our sleeping chairs. Such are the ups and downs of life and such the hopes and disappointments. I notice that I have lost much in London in mental equilibrium. My mind wavers and longs for things which I had thought it had laid aside. How we are deceived! We fancy that we have got rid of particular desires but suddenly we discover that they were only asleep in us and not dead. No, London has done me no good. Instead of returning to India a man full of health and hope, I am returning a broken-down man not knowing what he is to do or be in India and I did not know before too. But it was a joy not to know, now it is not a joy. The anchor of hope is not there to buoy me up. So, my dear Lower House (the expression has still a sweet flavour), beware of London! You are in the city of Darkness. Let the Inner Light guide you and keep you on the narrow and straight path. I am free of the place and yet it haunts me.

No more now.

With love,

Yours,

OLD FRIEND

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

191. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

ON THE TRAIN,
[*January 16, 1915*]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Not a minute's rest. Your cable received. I am sorry. I shall try. Good-bye.

Love,

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

Yours,
OLD FRIEND

192. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

January 22 [*1915*][1]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Harilal has written to you at my instance. But I wanted to give you a line no matter where I was. We left Rajkot this morning. We are here at a place called Jetpur. I am writing this squatting on the verandah of a nice isolated bungalow. Addresses have been raining on me. I am perfectly sick of them. I doubt very much whether they will serve any purpose. However there they are; I [am] receiving them at the cost of my health. I am due at Poona about the 10th February. Pleurisy has become chronic. It is not very painful but it necessitates great care.[2]

So you are not free to come. There is a divine purpose in all this forced separation.[3] I am anxiously waiting for your letter. And then I may be able to do something. My constant prayer every day is that you may be rightly guided during your stay in London and that you may take no new step hastily.

May I ask you in all you do to think over the past and keep before you our joint ideals?

I had your first letter at Rajkot. The second should have reached me by this time but it has not.

With love,

Yours,
OLD FRIEND

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] From the contents

[2] *Vide* also *An Autobiography,* Part IV ch.'s XLI and XLII.

[3] The addressee was not allowed by the British Government to visit India because of the War and was held up in London.

193. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

RAJKOT,
January 28, 1915

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I have your second letter. Your diary is silent as to your studies. Do you read the *Imitation of Christ*[1] ? Do you attend to the rosary? Do you read Gujarati? Do you read the *Song Celestial* ? The idea of California frightens me. I do not want to restrain you but I would like you not to come to any hasty decision. Do let me try to bring you out here. You need hardly be assured that I shall leave no stone unturned to have you here. At every turn I think of you. At times I feel glad you are not here. For, some of the positions I pass through are most trying. Other times I wish you were here for you would have gained greatly from the experiences you would have passed through in common with me.

Mrs. Gandhi has up to now remained a pure fruitarian. It is a most wonderful thing indeed. I have found no difficulty in remaining a fruitarian up to now. I anticipate none now.

Harilal and Jamnadas are going with me to Bolpur.

With love,

Yours,
OLD FRIEND

From the original: Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

194. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

BOMBAY,
February 6, 1915

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letters. I am writing against time. My travels are not yet finished. I leave here for Poona very shortly and then go to Bolpur. In a fortnight's time I may have some peace at Santiniketan. My ribs are not yet right. I have asked Jamnadas to write to you at length. More next week I hope.

With love,

Yours,
OLD FRIEND

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] By Thomas a Kempis

195. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

February 10, 1915

DEAR MR. KALLENBACH,

The bearer Mr. Khandwala proceeds to England for his studies. Will you please guide him and introduce him to friends?

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

196. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

February 12 [*1915*][1]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I have seen your letter to Mr. Gokhale. Yours to me has not yet reached me. The idea of California does not appeal to me. But I must not interfere. If you think that your pecuniary position will warrant the enterprise and that London will not make you happy, you may go. The best thing, however, is to await Mr. Gokhale's arrival there. You will then discuss with him the whole thing. I feel that if you went to a farm in England it would be better. And all this is subject to the result of my efforts to bring you here. This effort I can only make after reaching Bolpur. I reach there next week.

Your letter shows that you were most miserable at the time of writing. There is no peace but from within. And this I know that any peace brought from without is false and transient. We must all therefore search within. Then there is no disappointment. Try, try again and yet again.

Yes, India is still the place of spirituality that I have pictured to myself. It has brought me unconscious peace. There is much to criticize, much to disappoint; underneath it all there is an intense spirituality. The basis of life is spiritual. You can therefore build straightaway. Not so anywhere else and in the same degree.

Mr. Gokhale is better than he was there but he is no more at peace with himself here than he was there. His nature is to worry.

Your answer to Gandevia was right. You could not give pecuniary

[1] From the contents.

assistance with your sensitive nature. I can quite understand that the incident must have added to your unhappiness. My heart goes out to you. My comfort is that I shall not leave a stone unturned to secure your permit. If I fail[1] — I do not know.

With love and sympathy,

Yours,
OLD FRIEND

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

197. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

SANTINIKETAN,
BOLPUR,
February 17 [1915][2]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

You may now send all letters c/o Servants of India Society, Poona City. There is no responsible party in Rajkot and letters may get lost. The letter you say in yours to Mr. Gokhale you have written to me, has not yet been received by me. It may follow me.

I reach the above place today. I am just now at Burdwan, waiting for a change. Andrews has come here to fetch me. Bolpur is about 20 miles from here. I have a big party, i.e., 6 young men, with me. Of course, Mrs. Gandhi is inseparable. My eldest brother's two boys, the other brother's one boy and Chhotu[3], Chhabildas Mehta's son, whom you know, Harilal and Jamnadas — these form the party.

After consultation with Andrews, I propose to write to the Viceroy[4] myself about you and see what reply is received. I hope that you will take no hasty step. I do not despair of getting you here before the war is over and that within a short time. Anyway I shall try.

Though I am not yet free from pains, I am better. Both of us are still strictly fruitarians.

Andrews sends his love to you. He is by me as I am writing this.

With love,

Yours,
OLD FRIEND

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] For the significant Shakespearean *echo* of the uncertainty expressed herein, *vide* p. 204, paragraph 2, line 3.
[2] Inferred from the contents
[3] Chhotalal
[4] Lord Hardinge

198. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

POONA,
February 25 [*1915*]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

You do not expect a long letter from me this week. This death[1] has severely taxed me and is still doing so. I have hurried back here from Santiniketan. I have not yet joined the Society[2] and I do not know that I ever will. My abstention will perhaps be the best service I shall render to the memory of the Master. However, I do not know.

I am asking Maganlal, who is with me, to write to you at length.

With love,

Yours,
OLD FRIEND

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

199. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

SERVANTS OF INDIA [SOCIETY],
POONA,
March 2 [*1915*]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I have before me your two letters. I have not left out a single week. But when I was physically unable to write, being engaged here, there or elsewhere, I asked someone to write to you. I am happy, am progressing, am strong spiritually and becoming stronger physically but I hate the rush and the constant moving about. Yet it is necessary, I feel. Before I settle down I have to see certain things.

I was in Bolpur last week but Mr. Gokhale's sudden death brought me back to Poona. What an end ! He died in harness. He was in full possession of all his faculties to the last and was working away. I was with him the Sunday previous to his death, which took place on the Friday following. Well, I am without a helmsman. But it is well. He lives in the spirit and his spirit is enthroned in my heart.

I have not joined the Society. Yet I pleaded for admission but there were differences which could not be bridged. So I am to travel about and see things for myself and study. This I shall do.

[1] Of G. K. Gokhale on february 19, 1915
[2] The servants of India Society

Meanwhile I am trying to settle the boys somewhere, possibly near Bombay, i.e., 150 miles from it — in Ahmedabad. Maganlal is now in Ahmedabad looking into affairs [*sic*]. He has risen to the occasion fully. I retain the idea that there is something in the atmosphere here which enables you to be easily spiritual. In spite of the rush I am going through there is peace within. May such peace be also yours.

I was going to concoct a letter to the Viceroy about you in conjunction with Andrews when I was called away, as I have said before. I hope to try again on reaching Bolpur. If I fail, I can only advise that you should stay in London where you are. Better to put up with the ills we have than to risk having greater ones whilst trying to avoid what we have. No happiness obtainable from without. You may study agriculture there. I can understand that. And is there not a better chance of our meeting earlier if you are there than if you were anywhere else? Surely that thought should rivet you to England. You will be surprised that Mrs. Gandhi has developed a passion for you. She thinks of you at every turn. She thinks that our life is incomplete without you. This is not my favourable construction method but this is how it is happening with her just now.

It surprises me with what tenacity she holds on to a purely fruitarian diet and mostly uncooked. I am living on purely uncooked fruitarian food. The meal today consisted of 3 bananas, $1\frac{1}{4}$, 2 small cucumbers, 2 tomatoes and 2 ripe figs and a few green grapes. The latter two were brought by friends only today. You will notice absence of ground-nuts. These I omitted only today because I had a full dose yesterday. I am always better when I have only a few ground-nuts. Of course I am having no physical exercise worth naming. I fancy that you too would have been satisfied with such food. I am going to take up other salad vegetables if necessary in order to compete with the poorest.

I think that you should ring up Lady Cecilia[1] and inquire whether she received the letters you sent. They must have missed her. There is no other explanation. In any case the least that you owe her is to inquire through the phone or walk over to them. I should do that most decidedly.

Now I think I have given you enough. I shall resume the chat next week.

Yet best to address letters c/o Servants of India Society. They will thereby reach me more quickly wherever I am.

[1] Lady Cecilia Roberts, wife of Charles Robert, Under Secretary of State for India

With love,

Yours,
OLD FRIEND

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

200. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[BOLPUR]
March 10 [*1915*]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I write this only to tell you that I have not a minute to write a decent letter to you this week. I therefore send you my love. I am at Bolpur and am leaving tonight for Calcutta and thence for Rangoon.

Yours,
OLD FRIEND

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

201. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

CALCUTTA,
March 13 [*1915*][1]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I am here on my way to Rangoon. I am writing far in advance of the next mail as I may not be able to reach it otherwise, being on the waters.

Extraordinary changes have been made in the Santiniketan school. Andrews and Pearson[2] rose to the occasion and Pearson and I, whilst we were working away at sanitation reform, thought of you — how you would have thrown yourself into the work.

I hope you have given up the idea of going to California. I have not yet written about you[3]. I am waiting for the opportunity.

[1] From the contents

[2] William Winstanley Pearson, a Christian missionary and an active supporter of Indians; for some time teacher at Santiniketan

[3] To the Viceroy; *vide* pp. 202 and 204.

Ramdas is with me going to Rangoon.

With love,

Yours,
OLD FRIEND

[PS.]

This is a general p[ersonal] a[ppeal][1] to you remember me to all friends.

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

202. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

RANGOON,
March 16[2] [*1915*]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

We reached Rangoon this morning. This time I had a real experience of deck passage. The latrines were the filthiest I have ever seen anywhere and so was the so-called bathing place. The latter we simply did not use. The deck was crowded. There was hardly seating accommodation. There was no air space. It was a time of trial. You would almost have died in the latrine. We had three nights of it and 3 days. Yet I am returning as a deck passenger. I am sending a complaint to the company. I understand that the steamer is one of the oldest of the company.

Here in Rangoon it is already very hot. Dr. Mehta however has built a nice place out in the open. It is therefore not unbearable. I should not have come here but for Dr. Mehta. Burma for the present at any rate is not in my line. The country is being exploited by Indians with the assistance of the English.

We stay here about a week and return to India.

I am seeing much, observing much. I am not disappointed. I am finding things as I had expected and I feel that you would have felt the spiritual India, could you have come. The cities are still plague spots. But even in the cities you meet with real men as you do there.

Harilal came to me for a time. He has again left. He has no faith in me and my co-workers except you. He thinks that I have used my sons for my own benefit and sacrificed them to my ambition. He did not put it quite so badly but the purport was unmistakable. The other boys have grown in wisdom. Harilal is now not to receive any pecuniary help from me. I think that is the best thing I can do for him[3].

[1] The source has "p.a."

[2] This appears to be a slip. Gandhiji had reached Rangoon on March 17; *vide* Vol. XIII, p. 162.

[3] *Vide* also Vol. XIII, pp. 36-7 and Suppl. Vol. I, p. 89.

I shall still be travelling for a few months and seeing things.

I must describe Santiniketan to you in my next letter.

For you, I have still the same message. Have patience, find happiness in the situation that faces you. There are others much worse situated.

With love,

Yours,
OLD FRIEND

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

203. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

RANGOON,
March 21 [*1915*]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

This is my second letter from Rangoon. Yours of the 12th February has followed me here.

You want to know my personal life. I shall therefore restrict this to its description. I rise never later than 5 a.m. and often at 4 a.m. Here in Rangoon I go out for a long walk with Dr. Mehta. At 10 a.m. we take the first meal. Mine and Mrs. Gandhi's consists of uncooked fruits and nuts. Groundnuts are roasted. My menu today was 4 bananas, 2 tiny tomatoes, 1 tiny unripe mango chopped, 2 spoonfuls of grated fresh coconut, 4 walnuts, perhaps 2 ounces of date, ground-nut meal mixed, 1 naarangi, 2 slices of wretched melon, 2 lemons and a drink of coconut water. Much the same will be taken at 5 p.m. Dr. Mehta joins me in the fruitarian meal. He adds milk and almonds to the above. Both of us walk about the Town barefoot. Mrs. Gandhi cooks unripe bananas when she can get them. I have now no desire for cooked bananas. Hitherto, there has been no difficulty about procuring fruits and nuts. Several young men in different parts of the country are trying the fruitarian diet. I have asked them to let me have results. The tutor to Dr. Mehta's sons is trying the experiment with me. We retire here at about 10 p.m. Elsewhere I have not been able to do so. The pains in the ribs are still there somewhat. I notice nothing in the groins or the right calf. I have a good appetite now and my bowels move twice. I anticipate no difficulty about continuing the experiment. This country seems to be peculiarly fitted for fruitarian diet. The temptations which I feared there have not overtaken me at all. On the contrary, living our ideals here seems to be comparatively easier.

Dr. Mehta's house is nice and airy. It is very simply conducted. His life is transparent. There is no cant or hypocrisy about it. You would have liked the life here immensely. He has a farm also which is groaning under the weight of fruit trees that were there when he bought it. He has introduced handlooms there.

I leave here on the 29th instant and reach Santiniketan about the 5th April.[1]

Now good-bye.

With love from us all,

Yours,

OLD FRIEND

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

204. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

April 1 [*1915*]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letters. Sometimes I have no time and I am travelling. Naturally I must then only send love. Today is such a time. I have just returned from Calcutta and can only send you love.

Your diaries are still interesting for the omissions.

Yours,

OLD FRIEND

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

205. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

April 8 [*1915*]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I am still wandering, still seeing people and places. Here I am almost beyond the reach of the post.[2] I saw yesterday a little of the Himalayan scenery and I wished you could have been with me as I was wandering. I have not seen anything grander anywhere else. This place lies at the foot of the mountains. It is one of the holiest places of India. But

[1] However, Gandhiji left Rangoon on March 26 and reached Santiniketan on April 2 ; *vide* also Vol. XIII, p. 163.

[2] Gandhiji was in Gurukul Kangri, Hardwar on this day. His Phœnix party had been invited to assist the volunteer corps of the Servants of India Society at the Kumbha Fair at Hardwar; *vide* also the following item and Vol. XIII, pp. 46-7

the holiness is all but gone. I have brought the boys here to help the pilgrims. The air is bracing. The Ganges you see flowing in all her grandeur.

I have not yet decided where I am to settle down. The question is becoming more and more complicated. But some day it will solve itself. 'One step enough for me.'

I have just walked 15 miles. This is my longest walk for months. I do not know how it will affect me. But you will excuse my not giving you a fuller letter. I am not too tired but I have to go to a meeting in a few minutes.

Yours with love,
OLD FRIEND

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

206. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

ON THE WAY TO MADRAS,
April 16 [*1915*]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I am on my way to Madras. This eternal moving is now telling on me and I am pining for rest — my post too cannot be received as no one knows where I am. I shall get letters only at Madras now. My experiences have been rich and varied. Some time or other I may let you have a portion of them. This cannot be until I have settled down somewhere. I have not yet stayed a fortnight at a stretch at any place, not even at Rangoon.

I had hoped to meet the Viceroy at Delhi but he was not there. I have not yet been able to hit upon any method of approaching him about you. I fear that for the time being you will have to wait there. I am sure that you ought not to think of going to California or any other place. I only wish you could find some occupation to steady you. For me there is no doubt that India has a great hold on me. Even amid the most trying circumstances, I am able to perceive the inner life. It may be all a delusion. But it is there.

At Hardwar, one of the holiest places in India, I felt the need to take a further step and this is what I have done. In India I am not to take for my sustenance more than five things during 24 hours and not to eat after sunset. Things include condiments. Thus if I have taken today, say, bananas, dates, ground-nuts, oranges and lemons, I may not take cloves or tamarind. I still take two meals and I have to make

my choice of five things for the day. Both the vows are fairly stiff. But they had to be taken. The spirit was there. The flesh will have to yield. The vows were taken on the 10th instant.[1] I have left the boys at Hardwar to work as volunteer nurses to pilgrims. With me are Mrs. Gandhi and Dr. Mehta's eldest brother.[2] He accompanies me to curb his temper. He is 65 years old. He has become a pure fruitarian and avoids milk also. He is doing very well indeed.

Needless to say we have been travelling 3rd-class throughout. At times it is most trying, involving long night journeys in crowded compartments.

Will you please give the contents of this to Miss Winterbottom and Sorabjee.

With love,

OLD FRIEND

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy: National Archives of India

207. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

April 23 [*1915*]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

In the hope of writing to you at length I deferred writing to you earlier and now I find I would have almost missed the mail. But I suddenly woke [up] with a fright that I had not yet written to you. Here am I, therefore, writing this in the small hours of the morning by candle light. Your diary still remains interesting for what it omits. My dear friend, I know you want to assist me, you could do so even now if you were here. But you could do so from there by realizing our common ideals. You have no notion of how from that distance even you can affect the lives of men here. The powers of a soul purified are illimitable. May you be able to carry out your resolves. More later.

With love,

Yours,

OLD FRIEND

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] & [2] *Vide* Vol. XIII, pp. 63 and 164, and *An Autobiography,* Part V, Ch. VII, p. 310.

208. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

April 29 [*1915*]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I can only send you goodwill by the mail that leaves tomorrow. I am just going to a meeting and from there to a place further away so that if I do not send you this line now I cannot write at all this week.

With apologies and love,

Yours,
OLD FRIEND

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

209. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

AHMEDABAD,
May 13 [*1915*]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Last week no letter went to you. I miscalculated the mail day and found myself at a place from where I could not send a letter to fit in with the mail day at Bombay.

So you have changed the restaurant life for the life at Walden. I do not mind, if it gives you some peace. The chief thing is to occupy yourself in something useful. It is quite clear you will not study there. What you will do when you rejoin me remains to be seen. I see no present chance of my[1] securing permit for you. With the bitterness between the parties increasing, no permits will be granted. I observe too that you are no longer meeting the Roberts. I do hope that this forced separation will nerve you and fit you for the struggle to come. For whilst the atmosphere here is grand, it requires all the greater effort for the perception it gives one.

I am now at a place where, for the time being at least, I shall have fixed up the Phœnix party. We have almost arranged. I am being given a temporary residential place, tools, etc. The leaders here will watch me and my work and meanwhile look about for a place which will be an agricultural site. I shall then have to think out a plan for buildings, etc. In this you could have advised most efficiently. However, just now I must simply do the best I can.

[1] The source here has "you".

My health continues to be good. The pain in the side somehow or other does not leave me entirely. It is difficult to understand the thing. The fruit diet continues and the restriction to five articles does not cause any trouble. The sunset arrangement answers admirably.[1]

I had a rare time in Madras. I met the two widows and I have taken with me one of the little ones of one[2] of the widows.

More in my next.

With love,

Yours,
OLD FRIEND

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

210. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

AHMEDABAD,
May 21 [*1915*]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Here am I now hoping to settle down. The boys are at the Gurukul, Hardwar, I have wired for them and they may be here any day. Two cottages have been placed at my disposal. They are isolated from this big city. There are 3 acres of ground attached to them. Living there I shall conduct the Institution[3] along our lines and shall search for an agricultural plot.

I pleaded for admission to the Society after Mr. Gokhale's death as I knew that such was his wish.[4] Of course, my admission could not mean any alteration of my views. They are too firmly fixed to be altered. I find here nothing but confirmation. I am passing through a curious phase. I see around me on the surface nothing but hypocrisy, humbug and degradation and yet underneath it I trace a divinity I missed there as elsewhere. This is my India. It may be my blind love or ignorance or a picture of my own imagination. Anyway it gives me peace and happiness. It fills me with hope and confidence without which no man could work.

[1] The reference apparently is to the vows Gandhiji took on April 9 at Hardwar; *vide* Vol. XIII, p. 63.

[2] Mrs. Selvan whose son Naiker was taken by Gandhiji to the Ashram; *vide* Vol. XIII, pp. 72 and 76.

[3] The Kochrab Ashram which was established on May 20, 1915 on the outskirts of Ahmedabad

[4] *Vide An Autobiography,* Part V, Ch. VI.

I wonder if you will stick to your carpentry and restaurant-keeping. Both are good education. Your diary does not even give me an idea of your monthly expenses. Does Polak continue to give you satisfaction by way of letters?

Do you do any reading at all? Have the rosary and *Imitation of Christ* disappeared from your view entirely?

With love,

OLD FRIEND

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

211. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

AHMEDABAD,
June 4 [*1915*][1]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I feel like crying out to you 'Do come and help me!' Mrs. Gandhi is again down with her swellings. She has lost all power of resistance. She weeps like a child, is ever angry with me as if I was the party responsible for her swellings. I am over head and ears in work. This institution costs me much trouble. I wish I had the time to describe to you the troubles I am passing through. I am not dejected but I feel lonely. You know what I mean. Heaven knows what will happen. There are so many sick people on the Farm. I want hours of solitude and have not a minute of it. Do 'buck up' and prepare for the struggle of the spirit when you are able to come here.

I know nothing about some honour[2] that has been conferred upon me. I have just received a letter of congratulations. More in my next.

With love,

OLD FRIEND

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] From the contents

[2] The Kaisar-e-Hind Gold Medal; *vide* the following item.

212. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

AHMEDABAD,
June 7, 1915

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I am writing this early in the week as I may not be able at all to write at a later time. Mrs. Gandhi is again very bad with her swelling and has almost become a child. She has no restraint on herself. Then I have to go to Poona and attend to several other things. Distraction is very great. And I am hardly able to give you long letters.

I do not fear your internment. You will simply enjoy it. You will be able to make the best of it.

I understand that the Kaisar-i-Hind Gold Medal has been awarded to me. I have no official intimation as yet.

My difficulties here are of a different type altogether and some of them most trying. When I have greater leisure, I shall describe them to you.

For the time being, if I do not give you long letters, you will know that my whole time is given to organizing the Institution and looking after pat[ients].

I do wish you w[ould] try to take up the course we had jointly devised.[1] Where is *Imitation of Christ* ? What about the rosary? What about the *Song Celestial* ? And why not Gujarati?

With love,

Yours,
OLD FRIEND

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

213. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

AHMEDABAD,
June 15 [*1915*][2]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. The omission of your dairy altogether is, I feel, a retrogression. It was a good measure of discipline. Your diary gave me an insight into yourself for that particular week as nothing else could. Do please therefore resume your diary if you can.

[1] *Vide* p.191.
[2] From the contents

This has been a sad week. Bombay has so weighed me down that I am in a most melancholy mood. If I had to live in Bombay for one year, I would die. I am glad just now you are not with me. I go about barefoot. There is hardly a road clean enough to make you feel safe about your tread. This has not got on my nerves so much hitherto because I have not had the opportunity of walking much. And the closets! I know you would vomit eternally if you merely looked at them. Now what is the duty of a reformer in this position? Can the city life be mended? If not, can he by working in a city perpetuate the life? Suppose he succeeded in getting clean roads and clean closets, not by any means an easy task, what will he have gained? How is he to deal with the filth within? How will he regulate the morality of the people? These are awful questions and I have to answer them, you have to answer them.

The enclosed is a partial or complete answer. Read it carefully and criticize freely and fully.[1] I will send you more copies later. I have a limited number by me here.

The life at Ahmedabad is good. There you would be perfectly at home. The boys are making progress. Only Mrs. Gandhi causes trouble sometimes by her temper and sometimes by her sickness. You have known her in all her temperaments. So I do not need to describe her to you.

Andrews had a severe attack of cholera. He has survived it. He will take care of his health.

I can understand your liking for carpentry. You can be at home with your tools if you have full time given to you for your work. I envy you your occupation — it would be perfect if only you could add some studies. Will you? Do please.

With love,

OLD FRIEND

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] The enclosure probably was a copy of the draft constitution for the Satyagrahashram; *vide* Vol. XIII, pp. 91-8.

214. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

AHMEDABAD,
June 25 [1915][1]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Your letters, last two, have been brief and contained a trace of bitterness. The bitterness was due to the brevity of my letters. But if you knew the rush under which I have been living you would not have grumbled. You might have imagined that during that time the letters to you were the only writing work that I probably did. I hope however that your next letter will be less gloomy.

Your overlooking the diary is a fatal omission. The omission too is partly due, I fear, to anger. But it is again a fall. Do please resume the diary.

I am having extraordinary difficulties. I do not know what they mean. I can only hope that they will chasten us all. The difficulties arise from our strangely simple life. The people around us do not understand us. There is one man who strikes and swears at the boys and prevents them even from using water we are entitled to. Things are getting better somewhat. But new situations give rise to new difficulties. This is the life. To rise at 5 a.m. Worship 6 a.m. Fruit breakfast (meagre) at 6.30 a.m. Manual work 7 to 8.30 a.m. School 8.30 to 10 a.m. Meal 10 to 12. School 12 to 3. Manual work 3 to 5. Meal 5 to 6.30 p.m. Worship 6.30 to 7 p.m. Sanskrit class for the grown-up ones between 7 and 9 p.m. There are 5 new admissions. We are in all 32 at the present moment. Maganlal, Maganbhai and Manilal are the real helpers.

Mrs. Gandhi's health and her temper cause worry. My brother's wives have proved obdurate. They have withdrawn their sons from my care.

Harilal is growing in impertinence. I am, may be, doing an injustice to the young man. But such is the impression created on my mind by his letters. He ever succeeds in doing the wrong thing at the wrong moment.

With love,

Yours,
OLD FRIEND

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] From the contents

215. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

AHMEDABAD,
July 2 [1915][1]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Your letters are getting provokingly brief week after week. Do not give me up like that. You fret that I do not write at length. But imagine a person travelling almost continuously in a crowded 3rd-class compartment and being besieged by visitors immediately on landing. What is one to say in such circumstances ? I did not during my travels get a moment to myself. And now too it is continuous work. But I can now attend to some of my correspondence.

Dr. Mehta asks me whether I am going to try for your entry here. It is an impossibility. Things are becoming stricter and there seems to be no way out of the difficulty. At the same time I am going to make a desperate effort when I meet the Viceroy in the natural course.

The medal has worried me. It was announced without consultation. To refuse a medal would have been churlish. I therefore said nothing about it. I wrote a note to the Viceroy when at length a formal letter conferring the medal came to me. It is not considered the same as a title. It was presented last week[2] at a Government at-home.

Mrs. Gandhi is lying in bed causing some anxiety. She is under the treatment of an Indian physician[3]. She has lost faith in my treatment. She has become a most difficult patient.

I am receiving much criticism on the scheme. I may some day be able to to send you copies of some of it. Here as you may imagine, I have no copying assistance.

I am myself keeping fairly well. Somehow or other I cannot regain my original vigour.

My food just now is only nuts and dried figs or dates and lemons. We are badly off for fruit in this place.

Yours sincerely,
OLD FRIEND

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] From the contents
[2] On June 26 at Poona
[3] Vaidya Jatashanker

216. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

AHMEDABAD,
July 9 [1915][1]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I must say I feel nothing about your being interned. It was to come. You have a rare opportunity for disciplining yourself and of affecting your neighbours. You will have plenty of time to think. This prolongation may mean more prolonged separation between us. But we shall learn to live together more intimately even though we may be separated bodily. In thousand and one things I miss you. In some experiences I feel glad you are not with me. In fullness of time, when we meet, we shall [have] grown, let us hope, better and better able to reach our common goal.

The life here has become most regular and nobody has leisure for idle talk. Boys who wanted to have their ambition fulfilled, I do not encroach upon their time for study. They appreciate this very much.

My diet just now consists of soaked figs, monkey-nuts and lemons. This is a somewhat trying place for cheap fruit. Those who were saltless remain so here also and some now and then become fruitarians for a week or so.

All are learning Hindi, Sanskrit, Tamil, Gujarati and arithmetic. They have $4\frac{1}{2}$ hours of study, apart from their morning study.

How about your cabinet-making ? This ought not to be interrupted. But I shall know more from week to week.

Yours,
OLD FRIEND

From the original : Gandhi- Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] From the contents

217. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

AHMEDABAD,
July 16 [*1915*]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

There is no letter from you for this week.

There is a pencil letter from you complaining of want of news from me. Events have moved with me so swiftly that I did not know what to say and what to omit. Names of men and places I omitted as I could not give you the history of men and geography of places I visited. Bolpur I left as it never was the intention to settle down there. The boys' services were required in the nursing department at a fair in a holy place and they left. They then went to Gurukul whilst I was touring through Madras. After finishing Madras I took up quarters at Ahmedabad and sent for the company. At Madras the two friends who interested themselves in the scheme are lawyers of note. But so many have interested themselves in it. Few are willing to adopt it themselves.

However I feel that it is the right thing. There is something noble in a 7-year-old lad thinking he is working for his meal and he is studying for his country. There is something great if a boy of seven does not look forward to leaving the place when he is learning and altering his life. After a number of years whether many will do this or not is not the question. What is of importance is that some are making a serious attempt to live such a life. There was a verse we read at the morning prayer today. 'Pain and pleasure, happiness and misery are without doubt results of some previous causes set in motion by ourselves.' This thought gives us the faculty for bearing pains without fear or anxiety. If we add to this the thought that what passes as a misery may not be misery at all but divine discipline.[1] If a man about to commit a heinous crime is prevented by snake-bite from fulfilling his purpose, the bite was surely a blessing for him. Our analysis of events is often faulty. The remedy therefore lies in trying to remain unaffected by outward circumstances.

With love,

Yours,
OLD FRIEND

From the original : Gandhi- Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] This sentence is left incomplete in the original.

218. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

AHMEDABAD,
July 22 [1915][1]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter, also the cable sent by Mr. Turner to whom I am writing. I do not know that you expected any cable in reply.

My heart is with you. I have unpacked our goods and as a perpetual reminder I am using your favourite wooden pillow which you will recall you did not want to leave behind. In trying to reduce things to order, I ever think of you, I ever miss you. As it is, I am simply preparing the house as if I wanted to receive you. That is, you are positively with me when I am cleaning up the compound and the closets. I ask myself whether you would approve of my work and the method of cleaning. Your suggestions and your nose I miss so much.

But for better or for worse we must live for some time in physical separation. Only we must so act that we should be nearer in spirit if we have to put up with this enforced physical separation. Your internment has brought you nearer to me, if it is possible for you to be nearer than you were.

Your life there must be a model for the others. How I would love to think that you are there vindicating your German birth, your ancestral faith and our joint ideals. You vindicate the first two if you realize the third. And I know you will not fail.

I shall expect from you a full description of the life there.

I hope you will not allow anything there to irritate you and that you will act with the greatest calmness of mind and sufficient detachment.

Life here is growing sweeter I think. It is difficult but worth trying. More and more order is being evolved. Narandas, Maganlal's brother, is also coming to us. That means that all the boys of this particular cousin of mine are to devote themselves to this kind of life. It is wonderful sacrifice. Narandas you will love when you see him. There is something so good about all the Chhaganlal brothers. My brother's boys and their wives have disappointed me completely and so has my sister[2]. This is strange. And yet not quite so strange. Harilal is more

[1] The year is evident from the contents, e.g; the references to Narandas Gandhi and Gandhiji's sister ; *vide* Vol. XIII, pp. 91, 113 and 127.

[2] Gandhiji's elder sister, Raliatbehn, also known as Gokibehn

and more going away from me. What was before hard for him to follow is now not even worth following. He has come to the conclusion that there is nothing good in the institution. Such is the might of inertia.

I have unpacked all your books. They are somewhat damaged. I shall take care of what has been spared.

Yours,
OLD FRIEND

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

219. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

FROM M. K. GANDHI

AHMEDABAD,
August 23 [*1915*][1]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I have not missed more than two weeks to my knowledge. So when you do not get my letters, you will presume that the fault is not mine.

I am glad you have received all the things in good order. Have you been using the sticks? Have the biscuits kept all right? If they have, I must send you more biscuits and sticks.

Chhaganlal has been here for some time. He is going today to his parents again. He has not yet decided how he will act in India. He does not feel like joining me. Jamnadas too has gone back to Rajkot. His is a pathetic case. He is most undecided. I can weave Indian tape. The mechanical arrangement is very simple. Here it is.[2]

It represents a bunch of strings that receives the warp. A wooden knife serves to press the woof home. A bobbin made of reed unwinds the woof. The tape is from half an inch to two inches in width. Boys are also put on to that work. Presently I shall go to more difficult work.

With love from us all,

Yours sincerely,
OLD FRIEND

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] From the contents

[2] A reproduction of the sketch by Gandhiji appears on an artsheet facing page 224.

220. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

FROM M. K. GANDHI

AHMEDABAD,
August 26 [1915]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. The life here is becoming more and more intense. We have now a handloom on the premises. It is calculated that it will start work tomorrow. I hope to send you the pattern we may turn out. Manilal is fully occupied in that work.

Languages occupy most of the inmates. Thus there is hardly a minute free for anybody. They have all become very studious. Poor Ramdas has always some ailment or another and I find it difficult to get him to reach his original strength. I am trying hard. The others are keeping well. Manilal is becoming stouter. Maganlal is regaining his strength. Mrs. Gandhi has become very active again. I expect a collapse any day. Such is life here. Your presence can complete the life. We sang this evening "When I survey the wondrous cross". How nice it would have been to have had you to join ! The day will come some day and the reunion will be all the sweeter for this compulsory separation.

With love,

Yours,
OLD FRIEND

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

221. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

FROM M. K. GANDHI

AHMEDABAD,
September 9 [*1915*]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I want to be brief today. I have three illnesses on hand today. They are all Tamils and in each case overeating is the cause. One has a very dangerous type of fever. The patient is better but by no means quite out of the wood yet. The other is Fakiri. The third is a new man from Madras. Then we have rearrangement in the Ashram as we have a paid carpenter now working in the premises. (Here I

was so exhausted that I slept off for a few minutes.) Such is work here. And it is this work I want you to share as soon as you can, i.e., as soon as you are free.

With love,

Yours,
OLD FRIEND

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

222. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

FROM M. K. GANDHI

Ahmedabad,
September 17, 1915

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Greater work than passive resistance has commenced. I have taken in the Ashram a Pariah[1] from these parts. This is an extreme step. It caused a breach between Mrs. Gandhi and myself. I lost my temper. She tried it too much. She is not now allowed to take part in the kitchen. Navin has left the Ashram on the account. Many further developments will take place and I may become a deserted man. This tries the resources of the Ashram to an enormous extent. In spite of it all I am happy but a man without any leisure. I shall ask the others to write to you.

Harilal has come with his wife to the Ashram for a few days' stay. His wife will stay longer.

Andrews is due here next week.

With much love,

Yours,
OLD FRIEND

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] Dudabhai Malji Dafda

223. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

FROM M. K. GANDHI

AHMEDABAD,
September 24, 1915

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I have been regularly receiving your letters. I do not care to ask others to write to you as we are all full up to the brim with work.

I had seven patients last week, all more or less in a bad state. It was no ordinary illness. I am thankful to say they are all convalescent now. These included Ramdas and Devdas. They were all treated after our fashion — partial or total starvation and hip-baths.

You know what a Pariah is. He is what is called an untouchable. The widow's son whom I have taken is a Pariah but that did not shock Mrs. Gandhi so much. Now I have taken one from our own parts and Mrs. Gandhi as also Maganlal's wife were up in arms against me. They made my life miserable so far as they could. I told them they were not bound to stay with me. This irritated them the more. The storm has not yet subsided. I am however unmoved and comparatively calm. The step I have taken means a great deal. It may alter my life a bit, i.e., I may have to completely take up Pariah work, i.e., I might have to become a Pariah myself. We shall see. Anyway let my troubles brace you up if they can.

Andrews and Pearson were with me for a day. I lent the latter some of your books. They are both on their way to Fiji in order to investigate the indenture question.

Harilal was here for a few days. He is gone. His wife is here with her children.

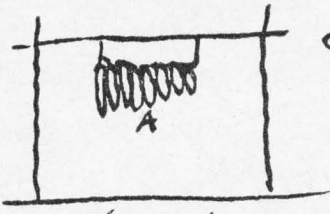
I am sending you a piece of cloth from what has been woven by us. It is Manilal's work. Sewing is mine and Devdas's. May it serve to wipe your hand and may the spirit that has prompted the gift serve to strengthen the inner man in you.

With love,

Yours,
OLD FRIEND

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

arrangement is very
simple. Here it is.



Soto 191

A represents a bunch of strings.
Next comes the warp. B under
knife serves to press the
woof home. C bobbin
made of reed unwinds the
woof. The knife is from
half an inch to two inches
in width. Boys are also
put on to that work. Ben
I shall go to some difficult
work.

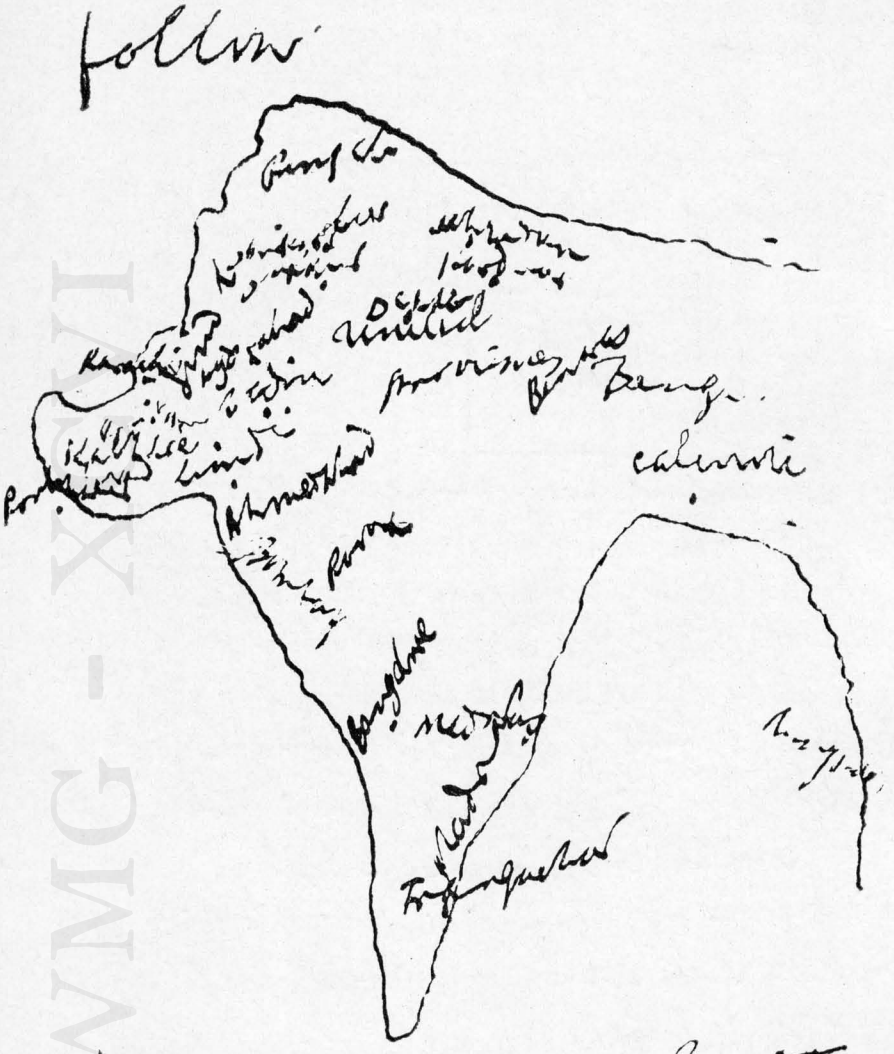
With love from us all

Yours Lovingly

Old Friend.

GANDHIJI'S ILLUSTRATION OF WARP AND WOOF

CWMG - XCVI



A MAP SHOWING THE PLACES VISITED BY MAHATMA GANDHI

224. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

FROM M. K. GANDHI

AHMEDABAD,
October 3 [1915][1]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

No letter from you after your transference. Mr. Turner has however written to me.

The admission of a Pariah family continues to occupy me. I have been deserted by most helpers and the burden is all falling on my shoulder assisted by two or three who are remaining staunch. Poor Maganlal is simply torn asunder. He is in Bombay fixing up with his wife and mother. Now it is a question whether Narandas will come. I have told you that a time may come when I may irresistibly take a step which may result in my being left alone. Well, I must still follow the light as I find it.

Mr. Turner says you are now better situated. I want your letter.

With love,

Yours,
OLD FRIEND

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

225. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

FROM M. K. GANDHI

AHMEDABAD,
October 8 [1915][2]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I have to make this Herculean effort just now under extraordinary difficulties. It is now nearing 9 p.m. Mrs. Gandhi who has been making my life hell for me is just now at me. But I must not miss this weekly communion. I give you this news to show that peace is not to be found from without. I am not at war with myself in spite of the disturbance I have mentioned above. She however does succeed in making me angry at times and throwing me off my balance. I am making a desperate effort to overcome this weakness. The whole situation has...[3]

[1] & [2] From the contents
[3] The source is damaged here.

because I have admitted a man who is every whit as good as she is. She is still talking and I must close.

With love,

Yours ever,
OLD FRIEND

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

226. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

FROM M. K. GANDHI

AHMEDABAD,
October 16 [*1915*][1]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I hope you have received my letter — the one that did not reach you in time. There was no omission [on] my side. We are all so short-handed that I do not like to ask anyone to write to you.

Here there is no extensive piece of ground for cultivation — hardly one acre. There are two roomy houses with little plots of ground attached. We are doing only a little vegetable gardening. Water is drawn from two wells. These are rustic wells, with primitive contrivances for drawing water. The dispute was paltry, out of cussedness. The man felt polluted because the boys fetched water from his side of the well. It was no water dispute.

We are now weaving our own cloth, sewing things, too, ourselves.

The buildings were ready for our occupation. They are hired houses. We are not on our own ground yet. Manilal has completed his weaving lessons. He has now gone to a village to complete his course. Maganlal too has nearly picked it up. Devdas is becoming an expert tailor. He is turning out a fine student.

But the life here — owing to the untouchable problem — has become most difficult for me. Mrs. Gandhi is the cause. And yet as I have told you I am internally at peace.

Now good-bye.

Yours,
OLD FRIEND

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] From the contents

227. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

FROM M. K. GANDHI

AHMEDABAD,
October 23 [1915][1]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. Mrs. Gandhi has become a little better but before she could regain her sanity I had to undertake partial starvation. I lived without nuts for a few days.

Just now we have about 40 guests. Of these 37 are from an institution about 150 miles from here. So we have been obliged for the last 4 days to cook for about 80 people. Fortunately there are some fine workers and the guests themselves do their share of the work. They assist in the kitchen, in water-carrying and grinding.

Carpentry is going strong. We are making sectional book-cases. I think I mentioned this to you. Your books will be housed in one of them. When you see these you will like them. There will be five sections to each. The cost will come to about £ 6 each. Cheap enough you will say. But according to the measure here £ 6 for a book-case is rather a heavy charge.

I wish I could give you a sketch of the handlooms but I cannot. It is an intricate affair. You cannot have any notion from my description because I cannot give you a technical description. Suffice it to say that it has as much string-work as wood-work. The cost of the simplest loom is under £ 7.

Maganlal is to leave for Madras in a day or two in order to finish his Tamil study and his handloom experience. There is a big and rather good handloom business in Madras.

Did I tell you that we all remain in the house bare-bodied ? All we wear is *dhotar* — the cloth round the waist. It is the sanest thing we could have done. I receive visitors, both English and Indian, in that condition. So you will see that the cost of clothing will be very little. We shall confine ourselves to our own production.

And now good-bye. The bell has gone to serve the boys. Do come soon and take your share in the serving.

Yours always,
OLD FRIEND

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] From the reference to Maganlal's Tamil studies; *vide* also Vol. XIII, p. 138.

228. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

FROM M. K. GANDHI

AHMEDABAD,
October 30, 1915

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Not a week just now passes but has its surprises for me. Chhaganlal seems to be dangerously ill. He has been persistently coughing blood and says he is going down. He eats little. I had to telegraph saying he should be sent if still ill. Things at Phœnix are not moving well otherwise. Pragji has not much heart in the work. I do not know that I can spare anybody from here. Maganlal went on Thursday to Madras with his wife and the two daughters. Fakiri and another have joined him. Maganlal is to finish his Tamil course and handloom work. So he can be ill spared just now. Mrs. Gandhi continues to cause trouble. So you see my difficulties are fairly thick. They give me food for thought but no anxiety. I know that I can but do little.

You are afraid of the increasing intensity of life here. But I feel sure you will like it when you come to it, especially after the experiences you are going through.

Yours sincerely,
OLD FRIEND

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

229. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

FROM M. K. GANDHI

AHMEDABAD,
November 26 [*1915*][1]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

You have asked me to tell you more about Andrews and Pearson than I have done. I came in very close touch with both of them in Santiniketan. We came nearer one another than we ever were. They are both now in Fiji investigating the indenture question. Before going, they passed some time here. They were quite happy. They are to be back in two months' time. Pearson is a full-fledged teacher at

[1] From the contents; *vide* Vol. XIII, pp. 126-30.

Santiniketan. Andrews is the Poet's mentor. He takes no part in teaching. Andrews was at death's door recently having had a severe attack of cholera. He was better when he left.

Maganlal was upon his trial when the Pariah was admitted. He stood it well. He remains as much attached to the Ashram as ever. But what I said in my letter holds good. My soul may take me anywhere any day and I may find myself without the staunchest of my co-workers at that time. It will certainly be no fault of theirs. I cannot expect them to understand or follow me in all my flights.

Mrs. Gandhi still remains disturbed. She does not want to live away from me. If she could overcome the strong desire to live with me, she would have left me long ago.

Jeki had a son born to her in Fiji. She is now in Rangoon. I have not met her. Dr. Mehta was here the other day. He told me she was well.

Indian Opinion has been reduced in size. The price too has been reduced. It is 1d. now. Ritch has returned to South Africa.

This finishes the budget of news.

You say you have not influenced your surroundings, if anything you have been influenced by them. I do not gather it from your letters. In any event one certainly cannot be too much on one's guard. True worth of a man seems to me to consist in his capacity to resist his surroundings. It is the measure of his self-realization. If we control ourselves we cannot be controlled by others, not even by our surroundings, not fashion, nor food, nor spectacles, nor games, nor company, nor hobbies. There is no true happiness without this real SELF RULE. You have a unique opportunity of acquiring it. May it be your lot to do so.

With love,

Yours,
OLD FRIEND

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

230. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

FROM M. K. GANDHI

AHMEDABAD,
December 3 [*1915*]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I am today at a place[1] in Kathiawad collecting subscriptions for the Servants of India Society. There is a member of the society with me. We have been accommodated in a beautiful cottage built on a splendid hill commanding a fine view of the country. The place has a population of 7,000 men. It has 300 handlooms. It is ruled by an Indian prince having limited jurisdiction within his own state.

I shall not see your letter yet for two days perhaps. It must have been received at Ahmedabad yesterday.

Mrs. Gandhi is with me.

Yours as ever,
OLD FRIEND

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

231. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

FROM M. K. GANDHI

AHMEDABAD,
December 10 [*1915*][2]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I have your two letters delivered at the same time. One of your letters complains of absence of any letter from me. I can only tell you that I have not missed a single week.

Just now I have been travelling in connection with the Gokhale Memorial. Your letters have followed me at one of the places. You question whether you will be able to follow the life here after the experiences you are going through there and especially after the changes introduced here. Well, the temptations which I feared here have been no temptations and I fell all the stronger for my stay here. Will it not be so for you also? Anyway, do not anticipate any trouble please. I

[1] Wankaner
[2] From the contents

think you will find the life pleasant enough here. But when will that golden time come? I am praying for it to come soon and I know you are too.

With love,

Yours,
OLD FRIEND

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

232. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

FROM M. K. GANDHI

AHMEDABAD,
December 18, 1915

MY DEAR FRIEND,

There is no letter from you this week. I have just returned from my tour. I am unable therefore to give you a long letter this week.

Dr. Mehta is here for a few days. There is still sickness at the Ashram. Somehow or other I cannot get rid of it. I am endeavouring to find out the cause. This time it is Parthasarathy[1].

Yours ever,
OLD FRIEND

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

233. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

FROM M. K. GANDHI

BOMBAY,
December 25, 1915

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I have come to Bombay for the Congress week. There is no sincerity about anything. 'Much cry and little work' proverb applies most appropriately. What I should have done I do not know. The boys are with me as volunteers and they are not wanted. I made a great mistake in bringing the boys at all. Mrs. Gandhi is not here. She does not yet appreciate my action about the Pariah friend. Manilal too has remained behind. Dr. Mehta is here. He is likely to be here yet for a few days.

[1] The name misspelt " Bharathsarathi" here and in a few other letters has been corrected to read thus.

Imamsaheb and young Sorabji have arrived from Natal. More next week.

Yours ever,
OLD FRIEND

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence Courtesy : National Archives of India

234. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

FROM M. K. GANDHI

AHMEDABAD,
March 11, 1916

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I have just come here to revive my breath and prepare for going to Hardwar. I shall be travelling yet for a while. I cannot send you the things you want as both Maganbhai and Manilal are away on business. There is no one else who knows anything about the things that are put away.

My life here is curious. I feel like a stranger in the midst of so many who think they know me. There is kinship only to a certain extent. Everything I say pleases often, sometimes wounds, rarely convinces and still more rarely is conviction followed by action. All this you will see some day when peace takes the place of this seeming-never-to-be-ending war. But I am quite happy in my aloofness. I feel that I am right. It is this inner happiness which I would like you to have. And your present position is just the experience that should give you the happiness I have described. You have leisure for introspection and no worry save what you will give yourself. 'Man does not live by bread alone.' Animal enjoyment is the least part of one's life. But we have made it the most important of all — indeed in some cases it has become the only important part of life. This ought to be changed. Each one of us can do it in our own case. Will you not use your opportunity?

Ramdas is now better. He is not yet sufficiently acclimatized. That accounts for his indifferent health. He is, however, gaining ground and is likely to be all right in a short time. Fakiri is still far from well. He does cause anxiety. He is unable to restrain his palate.

With love,

Yours,
OLD FRIEND

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

235. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

FROM M. K. GANDHI

AHMEDABAD,
April 1 [*1916*][1]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I am at last in Ahmedabad, for some weeks at any rate.

Your things are now being collected. The next mail you should receive them. I am trying to manufacture biscuits without an oven. You will like them.

I never previous to the letter under reply received any letter regarding your things.

I never received the wooden pillow you have referred to in several letters of yours.

During the week I resolved not to admit to the Ashram for one year anyone either young or old. Newcomers have taxed me too much and they have disturbed the even tenor of the life of the Ashram. I know you would have, had you been here, long ago pushed me to this decision. However, I have come to it after bitter experience.

We are now exactly 30, young and old. Of these Maganlal and Jamnadas are in Madras training in Tamil and hand-weaving. Jamnadas's wife is also learning hand-weaving.

The Pariah member's wife having proved untrustworthy has left the Ashram.

During the travels just completed, I went to a place called Dehradun. It is at the base of the Himalayas. You will love the place. The air is bracing and there are so many walks to the Himalayan hills. Of course I was there only for a day but was able to know much about the place. Ramdas, Prabhudas and Devdas were with me.

Have I told you that I have just begun to take cooked food? The price of fruitarian food is prohibitive here and one cannot get even dates and monkey-nuts at certain places for love or money. This is a sad discovery. It tells its own tale. It is there however and one has to put up with it. This is the 6th day of cooked food. I take rice and *dholl,* a vegetable and a lemon. This makes 4 articles. Today I am going to add oil. I have felt extremely weak during the six days and not half as satisfied as with the fruitarian meal. I shall see what

[1] From the contents

the addition of oil does for me. Later on I shall take wheat or some other corn.

Chhaganlal is due here about the middle of the month. West and Pragji are in charge at Phœnix.

I have written to Polak about you. Every one of our company is just now involved in his own special troubles. This war has naturally disturbed individuals in all parts of the world.

Ramdas is getting stronger. Devdas has lost in health. He thinks too much. He has developed a tremendous sense of responsibility. And he has become such a fine student. I have been trying to wean him from his studies. I do not know how far I shall succeed.

Budri is due here today. Sivpujan too has become a regular student but not so accurate as Devdas.

Fakiri's death[1] was a glorious death. I have seen few dying such a peaceful death. He was conscious to the last moment. He was screaming with pain. I said, " Fakiri, take the name of God". He began to utter the sacred syllable and went off to sweet sleep from which he never awoke. The cremation ceremony was the simplest. We gave information to nobody. We fasted for half the day. We chanted hymns before the body was taken to the crematorium.

With love to you from us all,

Yours,
OLD FRIEND

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

236. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

FROM M. K. GANDHI

AHMEDABAD,
April 22 [*1916*][2]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

If you were here, you would go out into the jungle and like Job give way to crying bitterly. Such is the misery we are passing through just now. Naransamy still obstinately clings to his fever, the after-effect of smallpox. Chhotam is down with it and so are Bala and Parthasarathy. Maganlal is sick, Vrajlal (one of the strongest workers) is sick. Two more are on the sick-bed and I have an attack of pleurisy which may develop heaven knows to what extent. The only sound ones are Maganbhai, Manilal, Jamnadas and Mrs. Gandhi. And they may collapse

[1] On March 12, 1916
[2] From the contents

any day. Our trust is in God. He has a right to try us. May we have the strength to go through the fire. And let our sorrows bring you some comfort. Yours are of a different type and avoidable. Do then rise from them and learn that those who are near and dear to you are also suffering in their own way. There is no escape from it in this wide, wide world.

The parcel containing biscuits and sticks is leaving today. I shall await your criticism.

With love,

Yours ever,
OLD FRIEND

[PS.]

Some home-made cloth is being packed in your parcel containing biscuits. Did I ever tell you that I never got the wooden pillow you mentioned?

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

237. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

FROM M. K. GANDHI

AHMEDABAD,
April 27 [1916][1]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Sickness is still there. Thambi has written recalling his other boys. I have told him that if such is his final decision I shall certainly send them.

Round the dark cloud the silver lining just now is made by Mrs. Gandhi, Ramdas and Maganlal. Mrs. Gandhi has just now risen to her fullest height. She keeps well and uses herself for the Ashram. Maganlal is engaged in developing the weaving industry. Ramdas makes an excellent uncomplaining nurse. Manilal is, of course, all right. But I have specially singled out the three as outstanding personalities just now. At the time of writing my pleurisy is still a cause of care if not also of anxiety.

You ask why I have taken up [the] 5 articles vow. Well, Hardwar is a holy place. The Fair I attended occurs only every 13 years. I felt that I ought to do something. Hence the vow. I have now been on cooked food for over a fortnight. I do not know that I feel appreciably the worse for it. Some say in appearance I have improved. Cooked

[1] From the contents

food had not a fair chance yet. I have taken very little oil. In fact mostly I avoid oil altogether. The cost is only $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. The difference in cost is tremendous. These are the places I have visited. It is a very rough map[1] but perhaps you will follow :

I have marked only those I can recall at present.

Surely you had a right to ask for biscuits and they are gone. I hope you will receive them in good order. With them has been packed a piece of towel made at the Ashram. A bundle of sticks too has left and so [has] a box containing your clothes. I have asked Maganbhai to send you a full list.

And now good-bye.

With love,

Yours ever,
OLD FRIEND

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

238. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

FROM M. K. GANDHI

AHMEDABAD,
May 27 [1916][2]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I have two letters this week from you. You want all the news from here. I think I have supplied you with it. Today Harilal's wife, who has been here for a few days, leaves for Calcutta to join her husband. Manilal goes as escort. We shall be today 20 in the Ashram when Chanchi has gone. Maganlal is doing well with his handloom work. Ramdas and Devdas are going forward with their studies, which consist of Sanskrit, Gujarati, Tamil and Hindi. I am their sole teacher. Prabhudas is with his father just now. I do not know what Chhaganlal will do in the end. Maganbhai has left the Ashram for good. He could not as he said bear the responsibility. He could not comply with all the rules. So now Maganlal is the only responsible man left with me barring Manilal. There are other new men. They are good but still untried. What I have said may yet come true—everyone may find it necessary to leave me. I think I have strength to face that situation. You say you are morose there. Can you not see much in the above to give you strength and comfort? To be confined ought not to make the

[1] Reproduced on an artsheet facing p. 225.
[2] From the contents

difference it seems to make in your life. Oh, if you could but see there are millions much worse off than you are. What of the combatants themselves? What of the families they leave behind? I wish you could get out of the Slough of Despond and make the best use of the situation as it faces you.

With love,

OLD FRIEND

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

239. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

FROM M. K. GANDHI

AHMEDABAD,
June 24 [1916][1]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

This letter will make you sick. Yet I must give you the information. Manilal has deceived me again. He gave some money to Harilal and disowned all knowledge of it when I questioned him. He had no leg to stand on. He confessed his fault immediately. But the incident showed the boy's extreme weakness. He has therefore left the Ashram for Madras and has to throw himself on his own resources. If he makes proper use of this disciplinary period, one may yet make something of him. He is a very weak boy. I have been fasting during the week. I fasted $3\frac{1}{2}$ days. I broke it yesterday. The last day found me very weak and suffering much. I am all right now and not much the worse for the fast. You will please therefore not worry about me or Manilal. Apart from this incident the Ashram is going forward. The handloom-weaving is being pressed forward for all it is worth. We hope to make the place self-supporting in a year's time. This I know you will like immensely.

Of shifting to Dehradun or elsewhere, only when you are here. The climate of Ahmedabad is by no means so bad or at all bad. Only the boys were becoming acclimatised and I had not yet found out the food proper for the climate. Now I think I have hit upon it. All the smallpox patients are now hale and hearty and probably by the time you are here, the marks will have all gone. Naransamy has gained. He has almost lost his deafness and he is daily growing fatter. There are some new men whom you will be delighted to meet. They are

[1] From the contents

strong and conscientious workers. Of old and experienced hands Maganlal is the only one left. But then he is a host in himself and he is not likely to desert me.

I do hope that by this time at least you are in possession of all your things.

Good-bye and much love.

Yours,
OLD FRIEND

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

240. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

FROM M. K. GANDHI

AHMEDABAD,
July 24, 1916

MY DEAR FRIEND,

The wooden pillow you describe never reached me. I am asking Dr. Jivraj Mehta. All of us appreciated the portrait of yourself and companions you have sent. We all think that you are looking well. But I know that you are not mentally as happy as you ought to be. I have been reading *Pilgrim's Progress* to the boys. Christian and Hopeful are in the grip of Giant Despair. The latter suggests to them suicide. Christian half succumbs to the suggestion. Hopeful strenuously fights against it and argues that when we find ourselves in a tight corner, we should think of those who might be in a still tighter [one]. The argument is good. There are millions in a much worse condition than you are in. And then, after all, happiness is a mental state. And no one but ourselves can control that state. In the midst of plenty a man may be most miserable and another amid penury may be as happy as the smiling sun. Why worry about your South Africa affairs ? After all you were ready to let them go. Let them go. So much the less burden. Whilst under restraint you are looked after. When the restraint is removed, you will come to the Ashram and bring with you a pair of sturdy hands and feet. We are employing ours to make us self-sustained. You will find yourself in such an independent community and take your natural place.

With love,

Yours,
OLD FRIEND

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

241. LETTER TO MILLIE GRAHAM POLAK

AHMEDABAD,
September 5 [1916][1]

MY DEAR MILLIE,

I have your letter today. Even if Henry comes, you will be there to receive this letter. I had Henry's long letter but I did not wish to interfere with his plans, so I said nothing. I quite share your feeling that if his stay there can only increase the bitterness of his soul, it is better that he should not be so near the fire. All the same it will be a calamity for South Africa, his permanent withdrawal. Both the races will lose a common friend. But at times, it is better to lose one's friends. We sometimes know them only after they are gone.

Yes, you will feel very lonely. I fear very much that you will never have a really settled life. Reformers somehow or other manage not to have a settled life. You will, therefore, have to find peace in preparedness to move on when required. I do not share Henry's optimism about the London practice. Anyway I shall be perfectly useless in helping him in that direction. I know not a soul to whom I could appeal for such help. If however, he cannot find his way to settle in London, he will find little difficulty in doing so here. There is ample scope for his energy in India. But I will not anticipate the future. I do not fear the intimate issue. We have a common belief in the goodness of God. Though the path immediately in front of us may be full of darkness, as to the destination to be reached, there never would be any doubt.

Of course, I shall go to Bombay to meet Henry unless his coming synchronizes with the Provincial Conference meeting here.

Morgan-Bush affair is a sad thing. Thambi never wrote again to me. I am ready to send the boys if he wants them.

We are here a busy nine—all engaged in hand-weaving.To me it appears as a great thing. But we shall see. Just now we expect that we shall be self-supporting in a year's time through this work.

With love to you all,

Yours,
BHAI

[PS.]

Manilal does not yet know his own mind.

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] From the references to the Provincial Political Conference which was held in Ahmedabad in October 1916, and Polak's arrival; Gandhiji received him at Bombay on November 13, 1916; *vide* also the following item.

242. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

FROM M. K. GANDHI

AHMEDABAD,
September 10, 1916

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I was examining yesterday one of your boxes to see if time had done any damage. I did not see much damage done but it brought to mind the old days when we cooked our own meals. I compared those times to the present ones. It saddened me to think that you were not here to share the greater simplicity. Everything in the box that I examined betrayed greater luxury than is allowed at present. I cannot give you an adequate picture of it. The life has to be seen. There is much left undone before the life can become grandly simple. There is a shoddiness about it which I would like to get rid of. But that cannot be until we have built our own cottages.

News from South Africa show that Polak may leave South Africa in October for India. He does not want to settle here. He wants to see if he can get Indian connections for practice in London. There is not much hope of it.

I know you write regularly but the delivery has become irregular. There is again nothing from you this week. I hope mine you receive regularly.

There is again a storm in the Ashram. The Pariah family had temporarily gone. They returned yesterday. Mrs. Maganlal therefore suddenly decided to leave. I offered no opposition and she with her children has gone to Rajkot. Poor Maganlal! He is going through the most terrible times of his life. He feels most keenly this separation from those that [are] nearest him. He does not know what his duty is. He does not want to leave me and he can hardly bear the present blow. The Maganlal of olden days—robust, jovial, quickhanded and quickwitted is no more to be seen. He has aged. He is careworn. He is rarely healthy. He is absent-minded, without hope, without peace. I do not know what to do for him and how to help him. One can only trust that time will heal all the wounds and that he will yet be his old self again.

Manilal is at Madras ever finding out ways of ease and luxury. The life of discipline is gone for him. That of indulgence has begun.

He has seen friends. They have begun to fondle him. He has not been able to resist them. Heaven knows what he will now be when he returns from Madras.

Most of the inmates of the Ashram have gone out for a picnic. They have taken roasted wheat and gram flour with them for food with radishes as a salad. The distance is only five miles. They return in the evening.

Yours ever,
OLD FRIEND

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

243. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

FROM M. K. GANDHI

AHMEDABAD,
September 14, 1916

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I was assisting the carpenter yesterday. Here carpenters have to practically make their own tools. They make their own handles. They turn one tool into some other. The carpenter here wanted a handle to his screwdriver. I had to assist him at that. He made it out of a piece of ebony. I thought he had turned out a piece of art in about two hours. You will probably laugh at it. As I was sitting opposite the carpenter, I thought of you and asked myself what you would say to it all — the manner of working it, pressing two hours in the middle of his work, giving so much time to a mere handle ! Such is life here. For me there is poetry in it. There is no mad rush in this sort of life.

Polak is expected here in a month's time. There is no cable yet. I may receive one any day.

Naransamy, Parthasarathy and Bala are all down. The first two have a violent attack of indigestion. Naransamy is out of danger now. The other two have been very severely ill but they were never in the danger zone. All have yielded to home treatment.

I had two letters from you delivered at the same time.

With love,

OLD FRIEND

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

244. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

FROM M. K. GANDHI

AHMEDABAD,
October 1 [1916][1]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

These sheets are old and pleasant reminders. I am using up all this stock.

I do not know that I shall welcome your exchange. That may mean complete cutting off. At the same time probably you are right in having accepted the exchange when you had the choice. I shall eagerly await your letters until the fate is decided.

Yes, Polak is coming. He has not yet left South Africa for there is no cable. He has not been appreciated. Here we are still at the looms more concentrated than ever.

Parthasarathy and Bala I am presently sending to South Africa. They want to go. Mrs. Naidoo asks me to send them. Thambi says nothing.

With love,

OLD FRIEND

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

245. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

FROM M. K. GANDHI

AHMEDABAD,
October 8, 1916

MY DEAR FRIEND,

My sorrows are coming thick on me. Sickness I cannot get rid of in spite of the greatest care and precaution. Ramdas is down again. So is Maganlal and two others. Prabhudas is more or less an invalid. Fatima and Amina are rotting with boils. Imam Saheb is just recovering. The three Naidoo boys only just recovered. This means nearly half the company needing attention. If I had only doctoring and nursing to attend to I should not mind but the kitchen and the looms and some public work—this fills the cup. And yet I know I should not mind. I

[1] From the contents

need Job's patience. All this news should make you see that yours is by no means the worst state and yet if you feel miserable it is clearly a case of "mind is its own place, it can make heaven of hell and hell of heaven".[1]

Andrews has returned from Japan and may be coming to Ahmedabad shortly.

With love,

Yours,
OLD FRIEND

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

246. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

FROM M. K. GANDHI

AHMEDABAD,
November 6 [1916][2]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Today is the Hindu year's last day. We are therefore all busy as you may imagine. I can only therefore send you our greetings and wish that we may soon join.

With love from all,

Yours,
OLD FRIEND

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] The quotation from John Milton's *Paradise Lost,* I, 253, reads thus in full : "The mind is its own place and in itself can make a heaven of hell, a hell of heaven."

[2] The letter has been placed here serial-wise among those of 1916.

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247. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

FROM M. K. GANDHI

AHMEDABAD,
November 12 [1916][1]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I am today in an out-of-the-way place. I had your doleful letter. *You* have lost nothing and therefore *you* have gained nothing. That there has been loss in your affairs is no virtue of yours. You would have prevented the loss if you could have. I appreciate your anxiety to be and feel totally independent before you can live in comfort with me.

All I say is when the agony of the war is over, you will first hasten here and then arrange your programme. That is what I shall hope and pray for. Polak is due any day now. When he arrives I shall confer with him and write to you fully. Meanwhile let this be your comfort. The loss that millions have sustained is nothing compared to yours.[2] And a man's worth is tried not in his prosperity but adversity. Do therefore cheer up.

With deep love,

Yours,
OLD FRIEND

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

248. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

FROM M. K. GANDHI

AHMEDABAD,
November 14 [1916][3]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I cannot get rid of illness from the Ashram. I am making experiments but they do not answer completely. The slightest indulgence tells upon the boys. Naicker, Purshottam (a new boy), Parthasarathy and Ramdas are down and so is Anna's wife. Anna is the Tamil friend who has joined the Ashram. They are most of them down with fever.

[1] From the contents. Polak arrived in Bombay on November 16, 1916, and Gandhiji who went there to receive him had stopped by at Umreth on November 12.

[2] The reference obviously is to the ravages of World War I. The sentence, it would appear, should read : ''The loss you have sustained is nothing compared to that of the millions''; *vide* also p. 245.

[3] From the contents

This is the fever season, but we ought to be immune. This illness taxes me much. The introduction of the Pariah family had already put an undue strain on me and now comes the sickness. However we make merry and go on. Only I should like you to be with me on such occasions. But what are we when we consider the thousands who are just now separated ! We must make the best of it and exercise the patience of a Job.

The new bookcase is ready and is a complete success. It looks strong and decent. It is easily portable. Sivpujan and Coopoo have been at it. Evidently you too will be learning cabinet-making there in a way you would not have done elsewhere. Your experiences will all be useful in later life.

With love,

Yours,
OLD FRIEND

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

249. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

FROM M. K. GANDHI

AHMEDABAD,
December 3, 1916

MY DEAR FRIEND,

So, this will reach you in your new surroundings. You are having the richest experiences of your life. Those of us who are unwilling spectators of this mighty tragedy may, if we will, learn the true lesson of life. You say you have lost during these two years.[1] I am sure you will not have when we come to the end of it all. You have never *wanted* to live an aimless and selfish life. Those who want to find happiness in realizing essential oneness of all life, as I know you do, cannot fail to gain a great deal from the experiences such as you are having. Anyway all you learnt is now being tested in a manner least expected by you or me. But do not worry over your South African affairs. It will be time to do so when the war is over. Your next few letters will now be my special care. Remember 'Lead Kindly Light'. Lay stress upon 'one step enough for me'. It is not given to us to peep into the future. If we but take care of the present, the future will take care of itself.

[1] *Vide* also p 244.

All but Polak, a member, and I have gone apicnicking today. It is a Sunday and it is at the present moment about 4 p.m. This is our winter season and the weather is superb. This is just the time of the year when one could walk out for the whole day.

With love from us all,

Yours always,
OLD FRIEND

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

250. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

FROM M. K. GANDHI

AHMEDABAD,
December 17, 1916

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I have two letters from you together. I hope that by the time this reaches you, uncertainty about your fate will have vanished and that you would feel settled so far as it is possible to feel like that in these times. You have added up your gains and losses. It is a difficult task. We often deceive ourselves and what may appear to be losses may be gains in reality and *vice versa.* The measure of progress is the measure of resistance to temptations. The world may judge us by a single fall. But we might in spite thereof have risen if we have resisted numerous temptations previous to the fall and after the fall we are conscious of it and sincerely desirous of retracing the steps. To count losses and gains therefore is not an easy matter by any means.

Dr. Mehta has been here for a few days. Polak is returning tomorrow from Madras. Manilal and Ramdas will be soon with me, as they will be going to South Africa to help West. I think I have already informed you of this move. Of the four boys I shall therefore have only Devdas.

With best love,

Yours,
OLD FRIEND

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

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251. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

FROM M. K. GANDHI

AHMEDABAD,
January 14, 1917

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Your post has become irregular nowadays. I have missed two weeks. I was at Lucknow and so besieged by visitors and filled with appointments that I had no time left. I hope you will forgive me.

The Ashram has never been so free from illness as it is at present. Everybody is enjoying good health except myself. I suffered from malnutrition in Lucknow and have not thrown off the effect yet. But I too am steadily gaining ground. I tried there to live on monkey-nuts and dates only. It brought on constipation.

Chhaganlal has accepted service in a mill in Baroda. He is leaving us tomorrow. Manilal and Ramdas will leave for Phœnix next month. Mrs. Gandhi has gone to Porbunder to stay with her brother for a few weeks. Imam Saheb returns to us in a week's time. This about gives you an idea of the composition of the Ashram at the present moment. Polak is in Allahabad staying with some friends.

With love,

Yours,
OLD FRIEND

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

252. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

FROM M. K. GANDHI

AHMEDABAD,
January 21, 1917

MY DEAR FRIEND,

After some weeks I have a letter from you. It is full of complaints against me regarding absence of any letter from me. Well, I have missed but two weeks. Last week I gave you my reasons for it. Otherwise I have written regularly but to the Switzerland address. You insisted on my writing to you there in view of your impending transfer. We are well here. From the[1] health point of view the condition of the Ashram

[1] The original has "a".

has been never so good as now. This letter I am sending to your English address. I met Andrews in Lucknow. Polak is in Allahabad. Today everybody has gone out for a picnic. Only Ramdas and I and a friend remain behind. I have already told you in one of my letters that Manilal and Ramdas are about to go to Phœnix to replace Pragji and Bhayat.

With love,

Yours,
OLD FRIEND

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

253. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

FROM M. K. GANDHI

AHMEDABAD,
March 31, 1917

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I have not written to you for the last 4 weeks. I have been incessantly travelling. You will understand this when I tell you that out of 24 days, I was for 17 nights in the train. Every mail day found me out of reach of the mail steamer. And I was too preoccupied to anticipate the mail day. The reason for this rush was the indenture question which took up all my energy. The question is now satisfactorily solved. The Viceroy has done nobly in the matter.

Your post has become most irregular now. For weeks I have only one letter. Health at the Ashram is now quite good. I have partly found the key. Oil did not suit the inmates. From 1/2 lb. per day, I have increased the quantity of milk to 19 lb. per day ! Manilal and Ramdas have gone to South Africa to replace Pragji who has returned for his marriage. Maganlal, Devdas, Prabhudas and Maganlal's children are the only old hands now remaining. Chhaganlal may come. Harilal is getting on nicely at Calcutta. Jamnadas is at Rajkot. Revashankar, having finished his training as a weaver, has established himself at Rajkot.

We have done no agricultural work yet as we have not yet secured a piece of ground.

Polak is in India doing a good deal of travelling. He must have written to you. I shall inquire.

With love,

Yours,
OLD FRIEND

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

254. LETTER TO MILLIE GRAHAM POLAK

AHMEDABAD,
April 4 [*1917*][1]

DEAR MILLIE,

After having conferred with Mr. Ambalal, I have come to the conclusion that it is no use relying on the Tyabjis. Ceilia will definitely leave Bombay on the 6th instant. I am sending Mama of the Ashram with her as far as Ooty. The extra expense is a trifle in comparison. Mama will travel in the servants' compartment attached to the 1st and 2nd-class carriages. He is a most capable and resourceful man for such purposes and he is a much-travelled man.

You will have wires from different places and you need have no anxiety on this score.

I am going to Bombay in advance of Ceilia. I shall not be in Bombay to see her off. But as Mama is with her, I am at ease and I hope you will feel likewise. I must be off now.

With love,

Yours ever,
BHAI

From the original: Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

255. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

C/O BABU GORAKH PRASAD,
MOTIHARI, CHAMPARAN,
April 16 [*1917*][2]

DEAR HENRY,

I am here today. Nothing untoward yet. You must have received my letter from Muzaffarpur. I have heard nothing like what I have been experiencing here.

Please forward copy of my letter to Mr. Shastriar and Mr. Petit also. I think that the Imp[erial] Cit[izenship] Ass[ociatio]n should take it up *when* the time comes for it. My letter[3] ought *not* to be made public unless something happens. No private steps too should be taken.

With love,

Yours,
BHAI

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] From the reference to Ceilia's departure for Ooty and to Gandhiji's Bombay programme; *vide* Vol. XIII, pp. 357, 360 and 364.

[2] From "Motihari, April 16" in the date-line

[3] To the Private Secretary to the Viceroy: *vide* Vol. XIII, pp. 368-9

256. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

FROM M. K. GANDHI

April 16 [1917][1]

MY DEAR HENRY,

The enclosed will tell you its own tale. I have drawn up [a] memorandum of instructions[2] for the workers here. You will get that also. I may get time to write another letter.[3] I have sent copies to Shastriar, Andrews and Natrajan. Am sending one to the Ashram.

With love,

Yours,
BHAI

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

257. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

FROM M. K. GANDHI

MOTIHARI,
April 17, 1917

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I am on one of the loveliest spots of the earth—very near the Himalayas — and yet I cannot get a glimpse of them. Just now it is 3 a.m. I have been writing the whole night. I have come here to settle some labour troubles. The authorities do not want me. They have asked me to leave. I do not go. I am therefore to be tried for contempt.[4] You will not hear from me now for some months, perhaps. I have asked Chhaganlal[5] to write to you. There is nothing from you.

With love,

Yours,
OLD FRIEND

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] *Vide* Vol. XIII, p. 372.
[2] ibid., pp. 369-70.
[3] ibid., pp. 371-2.
[4] ibid., pp. 362-3 and pp. 374-5.
[5] This appears to be a slip for 'Maganlal': ibid., pp. 363 and 366.

258. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

BETTIAH,
April 26 [*1917*][1]

DEAR HENRY,

We are getting together extraordinary evidence.[2] No more today than hasty chit. Keith's[3] comments and minutes ought not to be published. Hope Millie and Waldo are better. Mama writes saying that he was not leaving Ceilia before the Petits arrived and that attitude was not nice for her.

With love,

BHAI

H. S. L. POLAK
C/O DOCTOR SAPRU
ALLAHABAD

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

259. LETTER TO MILLIE GRAHAM POLAK

BETTIAH,
May 6 [*1917*][4]

DEAR MILLIE,

Your letter and wire were redirected here and came into my hands today. Henceforth, please write at the above address. Simply Bettiah, Champaran will do.

I am sorry to hear the news about Henry's illness. Somehow I do not share your gloomy forebodings. He has marvellous recuperative powers and I think he will quickly recover his original vigour. What I do feel, however, is that both of you should join Ceilia at Ooty. Mama too wrote saying that Ceilia was not keeping well. But I go further

[1] From the post-mark. Gandhiji was in Bettiah on this day.
[2] Gandhiji had begun his investigations into the agrarian conditions of the ryots of Champaran; *vide* also Vol. XIII, pp. 573-5.
[3] A. B. Keith, a constitutional lawyer of England
[4] From the contents

to say that even if she were well, she ought not alone to have charge of a child, especially a child so wonderful as Leon. Ooty will do Henry good and may do you also good. If the high altitude does not suit you all, you should go to Bangalore. It has perhaps the finest climate in India. Even Belgaum or Poona will be alright for you. But somehow or other, I prefer Bangalore. Change to any such place will be the best tonic for Henry. And he must live on the plainest foods – such as we have at the Ashram. Everything simply boiled.

As for Waldo, I must differ from your views. It is because Waldo is a trust that you may not play with him. I would not mind your being vaccinated if you chose to be. But to add a weakness-causing operation to an already weak constitution is to do infinite harm to it. It is not obligatory on you to travel or to live in insanitary surroundings. By all means take all reasonable precautions that the science of hygiene may suggest. If the worst fear is realized and Waldo has smallpox, why should you consider yourself guilty ? It is *not* a dangerous disease. And natural smallpox if properly treated does not leave the patient debilitated. But the purest lymph is not as pure as you may imagine. By having him vaccinated, you will expose Waldo to an additional risk to his health. Pock marks, if you are afraid of them, are really nothing. By proper treatment, in course of time they disappear. Did you see Bala and Naransamy ? They had confluent smallpox of the most virulent type. The marks are growing or were growing fainter daily under the treatment of anointing with oil and rubbing thereafter. Pray read my plan for Waldo twice, then pray and then do as the voice within you bids you.

Do please write to me frequently if you cannot write to me daily about Henry's health. It is God's mercy that when every member of the family is down, you are keeping well. I do hope you won't have a nervous breakdown after Henry rises from his sick-bed which he will soon do, I am sure.

My work is steadily progressing. I have come in touch with many planters too and often meet the collector, etc. I cannot leave this place for some months to come.

With love to you all,

Yours,
BHAI

[PS.]

Pray remember me to Dr. Sapru[1].

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] Tej Bahadur Sapru (1875-1949); lawyer and statesman

260. LETTER TO MILLIE GRAHAM POLAK

BANKIPORE,
May 11 [*1917*][1]

MY DEAR MILLIE,

Just a line before leaving for Bettiah. Your telegram of yesterday has frightened me. Immediately on receipt of your wire, I wrote to you a long letter about Henry and Ceilia. I do still hope that [you] have received it. The postal hours in Bettiah are most inconvenient. I have to trust to chance friends to post the letters and it is possible that the one who takes the letters might have missed the post for which my letter to you was intended.

It alarms me to find that fever has not yet left Henry and I have telegraphed to you to wire or write to me at Bettiah.

I came in yesterday on the invitation of the Government to see Hon'ble Mr. Maude[2]. I had two hours' interview. I shall write more about this later. The matter is critical. I dare not leave the scene of activity at the present moment or I would have gone down to you. Please use the wire freely if necessary. I shall expect at least a postcard from you daily.

With love,

Yours,
BHAI

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] From the contents
[2] W. Maude, Member of the Executive Council, Bihar and Orissa

261. LETTER TO MILLIE GRAHAM POLAK

BETTIAH,
May 12 [1917][1]

MY DEAR MILLIE,

On my return yesterday I found your telegram but not of yesterday's date. I do hope you received my wire from Bankipore and I am sending another one just now. How I wish I could be by Henry's side. But it cannot be. The position here is so serious that I dare not leave this place. I had an important interview with a member of the Government. I am preparing a general letter of which you shall have a copy.[2]

Do you want anybody to come from Ahmedabad? Do please give me the fullest information.

In the hope that you might have received my long letter, I am not repeating what I have said in it.

With love,

Yours,
BHAI

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

262. LETTER TO MILLIE GRAHAM POLAK

BETTIAH,
May 14 [1917][3]

DEAR MILLIE,

I have just received your letter. Matheran is not habitable in the month of June. And Bombay is likely to suit Ceilia best then. If you are not living with the Petits, a flat in Colaba will give you a splendid breeze.

It is difficult for me to believe that Henry can be so bad as you have described him. It is indeed a great relief that he is where he receives a brotherly attention and has the best possible medical advice. I shall anxiously await a daily bulletin from you. If you do not give me a letter, give me only p.c. please.

Is Waldo alright now ? How do you find the weather there ? Does the doctor say that both Henry and Waldo will be entirely free from

[1] From the contents
[2] *Vide* Vol. XIII, pp. 385-90.
[3] From the contents

the poison ? You know what the doctors generally say. They say that once the poison has entered the system, it does not leave it for years. Of course I do not believe it and Henry's body being so pure cannot be so shattered as to be liable to a recurrence of the attack. However, the greatest care has to be used during convalescence if complete cure is to be attained.

Is Leon keeping well ?

With love to you both,

Yours,
BHAI

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

263. LETTER TO MILLIE GRAHAM POLAK

BETTIAH,
May 18 [1917][1]

DEAR MILLIE,

Your description of Henry still sounds unbelievable. The mind simply refuses to think that he can be so pulled down. I shall still retain my faith in the vitality of his system and believe that he will quickly regain his original strength.

My heart goes out to poor Waldo. It must be terrible for him to be without a companion.

I like Dr. Sapru's advice which does not apply to Henry at all. He has never dreamt impossible dreams, he has always settled down like a respectable man as a conscientious man can feel settled in this unsettled world and he has always been a practical man of affairs and as such won esteem. His life up to the present is unimpeachable evidence of all this. I have found that most people here and elsewhere are highly unpractical, and falsely believing themselves to be matter-of-fact men, render themselves incapable of dreaming dreams impossible or otherwise and therefore remain totally dry as dust. Good dreams are to the soul what fresh air is to the body.

I am pushing forward. Hundreds of men are being examined every day. I have sent the papers bringing the position to date to Mr. Kunzru[2] and have asked him to show them to Henry when he wishes to and is allowed to see them.

[1] From the contents
[2] Hriday Nath Kunzru

With love to you all,

Yours,
BHAI

[PS.]

Mr. Andrews sends his love to you both.

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

264. LETTER TO MILLIE GRAHAM POLAK

BETTIAH,
May 21 [*1917*][1]

MY DEAR MILLIE,

I see that as your labours are about to finish (thank God) the heat is beginning to tell on you. It is ever thus. Somehow or other Providence is the kindest when it puts us through the sorest trials. Please tell Henry he ought to have sent me the speeches to which he has written his eloquent preface. But if the preface is eloquent it is not written from the depth of his heart. If he had, he would have shown the sham underlying it all without wounding anybody. The preface leaves on one the impression that there was no other side to the picture. And yet it obtrudes itself on one wherever we go. So, I shall charitably assume that Henry thought he might for once at least leave it alone.

With love,

Yours,
BHAI

[P.S.]

Mr. Kunzru brings you the news from here.

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] From the date-line and post-script; *vide* also the preceding item.

265. LETTER TO MILLIE GRAHAM POLAK

May 26 [*1917*][1]

MY DEAR MILLIE,

This illness of Henry's must have been the greatest trial of his life. He need not allow the illness to upset his belief in a guiding providence. Nala is said to have been bitten by a cobra. The cobra when asked by Nala, told him that he was bitten so as to transform his appearance and so enable him successfully to hide his identity during his banishment.[2] I do believe that our illnesses often come to us as disciplinary measures.

After a long silence I received a letter from Natesan[3] today in which he says that he has been away in Ooty, etc. This may account for his silence. But he is, I know, very careless about answering letters. I am not excusing him. I am describing his limitations.

You will be glad to read the enclosed letter.[4] I do hope that Kothagiri is near enough for Ceilia to meet Miss Færing. She is a most kind-hearted girl. Do write to her if you feel inclined. Miss Esther Færing, Spring Cottage, Kothagiri. Please send the letter to Ahmedabad after you have done with it.

With love,

Yours,
BHAI

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] From the contents
[2] The story is told in the *Mahabharata.*
[3] G. A. Natesan
[4] This was a letter from Esther Færing; *vide* Vol. XIII, pp. 418-9.

266. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

BETTIAH,
August 12, 1917

MY DEAR HENRY,

Here are two letters. I cannot think of anyone else. If you do please tell me. You will use the letters as you please.

I am in the thick of committee[1] work. I cannot therefore send you a love letter. That shall be reserved for Millie and she will need it in your absence. Of course she knows that she has more slaves than one to be at her service.

Yes, I will send you duplicates. I may be able to leave for Ahmedabad during the next 4 or 5 days.

With love,

Yours,
BHAI

[PS.]

You will let me know Millie's wants in your absence.

BHAI

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

267. LETTER TO MILLIE GRAHAM POLAK

MOTIHARI,
November 23, 1917

MY DEAR MILLIE,

I am just off to Delhi. As I shall be on the move again for a fortnight, I must send you a line before beginning it. I am glad you are making steady progress and have found a friend in Miss Petit.

Mrs. Gokhale[2] is already in charge of a school.[3] Devdas is with them. He is growing a big boy. Mrs. Gandhi is in her element. She is going to assist at another school. This means life in the jungle. She does not mind it. Dr. Deva has come with 3 more volunteers. So we have enough for the time being.

[1] The Champaran Agrarian Enquiry Committee
[2] Avantikabai Gokhale
[3] *Vide* Vol. XIV, p. 88.

Do please write to Miss Færing. She will come if she can, I know. You will enjoy your visit to Calcutta if you can come.

Do you know that Revashankarbhai has nothing to Henry's credit? I do not know what he arranged. In any case, I have asked Revashankarbhai to supply your needs. This is not for you to worry over. I am seeking information if you know anything about Henry's dispositions.

You will please ask Ceilia to forgive me for not giving her a separate note in reply to hers.

I must try to give you a human letter from Delhi or Calcutta. This is merely a diary and not much at that.

With love to you all,

Yours,
BHAI

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

268. LETTER TO MILLIE GRAHAM POLAK

MOTIHARI,
December 10 [*1917*][1]

MY DEAR MILLIE,

I arrived here this morning from my peregrinations and found your letter awaiting me. I hope you will not worry about the money. I shall trace the error somehow. Anyway, I have told Revashankarbhai that he is to honour your drawings. You need not therefore put off your visit to Calcutta if you can otherwise manage it. I should like you not to feel hampered by the imaginary pecuniary difficulty.

I am sorry you can no longer take your walks. They are such a tonic and a necessity. I shall therefore hope to hear from you that you have been able to resume them.

Yes, I went to Delhi to see Mr. Montagu and had a good chat with him as also Mr. Roberts. The Viceroy was also present. All the three were nice. There is no doubt that we shall gain something good.

I then went to Calcutta to attend the opening of Sir. J. C. Bose's Institute. It was a spiritual affair rather than a popular show. I was glad to be able to go.

Thence I went to Ahmedabad and Bombay and attended important meetings. But the journeying was trying. The trains were always crowded. Night and day travelling under such conditions must tell.

[1] From the contents

Devdas and Mrs. G. I have not yet met. They are in their respective schools — fancy Mrs. G. being placed in charge of a school.[1] It is a bold innovation. But it is answering well.

With love,

Yours,
BHAI

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

269. LETTER TO MILLIE GRAHAM POLAK

MOTIHARI,
January 16, 1918

MY DEAR MILLIE,

I hope you have received the two letters written to you during the past fortnight. In the one I told you not to worry about the money discrepancy and in the other I gave you a brief account of the Congress. Here the planters are doing their utmost to upset the committee's work. They are carrying on a most unscrupulous agitation. I believe it was at their instance that a case was brought against one of the workers for rash driving. He was unjustly found guilty and has, therefore, by way of protest elected to go to gaol and has become a hero. His sentence is fortnight's imprisonment or Rs. 40 fine.

You will be glad to hear that I have four women[2] working with me. They are all doing good work. They go about among the village women, teach them the laws of cleanliness and get hold of their girls. We have opened one girls' school. People here are most reluctant to bring their girls out. They are distributing also medical relief. I know you would love this kind of work. But your time is not yet. I have my eyes upon you. When Waldo and Leon are able to take care of themselves and after you have had a few years of peaceful life together, I should not wonder if you do not feel the call to work among the villagers here. If India is to become the seat in the world of a mighty spiritual force, it would need to have international workers in her midst who are fired with spiritual zeal. Some of India's problems are world problems. They can be solved in a narrow sectional spirit or from a broad humanitarian standpoint.

I know you and Henry will rally round the humanitarian flag.

[1] *Vide* also Vol. XIV, pp. 95-6.
[2] Durga Desai, Avantikabai Gokhale, Anandibai and Manibehn Parikh

With love,

Yours ever,
BHAI

[PS.]

I am sending you a copy of my address on Social Service.[1] Please congratulate Waldo on his vegetarian work. When is he going to fulfil his promise to write to me ?

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

270. LETTER TO MILLIE GRAHAM POLAK

NADIAD,
June 7 [*1918*][2]

MY DEAR MILLIE,

I was glad to have your letter. I was looking forward to it.

Pearson[3] has written a book which is undoubtedly seditious in the sense that he desires separation, not home rule within the Empire. I have not read the book but this is what I am told. The book is prohibited.[4] There is nothing wrong in Pearson's activity if he believes in it. And it must be conceded that there is nothing wrong in the Government trying to crush the rebellious spirit. P. was in China. This gave the Government an easy way of getting hold of P. They have got him and now he is probably on his way to England where I suppose he will be comparatively free to preach separation. From what I hear, he is quite happy and almost expected the result.

Yes, the letter to the Viceroy cost many an anxious hour — I could not help writing the letter. The story of its creation is worth telling but I have not the time to reproduce it here. When we meet and have leisure you shall have it if it has not become too stale then.

You will see my letter about S.A. You should write to Cachalia.

I wonder why Anasuyabehn has not replied. I shall speak to her. She is by no means so lazy or discourteous.

I am going to Bombay on the 10th instant. I must then see about your trunk. Narandas is there now. He was away in Kathiawad. I will see to the proper labelling and have the carriage prepaid.

I hope you are all keeping well. So the Kaira struggle has ended. You will see my final letter on it.

[1] *Vide* Vol. XIV, pp. 121-8.
[2] From the contents; ibid., pp. 410 and 416.
[3] W. W. Pearson
[4] *Vide* Vol. XIV, p. 403.

I have not had practically a single acknowledgment of my many letters. They have evidently been sunk or miscarried. Please pass this on to him. I have not heard from him otherwise either.

With love to you all,

Yours,
BHAI

[PS.]

Do you know that Manilal is now all alone in Phœnix ? Mr. West and Sam are in Durban doing commercial printing. Of course West is helping Manilal. *I.O.* is now truly independent. I understand Manilal is working day and night. West could not do otherwise than what he has done.

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

271. LETTER TO MILLIE GRAHAM POLAK

NADIAD,
July 22 [*1918*]

DEAR MILLIE,

The enclosed is just to cheer you. I have been corresponding with Dr. Mehta too. Of course, I do not expect Henry will have to do war work.[1] And if he has, you know that you have no cause for anxiety. I am undergoing a revolution in my outlook upon life. As it seems to me some old cobwebs are falling away. But of these when I have more time.[2]

With love,

Yours,
BHAI

[PS.]

Do write to me please. Devdas is in Madras, do you know ? Write to him a line care Natesan. He is teaching Hindi.

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] *Vide* also pp. 263-4.
[2] For an extract from this letter, *vide* Vol. XIV, p. 497.

272. LETTER TO MILLIE GRAHAM POLAK

NADIAD,
July 26, 1918

MY DEAR MILLIE,

Sorabji is no more. A cable has just arrived from Johannesburg giving the sad news. There is nothing striking about this death. Many like Sorabji have died before now. But Sorabji has played such an important part in our lives that his sudden death comes like a rude shock. It is only one's faith in the indestructibility of energy and continuity of effort that reconciles one to activity in life. An event is a shock when we do not understand its purpose and its seasonableness. But is God's plan, I suppose, there is nothing unseasonable and nothing purposeless.[1] Do please write to his wife Kunverbai Sorabji Adajania, Surat.

I hope you received the few lines I sent you the other day at the back of Mr. Hasan Imam's letter.

I am just now at a little village to avenge an insult offered to the villagers by a petty official. In any other place, there would have been bloodshed over such an insult. Here I may end with doing nothing. I return to Nadiad today.

With love to you all,

Yours,
BHAI

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

273. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

NADIAD,
August 2 [1918][2]

MY DEAR HENRY,

You must have duly received my letters passed on to you through Millie. Among these is a letter from Hassan Imam wherein he says he is going to fulfil his promise to you and that your complaint must have been received before he forwarded some funds and a brief.

I have a letter now from Dr. Mehta who has promised to do his share if it becomes necessary to support Millie through your

[1] The letter up to here appears in Vol. XIV, pp. 509-10.
[2] From the contents; ibid pp. 446, 447 and 507.

incarceration. But I do not believe you will ever have to go through the fiery ordeal. If you have, sufficient for me to say that you need have no anxiety about Millie.

But I wish to utter a note of warning about your duty towards Pater. Are you bound to support him in his speculations or in his artificial style of life ? Do you not spoil him ? And may you do this especially when the funds you receive are largely received by you in your public character ? You may not divide the legal profession from your other activities. Have you not renounced the right to earn more than your needs including humble family needs ! You are a reformer at home as well as aboard. Your life must influence the family life or it must stand separately as a protest against its orthodoxy and present-day shortcomings. I do not pretend to solve these riddles for you. I merely point out that they exist for you and me and that you may not overlook them.

So, Sorabji is no more. These shocks sometimes so shake me that I do not want to live on this earth. But my faith in the justice of Providence enables me to regain my sanity. I have cabled you about Sorabji. You will have read my tribute in the *Times* and the *Chronicle*.[1] You will have sent me the Will and the policy and all the other papers Sorabji may have left with you. I went over to Surat to meet the widow. Sorabji has left a most lovely daughter.

I have your cable about the scheme.[2] No one will reject it *in toto*. But no one here seems disposed to accept it as it is. There is too much compromise in it. India is not getting what is right but what is expedient. Has the Civil Service any rights ? Have the European merchants any rights as against the indigenous population ? But they evidently think they have. There must be ceaseless warfare raged against this preposterous claim. I like the scheme as an honest effort. I should not care for it without substantial amendment. I should not weep if it is not passed. I would not be overcautious lest nothing may seemingly be achieved.

What do you say to my recruiting campaign?[3] It is for me religious activity undertaken for the sacred doctrine of ahimsa. I have made the discovery that India has lost the power to fight — not the inclination. She must regain the power and then if she will deliver to a groaning world the doctrine of ahimsa. She must give abundantly out of her strength, not out of her weakness. She may never do it. That to me would mean her effacement. She would lose her individuality and would be like the other nations — a worshipper of brute force. This recruiting work is perhaps the hardest task undertaken by me. I may fail to gain

[1] *Vide* Vol. XIV, pp. 507-8.
[2] The Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme; ibid., pp. 486-9.
[3] ibid., p. 447 and 493-6.

recruits. I shall still have given the best political education to the people.

As you know, I am building the Ashram on a new site. The building work is slow.[1] It is so difficult to get men and material.

With love from us all,

Yours,
BHAI

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

274. LETTER TO MILLIE GRAHAM POLAK

[*August 2, 1918*][2]

MY DEAR MILLIE,

Will you please read this and then send to Henry if you approve ? I want you carefully to read the paragraph about Pater.

With love,

Yours,
BHAI

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

275. LETTER TO MILLIE GRAHAM POLAK

C/O REVASHANKAR JAGJIVAN, LABURNUM ROAD,
GOREGAUM,
BOMBAY,
December 29 [*1918*][3]

MY DEAR MILLIE,

I can still write with great difficulty. I have to move my pen like a schoolboy. This is there to send X'mas greetings and all good wishes for the next year. I expect you in Bombay before long. I am possibly making a little progress. I have had so many setbacks that I do not now predict anything. I simply wait upon God, making every attempt to get better and then trusting Him to the uttermost.

With love,

Yours,
BHAI

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] *Vide* also Vol. XIV, p. 446.

[2] The foregoing item is an enclosure to this letter.

[3] From "Bombay, December 29" in the date-line as also from the reference to Gandhiji's ill-health; *vide* Vol. XV, pp. 67-70.

CWMG XXVI

276. POST-SCRIPT TO LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK[1]

LABURNUM ROAD,
GAMDEVI,
BOMBAY,
June 27, 1919

You will please pass this on to Mr. Horniman. Please share the copy of instructions with Mr. Jinnah, Mr. Shastriar, Mrs. Naidu and other friends as there are no more copies ready.

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence Courtesy : National Archives of India

277. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
July 19 [*1919*][2]

MY DEAR HENRY,

Jamnadas, his wife and two friends with him leave per s. s. *Chindwara* for London on the 26th instant. Jamnadas wants to assist me in my work but feels that he has not the capacity for the task. He has a friend who has advanced enough money (not repayable) for his studies. His wife shares his views. He does not know, I do not know, what they should do to fit themselves. I am not sure that training there is necessary but it is enough for me that Jamnadas thinks it is. And he and his wife go there with my consent and blessing. Please receive them at the Docks or the station — yourself or by deputy. Advise him[3] as to lodgings and arrange for their preliminary stay. They need not have to run up to an expensive hotel. Finally please advise Jamnadas as to the best course he should follow. Be sure that in all he does, he retains his and his wife's health. He is, as you know, a willing, able, honest young man. He will be in need of guidance in that strange land. You are there and I am satisfied.

I am working for the Transvaal case for all I am worth. Yesterday

[1] For the text of the letter, *vide* Vol. XV, pp. 396-7.
[2] From the contents; ibid., p. 467. *Vide* also p. 269-70.
[3] The source has "his".

we had the Imperial Citizenship Association meeting.[1] Sir George Barnes[2] writes to me saying the Viceroy is doing all he can. Let us see.

[PS.]

As I am posting it after the ordinary hour, I am enclosing the other letters for you to post or deliver.[3]

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

278. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

Not Revised

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
July 26 [*1919*][4]

MY DEAR HENRY,

I have taken to writing to you regularly but I find no response from you. You are paying me in my own coin — only not with the same reason that I had. But I know that you are all the same attending to my letters.

I have sent you a long cable today with copies to Mrs. Naidu and Shastriar. You will see in *Young India* my letter regarding suspension.[5] I felt that I ought not to resist the Viceregal appeal to refrain. But there is no getting away from the fact that if the Rowlatt Act is not repealed, Civil Resistance is a certainty.

Regarding South Africa, there is the news today that our people mean Civil Resistance if any equal status is not granted to them. I have a long letter just now from Sir George Barnes. It is not satisfactory. You shall have all that next week. I am dealing with it.[6] You have, I hope, reports of all the meetings — that are being held here. It is a wretched situation.

The Punjab sentences are monstrous.[7] They must be revised. To me the reforms are worthless if the spirit of the men on the spot is not changed.

[1] *Vide* Vol. XV, p. 467.
[2] Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council in charge of the Department of Commerce and Industry
[3] The post-script has been struck out.
[4] From the contents
[5] *Vide* Vol. XV, pp. 468-71.
[6] ibid., pp. 477-80.
[7] ibid., pp. 472-6.

The Mahomedan question means trouble so far as I can see. Evidently a decision has been arrived at regarding Turkey but it is being suppressed. This is a suicidal policy. I simply cannot understand this diplomacy that is satisfied with....[1]

I had an interview with the Governor. Montagu has sent a nasty message. He opens well and ends ill. It is confidential. He says if it was folly to take up civil disobedience, it is wickedness to renew it. One may return in his own words if it was folly for the Government to pass the Rowlatt legislation, it is wickedness to persist in it. And yet Montagu says in the same message that the Act will not be repealed. We are used to that kind of language. All I know is that the Act has got to go and some of us have to die in the attempt. It has cost treasures of blood. Let them keep it if they dare. They do not understand the ABC of civil disobedience. I must be patient. I have therefore told the Governor that if the Government desire that I should further suspend C.D. for the time being, I shall do so but they should reckon upon my renewing it in the near future if they will not repeal the Rowlatt Act.

You have Manilal Vyas's case[2] before you. You have also the Punjab Committee of inquiry. It must have the power of revision of sentences.

You will be interested to learn that at last the great Jehangir Petit has paid a portion of the funds I furnished Millie.[3] The rest he will pay in time.

With love to you all,

Yours,
BHAI

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] This sentence, occurring at the end of a page, is left incomplete in the source.
[2] *Vide* Vol. XV, p. 319.
[3] ibid., pp. 426-7.

279. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

M. K. GANDHI

ON THE WAY TO POONA,
August 8 [*1919*][1]

MY DEAR HENRY,

I am on my way to Poona to deliver an address on the Transvaal question and chat with the moderate leaders on swadeshi. I have your letter. If you will read my reply to Arundale published in *Young India*[2] you will find in it my reasons for remaining in politics. The more I observe and the longer I live, the more do I find that you cannot divide your energies into watertight compartments. You deny religion when you plead on the ground of your exclusive religious nature inability to help, say, a man so unjustly treated as Kallenbach. I say that you fulfil your religious mission only when you take part in and alleviate human sorrow as often as you see it and are able to share it. I know that Rowlatt Act takes away manliness from a nation. I know that I have the ability to do something to secure its repeal. I *must* act. I take so much part in politics as is necessary for the due fulfilment of my religion.

My sympathies go out to you in your trials there surrounded as you are by so many conflicting elements. I know you will do the right thing. In my opinion you are mistaken about my estimates of people. But I need not discuss them. I do hope you have received Manilal Vyas's papers, i.e., *Young India* containing all the facts and arguments. The matter is still engaging the attention of the Government of Bombay.

The Punjab sentences are being materially reduced. They produce in me no satisfaction. It is like robbing a man of all his property and giving him back a portion of it.

Mr. Montagu is reported to have said that Rowlatt Act is necessary. Well, all I can say is that civil disobedience is equally necessary in that event.[3] It is an insolent declaration to make that an Act which has involved such brutality is necessary. I hope you will raise a great agitation over it. Anyway, you will presently see a great agitation here.

Jamnadas left on Wednesday last, the 6th of August for *Chindwara.* He has his wife and two friends with him. They will all live together

[1] From the contents; *vide* Vol. XVI, pp. 16-18.
[2] ibid., pp. 5-7.
[3] ibid., pp. 22-3.

for the time being. You will please do the needful. You and Millie will not fail to make Jamnadas feel at home in that big city of yours. He will in the initial stages require all the warmth that love can give in that, to him as to many, lonely place. You will find out when *Chindwara* reaches London. Someone must go and receive him at the Docks or at Waterloo where I suppose he will arrive.

The Ashram is looking superb. Shankerlal Banker and Anasuyabehn[1] are regularly learning weaving. They are giving much time to it. Spinning is becoming fashionable. I wish Millie will write to me something on it for publication if she has at all followed what I have been writing.

Did you ever receive my cablegrams about civil resistance ?[2]

With love,

Yours sincerely,
BHAI

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

280. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
August 17, 1919

MY DEAR HENRY,

I have your letter. You are unnecessarily reserved. I should know the whole situation. If they do not like your policy there need be no intrigue. They have a right to ask you to resign. If they did not mind your policy but wanted to put someone in by way of favouritism, it was despicable. I should like to know the truth. I do not want your invaluable services to be lost sight of. You and I belong to no party, we can but serve and follow truth as we know it. The two letters received from you do not clear the position. Thinking in these terms I would like you to remain on the British Committee so long as it is understood that you are not considered as belonging to one party or the other. Who is the lady to be the joint editor with Kelkar ? You will see that I am saying nothing in *Young India* until I can firmly handle the subject. As it is I do not know the facts.

I share your joy that you are free from the heavy responsibility. Will you now find time to give me an occasional if not a regular contribution to *Young India* ? You can be paid, if the briefs do not

[1] Anasuyabehn Sarabhai
[2] *Vide* Vol. XV, p. 483.

pour in as they ought [to] by this time. You have most of the poor sisters there.

There is nothing new politically to report. You will read all my thought in my letters to Arundale and Abdul Aziz.[1]

With love to you both,

Yours,
BHAI

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

281. LETTER TO H. S. L. AND MILLIE GRAHAM POLAK

M. K. GANDHI

Khilafat Day, October 17 [*1919*][2]

MY DEAR HENRY AND MILLIE,

You have both blessed me with your letters. I thank you. I know that Henry did what was the right thing about 'India'. We have only one taskmaster to please and that is conscience.

Henry may not agree with me on the Khilafat question.[3] I am content to differ. If I had the time, I would argue it out.

I was sorry to hear about Millie's health. She must take rest. She has too vivid an imagination to take complete rest anywhere. Merely bodily rest is not enough. However, that at least must be given to her.

I am glad you are there to look after Jamnadas and his wife.

The orders against me have been repealed[4] and I am presently going to the Punjab.

With love,

Yours,
BHAI

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] *Vide* Vol. XVI, pp. 5-7 and 13-6.
[2] From the contents
[3] *Vide* pp. 273 and 274.
[4] *Vide* Vol. XVI, pp. 239-40.

282. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

LAHORE,
November 12, 1919

MY DEAR HENRY,

I have your letters. Owing to my wanderings in the Punjab, I have not been able to write to you.

In my opinion, your attitude regarding the S.A. affairs and the committee is quite correct. I shall speak to Dr. Mehta about it when he returns. You may have my name if it is of any use to your committee. I am asking Chhotalal to send you copies of my letters to Sir George Barnes. I had a long interview with him yesterday. I met also Sir Benjamin Robertson.

Regarding Mrs. Sorabji, she has been hasty and I have been continuously writing to her. Both Palanji and Rustomji have asked me not to raise any subscriptions.[1] If Palanji does not assist, she can easily be assisted. However, I shall ask Jehangir to pay what you have sent. Why did you not send the money directly to me in July ? Having sent it to Jehangir, why did you not even advise me ?

The High Court has issued a rule *nisi* to show cause why I should not be committed for contempt for the publication of the Ahmedabad judge's letter to the Registrar regarding the satyagrahi lawyers. They asked me to apologize. I cannot see my way to do [ing] so. You need not therefore be surprised if you find me imprisoned.

With love to you all,

Yours,
BHAI

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] *Vide* also Vol. XVI, p. 510.

283. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

M. K. GANDHI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
March 27, 1920

MY DEAR HENRY,

You will not I hope consider that I have been less attentive to you than I should be because of the very great irregularity in my correspondence. The fact is I have no time. I simply write when and where I must.

Your latest letter fills me with sorrow. I do not know how far you did right in writing as you have done to Babu Surendranath. You know him better perhaps than I do. I shall therefore say nothing more about it. I do not know that I should agree with you in your categorical description of Mr. Samarth.[1] He is a man with strong views. I would even call him dense. But holding strong views myself I too run the risk of having that adjective applied to me. So I remain satisfied by simply saying that Mr. Samarth's ways are not my ways. And that attitude of detachment always leaves me free to try to win him over to my side. Lately, that is, during my five years' stay in India, I have found the truth of the position abundantly illustrated. If we get enraged against a person, we render ourselves more or less unfit to serve him.

Now for the Khilafat. I do not mind your differing from me so violently as you do. You accuse me of narrowness because of my being cooped up in India and not knowing anything of the new life in Europe. I can only say that the new life in Europe appears to me to be abhorrent for its total disregard of sanctity of promises and of its idolatrous worship of brute force and money. Being in the thick of it, you are unable to feel the foul stench that modern Europe is filling the world with. I who stand outside it know what it means. But here again I will not argue with you. I certainly feel sorry that I cannot have your co-operation on this very important question and if I could but see you face to face I would certainly endeavour to convert you to my view.

On the British Guiana Scheme, we are at one. There is no danger of my falling into the trap. On South Africa, Fiji and all colonial affairs we agree. We have, therefore sufficient in common to work upon.

[1] N. M. Samarth, a member of the 1914 Congress Deputation to England

Andrews returns here on the 2nd April. East Africa for me seems to be the storm centre because the issues have not yet become crystallized. I hope therefore you will concentrate upon East Africa.

Did I acknowledge the two books from Millie ? I am ashamed to say that I have not read them. I have no time. Please tell me something about Maud, Sally, Ceilia. And let me know how my bed-fellow Waldo and Leon are doing.

I am dictating this at Sinhgarh where I have come for four day's solitude. Dr. Mehta, Mahadev, his wife and others whom you do not know are with me. Mrs. Saraladevi Chaudhuri, your one-time hostess in Lahore, is also with me.

With love to you all,

Yours,
BHAI

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

284. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 17, 1920

MY DEAR HENRY,

I have your letter as also Millie's. As for your letter, we must for the time being agree to differ. You cannot understand the religious viewpoint which guides me in the matter. I am satisfied that the Muslim cause is strictly just. I am not supporting and will not support an unjust demand on their part. But assume that their demand is just and you give me an unanswerable clause compelling me to throw in my lot with the Mussalmans. On the South African, Fiji and the East African question, we have a common platform and I know that you are putting forth your best energy in these matters. I do not know your views on the Punjab. There again we may differ. I hope you got the Congress Sub committee's report. I wonder whether you agree with its findings. For me the Hunter Committee's Majority Report is a piece of shameless jobbery.[1]

Millie's letter is a human document, which I was pleased to receive after so many months. The cheerful character of the news she has given me about the family has pleased me much and I was delighted to find that my bed-companion Waldo was much healthier than he used

[1] *Vide* also Vol. XVII, pp. 480-3 and 544-76.

to be. I was glad too to have news about Agnes[1]. Please tell her when you see her that I would prize a few lines from her now and then provided that she does not bind me to a reply. I was sorry to have the bad news about Sally. I do not suppose any of us ever thought much of the match. But I have considered Sally to be a brave girl and I hope that she is bearing bravely the failure of her experiment. My family is ever increasing. If you now visited the Ashram you would be surprised at its bigness and I think the solidity of the work would please you. There we are concentrating on education, weaving industry and heart-culture. The family has outgrown the buildings you saw. We are living in a cramped condition. Devdas is growing wonderfully. He continues to answer the true description that once Ceilia gave when I saw them all in Poona. She said — "When Devdas enters a room, he seems to fill it." I am dictating this letter to Sarala Devi in Bombay. Much of my work is done whilst I am lying down in bed. Devdas is with me and so is Mahadev Desai. He has just gone to Surat to pay a visit of condolence and so you find Sarala Devi helping me. You will be glad to learn that I have at last got good news of Kallenbach.[2] He is in Berlin. He sent me messages through Miss Anna Kirby. Unfortunately, I have not his address or I would have sent it to you. Miss Kirby wrote to me from Y.W.C.A., Johannesburg. She might have come back to London. If people are allowed to go to Berlin and if you succeed in tracing his address, please send Jamnadas there to see him.

With love,

Yours,
BHAI

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

285. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

SABARMATI, NEAR AHMEDABAD,
August 27 [*1920*]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I hope you have my letters. Jamnadas has sent me a cable asking me in your name to go to Germany to have Just's cure. But it cannot be. I have no leisure for anything but the struggle going on here. If I was free, I would have run down not for the earth cure but most decidedly to meet you, hug you and once more look you in the face.

[1] Addressee's niece
[2] *Vide* Vol. XVIII, pp. 129-30.

For me you have risen from the dead. Not having heard from or of you and all my inquiries having failed, I had decided that, you had left this little globe of ours. You cannot imagine the joy of the thought I may yet see you in the flesh and meanwhile begin to receive your love letters.

I know you will not rebuke me when I tell you that like many of my things, your clothes have become moth-eaten. With all the changes life with me has undergone, I have been unable to overhaul things in my custody. For months when we shifted to where we are at present, all the things had to be stored away in a place. We were living in tents in what was practically a wilderness. So when you come, you will see a skeleton of what at one time used to be a good wardrobe. Most of your books remain in a fair condition.

Our friend Omar has gone through much grief. Parsi Rustomji is in Durban and thriving. West is his own printer in Durban.

I am now off to a conference.[1]

With love,

Yours,
UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

286. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

January 22 [1921][2]

MY DEAR HENRY,

I received your note in the midst of Congress work. I hope to hear better news about Sally. I am sorry about the poor girl. Please tell her I often think of her. Do please tell Millie to write to me occasionally. I may not write in reply. She will know why. I have had no rest and no time for love letters.

This is being written in the train which is taking me to Calcutta. Please tell Maud she has been untrue to her promise.

With love to you all,

Yours,
BHAI

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] Fourth Gujarat Political Conference

[2] From the reference to the letter having been written in the train on his way to Calcutta in 1921; Gandhiji reached Calcutta on January 23.

287. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

SABARMATI,
April 10, 1921

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I have just seen your two lines at the foot of Ramdas's letter. I have also your letter about Manilal. But I write this merely to tell you that you are ever before me. I often think of writing to you but I rarely finish the day's work. And so I leave my letters to the dearest ones knowing that they cannot misunderstand me. I want you however to write to me from time to time and tell me all about your doings. How I should love to hug you and see you face to face and have you by me during my travels!

With love,

Yours,
UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

288. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

July 18 [*1921*][1]

MY DEAR HENRY,

Poor Sally. She had such marked features that I almost feel as if she is talking to me now — my whole heart goes out to you, Millie and Mater. May God give [you] the strength to bear the burden He has put upon you. I shall hope, though you gave me none, that Pater has survived the operation. The youngsters must be grown up young men now. You say nothing about Ceilia.

With love to you all,

Yours,
BHAI

[PS.]

I received your letter just now but I thought I would not delay writing in order to seek leisure for a long letter.

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] From the reference to Sally's death; *vide* Vol. XX, p. 396.

289. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

ON TOUR,
August 29, 1921

MY DEAR HENRY,

So you are having your full dose of domestic afflictions. May they show you to be truly courageous and god-fearing and I hope that friends in London have been found to share your sorrows. I know what London is in these matters.

I am so immersed in my work and incessant travelling that I hardly feel that there is any such thing as domestic sorrow. The misery about me is so great. To read of semi-starved millions was so different from seeing them.

With love to you all,

Yours,
BHAI

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

290. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

ON THE TRAIN,
September 29, 1921

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Although I write but rarely, I certainly expect you to write regularly. Of course you do not for one moment think that because I write rarely, you are not ever with me. Indeed I often pine to meet you and have you with me in my work. I often think of what you must be doing. I know that your life has changed somewhat. But I know that you are at heart the same you were before. For me my life is being reduced to its simplest terms. And I like it. By the time this is in your hands, I should not be surprised if I am in gaol by the time this reaches you[1] – two of my best co-workers[2] are now on trial.

Jamnadas and Prabhudas are with me during my present journey. Devdas and Mrs. Gandhi are at the Ashram. We are all spinning and

[1] Gandhiji was arrested on March 10, 1922 for having written three articles– "Tampering with Loyalty" (29-9-1921), "A Puzzle and Its Solution" (15-12-1921) and "Shaking the Manes" (23-12-1922), all of which appeared in *Young India.*

[2] The Ali Brothers, Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali

weaving at the Ashram. It is a perfect beehive. I know you will be delighted with the work if you saw it.

I often think of Miss Schlesin but of late I have been feeling anxious about her. She has not written to me for years now. I do want to hear from her. In any case I would like to know of her welfare. What is she doing?

Do you ever go to Durban? Do you go to Phœnix? Do you meet Mr. Phillips ? Do write to me about all the old friends. Are you in touch with any Indians at all ? Have you still Mr. Omar's building ? As I write, the whole of the old life rises before me. But I must restrain myself.

With deep love,

Yours,
UPPER HOUSE

[PS.]

Do you know that Dr. Mehta cannot speak and cannot write ?

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

291. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

BARDOLI,
February 8 [*1922*][1]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

You will pardon me, I know, for writing to you so rarely. But how can I pardon you for not writing ? You cannot plead want of time.

I am making use of the enforced leisure I have got just now. I am waiting for the Bombay train which is late.

My life you know. Ramdas is now my companion and nurse. Devdas is attending to important work in another province. He has shaped wonderfully. Harilal is in prison. I am expecting to be deported. Even execution has been suggested. It sounds all funny. But I know that not a blade of grass moves without His will. And what does it matter what happens so far as we know it will be by His will. Ours is but to do.

How nice it would be when you can come and work side by side as of yore. Life is here changed. It is extraordinarily simple. But it has its charms.

Do please write occasionally. I would like you not merely to read but to study *Young India.*

[1] From the contents

I often meet Andrews. If I had leisure I would describe all my companions. But here is the train. Mahadev Desai whom I had commissioned to write to you is in jail and so are several thousands.

With love,

Yours,
UPPER HOUSE

[PS.]

Ramdas is here whilst I am writing this. Permanent address Ahmedabad.

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

292. LETTER TO H. S. L. AND MILLIE GRAHAM POLAK

November 15, 1926

MY DEAR HENRY AND MILLIE,

I have both your letters. I can read your grief and fortitude. Such events humble our pride and make us weary of the world's tinsel. They make us realize the meaning of 'to be in the world and yet not of it'. Your account of Ceilia and Agnes gave me much joy. Agnes's life was shaped when I last saw her, Ceilia's was still in the making. Hers is wonderful sacrifice. If Leon at all remembers me, let him write to me.

With love,

Yours,
BHAI

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

293. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

February 16, 1927

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

It was a great joy to have your letter after so many months. Yes I did receive the Schreiner volumes.[1]

You must not give up the struggle against life's temptations. I do indeed expect you one fine day in India. Do come if it is only for a brief visit.

Manilal is to be married on 5th March.[2] He will take his wife with him. You will look after both please.

[1] *Vide* Vol. XXXI, p. 224.
[2] *Vide* Vol. XXXIII, pp. 145-6.

I dare not give you a long love letter as I have to work against time. Incessant travelling is my lot this year. I have to cover about six villages daily except on Mondays which, thank God, is my day of silence.

With love,

Yours,
UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

294. LETTER TO MILLIE GRAHAM POLAK

AHMEDABAD,
August 3 [*1929*][1]

MY DEAR MILLIE,

I am writing this as I am watching the glorious rain descending in torrents before me. It will gladden the hearts of millions of men and women. There was a great dread of a most severe famine overtaking Western India. In the twinkling of an eye, all that fear has gone. It has given place to boundless joy. This rain is a veritable deliverance for millions upon millions of cattle. There is probably no place on earth that is so dependent on rain as India. You will now understand what part this rain must have played in giving me health. I have suffered agonies — all due to my own follies. The punishment was adequate to the wrong done by me to the body. Through a faulty experiment I was suffering from dysentery. Whilst I was getting over it, I ate when I should have refrained and that brought on the inevitable crisis. I am so reduced in body that I have now to build up anew but there is no cause of anxiety. I am convalescent and regularly taking some nourishment and daily increasing the quantity and I hope to be able to walk alone in ten days' time. You ask me about nursing. Everything that human love can do, has been done for me. It was my privilege and my pain to be on the sick-bed, privilege to find so much love rained on me, pain that I should need it all through my weakness and folly. This rich experiencing of love makes an added call on such service as I may be capable of rendering to humanity. But service to humanity is service of self and service of self is self-purification. How shall I purify myself ? It is the one question that has been agitating me throughout my sickness. Pray for me.

[1] From the reference to dysentery caused by Gandhiji's experiment in uncooked food ; Gandhiji began to suffer from dysentery in the first week of August 1929 and gave up taking uncooked food from August 15, 1929; *vide* Vol. XLI, pp. 294, 301 and 306-7.

With love,

Yours,
BHAI

[PS.]

Please pass on this letter to Henry as I shall not be dictating a separate letter to him.

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

295. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

October 20, 1930

MY DEAR HENRY,

I had your and Millie's loving message. You are never absent from my mind. How is Leon ?

My love to you all,

BHAI

PROPERTY OF H. S. L. POLAK
265 STRAND
LONDON, W. C. R.

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

296. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

SIMLA,
July 17, 1931

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

If Manilal thinks that *Indian Opinion* cannot be managed, he may close the Press down. But the trustees must decide.

Do write to me now and then.

Love,

Yours sincerely,
UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

CWMG XXVI

297. LETTER TO MRS. J. H. L. POLAK

October 19, 1931

DEAR MATER,

You are naughty. You will not write because I cannot write. I think of you often but get no time to write letters. I am obliged even to neglect the Indian mail. Maud reminds me that you are expecting to hear from me in accordance with my message sent to you.

I have a few moments today during my silence. I have had interesting accounts of your condition and I was pleased to know that you were bearing your years so well. I suppose there is little chance of our seeing each other. But I suppose physical meeting is not so much as the meeting of hearts. And I know that ours meet. I shall not easily forget the Sundays I used to pass with you in 1909.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

298. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON,
August 3, 1932

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

You seem to have forgotten me. But my companions and I often talk about you.

Manilal tells me he thoughtlessly leased to someone a plot of the Phœnix land without reference to the trustees.[1] If there is no objection to the lease except on the ground of Manilal's thoughtlessness, I feel that it would be well to protect him by validating the agreement. Manilal says the other trustees are agreeable. If during the five years the whole ground has to be sold, it can be subject to the lease. I am hoping however that years of labour put in the settlement will not have that sorry end. This brings to mind Tolstoy Farm. What is the state of things there ? I am well.

Love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] *Vide* Vol. L, p. 324.

299. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

February 3, 1934

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

You have complained that I have not acknowledged your cables and letters. It is not so. But if my letter has miscarried I cannot help. Anyway you are always before my mind's eye and I do expect some day to greet you here. When are you coming ?

Love,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

300. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

NANDI HILL,
May 27, 1936

MY DEAR HENRY,

You have asked for a line from me. You have every right to. All of you are ever before my mind's eye. Though I am free to undertake correspondence, I am anxious to spare myself as much time as I can. Hence, not having anything special to say to you, I have desisted from merely sending a love letter. Our love needs not [the][1] propping of letter-writing. The business goes to Agatha. And you know you invariably see whatever goes to her.

I hope you, Millie, Ceilia, Leon and family are all doing well.

We are just now on the little but beautiful isolated hill Nandi in Mysore and we return to Wardha about the middle of June.

I do not take the dark view you take of the Congress ship. I think Jawaharlal will bring it safely through.

With love to you all,

BHAI

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] The source here has "no".

301. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

SEGAON, WARDHA,
[*December 13, 1936*][1]

MY DEAR HENRY,

Your love letter.

Of course you will see me on non-silence day and have me all to yourself. If you could tell me definitely when you will come. I may have to leave here after fifth January on Harijan work which I dare not put off.

I have urged upon C. of the necessity of settling down somewhere. He agrees but he can't be sure of himself.

I like your presentation of conversion and kindred topics. I may not discuss the subject here as I have no time. We must talk about it when we meet. You will be interested to know that Pierre Ceresole[2] is about to take a definite step to belong to the Christian and Hindu faiths at the same time. I shall know more about this when he meets me on 18th instant probably.

When you write to Millie and co., you will send cartloads of love to them.

Love,

BHAI

[PS.]

K. is due any day. But I have not heard from him for 4 weeks.

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] From the contents

[2] A conscientious objector to war, who founded the International Service

302. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

TITHAL, BULSAR,
May 19, 1937

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

So after much waiting you have at last come. Welcome. Unless you have anything to do in Bombay, come by the first train to Bulsar.

Love from all,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

303. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

SEGAON, WARDHA,
June 17, 1937

MY DEAR HENRY,

Your letter is revealing. It shows what an intellectual gulf separates us. This does not worry me, for at heart we are still one.

I do not know what Mahadev wrote when he showed me what you had written. I asked him to write to you. You had a perfect right to differ from me publicly. But you had no right to give an opinion on imperfect data. I wonder if even now you know in what context I wrote the thing. And you certainly do not know the background to it. There was a time when you would not judge even my action without first demanding an explanation from me. In this case, the world would not have gone wrong if you had waited for an explanation. Remember that this was a newspaper letter. You could well have missed a mail. You could even have sent the article to me asking me to pass it on to the *Leader,* if in my opinion, you had correctly stated my attitude.

Do you know that nobody here resented the remark so far as I am aware ? The rule of the sword need not connote all that you have pictured. The rule of the sword may be benign. I tell you that it is still the rule of the sword, it is *not* autonomy.[1]

Of course, I have great regard for Sir Tej's legal talent. I know that he loves his country no less than I do. Still I dare to repeat that

[1] *Vide* also Vol. LXV, p. 175.

neither his legal knowledge nor his deep study of the present constitution makes him an infallible judge of the legality of the Congress position. I offered to have the decision of a legal tribunal on the question. Why must I prefer Sir Tej's opinion to my own legal advisers trained in the same surroundings as Sir Tej but much more detached than he because of their being without [the] prepossessions of Sir Tej, he being, as you tell me, one of the authors of the Act ? But I must not weary you.

Your letter leaves me unconvinced. Nevertheless, I love you as well as before. I had even forgotten your reference.

K. is here just the same man that you and I knew him. He has become one of the household and will stay for three months if he is allowed to by his firm. He is awaiting a cable reply.

Love to you and the growing family.

Yours,
BHAI

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

304. NOTE TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

SEGAON, WARDHA,
July 4, 1937

I advise all-round simplicity. That is to say, everything superfluous should be discarded. No new purchases should be made till the existing stock is exhausted. Wants should be reduced, not multiplied. There should be an accurate account kept of private expenses even as it is of office expenses.

No new venture should be undertaken for adding to the income. What is already on should be standardized so as to free the mind for other and higher pursuits, especially if Palestine is taken up.

Some spiritual reading, such as *The Song Celestial, Light of Asia,* should be regularly done. All literature about Zionism should be studied. Food should be taken three times per day. Breakfast say at 7 a.m., consisting of fresh juicy fruit, e.g., an apple, 1/2 lb. of grapes or 2 oranges or one pineapple. Luncheon 11 a.m. consisting of 1 lb. milk or curds, 4 oz. of bread, 1 oz. butter, 4 oz. of salad, 4 oz. cooked non-starchy vegetables and fresh fruit if desired. Supper 5 p.m., the same as 11 o'clock meal with variations in vegetables or salad. If desired the quantity of milk may be increased or cheese may be added. I have purposely omitted sweets. But if necessary honey may be added and

so also dried fruit such as raisins, prunes, or dates; occasionally almond nuts, walnuts or hazelnuts may be taken. No hard and fast rules can be laid down for all. The golden rule is eat to live, never to please the palate. Chew well. Fruits, vegetables and fresh milk or curds may be taken liberally, starches sparingly. Pulses are unnecessary for those who can afford to take milk and curds.

To bed at 9 p.m., to rise at 4 a.m. is ideal. One hour's rest after 11 a.m. meal should be taken. Walks covering 10 miles daily should be taken whenever possible. It is therefore best to walk to and from the office.

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

305. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

SEGAON,
July 5, 1937

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

The departure was painful and touching. I live in the hope of your certain return in December if not in the middle of November.

Please cable to Manilal about Ramdas accompanying you. Hope neither you nor he will have any difficulty about embarkation.

You will take a more personal interest in Phœnix.

Enclosed[1] for Ramdas.

Deep love.

UPPER HOUSE

[PS.]

For letters, Wardha is the address. No post office at Segaon.

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] Perhaps the letter to Manilal and Sushila Gandhi which was sent through Ramdas Gandhi; *vide* Vol. LXV, pp. 371-2.

306. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

SEGAON, WARDHA,
July 20, 1937

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Your box is vacant and it looks sad and makes us sad also. It is still at the same place.

I have read the Palestine Report. It makes sad reading but the Commission could not do anything more. It almost admits the initial blunder — a promise to the Arabs and a contrary one to the Jews. Breach of promise became inevitable. I am more than ever convinced that the only proper and dignified solution is the one I have suggested, now more so than before. My solution admits of no half measures. If the Jews will rely wholly on the Arab goodwill, they must once for all renounce British protection. I wonder if they will adopt the heroic remedy. More when we meet. I hope you and Ramdas reached in safety.

My love to you and Hannah.

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

307. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

WARDHA,
August 16, 1937

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

What you have done is all right. I had a long talk with Andrews. I do not know what he will be able to do. The more I observe the events happening, the more convinced I feel of the correctness of my advice. But it is likely to be a voice in the wilderness. Nevertheless, if you feel as strongly as I do, you will take up the firm and only stand that is likely to do good in the end. Without that there will be no happy home for the Jews in Palestine. No more today. See the enclosed.

Love.

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

308. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

SEGAON, WARDHA,
August 28, 1937

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I am supposed to be suffering from blood-pressure and, therefore, I have to lie down as much as I can. Most of the correspondence has to be dictated. This I write to say that I have just read the monograph sent to me at your instance on Zionism. The sender's name is not given. The statement is very impressive, deeply interesting. And if it is true a settlement between the Jews and the Arabs ought not to be difficult. I quite clearly see that if you are to play any part in bringing about an honourable settlement, your place is in India. It might be that you might have to go at times to South Africa. You might have to go frequently to Palestine but much of the work lies in India as I visualize the development of the settlement talks. All this I say irrespective of the domestic arrangement between us as to your coming here in December.

I hope Ramdas is getting on. I am conferring with Andrews also as to what he should do in Palestine. But I have not the time to tell you all these things — nor you the need to know them. It is enough for you to know that I am redeeming my promise to interest myself in the movement.

Love.

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

309. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

SEGAON, WARDHA, C.P.,
September 30, 1937

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I have your letter of 12th instant in front of me. I am glad Ramdas at last reached South Africa and is with you and under Hannah's tender care. Ramdas tells me they met as if they were old friends. I cannot guide you from this distance as to what you should do with Ramdas. My trust in your love and common sense is too much to warrant any

hint from here. Herewith a letter for him.[1]

No matter how immersed you are in the work there, I look to you to extricate yourself from it for coming here in time. And please remember you won't promise the return date. I am not going to press you to stay here unless everything is agreeable to you.

The Jewish question is becoming a very ticklish question. A heroic remedy is required for a desperate disease. And the non-violent remedy invokes the best and permanent type of heroism. I read the cutting containing Dr. Mayne's opinion.

I am keeping well. Blood-pressure is normal. Of course I need to take care, which you know I do more than most people.

The rest you will get from Mira.

Love.

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

310. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

SEGAON,
October 11, 1937

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Today being silence day I use the right hand. The Palestine question does now engage my attention. It is becoming more and more intricate for want of a firm declaration such as I have suggested. But that will never come unless there is an urge from within. We must explore possibilities when you come. I hope there will be no hitch about your coming.

Mira's letter will give you titbits.

Love.

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] Not available

311. TELEGRAM TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

BOMBAY,
December 28, 1937

KALLENBACH
BOX 2493
JOHANNESBURG
WHEN COMING. HEALTH FAIR. LOVE.

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

312. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

SEGAON, WARDHA,
February 28, 1938

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Your absence which was wholly unexpected caused me deepest disappointment. I expected you even up to the last day. But it was not to be. I have Ramdas's letter giving me your message. I must not force the pace. You must come in your own good time. I should be satisfied if you will religiously decline to take new obligations and simply set your heart on fulfilling the existing ones. And it may be useless your coming here during the hot months. The best month is November. From then to February it is cool enough. But it is cool also during the rains. Now make your choice.

I am quite well.

Love.

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

CWMG XCVI

313. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

SEGAON, WARDHA,
May 21, 1938

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

This is all about Phœnix. Manilal thinks that *Indian Opinion* does not serve the purpose for which it was established. It taxes much more energy than it is worth simply to keep it going. The subscribers do not pay because they want the paper but because Manilal makes a personal canvass and they cannot repel him. Muslim subscribers can be counted on one's finger-tips. *Indian Views* is a formidable rival. Manilal can't descend to the level to which *Indian Views* descends. He has not the ability to draw to himself co-workers. Rather than it die a natural death, Manilal thinks it would be a good thing to give it a decent burial. His wife is firmer still in the opinion that Manilal expresses. Manilal returns to South Africa alone this time. I have told him that he should make one more brave effort to keep *Indian Opinion* alive. A journal that has played a prominent part in mounting public opinion in South Africa and has been instrumental in helping the Civil Resistance Struggle ought not [to] be given up without an honest struggle. I have, therefore, asked him to see the subscribers and notify to them that if they cannot guarantee the upkeep by paying subscription in advance and without personal canvass, the paper must be closed. He should also make an effort to get helpers in editing and conducting the paper. If he cannot get them, then he can close it. If that happens, what of the Phœnix Trust land and the building ? I am quite convinced that the Press is not to be given to anybody as a going concern unless that person is a trustworthy person. So far as I can see, it will not be possible to find such a trustworthy person. In that case it would be wise to wind up the press, sell the machinery, etc., for what they may fetch.

So far as I can see you are the only active trustee. Umar Zaveri, because I suppose he is too much engrossed in his difficulties and affairs, has lost interest in the Trust. I do not know that Ritch can render much help. No doubt you will see them both. But they will need the whole thing to be done by your hands. I hope we can hold on to the land, turn it into a model agricultural farm, and settle on it Indians or even Zulus — provided of course that is made self-supporting. I do not want this Trust to engross the whole or even much of your time.

But I want you to give your serious attention to it and put it on a firm footing. I have told Manilal that he is free, even after the paper is given up, to settle down on the Phœnix land, subject to such terms as may be agreed upon between him and the trustees. But as I understand Manilal and his wife, their fixed attention at the moment is not to settle down in South Africa for their livelihood, but to return to India to give themselves to a life of service.

Now I think I have told you all.

I have a letter from Hannah only today. I am looking forward to her coming. You won't be anxious about her. Manilal will give you all the news about myself and others.

Love.

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

314. SILENCE-DAY NOTES TO HANNAH LAZAR

[*July 10-14, 1938*][1]

I

I am off regulating your food, if only because I am silent for an indefinite period. And perhaps it is well that you should regulate it and keep yourself fit. I would advice you not to insist on unfired food. But do what you think is best.

II

You do not seem to be flourishing. I understand you are unable to take the quantity I send you. If you desire anything special, you should ask. If you can't take sufficient nourishment, I won't be able to take work from you. You *must* not force yourself to do things beyond your capacity.

III

There is no hurry. Take your own time. You must not risk your health. Do not regard the lessons as a task. You should take as much recreation as you need. This is treacherous weather, nothing should weigh on your mind.

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] As noted by the addressee who had arrived at Sevagram on June 26, 1938. The notes are being given in the order they are found in the source. Their sequence, however, is not certain.

315. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

Unrevised

SEGAON,
July 17, 1938

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I have not been able to write to you before now. And Hannah being with me, I have given myself absolution. Hannah has not taken well to the climate here. She has struggled bravely against it. But it is no use trying the impossible. She has a very sensitive and delicate constitution. Therefore we have all come to the conclusion that she should return before her time. She therefore leaves on 3rd August by the *Kenya,* if there is a berth vacant. I have written to Bombay to inquire. She is most anxious to help but fates are against her. She gave me a massage today. Of course she knows her art. During the first stage she put me to sleep. But she can't all of a sudden equal the touch of Sushila who is a competent doctor and who learnt massage specially for treating me. She is Pyarelal's sister and so belongs to the family even as Hannah does. Therefore Sushila will continue her massage and will pick up from Hannah whatever new strokes or motions have to be learnt.

My one hope now is that Hannah should keep well till the day of her departure. This was not the ideal season for her to come to India. Nevertheless I am glad she came. She has seen everything with her own eyes. She has come in contact with the various inmates and is trying to fit herself in with the life here.

I hope you are guiding Manilal. I gave him a long letter for you.

You will come [at] the first opportunity you can. Dot not multiply your adventures. If you will resolutely set a limit to them, you will be free. What a tragedy going on in Palestine ! It is heart-breaking. If there is peace, ultimately, it will be the peace of the grave. However, we must endure what we cannot cure.

Love.

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

316. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

SEGAON,
August 2, 1938

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

This is all about Hannah. I send her back before her time with deep sorrow. I have come to love her deeply. She has a heart of gold. She has great desire for service. But her body is most delicate. It requires great care and she has aristocratic habits about privacy, etc. The result was I could not make her as happy as I would have liked her to be. But she does not mind inconveniences.

You must send her back or bring her with you when the cold season sets in, i.e., in December. Meanwhile she will have [to] train herself for the life she has to live here. She must not mind performing natural functions in adjoining rooms. And she should perfect her practice in massaging.

I had a talk with her today about her domestic affairs. She must tell you all about it.

Love.

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

317. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

SEGAON, WARDHA,
November 26, 1938

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Your affectionate letter about Mahadev overwhelmed him. But he has no urge because he has no confidence in himself. He must mend himself in India and if possible in Segaon, then Wardha and so in the descending scale in Indian places. The decision is wise.

You will have seen my article[1] on the Jews. I have made a plunge into unknown waters. How I wish you were here at this time wholly free from the cares of the South Africa obligations. But that was not to be. If you can come without damaging the business, do come.

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXVIII, pp. 137- 41.

Mahadev is better and will soon be himself. The other members of the family are well.

You will interest yourself in Phœnix. Manilal has wisely decided not to close down *Indian Opinion.* You will render him all the help you can.

How are you keeping in health ? Is there a chance of your being free from the cares of business ?

What is the condition of the Jews there ? Has the anti-Jewish wave travelled in your direction ?

Love.

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

318. TELEGRAM TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

WARDHAGANJ,
December 9, 1938

H. KALLENBACH
KALREY
JOHANNESBURG
SOONER THE BETTER.

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

319. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

BARDOLI,
January 20, 1939

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Welcome once more. Of course, you are coming straight to Bardoli. Devdas is here.

Love.

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

CWMG LXXVI

320. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

SEGAON WARDHA,
February 5, 1939

MY DEAR HENRY,

Though I am ill able to write, I must say in answer to your letter that I am sorry my remark hurt you. But I can't retract it. It represents the true state of things. You will see my answer in *Harijan.*[1] I have not reproduced your letter.

Love to you all,

BHAI

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

321. TELEGRAM TO AMRIT KAUR

RAJKOT,
March 2, 1939

RAJKUMARI
MAGANWADI
WARDHAGANJ

TELL LOWER HOUSE NOT OVERDO. LET NATURE HAVE HER DUE. WIRE HEALTH. HIS WIRE[2] RECEIVED. PROGRESS SLOW. NOT UNHOPEFUL. LOVE.

BAPU

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] *Vide* Vol. XVIII, pp. 381-2.

[2] Which read : " No fever last night nor today. Feel exceedingly well and strong. Joyous being here allowed witnessing events which trust will bring true results to those concerned. Love you, Sushila, Pyarelal, Kanu."

Gandhiji began a fast on March 3, 1939 against the Rajkot ruler's breach of promise, and ended it on March 7; *vide* Vol. LXIX, p. 17.

322. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

March 8, 1939

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

This is just to send you wagon-loads of love. You must be well and strong. If [the] heat [is] unbearable and if you will remain in India, you should move to a cooler place. You will join me in Delhi on 15th if you are in fair condition.

Love.

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

323. NOTES TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[*March/April 1939*][1]

We must talk a little before finally deciding. You should see the Jama Masjid and the old Delhi Fort. Both are worth seeing from an architectural standpoint. Jama Mosque is the largest in the world, its plinth the largest in the world.

* * *

How is [*sic*] Hannah and Manilal ? Now you eat and prepare to retire.

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] From the style and contents of this and the following item, it appears that these were silence-day notes written during the period between March 15, 1939 and April 3, 1939, when Gandhiji was in Delhi ; *vide* also the preceding item.

324. NOTE TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[*March/April 1939*]

This is a good letter. I have read it through and carefully. Let us hope he will go to South Africa and be well. My object in saving on the cables was that you might put by every penny for helping the Jews who are most deserving but who do not get the benefit of the big charities. To get at them, I suppose one needs influence as everywhere else. But of this later.

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

325. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

SEGAON, WARDHA,
August 24, 1939

MY DEAR HENRY,

I was delighted to have your letter. I shall stay the hands of the Resisters so long as there is hope.[1] I have a cable from the Prime Minister[2] giving me hope.

I am sorry about the accident to Millie. I hope there is no trace of the scalding left. It is wonderful how Mater keeps up her energy.

I am glad you are all including Agatha having an outing.

Charlie won't go unless the doctors let him.[3] He will be coming here in September. Drs. Paton and Jesudasan are to guide me.

Mahadev has been wandering between Simla and Rajkot. He has been writing fully to Agatha.

What a trying time you are having there. I feel somehow or other that there will be no war.[4]

Love to you all,

BHAI

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXX, pp. 44 and 70.
[2] Of South Africa, James Barry Munnik Hertzog
[3] *Vide* Vol. LXX, p. 127.
[4] World War II broke out on September 3, 1939.

326. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

SEGAON, WARDHA (C.P.),
December 12, 1939

MY DEAR HENRY,

I have your letter. I can't misunderstand you. But I see quite clearly that we see things differently. I won't send a separate answer. But you will see some of your points covered in *Harijan.* [1]

Millie always forgets her own troubles when she has others' to think of. Mater is wonderful. I envy her.

The replies from S.A. are good.

Love to you all,

BHAI

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

327. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

August 30, 1941

MY DEAR HENRY,

You have missed the golden canon of interpretation. So long as you can think of [one] favourable, never draw an unfavourable interpretation. You say unconsciously I have taken up C.D. for the sake of saving the Congress from disintegration. I suggest one most natural to me. I deliberately undertook C.D. to preserve non-violence. I joined the Congress for that purpose. I would leave it, if it gave it up. I expect great things from the very mild form now going. Self-restraint assists in the mildness. Your suggestion in the last para is a bad hit so unworthy of you. But I must not wonder. Living as you are in the midst of the inferno, you cannot view things otherwise than you have done.

But I must not tax you any further. My whole heart is with you all. I did shed a silent tear when I learnt of the damage to the Abbey, the Houses of Parliament and the cathedral. I have not changed for the worse, if I have changed at all. I have grown and am still growing.[2]

With love to you all,

BHAI

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] *Vide* Vol. LXXI, p. 36-8.

[2] The addressee, it appears, had questioned the tenacity of Gandhiji's faith in non-violence; *vide* Vol. LXXV. pp. 37-9 and also Vol. LXX, pp. 162 and 169

328. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

BOMBAY,
September 18, 1944

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

You will see I am in Bombay almost daily meeting M. A. Jinnah.[1] God only knows what the result will be.

I had your wires. Of course, they were withheld from me whilst I was in detention.[2] Manilal is with me in personal attendance. He reminds me of old days. He is very restrained. Though I know he wants me to fix up the Phœnix Trust, he never mentions it. But I have it constantly in mind. Sita[3] is in Sevagram. She is a most lovable girl. Devdas too is here for the time being.

And how are you faring ? Is there the slightest chance of your coming here for a short stay ? Manilal says you are too aged to undertake the, for you, fatiguing stay in India. Is Hannah nursing you as devotedly as ever ?

Love to you all,

UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

329. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

[*December 3, 1944*][4]

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I hope you are keeping well and fit even as I am. Don't worry over the threatened fast.[5] If it comes, it will come from God. And where is the cause for worry when a thing is from God ?

I had a discussion with Manilal and Jalbhai when he was here. This is the result.

[1] For the purport of Gandhiji's talks and correspondence with Jinnah during this period, *vide* Vol. LXXVIII, pp. 87-135 and pp. 401-18.

[2] In the Aga Khan Palace Jail from August 9, 1942 to May 6, 1944

[3] Daughter of Manilal Gandhi

[4] *Vide* Vol. LXXVIII, p. 378.

[5] ibid., pp. 244-5, pp. 420-2 and Gandhiji's letters of November 1944.

Three new trustees should be added. Jalbhai, Medh and Manilal. Manilal should be the manager of the settlement in my place. He is managing *Indian Opinion* and everything at present and drawing his expenses. I think and he agrees that he should draw for himself and his family a fixed sum per month, say, £100. The budget of expenses for the settlement should be prepared annually and passed by the Board.

There should be a clause added giving the trustees authority to sell the proceeds to be utilized for the objects of the trust.

If a Kasturba memorial is to be founded, on the Phœnix ground, it should be properly secured.

If you, the remaining trustees, approve of my suggestions, an amended deed may be prepared and sent to me for my signature. Should I die before my signature is taken, this letter should be used by the trustees as my wish in the matter. I hope that they will give effect to it and free Manilal from the uncertainty that hangs over him.

I feel too that those settlers who are not working on the settlement, although they may be deemed to have resigned, should formally do so, to avoid future complications.

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

330. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH [1]

Saturday

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I was reading Carlyle yesterday. I copied the accompanying[2] for you. Is it not splendid ? May you and I make it part of our lives !

With love,

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] This and the following items bear no dates in the source.
[2] The source has "accompanied". For the enclosure, *vide* Appendix III.

331. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

I follow, follow sure to meet the sun
and confident that what the future yields,
will be the right, unless myself be wrong.

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

Let the above comfort and cheer you. Here is your letter.

Yours sincerely,
UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

332. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

Thursday night

DEAR MR. KALLENBACH,

The Upper House was delighted to receive a note from the Lower House, but the Upper House strongly resents and protests against the insult implied in the titles used by the Lower House in addressing the Upper House. If the Lower House persists in such disrespectful and inappropriate language, all the liberty granted by the Constitution to the Lower House will be withdrawn and the Lower House will be called upon to return to Phœnix at once and before Tuesday in order to give a good account of the Lower House's doings. 'Master me no Master' says the Upper House. Whether the Upper House can fairly enjoy the privilege of the friendship of the Lower is a question to be jointly determined after due deliberation by both the Houses. In the meanwhile, the Upper House must undergo a period of probation before claiming the high title of a true friend.

The time-table is good, but how can you think of remaining there the whole of the other week when the progress is spelt retrogression ! From good to medium and from medium to bad is a startling thing. I really, therefore, think that it will be as well to pass next week at Phœnix. There is not much chance of my going there during the week. There is much to do and see at Phœnix and if necessary you can pay a visit to Durban in the meanwhile, returning here for the night. However, if you think that Durban is giving you mental peace and

progress, by all means stay there. You need not fear the food here now because it is most like what we have at Orchards.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

[PS.]

What about Dickson's advice ?

M. K. G.

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

333. LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH

Sunday

MY DEAR LOWER HOUSE,

I hope to leave here on Thursday, Pragji Desai with me, probably also Mr. Omar's son.

Here is my bill of fare.

4 bananas (even less)	2 d.
Olive oil	1 d.
monkey-nuts	1 d.
1/4 lb. dates (a special kind)	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.
papaw from the garden	1 d.
lemon	1 d.
	7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

My second meal is also of the same style. Monkey-nuts I use in the shape of butter. My meal takes me no more than 20 minutes. Whether it is the oil or monkey-nuts or both I am feeling much stronger.

Here is my day's work. To get up with the boys 4.45 a.m. Garden work 5 a.m. to 7 a.m. with the boys. I work a little after that. The boys have their bath and breakfast between 7 and 8. I attend to the patients during the time. From 8 to 11 the boys do their lessons which I take and set between 8 and 9. From 9 to 11, I work at the press, 11 to 12 meal time, 12 to 4.30 press work, attending patients, etc., 4.45 to 5.45 gardening with the boys. Dinner 6 to 7 p.m. More lessons with the boys, who retire at 8.30 p.m. I receive visitors and try to retire at 10 p.m.

It you were here I could certainly profit by your knowledge of gardening. I am discussing with the press people as to the gardening and the proposal is that all but Kababhai should give 4$\frac{1}{2}$ hours to

gardening every day. If we can but carry out the programme, what a glorious thing it would be ! We propose to do joint cultivation on Cordes' ground as it is fenced and put in there fruit trees which would give a return enough to support at least a few. There are two Kaffir boys working at the press. I am suggesting that we should use them mostly for field work.

Reverting to the food question, I see that I could easily live on the products of Phœnix, barring oil. All fruit just now is very dear. Otherwise I should live on 8 d. per day and not $\frac{1}{3}$ as now. 8 d. per day would be exactly £1 per month. I often substitute lemons by raw mangoes which are soaked in olive oil. Mangoes are home grown—not so lemons just now.

I am writing this amid many interruptions. So I shall close with love. Will you please read this to Mr. Kotwal and others so that they may understand the progress of my experiment.

Yours sincerely,
UPPER HOUSE

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

334. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

DEAR HENRY,

This will be presented to you by Kamalnayan Bajaj, the eldest son of Jamnalalji. However much we may fight Great Britain, London is increasingly becoming out ancient Kashi. Kamalnayan is no exception. I have advised him to take up a course in the London School of Economics. Perhaps. . .[1]

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] Incomplete in the source

335. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

MY DEAR HENRY,

I have your letter. I am dealing with the blue books as you suggest. Joseph Royappen you will see from the enclosed may go to India. He is on the wrong track. Restrain him in India as much as you can. The whole affair is shocking. The article on the Protector is West's. He has been corresponding with the Campbell. I am asking West to send you copies. You will carefully read the Gold Law case. It is a great victory. But the fight will have to go on.

The Registrar's office is here today.

I had a long chat with General Smuts last week on his invitation. He told me that as the resolution of the Imperial Conference contemplates . . . Royal Commission on Immigration into the Dominions, it might be necessary to postpone the introduction of the Bill until after the report of the Commission. I told Smuts that even then he should fulfil his promise and do so by amending the Transvaal legislation only. He then suggested that I should send him draft Bill which I shall do. The talk was very cordial.

Yours,
BHAI

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

336. LETTER TO MILLIE GRAHAM POLAK

Monday

MY DEAR MILLIE,

I cannot undertake to answer your prose poem. You have at times flights which baffle me. I shall not comment. Let our hearts speak to each other.

Bapu has become the conventional name and that may remain without the signification attached to it. We are and must remain brother and sister, always confiding, always trusting, always loving and helping, but neither entirely leaning on the other.

We have kept the fast splendidly. I do not feel it at all. All the boys and Chhaganlal's family are fasting today. Maganlal has been fasting 3 days, Ramdas and Revashankar 2 days. Miss Bush came in today. She will go away on Friday. You should try to come before then if you can.

I hope you received my letter regarding Suliman and that you were able to get Mr. Laughton to fix the matter up.

With love,

Yours,
BAPU

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

337. LETTER TO A. H. WEST

Monday night

MY DEAR WEST,

The Obligadu matter is a dastardly affair. The Protector should be asked not to sanction the contract. I was going to wire but I suppose the mischief is done. But certainly a letter should be written to the police inquiring why the friend was prevented and then a letter may go to the Minister of Justice. The Protector should also be written to. Could not someone still see Obligadu and get from him a clear statement? Why has he signed the contract ? Who was present ? Who interpreted?

You will make sure of course of your facts in the report.

You know all about the Immigration Bill now. The Council's reply is very clever. The Council has bluffed poor Joseph and he can do nothing. Its reply regarding licences is technically correct. It is no use writing a leader on it. That is to say we could not give an effective leader. If the deputation were plucky men, they could send an effective reply and challenge the Council on some of the matters.

On this side of course, you will understand that I am still in telegraphic communication with General Smuts on the Bill. If his reply is not satisfactory, the campaign will reopen, — we are all quite ready here.

I will not now worry about the Dundee licensing leaderette.

Yours,
M. K. G.

[PS.]

You may condense the Malay location report.

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

338. LETTER TO A. H. WEST

Thursday night

MY DEAR WEST,

So we are in trouble again. I cannot however think otherwise than that the notice is impertinent. If the name of the magistrate was not given and if only the Umlazi magistrate was mentioned, I do not think that the man has any cause of action. I hope none of you has got alarmed over the matter. I hope too that the Congressmen do not blame you in the matter. The magistrate is evidently in a hurry to get rich. I have absolute faith in your keeping cool and doing the right thing.

But such cases show how careful we have to be in using names. We must simply take our time in finding out full facts. And note that we are responsible even when we copy from other newspapers. Whenever therefore any matter reflecting upon particular persons occurs, we should make sure of our facts.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

339. TELEGRAM TO H. S. L. POLAK

TO
POLAK
7 MAPESBURY ROAD
BRONDESBURY

GOD HELP.

BHAI

From the original : Gandhi-Polak Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

DEATH OF GIANT DESPAIR[1]

Mr. Great-heart, Old Honest, and the four young men went up to Doubting Castle to look for Giant Despair. When they came to the Castle gate, they knocked for entrance with an unusual noise. At that the Old Giant comes to the gate and Diffidence, his wife, follows. Then said he : "Who and what is he that is so hardy, as after this manner to molest the Giant Despair ?"

Mr. Great-heart replied,"It is I, Great-heart, one of the King of the Celestial Country's conductors of pilgrims to their place; and I demand of thee that thou open thy gates for my entrance. Prepare thyself also to fight, for I am come to take away thy head, and to demolish Doubting Castle."

Now Giant Despair, because he was a giant, thought no man could overcome him, and again thought he , "Since heretofore I have made a conquest of angels, shall Great-heart make me afraid?"

So he put on his armour, and went out. He had a cap of steel upon his head, a breast-plate of fire girded to him and he came out in iron shoes, with a great club in his hand.

Then these six men made up to him, and beset him behind and before : also when Diffidence, the giantess, came up to help him, old Mr. Honest cut her down at one blow.

Then they fought for their lives, and Giant Despair was brought down to the ground, but was very loath to die. He struggled hard, and had, as they say, as many lives as a cat : but Great-heart was his death, for he left him not till he had severed his head from his shoulders.

Then they fell to demolishing Doubting Castle, and that you know might with ease be done, since Giant Despair was dead. They were seven days in the destroying of that, and in it of pilgrims they found one Mr. Despondency, almost starved to death, and one much afraid, his daughter, these two they saved alive. But it would have made you wonder to see the dead bodies that lay here and there in the Castle-yard, and how full of dead men's bones the dungeon was.

When Mr. Great-heart and his companions had performed this exploit, they took Mr. Despondency and his daughter. Much afraid, into their protection, for they were worthy, honest people, though they were prisoners in Doubting Castle to that tyrant Giant Despair.

They, therefore, I say, took with them the head of the Giant (for his body they had buried under a heap of stones) and down to the road and to their companions they came and showed them what they had done, and when they saw that it was indeed the head of Giant Despair, they were all very merry and danced with joy.

When all these things were finished, Mr. Great-heart took the head of Giant Despair and set it upon a pole by the highway side: And then the pilgrims went forward on their journey.

From a copy : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] *Vide* p. 115.

APPENDIX II

LETTER TO HERMANN KALLENBACH[1]

Sunday 9.30, May 17, 1914

DEAR MR. KALLENBACH,

It is very late now. I must go to bed early so that I can have no difficulty in getting up in time tomorrow morning. Father is a little better today but he will have still to be confined to bed for about 5 to 6 days. He is very weak. He speaks very slowly and not quite distinctly. He takes fruit juices and lemon drink now and then. The period of the fortnight was of a great commotion and hardly anybody in Phœnix could give rest to one's thought or mind. Jeki Behn is now away and father seems to have some feeling that a great burden is removed from his mind.

With love from us all.

Yours sincerely,

CHHAGANLAL

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

APPENDIX III

EXTRACT FROM A WRITING OF THOMAS CARLYLE[2]

It is only with renunciation that life, properly speaking, can be said to begin. What is this that thou hast been fretting and fuming on account of ? Say in a word : Is it not because thou art not happy ? Because thee (who art a sweet gentleman) is not sufficiently honoured, nourished, soft-bedded and lovingly cared for ? Foolish soul ! What Act of Legislature was there thou shouldst be happy ? A little while ago thou hadst no right to be at all. What if thou weren't born and predestined not to be happy, but to be unhappy ? Art thou nothing other than a vulture that flying through the universe seeking after somewhat to eat and shrieking dolefully because carrion enough is not given thee ? Man can do without anything and instead find blessedness. Was it not to preach forth the same Higher [Truth] that sages and martyrs have spoken and suffered, bearing testimony through life and through death of the God-like that is in man and how in the Godlike only he has strength and freedom ? Oh, thank thy destiny for afflictions. Thankfully bear what yet remain. Thou hadst need of them. The self in thee needed to be annihilated. By benignant fever paroxysms is life rooting out the deep-seated chronic disease and triumphs over death.

From the original : Gandhi-Kallenbach Correspondence. Courtesy : National Archives of India

[1] *Vide* p. 189.
[2] *Vide* p. 303.

APPENDIX IV

LETTER FROM H.S.L. POLAK[1]

November 23, 1939

MY DEAR BHAI,

Pyarelal has been good enough to send us news of you and your message of love and affection, for which we are grateful to you and to him. Of course, we understand how busy you must be and how necessary it is for you to deal with immediate matters and correspondence first. We know, too, from old experience, that "the nearest and the dearest" must be prepared to make the hardest sacrifice! It is good to feel that in spite of time and circumstances, we are still included in that category. Indeed, it must have been in our *karma* that this close link between us, which has remained unbroken for so long, should have been forged.

We are three families here (Shiplake, near Henley-on-Thames, Oxon.) in a small house by the river – Millie, Celia and I; Leon's wife, Marie, and the two children (the elder, Rosemary, nearly five, a most energetic, exigent, and eager little girl, and the boy, Peter, aged 21 months, fat, fine, and full of good humour and intelligence); and Millie's other sister and her husband; not to speak of a maid and two dogs. So you can well imagine how full of domestic activity and responsibility Millie is. Indeed, she is giving all her time to these duties. Her health, despite the fact that she had no holiday this summer, owing to the outbreak of war just after everyone else had one, and that she had a shocking scalding accident when visiting Mater in June (the latter is over 80 and in fairly good health and spirits, at Bexhill), is on the whole pretty good, though, naturally, as the strain does not get less, she has spells of fatigue, which affect the nerves and the heart, from time to time. She shares with you, though in a much less degree, a tendency to blood-pressure.

The war is in the background of all our lives. When the worst will be reached none can say. But the general determination of the country to tryto end the constant pressure of threats, aggression and violence is unmistakeable; and so, in spite of an undercurrent of anxiety and uncertainty, there is a deeply-ingrained satisfaction that a great effort is being made to establish once more the basis of something more than a nominal peace and a return to a more civilised handling of the problems of life, personal, national, and international.

For ourselves, we are hoping to stay out at Shiplake till the end of the war. Leon is an Air Raid Protection Warden in charge of his area, near his house in Wimbledon, of some square miles. He comes down whenever possible at weekends, and sometimes instead, Marie goes up to him, to say that the house is still there and in order. Our London flat is closed, pending termination of the lease. For reasons of security, the firm has transferred most of the professional work and the records to new offices at Wimbledon, whilst retaining some of the old offices in the Strand, where we attend two days a week. But, in fact, work has largely dried up and is, at present, confined almost entirely to what was pending at the outbreak of war.

[1] *Vide* p. 301.

How it will end is uncertain. I go to the office four days a week from Shiplake, and participate at the same time in my various public activities, including writing and lecturing. I am, among other things, the Treasurer of the Theosophical Society in England.

As you will no doubt have surmised, none of these jobs weighs more heavily upon me than our old problems of Indians overseas and, in particular, those of South Africa. So soon as General Hertzog resigned, I wrote to General Smuts and Dr. J.H. Hofmeyr, as you will see from the enclosed correspondence, and received from them the enclosed replies, which I have communicated to Lord Zetland, Mr. Anthony Eden at the Dominions Office (who have both warmly acknowledged them), the Government of India, and the Indian Agent General (Sir B. Rama Rau); and this week I have discussed the situation in an intimate and informal talk with Colonel Deneys Reitz, the Union Minister attending the war conferences here, who was most sympathetic but inclined to be somewhat pessimistic as to any real change of sentiment on race and colour questions in the Union for a longtime. I may say too that I have had the most cordial help and appreciation of the importance of these matters from the Dominions Office, under Sir Thomas Inskip (now Lord Caldecote, the Lord Chancellor) and the Duke of Devonshire, and Mr. Eden. At the Colonial Office, too, where the reactions in Ken are being watched with anxiety, I have had a good deal of encouragement from Mr. Malcolm Macdonald, your old friend, Ramsay's son. All this, of course, is for your personal information and not for publication. In view of your great interest in the South African question, I thought you would wish to know how things were being dealt with at this end. I expect that in South Africa, for the time being, things anti-Indian will be at a standstill, especially as Stuttaford is no longer Minister for the Interior and Hofmeyr is again in the cabinet. If Reitz can help in this, I am sure that he will use his influence in the right direction.

Pyarelal writes that you are wondering if I get any worthwhile news of Indian developments. Yes, as a journalist, as an old colleague of many public men in India, and as a member of the India Conciliation Group, I get practically all that there is and am kept fully informed of what I may miss by Agatha, who has a watchful eye. Moreover, after over thirty years of experience of the inside of Indian affairs, fortified by the observations taken during many visits to India since the historic initial one of 1909, it is not difficult for me to set things in something like a reasonable responsible perspective; though I much doubt whether you will approve of or agree with my general conclusions.

I am going to be quite frank in telling you there I disagree with what has been happening in India and the background of belief in which it has happened. I know, from old times, how loyally you depend upon colleagues and how you have tended to accept from those whom you have regarded as specialists in their particular line their views of a given situation and the advice thereon that they have offered you. I see this again in your backing of Jawaharlal's statement of principles against your own better judgement. However much you are prepared to stand alone in affirmation of what you hold to be true, your loyalty (it appears to me from what I have long observed) often betrays you into contrary and contradictory courses. You took – as I hold rightly – the view that, in this tragic crisis, India's help to the Allied cause in the war should be unconditional. But when Jawaharlal, misled as

always, by his ineradicable passion for Leftist ideological phraseology and his blindness to facts that did not square with his intellectual prepossessions (I don't in the least question his honesty, but only his judgement) carried the Working Committee with him in laying down conditions for collaboration with Britain, you could not or would not stand out in insistence upon India's taking what you regarded as the one right course. Jawaharlal could not get away from his *mantram,* "British imperialism" and I see that now you mutter it with equal fervour and iteration, as though it were both true and creative.

One reason why I was most anxious for you to come to the Round Table Conference (notwithstanding the conditions which you accepted upon which it was held) was that I wanted you to realise the intense and fundamental changes in public opinion here in the concept of Empire, even the most reactionary circles, which, however, did not and do not truly represent average sentiment in the country. I was deeply disappointed that you steadily averted your mind from any real contact with that sentiment. But the way in which you appeared before the Conference and the admissions of communal disunity that you were then compelled to confess did infinite harm to the cause of Indian constitutional progress. You knew before you came here – or, if you did not, you must have been living in a world of unreality– that unless communal accord could be reached, the end must be disastrous. Yet, though you could have brought with you a galaxy of talent drawn from Congress-minded Muslims, you left the Mussalman cause to be represented solely by the Muslim communalists, and the Hindu reactionaries at the Conference defeated every reposed solution based upon national interests. You failed publicly to carry the minorities with you, and your stand did not even have the practical consequence of dividing them effectively on the national issue.

Later still, the Congress Party, both in and out of office, instead of seeking to draw over to the country's cause the best and most national-minded of the Muslim Leaguers, by getting them to work inside the League and to transform it from within into becoming a sort of Muslim Nationalist wing of the Congress, set about deliberately seeking to undermine its influence in the country, attacking it openly and thus driving it to defend itself by extreme anti-Hindu propaganda, and thus giving to the Mahasabha the very material, without which it was impotent, to stir up communal prejudice and hatred, until communal stir has become more bitter and menacing than at any time in the history of the national movement. You have yourself only recently admitted the danger of the position, from the point of view of the preservation of non-violence and the possibilities of a resort to civil disobedience.

Yet, at the same time, in recent statements in India and the British press, you have supported the Congress denial that communal discord has any validity in the present constitutional situation, its assertion that civil disobedience to attain the Congress objectives is not a distant possibility in spite of the probability of its accentuating communal hatreds and its resulting in some parts of the country in civil war; and the assertion that it is only Jawaharlal's pet bogey, "British imperialism" that prevents India's achievement of what you once called "the substance of independence", which you defined for me (and have reiterated and never repudiated) as Dominion Status, as interpreted in the Statute of Westminster. Both Mr. De Valera and General Hertzog have claimed that this involves the right

to secede, and I have seen no authoritative denial of this claim of right. It is unlikely, for good reasons of a very practical character, to be exercised either by Eire or by South Africa. But if it were ever to be exercised, I am confident that no British Government would be found to constrain any Dominion by force to remain in the Empire. That is what "British imperialism" has now come to mean; and India could rid herself of her fears and suspicions, if she could bring herself to understand how a Dominion constitution is brought about and works in practice, if she could agree with reasonable unanimity upon any form of such a constitution, no British Government would be allowed by public opinion here to stand in the way. It would be had for the taking. The Jawaharlals and the others, who pretend to speak on these subjects, experts without any real experience and with hardly any theoretical knowledge even of constitution-working, are constantly talking of a Constituent Assembly, to which the British Government ought to agree in advance, for the purpose of threshing out a constitution for India. But *you* ought to know better than anyone else there that that was not how the South African Constitution was made. There was no formal or official constituent Assembly. The party leaders in the separate Colonies agreed to meet and discuss. They hammered out a constitution and then presented it to the British Parliament, which passed it substantially unaltered. Even then, in its working out, the South African constitution has since been structurally altered by the will of the South African people without interference from the British Parliament, and reservations made and accepted at the time in all sincerity have disappeared by acts of ill-faith, but without effective objection from here. Similarly with Eire.

The fact is that your colleagues do not live in a world of reality but in one of theory and you yourself are so indifferent to constitutional theory, usage, and practice that you accept their declarations though these were based upon anything[1] but vagueness and ignorance of the true spirit of British constitutional history. The Congress party lives in the past, in a realm of suspicion and fear; not in the present, in one of courage and self-assurance. It cannot convince either of its sincerity or of its understanding of major problems affecting the welfare of the nation large sections of the public. It affects a lofty superiority, whereas, indeed, it manifests quite obviously an inferiority-complex, both at home and abroad. It talks of democracy, but it practises the methods of totalitarianism, often unashamedly and ruthlessly overbearing all opposition because it fears for its prestige if it should modify its policy to meet demand needs or because justice requires it.

I should have thought that, when the Allied countries are fighting a life-and-death struggle to destroy all that the Hitler regime stands to for in brutality, aggression, lying, and violence, you, at least, would have understood that the greater naturally and inevitably includes the less, and that, with the ultimate resort once more to argument, reason, and conciliation in the solution of world problems, the problem of India's future, once her own leaders were in reasonable agreement as to principles and larger details, would be automatically solved.

I remember that old soldier Annie Besant, taking a very different line in 1911 on a subject very near to her heart. It was at the time of the Coronation of King George V, and the greatest women's suffrage demonstration ever held took place in

[1] *Sic*

London. Millie and I participated in it and marched with the Indian section, I carrying the symbolic elephant and some of the cane chairs! We wound up at the Albert Hall, where a great meeting was addressed by many of the most noteworthy of the feminist leaders. But the most striking speech was that of Annie Besant. She said, in brief (remember the date, 1911): "We have the franchise. That is not today the issue. The question is: How are we going to use it? If not better than the men, it is not worth having." It was not until years later, after the Great War in which the women contributed magnificently, that the women's Franchise Act was actually passed. But Annie Besant had vision and understanding. She knew that, in spirit, her cause had already triumphed, though form might yet be lacking for the spirit to inhabit. But the coming of the form was inevitable. And, before she died, she had the same certain vision regarding India's triumphant emergence to equality of status among the nations. She never doubted. But you and your colleagues, whilst professing to represent the entire country – I am convinced that it is a false profession, except in a purely academic sense, as when a good man may be said to represent all mankind – have not this courage, this faith, this certainty. You doubt, you ask for assurances, you question whether there might not even be two kinds of Dominion Status, one white and one brown! – which causes people here, who are instinctively aware of the true meaning of the things to smile, as at the pathetic innocence (or ignorance) of the young and untutored mind! Where is the profound wisdom of India, for which the Rishis stood? And where is the true patience that has kept India alive and potent for such things through the centuries?

Two things have given me the most intense humiliation. The one is the gravity of the communal feud, inconceivable to me when I look back to conditions prevailing in India when I first went there thirty years ago. The second is the intrigue, the dishonesty the rancour and the dangerous authoritarianism in the Congress circles that has been condemned by none more vigorously than yourself. They display together not the spirit of unity which would, in itself, command successful realisation of the national aspiration, but one of tragic internal feud and discord, one of inferiority which, even in the absence (as I firmly believe) of external opposition would suffice to frustrate the fulfilment of India's hope.

And when I hear you echoing Jawaharlal's endless repetition of the *mantram* of "British imperialism", as though this had anything in common, either in theory or in practice, with the calculated bestiality and horror of Nazi torture of the unoffending Jews, or persecution and terrorism of the Czechs and the Poles; when I see you hesitate even for a moment in throwing all the forces of India into the balance in order to destroy for ever a truly "Satanic Government" (to use an old and misapplied term of your own) I am amazed and shocked that either you you[1] trained in a knowledge of English and the use of language, should put your country to shame by confusing issues and misusing its trust in your guidance! If you had had a drop of Jewish blood in you, you could not have rested until, without hatred and without a desire for vengeance, but from the deepest and holiest sense of duty such as Sri Krishna spoke of to Arjuna, you had done your uttermost to destroy a locust regime that is seeking to devour every beautiful thing that mankind,

[1] *Sic*

intuitively realising its godly nature, has been developing during the ages of its development.

But as you are a Hindu by birth, an Indian by choice, and a citizen of the world by aspiration, I do adjure you to reflect once more upon the stupidity and the futility of abstention, even as Sri Krishna adjured Arjuna to remember that even if he were determined to renounce his duty, to resist evil and defend truth, yet his very nature would drive him irresistibly to the task.

I sometimes ask myself what changes in the . . .[1] each of us might have resulted had we remained together in common work.[2] I am sure that I should have been a better man. But, on my part, I would have told you faithfully what others have, in the main, concealed from you; I should have helped you to laugh things into their real proportions; I should have warned you loyally against misinterpreting the honest motives of others who did not agree with you, but whom your own "followers" have prevented from healthy contact with you. You have lately complained about many things that, though only now, apparently revealed to you, have long been known to and condemned by others who have been unscrupulously denounced as in British pay or under British influences, and who have been virtually driven out of public life as traitors to the country's interest. You must accept your full share, it seems to me, of this lamentable state of affairs. And also for the weak and silly policy of withdrawal from the administration of affairs in the Congress Provinces. In India it seems so much easier to refrain, to stand aloof, to non-cooperate, than to join together to get things done, to gain experience, to create and construct and educate and provide opportunities for greater effort and the conquest of disease, poverty and ignorance. I know, of course, all the arguments for non-cooperation. I know, too, how they have been falsified in practice by your repeated admissions. I know all the arguments for positive non-violence. I know, too, how you yourself have been repeatedly deceived by those who have vowed themselves to it and betrayed both you and the ideal that they had sworn to defend. I know how hatred has spread throughout the country until its face has been unrecognisably distorted. Whose hatred was it that did this – that of the British "Imperialists" or the Indian "nationalists"?

Will you not reflect again that, in all this denunciation of Britain ['s] motives and actions, you might after all, under God, have been wrong, and that what has to be done now is to work together to face the Devil and subdue him?

I have tried to write honestly and with restraint, and I am sure you will understand the spirit of love for you and for India with which I have done so.

Please write soon and tell me so.

Yours affectionately,

[PS.]

Today's papers tell us of the Working Committee's resolution stating, *inter alia,* that the British Government has slammed the door upon India! For sheer falseness and poverty of imagination it compares favourably even with Dr.

[1] Illegible in the source

[2] The sentence is as in the original.

Goebbels's propaganda bureau. I can tell you as a fact that this is all completely untrue and the exact opposite of the spirit in which the Indian situation is being faced in the most authoritative circles.

APPENDIX V

LETTER FROM H. S. L. POLAK[1]

MY DEAR BHAI,

We were delighted to have your affectionate message through Agatha. It is remarkable with all that she had to carry with her in the way of memories of an arduous time in India, that she was able to memorise this with the humour that it covered.

Curiously, just before Agatha's return, Millie and I had been turning over some characteristic and our personal letters to us from you. The first of these was one to her before she came out to marry me in which you urged her to make a point of seeing Dr. Josiah Oldfield before leaving England. Not long after reading it, I went to see this still nearly active and eager "young man". In addition to his "fruitarian" propaganda, he is in charge of some of the wards of a London hospital devoted to the care of elderly folk not in possession of all their wits. Nor is this all. He is looking forward to the reopening of the Lady Margaret Hospital (closed during the war), he is also giving his free services as a barrister in poor persons' divorce cases. He had some happy reminiscences of the days when you were room-mates during your student days here and he sent you warm greetings through me. I have offered him my services of Hon. Solicitor to his "fruitarian" organization. I showed him the badge of the London Vegetarian Society that you gave me years ago in Johannesburg and he told me that he had been partially responsible for its design.

In another letter, from you to me, when you were on the return journey to South Africa in November, 1909, and I was in India on my first tour, I came across the following passages, which you may be interested to recall.

"You are, you remain what you are, to me – Chhota Bhai – younger brother and yet more than a brother . . .

Ritch . . . calls you a born journalist. I have a better name for you. You are a born idealist. And if you are not born to realize your ideal in this life, it will not quite be your fault. Every word in the last sentence has its significance."

About three years ago I met one of your young *chelas* at the time of the salt march campaign. When I mentioned to him that our relations had been those of Bhai and Chhota Bhai, he was much amused and insisted about addressing me as 'Kakaji'.

[1] *Vide* pp. 1-2 and 34-6. It appears from the contents that this letter was written about the year 1937.

I can understand how shocked you must be at the turn of events in South Africa after 32 years. I have been and am continuing to press this matter in every possible way and hope to have a letter in the *I.O.* soon. Limitations of space in the press are a great handicap. You may be interested to know that the South Africa Indian delegation which came here ignored me completely, except for public recognition at meetings which I attended in which I participated, of which I had come to hear from others. During his recent short return visit en route for America, its leader called upon me (after Kafir, in South Africa, had expostulated with him) and humbly apologised. I suppose that such things are allowed to happen so that one's pride may not otherwise betray one into wrong paths.

With love from us all and warmest greetings to Rajkumari and other good friends,

Yours affectionately,

[PS.]

I shall probably be presiding at one of the celebrations here of your next birthday.

Millie will be writing to tell you how delighted we were to have Devdas with us for the short time that he could spare on a brief visit. He looked well and fit and capable.

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